



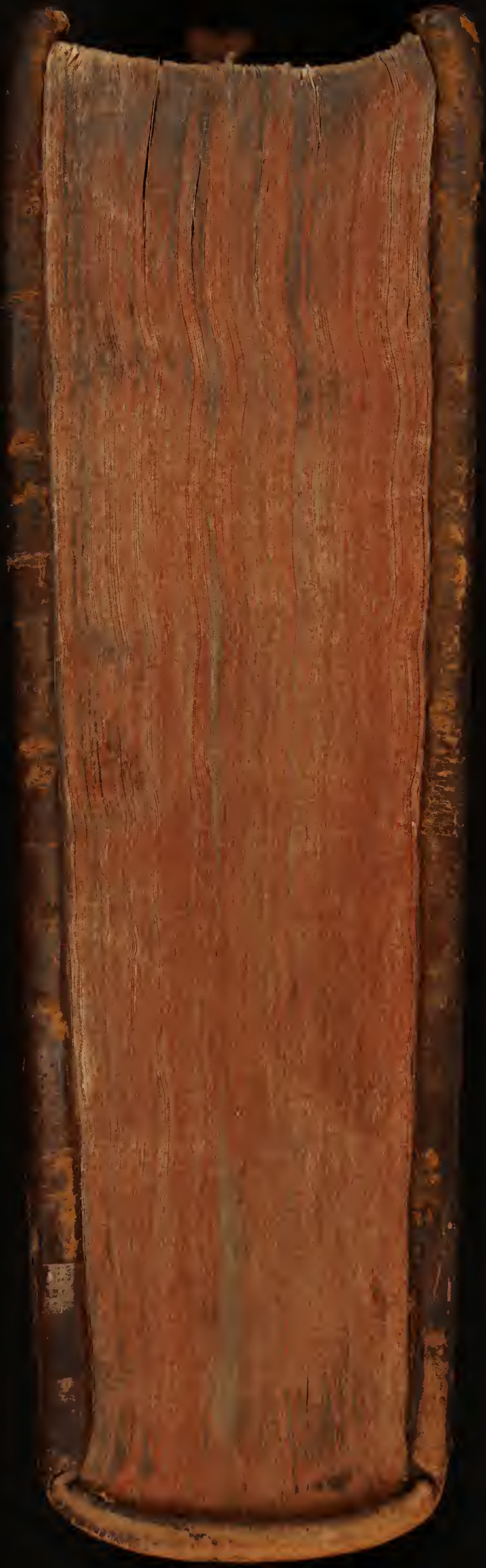
MEXIO

TREASURIE

1613







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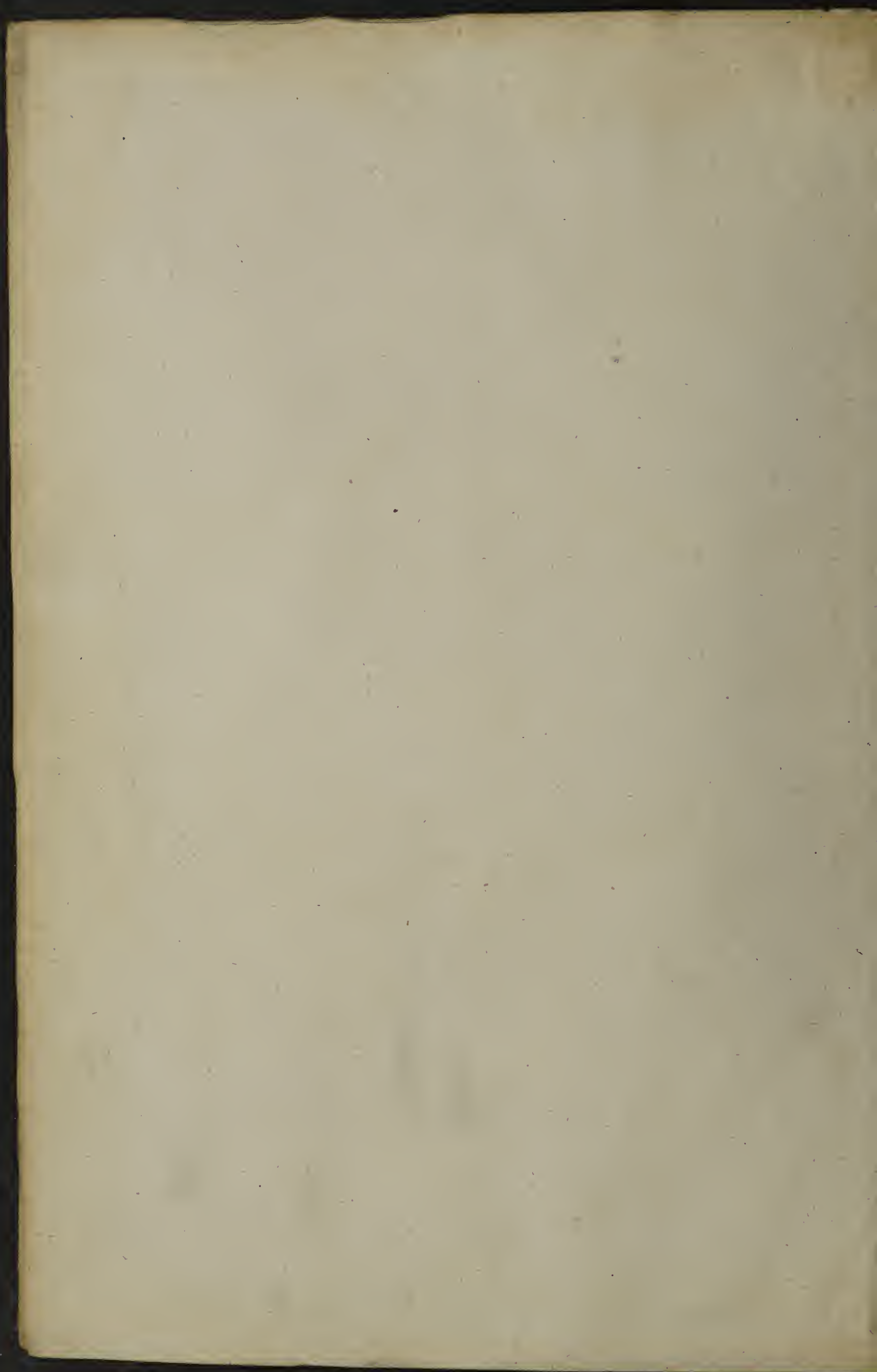


John Yonge Akerman, F.S.A.
Peckham.

MILLES, T

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THE
TREASVRIE
OF AVNCIENT
AND MODERNE
TIMES.

Containing the Learned Collections, Iudicious Readings, and Memorable Obseruations: Not onely Diuine, Morrall and Phylosophicall. But also Poeticall, Martiall, Politicall, Historicall, Astrologicall, &c.

Translated out of that Worthy Spanish Gentleman, PEDRO MEXIO.
And M. Francesco Sansouino, that Famous Italian. As also, of those Honourable Frenchmen, *Anthony Du Verdier*, Lord of *Vanpriaz*: *Loys Guyon*, *Sieur de la Nauche*, Counsellor vnto the King: *Claudius Gruget*, Parisian, &c.



J. V. Alkerman
Soc. Antiq. Londin:
1836.

LONDON,
Printed by *W. Iaggard*, 1613.

1750

THE
 TREATISE
 OF AN ANCIENT
 AND MODERN
 TIMES

Containing the Learned Collections, Judicious Remarks, and Memorable Observations: Not only Divine, Moral and Physical, But also Political, Martial, Historical, Natural, &c.

Translated out of the worthy Spanish Gentleman, Pedro de Mexia, and his famous Italian, Asolo, of illustrious Honour: by the Learned, and famous Doctor, John de la Vaca, Counsellor and Secretary: who has given the English Version.



LONDON
 Printed by W. Baskett, 1750



TO THE RIGHT VVORSHIP-
full, Learned, and most Iudicious Gentle-
man, Sir THOMAS BRVDENELL, Baronet,
all Happinesse most heartily
wished.



SIR, this Worke, so long since
promised, and now (after much
Paine, Cost, and deare Expence
of time) in part perfected, comes
in al Humility to kisse your Hand : making
no doubt of as kind acceptance, as it tenders
it selfe in free and vnfaigned affection. It is
not vnknowne vnto me, that those seuerall
Natiue tongues, wherein all those Argu-
ments do speake themselues, are much more
familiar and readie to you, then they can re-
ceyue in English any Ornament by mee.
Neuerthelesse, I hope it shall not anie way
be distastfull to you, that others may be be-
nefited by the meanes of your Happinesse :
and that vvhich is thus effected for your
f sake, may (from a perticuler good) extend
it selfe to a generall.

To runne into multiplicity of Wordes,
when one onely is sufficient to the Wise,
may be but the Badge of my Folly, and an
abuse vnto your Generous patience. And
therefore, committing this Labour, and my
selfe, vnto your Fauourable Construction,
with whatsoeuer remaines in mee, by you
to bee Comanded, I cease : wishing the
Happinesse of you and yours as entirely,
as any good that can happen to
mee and mine.

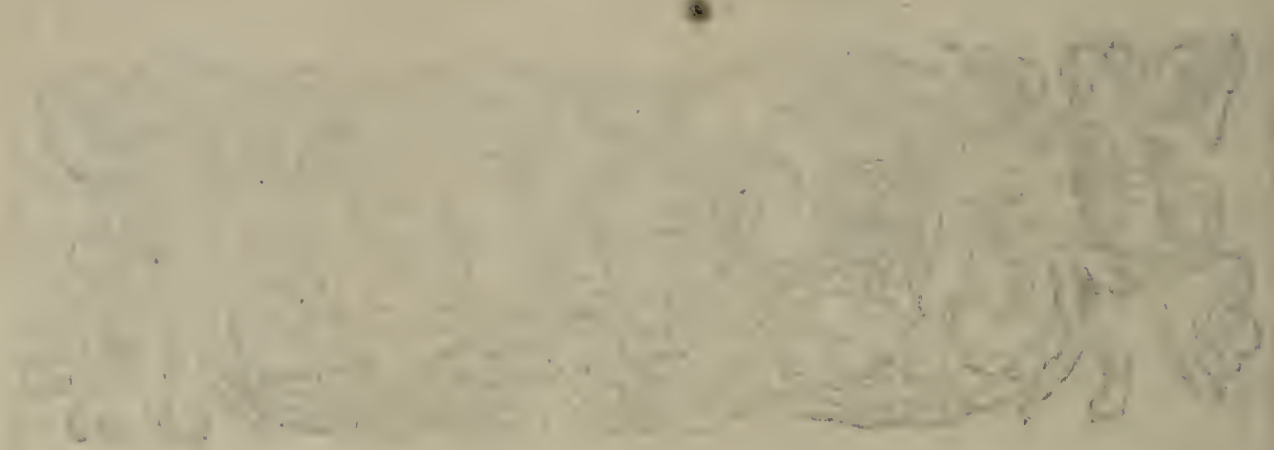
Your Namelesse Well-willer,
desirous to be knowne to none
but your Selfe,



To the Reader.



Know (Gentle Reader) that Custome commands an Epistle to thee, for Favourable Acceptance, and honest Entertainment of such a great Labour. But I am (at this time) forced to Write vnto thee, both on the behalfe of my selfe and the Printer: in regard of many Escapes, which vsually chanceth in Printing, by reason, that immediately after the Bookes beginning, sicknesse & other infirmities, did bereaue him of his sight. If therefore any thing do or may appeare offensiue, either in Method or Matter, I would not haue thee displeas'd in any thing whatsoever, or that any Argument thorough the whole Booke, should be (in the least degree) preiudiciall to thee. Therefore, accept it with like Loue and Kindnesse, as it is sent vnto thee, in Honest Affection and Friendlinesse.



The History

The history of the world is a long and varied one, and it is one which has interested the minds of men from the earliest times. The events which have taken place in the world have been the result of the actions of men, and it is the duty of the historian to record these actions, and to show the causes which have produced them. The history of the world is a story of the human race, and it is a story which is full of interest and excitement. The events which have taken place in the world have been the result of the actions of men, and it is the duty of the historian to record these actions, and to show the causes which have produced them.

TO THE MAGNANIMOVS AND

Vertuous Lord, *Anne D'Urfe*, Marquesse of *Bauge*, Baron of
Castle-Morand, Lord of *Urfe*, Gentleman of the Kings
Chamber, and Bayliffe for his Maiestie, in the
Forrests, Countrey.



Here hath bin a great and long dispute (woorthy Lord) among the Learned, concerning the true definition of Nobility. Some haue held opinion, that this matchlesse Ladie, keepeth her seate in the Soule only; or else, with the Soule and Bodie together. Some other are of the minde, that her abyding is in Prudence: Others, in Iustice: And others, in the goodnesse of manners. There are also some few, who say; that they know no other Nobility, but such as proceedeth from Vertue. And if any one contemne Riches, voluptuous pleasures, glory; yea, and life it selfe, hee is held to be more Noble, then all the Kings and Princes in the world. So that they are perswaded, that al other things whatsoever which are in Man, are nothing els but Fortune, and meere presumption of the wealthy and proud.

Against whom also, there are diuers and contrary opinions. For, wise *Plutarch* affirmeth, that the calumny is false, which vniust Sophisters haue imposed on Nobility. For they will admit no other kind of prooffe, euen in things which are notorious and apparant to euerie eye: Albeit, to haue a good race of Houndes or Horses, they will seeke after the goodliest and worthiest. Likewise, they striue to haue the best seeds for their grounds, to produce the rarest plants and Hearbes: and yet (like Sots as they are) they dare maintaine, that Nobility by blood, is nothing auailable to following succession, because the Originall came from the barbarous, or descended of the Ciuilized French; not crediting, that in the Generation of Children, the Fathers do distribute vnto them, some seeds and principles of Naturall vertue.

Aristotle repelleth their opinion, and standing on much sounder termes; speaketh against them in this manner; *That which Euripides teacheth* (saith hee) *is not true, to wit; That the honest minded man is only Noble, and not he that descendeth of an ancient race, and is borne of generous Parents: Because that in the definition of Nobility, the valour & Vertue of our Elders are comprehended, Nobility it selfe being nothing else, but a certain Vertue of that Generation, which being lawdable of it selfe, ought to be followed with great affection.* Wherefore, he is worthy of praise & commendation; that employeth all his endeuor and diligence, to acquire the noblenesse of Generation; to the end, that afterward, worthy and valiant men may be deriued from him. So that at all times, and as often as the Originall of such generation, finds it selfe to bee commendable, it ought iustly to be tearmed Noble. For, such a beginning, beareth in it selfe both a naturall power and vertue, to beget and produce many other answereable, and like vnto it selfe. Therefore, when such a man is met withall in any nation, as is of such worth, that he can extend and spread his vertue to many succeeding Ages: his descendants and off-spring will be naturally generous, and of the best and manliest manners.

Con-

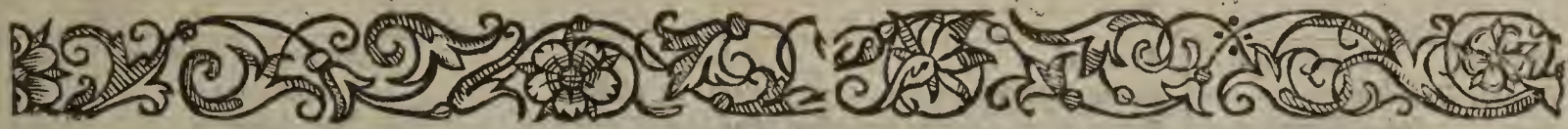
Contrarywise, he that is bad & wickedly bred, doth commonly beget as lewd and bad children: according to whom (beside his euill examples) they will deriue from him the like wicked habitude. And therefore the Proverb was not vndoubtedly spoken: *Of a bad Crow, coms as bad an Eg.* By this reason I hold, that all those whom we behold to be plunged in the gulfe of vices, and make mischief their chiefeft commendation, although they be neuer so great Lordes, they are but meere vsurpers of Nobility, being no way descended of Noblemen, but rather of *Cham*, and haue nothing else but the bare name of Nobilitie. Whereas on the contrary, they that are noted no way to degenerat from the vertue of their ancestors, but truly haue followed them, euen from Father to Son (as we commonlie vse to say) are said to be of noble stem & stock, and descended of the posteritie of *Sem*. Hence it ensueth, that in the world there are many men, Noble, Magnanimous, valiant, and like vnto their famous progenitors: among whom, you hold the place and ranke of a most worthy, honourable, and vertuous Lord, imitating so directly the tracts of your predecessors, that you may well be said, to be Nobility and vertue it selfe. If it were needfull, to come to the Antiquity of Nobilitie, by the Fathers side, you are descended of the house of *Vrse*, many whereof, haue held the very goodliest Estates and dignities in this Kingdome, and all by their most signale merits of vertue. What shall I say, concerning the pietie of your great Grandfather, *M. Peter D'Vrse*, Great Maister of the Hostie, The Churches & Monasteries builded by him, doe make sufficient testimony of his deuout zeale. What shall I say of your Grandfather, *M. Claudius D'Vrse*, Knight of the Order, Gouvernor to *Messieurs les enfans de France*, Ambassador for the King to his Holynesse, & a curious obseruer of Antiquities? Your house by him builded, the Statues of Marble, and so great number of Medalles, which he caused to be brought from *Rome*, do amply speake, how great a friend and loue he was of Vertue. As for your Father *M. Iaques D'Vrse*, Knight of the Kings Order, Captain of fifty men of Armes, Bayliffe of the Forrests, and Gouvernor of the said Country. The memory of his vertuous deportments is so fresh and recent, as it would appeare superfluous further to remember them.

By the Mothers side, who knoweth not, that you are deriued of the illustrious house of *Sauoy*, allied to the bloud-royall of *France*? But as touching your perfecti-
 ons, I would haue the whol world to know it, that you are one of the very best Poets in *France*, as more then 100. choise Sonnets can testify, which you haue pleased to shew me. A matter redounding to your no mean honor, in not hauing atained to 18. years of age, when you made them: you are (beside) enriched with so happy a memory, that you haue (*ad vngue*) all the Poetical fictions, with an absolut exposition of the, as wel in *Ouids Metamorphosis*, *Homers Iliads*, as also diuers other authors.

Now in recompence of the gracious communication of your Poems, & for the seruice I iustly owe ye, I dedicate this Book to you, collected out of many Authors, *Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, &c.* from whom I haue traduced most singuler things, appertaining to the seueral intention of each Chapter, hoping to continue them on, till they compleat the number of 30. Bookes. Receiue then this former Volume, with like loue and good wil, as I salute your graces with my humble recommendations, praying God to send your Honor a long and a happy life.

From Montbrison this 11. of March.

Your humble Seruant
 Anthony du Verdier.



A Table of the Authors Names, mentioned
in this Booke.

A.
S. Augustine.
Aristotle.
Anselme.
Adon Episc. Vienna
Auenzoar.
Anlus Gellius.
Auicenne.
Ambrose.
Auerroes.
Athanasius.
Amianus Marcellinus.
Anthonius Sabellicus.
Archytas Tarentinus.
Anthoninus.
Annales Constantinop.
Antoninus Syl.
Aeneas Syluius.
Athenaus.
Aristophanes.
Ælianus.
Emilius Victor.
Alexander Alexandrinus.
Albertus Magnus.
Alphonsus King of Spaine.
Attalus.
Adrianus.
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Acamathius.
Alphraganus.
Amenius.
Accurtius.
Azzo.
Alexander Trallianus.
Ateius Capito.
Asconius Padianus.
Appianus Alexandrinus.
Archilochus.
Arnoldus Forornus.
Arrianus.
Ætius.
Amatus.
Aristarchus.
Ælius Lampridius.
Alexander Aphrodisens.
Aristhenes.
Emilius Macer.
Antonius Archb. of Florence.
Anaximander.
Albertus Crantzius.
Alexander Guaguinus.
Anaximenes.
Appianus.
Abbas Siculus.
Almadactus Arab.
Apuleius.
Augurellus.
Anthenor.

Actuarius.
B
Biblia Sacra.
B. Westmerus.
S. Basile.
Blondus.
Baptist. Ignatius.
Baptist. Fulgosus.
Budeus.
Belkonius.
Bedinnus.
Bosius.
Baronius.
S. Bernard.
Bartholus.
Baldus.
Bachi. Anchisus.
Berosus.
Bucholcerus.
Bonfinus.
Beroaldus.
Bœtius.
Balthazar Castilanois.
Bœtius Seuerinus.
Bartholomæus Picens.
C
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Cœlius Rhodiginus.
Cornelius Agrippa.
Cornelius Tacitus.
Clandian.
Claudius Victor.
Columella.
Clemens.
Concil. Tolletanum.
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Charles de Molin.
Constantinus Casar.
Calmasathens.
Cheremon.
Chronerus Pol.
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Cœdrenus.
Cardanus.
Corunus.
Crantzius.
Censorinus.
Clem. Alexandrinus.
Chrisippus.
Cratinus.
Cresippus Alexandrinus.
Colophonius.
Count Balthazar.
Cœlius Calcagninus.
D
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Dionysius Areopagita.
Dionysius Ribellus.

Diodorus Siculus.
Don Pedro. Episc. Leon.
Diodorus.
Dion.
Demosthenes.
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Demetrius Episc. Alexandria.
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Dicitus Creiensis.
Dues Phrygius.
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Donatus.
Dionysius Cassianus.
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Eustachius.
Eginus.
Elpaporas.
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Episcopus Tyriensis.
Eunnius.
P. Ereb. de Reb. Ind.
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Euclide.
Epicurus.
Euaus.
Epiphanius.
Estien Pasquier.
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Francisc. Philelphus.
Functius.
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Garcias d'Orta.
Grego. Turonensis.

Galerus.
Gratianus.
Gloreanus.
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Gyraldus.
Guidonius.
Guhel. Malmesbury.
Guicciardine.
Gesner.
Guydo Bonatus.
Genebrardus.
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Gregorius Giraldus.
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Gregory Rech.
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Harmes Trismegist.
Hecacleon.
Hermolaus Barb.
Hermocrates.
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Herodianus.
S. Hillary.
Hostiensis.
Himibaldus.
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Holinshead.
I.
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Iulius Solinus Polyhist.
Iosephus.
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Iohannes Lodonicus Vines.
Iohannes Alexandrinus.
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Iulius Firmicus.
Ioannes de Mons Royalis.
Iohann.

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Ioannes Driodonus
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I. Capgrane
Ioannes Mathias Tiberinus
Ioannes Vascus
Ioannes Saxonius
Ioan. Magnus. Archiep. Vspal.
Iuvenal John Functus
Ioan Annius
Ioan Monachus
Ireneus
Iornandus, or Iordanus.
Iacques Bosius
Ioannes Damascenus
Ioan Stow Ingulphus.
Ioannes Baptista Egnatius
Ioan de Maulmont
Iamblicus
Iaques de Maguntia
Ioan Boccace
Ioachimus Vadianus
Ioel. Med. Alexand.
Ioubert Gal.
Ioannes Camertes Ignatius
Ioannes Carion
Ioannes Causacuzenus
Ioannes Fernelius
Isaac Iudaicus
Iouianus Pontanus
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Iacob. Faber.
L
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Lucane Leo Hebraico
Lodonicus Coelius
Lucretius
Leo Sophist. Lysius.
Labeo Antistius
Lateranus. Linus
Lucius Florus
Laurentius Suxius
Lopez de Castagneda
Lucas Marinus Siculus
Lampridius Leirus
Lodonicus Vines
Lazarus de Baif
Lodonicus Valentinus
Leo Papa Lucas de Tuy
Leonardus Camillus
Lucian
M
Macrobius
Moses Bar. Cepha
Marcus Varro
Marsilius Phicinus
Martinus
Martianus Capellus
Mathew Palmerus
Marcus Manilius
Marcus Paulus
Metasthenes
Mathew Paris
Messala Angurinus
Melancthon
M. Beroaldus Moses
Manethon Maspeus
M. Scotus Machabes

Martial
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Munster. Martin du Bellay
Marcus Valerius
Mercurius Trismegistus
Monsieur de Villamont
Mathiolus
Mouns. Guillaume de Paris
Marcus Damascenus
Museus
Merlin
Machiael
Monsieur de la noue
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Messire Angelo Catho
Mercurius Gallo Belgicus
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Nicander
Nicephorus
Nichol. Monardus
Nicholaus Rasseus
Nigidius Figulus
Nicetas Choniates
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Nicholaus de Cusa
Nicholaus Myrepsic.
O.
Ouid.
Orosius.
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Olradius
Olaus Magnus
Olaus Archiepisc. Vspalensis
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Pomponius Mela
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Polybius
Paulus Orosius
Plutarke
Proculius
Petrus Comestor.
Petr. Crinitus
Plato
Paul. Aegnetes
Porphyrius
Philippides
Pythagoras
Platina
Propertius
Ptolomeus
Pausanias
Philostratus
Pius 2. Papa
Pomponius Latus
Paul. Iouius
Persens
Pontanus
Petr. Gellius
Petr. de Aliacus
Pedro Mexio

Polydor. Virgil.
Pedro de Albano
Policrates
Pegasus
Proculus, or Proclus
Paul. Emilius
Pontin. Verunnius
Paul. Diaconus
Procopius
Phillip de Comines
Plataerius
Pererius
Probus
Palemon
Pindarus
Plinie secundus
Petrarch
Paulinus de Nola
Pomp. Lenus Libers.
Plautus
Piduxius
Philostratus
Poggins
Phlegonius Grec.
Popinius
Q.
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Quintilian.
Quintus Septimius
R.
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Ruffinus
Raphael Volateranus
Rutius
Roger Houeden
Requino Chron.
Rabbie Heli
Rabbie Isaack
Rodericus Toletanus
Rondeletius
Renclin
Rabelais.
S.
Symonides
Suet. Tranquillus
Seruius
Suidas
Sabellicus
Seneca
Sirabo
Spartianus
Surius
Socrates
Seruius
Salust
Solinus
Sigonius
Sethius
Serapio
Sextus Aurelius
Saxo Grammaticus
Sicur de Pybrac.
Sextus Pompeius
Stobus
Schonerus
Serenus
Sigismond de Herbestein
Symmachus Scaliger

Symonides Melicus
Sauanarola
Spartianus
Sextus Aurelius Victor
Stoeflerus
Sylvius Italicus
Sinesius
Sammonicus Serenus
Singtonius
T
Thomas Aquinas
Thales Milesius
Trogus Pompeius
Theodorus Gaza
Timocrates
Tithalmanus
Tranquillus
Theuetus
Titus Livius
Tertullian
Theodoret
Theophrastus
Tudartus
Theod. Bibliander
Thucydides
Tritemius
Io. Tilius
Theophanes
Terentius
Theodorus
Trebellius Pollio
Themistius
Thomas More
Theodoret Episc. Cyprian
Tarcognita Historia Mundi.
V
Varro
Venerable Beda
Vegetius
Valerius Flaccus
Valer. Maximus
Volateran
Virgilius
Vincentius
Vlpianus
Voxistus
Victor
Vitruius
Valentinus Barrucobius
W.
Westernerus
Wernerus
William of Malmesbury
Z
Zenophon
Zenocrates
Zarmanochegas
Zonaras.



THE Treasurie of Auncient and Moderne Times,

CONTAINING,
The learned Collections, Iudicious Readings, and Memorable Observations : Not only Divine, Morall, and Philosophicall ; but also, Politicall, Martiall, Historicall, Astrologicall, &c. Of that worthy Spanish Gentleman, PEDRO MEXIO : Likewise of that Honorable French-man, ANTHONY DV VERDIER, Lord of Vauprinaz, &c.

The First Booke.

Of God.

CHAP. I.



Sicut AVEV-
STINE expoun-
ding that saying
of DAVID, Dix-
it inspiens in corde
suo, Non est Deus ;
The foole hath said
in his heart, There

is no God : doeth most evidently declare, that there is not a more miserable conditiō on the earth, then that of Atheists. For there is no Nation so barbarous, but it beleeuēs that there is some Diuinitie ; or holds opinion, that there must needs be an Essence of a first efficient cause, the producer of all things else whatsoeuer ; because the vertue of the

God-head hath such powerful efficacie, that it very manifestly declares it selfe, to al such as haue the least taste of Reason. Aristotle writes, That all thinges, as well superiour as inferiour, were at the first well ordained, and are still much better gouerned, by the opinion and iudgement of one onely, than of many together : because it is very necessarie, that by and from that sole-beginning, all things should bee continued, ordered, & disposed. And heereupon was it, that Cicero and Varro made a meere mockery at the plurality of Gods. Damascene, considering with himselfe, how the whole World was so well ordered and ruled ; saide : It was impossible, that things so contrarie and dissemblable, could alwaies consort and agree together, but by the gouernment of one onely Commander.

Neuerthelesse, wee behold so much contrariety & dissimilitude in this world (as of Heat to cold, Light to darknesse, each of these contending for particular

Arist. in 10. 12. Metaph.

Cicero & Varro mocked the pluralitie of Gods.

Damascene his prooffe of one only Ruler.

The diuersity of contents in things naturally.

B Re-

Psalme 53. 1.

The wretched condition of Atheists

Regiment) as no vnitie or concordance in them can be expected, but darknesse wold continuallie haue the vpper hand, and neuer yeild any admittance to light: whereas we now perceiue, that the one in equality ensueth the other, by course or compasse more infallible then a clock, consonant to the times & seasons so well appointed by God. Heat also wold alwaies repulse the Cold, and rule in an ouer violent extremity, beyond the abilitie of any sufferance: whereby we may gather, the vrgent necessitie, that there should be one alone, by whose command they ought to bee directed, and constrained to keepe that equalitie, which he hath assigned them.

Moreouer, it is the propertie of God, to be perfect in all things; All Iust, Almighty, al Mercifull, nothing being any way opposite or contrary vnto him. So that if there should bee many Gods, it must then ensue as an especiall *Maxime*, that they must needs be all alike, or different in their powers. If they be all alike, or equall, why then they can be but al as one: for dissimilitude maketh the diuersity of things onely. For this cause, is Iesus Christ all one with God his Father, being wholly equall and like vnto him. But if there wer many Gods, dissemblable or differing in their equality; it is apparant that they could not be iustly called Goddes, if there bee any imperfection in one, more then is in the other. For, he that is absolute & most perfect, must needs be God, in regard that there is no imperfection found in him; and then, the other (being impotent, or imperfect) cannot bee tearmed Gods, but must needs submit their vtmost power, to the others perfect priuiledge. It is necessary therefore, that there should be but one God only, as (in very truth) there is no more then one; who is easie enough to be knowne by his Workes and effects, as the sole beginning of all things: and yet notwithstanding hath no beginning or ending. He created all thinges of nothing; he is inuisible, and cannot be any way seene in his essence, according as Saint Paul saith; *Quem nullus hominum vidit, sed nec videre potest: Whom neuer man saw, neither can see.*

Saint Iohn, in the first Chapter of his Gospell saith; *Deum nemo vidit vnquam, vnigenitus Filius, qui est in sinu Patris; ipse*

enarravit, no man hath seen God at any time, the onely begotten Sonne, which is in the bosome of his Father, he hath declared him. And Iesus Christ is the Image of the inuisible God, because God the Father (as Chrysostome saith,) *Hath no forme, quality, or any body.* And if he be all in all, and by all, why then it is most certaine, that hee can communicate himselfe and appeare to the sight of men (according to his owne pleasure) by any thing subiect to him, without any imitation of himselfe. But if wee speake of the Sacred Scriptures, we shall finde there mention to be made of head, lips, mouth, armes, feete, eyes, eares, and other members of God; yet are not these things to be carnally vnderstood, and according to the killing Letter, as some Iddiot ignorant people are drawn to beleue, who do imagine, that God (in his Nature) is like vnto man, that he is seated on high in heauen vpon a Royall seate, and in a certaine place, somewhat answerable to the saying of Esay; *Cælum sedes mea, terra autem scabellum pedum meorum, The Heauen is my Throne, and the Earth is my foot-stoole.* And as the same Prophet speaketh in another place, *Vidi Dominum sedentem super solium excelsum & eleuatum, I saw the Lorde sitting vpon an high throne, and lifted vp.* No, no, these things are otherwise to be vnderstood, and his high Maiesty comprehended figuratiuely, and according to the quickning spirit.

If any man (saith holy Anselme) doe beleue that God hath human members and motions, or perturbations of soule, as wee haue; assuredly, hee doth but forge meere Idols in his heart. And therefore, wee are to knowe, that such phrase and manner of Language in the sacred Scriptures, is properly vsed, to make our rude and dull vnderstanding, the more apprehensue of the vnspeakeable Maiesty and greatnesse of the Lord and Father of all Worlds. For, he being inuisible, and yet willing to manifest himselfe vnto his people, doth accomodate his presence to men, by an Analogie of such things as are most frequent and familiar to them. For example, when it is said, *That God speaketh in vs;* It is to be vnderstood, that hee is discovered, manifested and reuealed in our hearts. Or, when God speaketh; that is, his inspiring (into

The necessity of one onely commander ouer al things

The absolute perfection of God in all things whatsoeuer.

Iesus Christ is all one with God his Father.

A note worthy obseruation.

God is easly knowne by his Workes.

God is inuisible.

1. Tim. 6, 16.
Iohn 1, 18.

Chrysost. in Damas. 1. Cap.

Origē. Periarch. Lib. 2. Cap. 7.
Anselm. in Lib. de memb. Dei.

Esay 66, 1.

Esay 6, 1.

Anselm. 2. bi supra.
Psalme 84, 5.

See the explanation of Fran. Geor. of all the members of God, in his Hermonic Cant. 3. Tom. 6. Cap. 3

Damas. in Lib. 1. Cap. 14.

Numb. 11, 23.

Luke 1, 65.

Exod. 14, 31.

Jerem. 20, 10. Efa. 12, 14, 31 Prouer. 4, 12 Marke 14, 46.

S. August. de Ciuit. Dei. lib. 12. Cap. 23.

Exo. 33, 10, 23

Anselme vpon the same place. Psal. 9, 20, 38. Hebr. 10, 14. Psal. 117, 12.

The significacion of the members, attributed to God in holy scripture.

Deut. 33, 3. Ieremy 52, 7.

Exod. 8, 19.

Luke 11, 20.

(into the spirits of the iust) his wil, or reuealing vnto them succeeding things, as he did vnto the holy Prophets. The hand of the Lord (in sacred writ) plainly signifyeth his might, power, and assistance; as God answered Moses, saying; *The hand of the Lord, is it shortned?* And S. Luke speaking of Saint John Baptist, saith; *The hand of the Lord was with him;* that is to say, his power and helpe. Sometimes the hand of God is taken for his vengeance, as in Exodus, *Et viderunt Egyptios mortuos super littus maris, & manum magnam quam exercuerat Dominus contra eos; And Israell saw the Egyptians dead on the Sea bank, and the great hand which the lord had shewed vpon them.*

The right hand of God, that is, the Son of God, otherwise called the glory of his Father; the euerlasting blessednesse, or, euery creature exalted vp to heauen, and on earth: euen as by Gods left hand, the Reprobate Creatures are vnderstoode; as the Deuill, the wicked and peruerse. The face of God, that is, the inuisible essence of the Godhead of his Sonne; whereof God speaking to Moses by his Angel, saide; *Non poteris videre faciem meam, non enim videbit homo, & viuet; Thou canst not looke vpon my face, for there shal no man see me, and liue.* And a little after, *Videbis posteriora mea, facie autem meam videre non poteris. Thou shalt see my backe parts, but my face shal not be seene.* As if he would haue said, Thou shalt see mine incarnation in the latter dayes, but my God-head or Diuinity thou canst not see.

The feete of God, doe signifie the incarnation of his sonne, being subiected to the God-head, as are the feete to the head. For as by the heade the Diuinity is vnderstood; euen so, by the feet is the humanity expressed. Sometimes by Gods feet, the holy Preachers and Doctors of the Church, are signified, of whom it is writte in Deuteronomy. *Qui appropinquant pedibus eius, accipient doctrinam illius, They that come neere his feet, shall receiue his Doctrine.* By the finger of God (in the singuler number) the Holy-Ghost is figured, according to that place in Exodus; *Et dixerunt malefici ad Pharaonem; Digitus Dei est hic; Then saide the Enchanters vnto Pharaoh; This is the Finger of GOD.* And IESVS CHRIST himselfe, in Saint Luke, saith; *Si in digito*

Dei eijcio Dæmonia? &c. If by the Finger of God I cast out Deuils? &c. In like manner is it of the other Corporall partes and mouings of the spirit, attributed to God, which euermore are to be interpreted spiritually; as S. Iohn Damascene very well declareth in these wordes. *Multa igitur quæ ad Deum spectant tenui quadam & obscura cognitione percipiuntur commode, & proprie nequeunt efferi. Itaque loquentes de ijs quæ supra nos sunt, cogimur vti verbis nobis congruentibus. Ex quo fit vt Deo & somnũ & iram, & securitatem, & manus, & pedes, & alia eiusmodi tribuamus.* There are many thinges which concerne God, that in signification doe carrie an obscure construction, and cannot properly be deliuered. Wherefore, in speaking of those which are aboue vs, we strue to vse apt and congruent wordes to our capacity; whereby ensueth, that sleepe, anger, ease, hands, feete, and other such like, may seeme to be ascribed vnto God.

The wrath or anger of GOD, is not any disquiet or perturbation of his Soule, but (according to Saint Augustine.) *It is a Iudgement, whereby the sin of anger is punished.* For when it is saide in Genesis; *Pœnituit eum quod hominem fecisset in terra; The Lord repented that he had made Man in the Earth:* It is not to be vnderstood, that God repented himselfe as a Man dooth, for any thing displeasing him: for iudgement of all thinges is to bee fully defined, as the fore-knowledge of them is sure and certaine. And the sacred Scriptures in vsing such wordes, doe not yet impleie any such signification. For when the Word Diuine (Iesus Christ himselfe) spake to his Apostles, and likewise to the Pharisees; his speech was many times by Parables, and making comparison of heauenlie thinges, euen by such as were most familiarlie knowne vpon Earth. Whereupon we reade, that one while (in the Gospell) he calls himselfe a Treasure, another time a Shepheard; sometime a Lambe, then againe a Lyon; in one place a Light, in another, a Vine, a Rocke, the Way, &c. And for as much, as there is great difference betweene him and vs, therefore it is verie necessarie, that he should be vnderstood of Men by some especiall Accident; that is to say, by the meanes of reason and such knowledge, as they are best able

Damas. in 1. & 2. Cap. de fide Orthodox.

S. August. de Ciuit. Dei. Lib. 9. Cap. 7.

Gene. 6. 6.

God is not said to repent or be sorry, after the manner of men.

How Christ spake to his Apottles, and the Pharisees.

Origen, contra Cels. Lib. 6.

able to comprehend. And these thinges (saith Origen) are figuratiuely spoken, to the end, that the Names vsuall, accustomed and conuenable to the bodie, may intellectu- ally signifie their right Nature: Euen no o- therwise, then when sins are said to be wood, Hay, and Rubbish. In which wordes we doe not affirme, that delicts and offen- ces haue any reall body: no more then vertues haue, although they be tearmed by better names; as Golde, Siluer, and precious itones.

God is not li- mited or con- fined to any prescribed place, but where him- selfe best li- keth to be.

The Eternall Father of Heauen then dooth neuer goe in any knowne way, neyther walkes or wanders; hee neuer sleepe, or rayseth himselfe from slum- bering, but continueth alwayes in his place, or where his minde best liketh to be. He cannot be touched, or seene; yet he clearly seeth and vnderstandeth all thinges: not with any Corporeall eyes or eares, but by absolute power, which cannot sufficientlie be expressed. He beholdes and knowes all actions in this World, nothing euer being, or can bee hidden from him: yet notwithstan- ding, hee neuer moueth himselfe, or can be mooued by any power, neyther can bee comprized or contained in a- ny place; no, not within the whole circumference of the wide World, be- cause he was before the Worldes were formed, as much as to say; as from all Eternitie. He hath no neede of Name, or of any thing else, for (as Trismegi- stus saith;) God is one, and one hath no need of any Name.

Dionys. Arcopag in Lib. nom. Di- uin.

God hath no Name.

The reason of Gods name.

Gregor. in Thcol Orat. de die Nat. de Christ.

God then hath no Name, because he is onely and alone, nor is there any vse (with vs) of any propper vocable, but onely for peculiar difference from the multitude, to the end, that each person may be distinguished by his apt appel- lation. But because that GOD is euer- more one and alone; his true Name is GOD, which in-effable Name in He- brew, consisteth in one Word, compo- sed of foure Letters, יהוה I E H O V A H, of which descendeth the Verbe היה, H A I A H, Fuit, which is as much to say; as He was, is, & shall be, and which abso- lutely declarerh his true propertie, for God hath beene alwayes, and shall bee eternally. Aeternitas enim nec tempus est, nec vllatemporis pars: For Eternitie is not time, neyther any part of time. And

almost all Nations and Languages, doe especiallie write and pronounce the Word (whereby the Name of GOD is specified) with Foure Letters, which is a number euen and perfect, because he hath no imperfection in him.

All Nations write & pro- nounce the Name of God with foure Letters.

Beside our prooffe already made of the Hebrewes; The Persians doe write the Name of God with Foure Letters, oueh; The Wizards of Persia oueh; The Arabes, Alla; The Assyrians, Adad; The Egyptians, θωδθ, or θευς; The Graeci- ans, θεος από θεειν, à currendo, of run- ning; Quod ubique dum opus sit accurrat, ad sit, opemque ferat; siue ab vrendo, quod improbos habitus comburat, quando, ex ea re & ignis consumens dicitur. That euerie where (while neede requireth) he runneth, is there present, and giueth helpe: Or else of burning, that he will burne the dwelling of the wicked, when he is saide to be a consu- ming fire to them.

B. Westbmer in plvas. diuin. Script.

So doth Gregorie the Great, (called the Diuine) interpret it in his second Prayer to the Sonne. Or whether it be of the Verbe θεωτοι, as much to say, as to contemplate. The Latines breaking the Greeke word, in stead of θεος, say De- us; The French-men, Dieu; The Spani- ards, Dios; The Italians, Idio; The Dutch, Gott; The English and Scots, Godd; with a double Letter d, as hath been obserued in Antiquitie. There are some likewise, that doe yeelde another reason, and say; that the Name of God is contained in Foure Letters, to de- monstrate thereby, that it is hee who hath made and formed all thinges, that they are composed of Foure Elements, and that hee made also the Foure Ele- ments themselves, which doe rule ouer all thinges created in this World. But Moyses asking of God, by what Name he would be called; God gaue him this answere: Ego sum, qui sum; I am that I am, I am he that is: the Hebrewes say, Ero qui ero, expressing thereby his Na- ture, that hee is Eternall, without any ending; as if they would say (speaking in his person) I am truelie hee that is, and with me there is no change or alte- ration. Then sending Moyses to the He- brewes, to be their Guide, Prince, and Conductor, hee commaunded him to tell them: that He which is, or I am, hath sent me vnto you. Now because wee are

The differēce of Godsname in varietie of writing it.

A reason de- rived from the making of the foure Ele- ments.

Exod. 3, 14.

With GOD there is no mutation or change, but alwaies one.

Exod. 3. 14.

are not able (of our selues) to comprehend him, or to attaine vnto the intire knowledge of him, in regard of the imbecillity of our frail vnderstanding: we finde in the Scriptures many Epithets and appellations, answerable to the manifold effects of his power, rule, and diuinitie.

He is called α and ω , *Alpha* and *Omega*, which are the first and last Letters of the Greeke Alphabet: because hee is both the beginning and the end, and yet there is neyther beginning nor ending in him. His Epithets are, *Almightie, Strong, Great, Incomprehensible, Vncircumscribde, Vnchangeable, Truth, Holie of Holies, King of Kings, Most powerfull, wonderfull*; and diuers other beside. Some haue thus defined him. *GOD is a Spirit, holie and true, of whom onely and cheefly proceede the beginning, the action and moouing of all thinges that are: To whom, and to the Glory of whom, the end and conclusion of all thinges are referred.* Cicero (so well as hee could) defined him in manner following. *Deus mens est quaedam soluta & libera, segregata ab omni concretionem mortali, omnia sentiens & mouens, ipsaque praeclata motu sempiterno. God is a certaine intelligence, or Spirit, free and ready, separated from all Mortall mixture or concretion, knowing, and moouing all thinges, and hauing in himselfe an eternall motion.*

Holy *Iustine Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Tryphon the Jew*, defines God in this order. *I call Him God, that hath Essence of himselfe, and is continually permanent in one and the same kind, without receiuing any change, and hath giuen both beginning and forme to all thinges created.* *PHILEMON* (as the same *Martyr* declareth) describes him verie breefely thus;

What thing is God? Truly, him God I call; That (being vnseene,) is he that seeth all.

All which Definitions, and many more beside, can giue vs no true knowledge of the Essence of *GOD*, because it is wholly *Incomprehensible*. Therefore he cannot be truly described or defined, as very learnedly the Philosopher *Symonides* answered. For he being demanded by *Hierom*, What God was; and hauing a whole dayes respite

graunted him to returne his answer; when that time would not serue him, but three dayes more were allowed him; at last, when he came to make his reply to the question, he said; *The more I strue to consider what God is, the more difficult I finde the matter to be.* The Philosophers say, that definition may wholly specify the proportion of a thing; or his kinde, quality, difference, or some peculiar Accident: all which seuerall thinges are not to bee found in God, which is the reason, that he cannot bee defined or comprehended. Wherefore I will conclude this point with Saint *Augustines* opinion; *solus Deus est altissimus, quo altius nihil est: Onely GOD is most High, aboue whom there is nothing higher.* And in another place; *Quid est Deus? est id quod nulla attingit opinio. What is God? It is that which no opinion can reach vnto.*

CHAP. II.

Of the works which God created in six daies, and what day the Angels were created; with diuers other high and speciall matters, worthy our knowledge.



IN the beginning *GOD* created Heauen & earth, and when the Earth could not appeare or bee discerned, (being couered with an huge profound darkenesse, because that darkenesse was vpon the deepes; that is to say, vpon some confusion, not distinguished from the Earth and the Water, and the Spirit would walke vpon that *Chaos* aboue the Waters; to wit, vpon the Earth, which was hidden vnderneath them:) *GOD* commaunded Light to bee made, and when the Light was cleare, he diuided this bright splendour from the darknes; naming the one, *Day*; and the other, *Night*: The beginning of the *Day*, *Morning*; and the beginning of the *Night*, *Euening*. All this was done the first day, which *Moses* tearmeth to

The diuers Epithets and appellations of God in Scripture.

Definitions of God written by diuers.

Cicero in Tuscul. 1.

Lactan Lib. 2. Cap. 5.

Iustin. Mart. in Dial. cont. Tryph.

Philemon in definit. De. & c.

God cannot truly be defined.

Symonides the Philosopher, his answer concerning God.

S. August. in Lib. de mor. Eccl.

Aug. Lib. 7. d. Qu. 1. Nov. 7. vii. I. esem.

The creation of the World Genesis 1.

The workes created the first day.

The second day.

be one day. On the second day, he placed the Firmament of heauen, aboue all other things of this worlde, and fundering it from the rest, seated it alone by it selfe, as in a particular ranke or limit: & roofing it round about with congealed yce, tempered it sufficiently with a moist and watry Nature, to the end, that the earth might be duely watered.

The third day

The third day, hauing commaunded the Waters into their meet abyding, he caused the dry Land to shew it selfe, enquirting (as in a Girdle) all the Earth with the Seas: and the very same Day, the Plants (with their Seedes) came foorth of the Earth.

The fourth day.

The fourth day, he fixed two great Lampes or Lights in the Firmament of Heauen: the one exceeding in greatnesse, to gouerne the Day; and the other somewhat lesse, to rule the Night: these were the Sun and Moone.

The fift day.

Then did hee also spangle it with Starres, by whose influences, and hidden Vertues, he commanded that the reuolutions and seasons of the yeare should be obserued. The fift day, hee sent Creatures abroad, both to flye and swimme: the Fowles aloft in the Aire, and the Fishes beneath in the Waters; vniting them seuerally by a desirous instinct, to meere and company together, onely for the propagation of encrease, and multiplying in their seperate kinds.

The sixth day.

The sixth day, he created the foure-footed beasts, Male and Female, tame and wilde. The same day also hee formed Man, which day is called, the tenth of the Calends of Aprill.

Adon in his Chronicle.

For, it was necessary (saith Adon Arch-Bishop of Vienna) that the second Adam, sleeping in a viuisyng death, onely for the saluation of Men: should sanctifie his spouse the Church, by those Sacraments that were deriued out of his side, euen vpon the self-same day, not onely of the Week, but also of the month, wherein he had created Adam our first Father, & (out of one of his sides) had brought foorth Eua his wife; to the end (that by her helpe) mankind might be encreased.

An especiall note, woorth Obseruation.

How the world is called by the Grecians.

Behold, how the Father of all Eternity created this World, and made it of visible matter, and which (in regarde of the beautie and adornment) is so called by the Greekes, *κόσμος* that is to say; *Fayre, or Beautifull*. Man he made by the Workemanship of his owne hands, not onely to liue and enjoy the goods of the

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earth; but for a more especial and principall end, to wit; that hee might bee known and magnified of him. This creation of al things, was fully perfected in six dayes, for the compleate perfection of the number sixe, not that anie such length of time was needfull to GOD, or that hee could not haue created all things together, as he did (in this space) by conuenable moouings, according as

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Salomon (in his *Ecclesiasticus*) saith he did. *Qui viuunt in aeternum, creauit omnia simul. He that liueth for euer, created all things together.* Whereunto *Saint Basil, Saint Augustine, Saint Dionisius, S. Ambrose, Bede* and *Cassiodorus* do consent, saying: *That God created, or brought forth al things together.*

30

Peter Lombard, fir-named Maister of the Sentences, in the second distinction of his second Booke, by Authoritie deriued from *Ecclesiasticus*, maketh this exposition. *The bodily Nature and matter of the foure Elementes, was created with the spirituall creature, that is to say; with the soule, and with the Angels, who were created together.* To maintain this, he brings in the iudgement of *S. Augustine*, vppon this place of *Genesis*, saying; *That by Heauen and earth, ought to be vnderstoode, the Spirituall and Corporeall Nature, which was created at the beginning, to wit, of time.*

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Heer you may note then, how the scriptures are to be cōprehended, & they to be sought into generally ouer, without instance vpon any curious wresting. In another place of the same Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, it is saide, *Prior omnium creata est Sapientia: Wisedome hath bin created before all things.* Yet heereby is not to be vnderstood, either God, or his son, who is the Wisedome of the Father. For, God was not created at all; the Sonne was begotten, & therefore neither made or created: and all the holye Trinity is but one Wisedome, which hath not bene made, created, or begotten, but proceeding.

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Iesus the Sonne of *Syrach*, hee vnderstandeth by this Wisedome wherof we speake, the Angellicall Nature, often termed in the Scriptures, *Life, Wisedome, and Light*: for the Angels are called, & saide to bee vnderstanding. And albeit they were created so soone as *Heauen* and *Time*, yet are they neuerthelesse, said to be first created, by reason of their order

The perfection of the number sixe.

Ecclesi. 18, 1.

Consent of the Fathers.

Pet. Lombard. in Lib. 2. Dist. 2.

August. sup. Genes. ad lit.

Eccles. 1, 4.

Iesus the Son of Sirach, concerning the Angellicall nature.

and dignitie, being (indeede) most worthy Creatures. Nor were these Angelicall powers created for any neede, or necessitie that God had of them: but to the end, that he might be contemplated, praised, and that his liberalitie should be more aboundantly knowne.

But why then is it written, that God created all thinges together, seeing in the beginning of Genesis, it is saide; that God produced these bodily substances, by pauses and diuersity of daies? Dionisius Ribellus, a religious Monke, hath heereunto made a very profound answer; whose very wordes therefore I was the more willing to set downe, that the learned and curious (in so high questions) might be satisfied. *Omnia hæc simul creata sunt, vel materialiter, seu quantum ad eorum materiam, vel exemplariter, vel in genere, vel similitudine. De isto enim sunt tres opiniones, vno dicentium; quod omnia vno instante à Deo producta & condita sunt in materijs & substantialibus formis suis: & formatio sequens intelligatur quantum ad formas accidentales. Omnia inquam, id est omnes principales partes mundi, scilicet corpora cælestia & elementa. Alia opinio est dicentium, quod Cælum empyreum cum Angelis, factum sit cum informi materia corporalium rerum, & postea in opere sex dierum, materia illa distincta sit per formas substantiales: sic tamen, quod fuit informis, id est, generali forma corporeitatis actuata. Tertia est, quod omnia simul producta sint, cum primis indiuiduis specierum perfecta in substantialibus et accidentalibus formis, & sex dies sint vnus dies sex rerum distinctionibus representatus: quæ opinio subtilior & naturalirationi consonantior reputatur. Sed aliæ duæ videntur scripturæ Geneseos amplius concordare. Nam & glossa hic ait: Rerum substantia simul est creata, sed non simul per species est formata: & simul existit per substantiam materiam, non simul apparuit per substantiam formam.*

All these thinges are said to be created together, eyther Materially, in regard of their quantity of matter; or Exemplarily, eyther in kinde or likeness. Of these there are three opinions; one saying, that all thinges (in one instant) were by God brought forth, and builded in their materiall and substantiall formes, and the formation of them is to be vnderstood, according to accidental shape or fashion. I say all, that is, all the principall

partes of the World; to wit, Celestiall, and Elementall bodies. Another opinion saith, that the highest Heauen with the Angels, were made bodily thinges of indigested matter, and afterward, in sixe dayes labour or worke, that matter was distinctly made into substantiall formes: but yet so, that the indigested matter, beeing before in generall forme, receiued speedie and bodily shape. The third is, that all thinges were created together, in their first vndiuided kindes, perfected in substantiall and accidentall formes, and sixe dayes were but one day, distinctly representing sixe seuerall thinges. Which opinion, to more subtile and naturall reason is accounted consonant. But the other two doe more fully and amply concord with the Scripture of Genesis. For the Glosse it selfe saith; The substance of thinges were created together, but not formed together in their seuerall kinds: and together they were digested by substance of matter, but yet appeared not together in substantiall forme.

Moreouer, after Moyses (in his first Chapter of Genesis) hath declared, what thinges were created on each of the sixe dayes: Wherefore, then in the second Chapter of the same Booke, doth hee speake but of one day onely, by way of Epilogue (as it were) to all that he had distinctly described before? Saying, *Iste sunt generationes cæli & terræ, quando creata sunt, in die quo fecit Deus cælum & terram.* These are the Generations of the Heauen and the Earth, when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the Earth and the Heauens. Seemes he not (in these words) to maintaine a great contradiction? If all thinges were made in sixe dayes, how can it be saide then, in one day onely? Heereunto I answer, that in this place, we must not take the dayes according as they denoate the distinction of Times, for God (as I saide before) had not any neede of time: but by reason of the workes of perfection, which is signified and compleated by the number of six, which first is accomplished in his partes. And therefore, the reason of the number is not to bee misprized, as being of any slender dignitie. For Auenzoar the Babylonian saith; That he which knowes to number well, knoweth directly all thinges. And it was not spoken in vaine, but to the praises of God; *Omnia in mensura & numero, & pondere disposuisti.* Thou hast ordered all thinges in measure,

The answer to a very serious objection

Dionis. Ribellus in Lib. de creat. Mund Chap. 2.

Wherefore Moyses nameth one day onlie after the other sixe.

Genesis 2. 4.

The answer to the difficult question.

The perfection of the number of sixe.

Philo. in Lib. de oper. Dei. Auenzoar.

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Wisd. 11. 17.
Ecclesi. 7, 2.

measure, waight, and number. And it is saide in Ecclesiasticus, *Arena maris, & pluvie guttas, & dies seculi quis dinumeravit? Altitudinem caeli, & latitudinem terra, & profundum abyssi quis dimensus est? Who can number the sands of the sea, & the drops of the raine, and the dates of the world? who can number the heighth of Heaven, the bredth of the earth, and the deapth? But onely the Workeman of them, and the all-ruling wisdom. He (saith David) knowes the number of the Starres, and calleth every one of them by his name. And as it is said of S. Iohn, He knowes the number of all the haire on the head.*

Of the seaventh day.

Wherefore God sanctified the seaventh day.

Of the Iewes Sabbath.

Of the Christians Sabbath.

Gregor. Nazian. de perfect. num. sept.

How the number of seaven is framed.

Leuit. 26, 18.

Concerning the seaventh day, which is also among the *Hebrewes* a name of perfection, and by them much celebrated: God reposed himselfe from all his workes, and sanctified it. Not as if hee were weary, or ouer-spent with trauell; but because he ceased from making any other new Creature, hauing already created whatsoeuer he would, and the nature and formes whereof, had neuer beene before. For this reason also, the *Iewes* doe take truce with their labours, on such a day as they tearme their Sabbath, calling it by an *Hebrew* Word, which signifieth rest. Instead whereof, we that are Christians, doe solemnize Sunday, which is the first of the Sabbaths, and the eight day, because that our Saviour *Iesus Christ*, Sonne of the euer-living *GOD*, arose againe from the dead vpon the like day. The *Hebrewes* held in great honour the *Septenarie* number, because of the Sabbath, and it hath beene an especiall religious Mystery: the praise and renowne whereof, *Gregorie Nazianzene*, a Greek Author, discourseth in an Oration that he made of *Pente-cost*. *Aulus Gellius*, and *Macrobius*, haue also at large described the efficacy thereof. *Chalcidius* saith, that the *Pythagorians* commended this number, as the most naturall, absolute, and perfect.

The number of Three is the first imperfect number: the number of Foure is two whole paires, and of these two is the number of Seuen composed. And for this reason, it is often taken and vsed for vniuersall and infinite. Wee read, that God saith in *Leuiticus*: *Addam correptiones vestras septuplum propter peccata vestra: I will punish you seaven times more,*

according to your sinnes. And the Royall Psalmist saith; *Eloquia Domini, aloquia casta, argentum igne examinatum, probatum terra, purgatum septuplum.* The words of the Lord are pure wordes, as the Silver tryed in a Furnace of Earth, and which is fined seven fold. And we haue the like in many places of Scripture.

10 There are also great Mysteries for Christian Religion, contained in this Septenarie number, wherby the whole perfection of the Church is signified. Herevpon was it, that Saint *Iohn* wrote to the Seuen Churches of *Asia*; declaring (by this meanes) that hee writ to the flowing fulnesse of one onely. The Wise-man in the *Proverbs* saith: *Sapientia edificauit sibi domum, excidit columnas septem. Wisedome hath built her house, and set Seuen Pillars vnder to support it.* 20 There are Seuen gifts or gracious workings of the Holy-Ghost, whereof the Prophet *Esay* in diuers places maketh mention. God also betooke himselfe to rest the Seuenth day; but yet wee must not thereby vnderstand, that God had done any actuall labour in his working: for he onely but spake, and it was done; yea, by an Eternall Word, and not a Temporall. But the rest of God, 30 doth (indeede) signifie the rest of them that rest in God: euen as the ioy of the House, implyeth nothing else, but the ioy of them that doe, or are to reioyce in the house; neuerthelesse, it is not the House onely that makes them ioyfull, but some especiall matter thereby presupposed. This is then the manner of speeche, when we would signifie or expresse the thing contained, by the matter which containeth, and by the efficient, that which is already done. For when *Moyse* saide, that *GOD* rested or reposed himselfe: very conuenably is vnderstood thereby, the repose and quiet of them that rest in him, because he onely is the cause of their rest.

Now we must and do confesse (concerning the Angels) that there is no expresse mention made, in what order the Angels were created. But Saint *Augustine* saith; *That if they had not beene omitted, they had beene signified or expressed, eyther by the Name of Heaven, or by the Name of Light.* Albeit then, that he hath not plainly declared in *Genesis*, that the Angels were created by God, nor vpon what

Psalme 12, 6.

Mysteries for Christian Religion in the number of Seuen.

Apoç, 1, 4.

Proverb, 9, 2.

Cell. Rodigin. de nume. sept. Lib. de aut. lect. cap. 4.

Origén. cont. cell. Lib. 6. What is signified by the rest of God.

Of the creation of the Angels.

August. sup. Genes. ad lit.

Dan. 3, 57, 58
59.

Psalme 148, 1

The Angels
were not cre-
ated after all
other things.

Iob. 38, 7.

August. sup. Ge-
nes. lib. 7. cap. 21

The Angels
created when
the light was.

Rupert. in Lib.
Oper. Sanct. Sp.
Cap. 2.

what day: yet notwithstanding, the ho-ly Writings doe (else-where) giue sufficient testimony of them. We reade in *Daniel*, how the three Children in the fierie Furnace, extolling the workes of GOD in the excellent Song they sung, doe name the Angels to be Creatures of the Lord. For they beginne; *Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino, laudate & superexaltate eum in secula. All ye workes of the Lord, blesse ye the Lord, praise him, and exalt him aboue all thinges for euer.* Next followeth; *Ye Heauens,* and then, *ye Angels, blesse ye the Lord, &c.* And *Dauid* in the 148. *Psalme*, saith: *Laudate eum omnes Angeli eius, &c. Praise him all yee his Angels.*

To say that the Angels were created after all those other thinges, which are reckoned to be made in the sixe dayes, were an absurdity most intollerable. For God saith in *Iob*: *Cum me laudarent astra matutina, & iubilarent omnes filij Dei*: which wordes are thus translated, and very significantly; *When the Starres of the morning praised me, all mine Angels, or the Sonnes of God, extolled mee with a loud voyce.* And the Starres were made the fourth day, but yet the same Saint *Augustine* is of this opinion: *That the Angels and incorruptible Soules, were created the first day, and that the Soule of Adam was created before his Bodie, like as the Angels were, and afterward diuinely infused.* For when God said; *Let there be Light, and there was Light*: the Creation of the Angels is vnderstood in that Light, and without all question to the contrary, they were and are, made partakers of the Light Eternall, which is the selfesame vchangeable Wisedome of God, and the Word Diuine, by which, all other thinges were made. So doth *Rupertus* expound that place, in his Booke of the workes of the Holie-Ghost, saying, *Videtur nonnullis Lucem tunc esse factam, non aliam quam aeris illustrationem: sed melius magni & nominatissimi patres intellexerunt naturam Angelicam lucis nomine significatam. Nec pro similitudine, sed pro re vera Angelica creatura dicta est Lux.* There was then no Light at all scene to bee made, norie other then the Ayres illustration: But great and many worthy Fathers haue better vnderstood it, that the Name of Light signified the Angelicall Nature. Not for any similitude, but for a certaine

truth, that when Light was commanded, the Angels were created.

And when it is saide; *That God separated the Light from the Darknesse*, by that diuision is likewise vnderstood, the dreadfull and terrible Iudgment of God against the Deuill; Because that from whence the Light came, thence also descended the Darknesse; to wit, the euil Angels: who were created good in nature, but they would not continue in that excellent puritie. And therefore, of bright shining Angels of Light, thorough their own sinne, they were made blacke Deuils of Darknesse.

Darknesse vnderstood by the Deuil and his Angels.

CHAP. III.

Of the good Angels, and of their Orders and Offices.



Having discoursed in the precedent Chapter, of the Creation of the Angels; I hold it now very meete and requisite, to set down in this succeeding Chapter, a brefe, but necessary obseruation, concerning the diuision which the *Thalmudists* haue made of them; as also vwhat *Dionysius Areopagita*, and other Christian Authors, haue written of the Angels, who are the Ministers, Messengers, Ambassadors, and Legats of God, for vvhich reason they are named in Greek *Αγγελοι*. They are vwithout bodies, or composition of matter, Corporeally impassible, but not in spirit: for the Scripture saith, that they glad or reioyce themselues, greue themselues, loue, and feare. They are altogether good by Creation and Substance; and some haue beene made euill by Election; and therefore, are separated from them that continue good still. But my purpose is, to discourse (in this place) of the Good Angels onely, and of the Celestiall Hierarchie, vvhich consisteth of nine seuerall Orders of Angels.

Of the first Order, are *חַיִּיִּת הַקֹּדֶשׁ* CHAIOTH HACODES: vvhom the *Thalmudistes* doe entitle to be those Angels, by vvhom God giueth life. Of the second, *אֲרַפְיִם* OPHANIM; vvhome they

The diuision of the Angels, according to the *Thalmudistes*, &c.

Dionys. Areopag in Lib. de Hierarch. celest.

Nine Orders of Angels

The first Order of Angels.

The second Order.

The third Order.	they constitute to bee those Angels, by whom God diuided or dispersed the	the Mystery, and as best may be conceiued by him, to whom such a liberall	
The fourth Order.	Chaos. The third, אַרְלִים ARALIM; They are they, by whom the Name of GOD is conioyned or formed	grace is granted. As in elder times they appeared in the forme of a Wheele, of Beastes, of a Man hauing Wings, of young men, of Sheepheards, and such like Figures. Sometimes also, GOD	God makes his wil known by the voyce of his Angels, without any visible sight of them.
The fifth Order.	חַיְהוּוָה HAI EHOVA, and by them God distributeth fluxible matter. The fourth	makes vs to vnderstand his will, onelic by the voice of his Angels, without any visible sight of them: as appeared by	Gene. 21, 18, 19.
The sixth Order.	אֲשֵׁרִים H A C E M A L I M: They are those Angels, by whom God formeth and shapeth bodies. The fifth Order,	Hagar, who onely but heard the Angel speaking from Heauen to her, shewing her the water, and fore-telling the manners and actions of the Infant <i>Ismael</i> . In the like manner, <i>Abraham</i> onely heard the Angel speake vnto him, letting him	Gen. 22, 1, 2, 3
The seventh Order.	שֵׁרָפִים S E R A P H I M, by whom GOD appointeth and sendeth forth the Elements. Of the sixth Order, are	vnderstand the will of God, and yet hee sawe him not. By the like inuisible meanes, the Prophet <i>Habbacuk</i> (enstructed by the voyce of an Angel) was carried in the ayre by the haire of his head, and set vpon the Denne wherein <i>Daniel</i>	Dan. 14, 34.
The eighth Order.	מַלְאָכִים M E L A C H I M; By these Angels, God ordereth and produceth Mettals. The seventh, are	vnto young <i>Samuel</i> , foretelling him the death of the High-Priest <i>Heli</i> , and his Children.	1 Sam. 3, 11.
The ninth Order.	אֱלֹהִים E L O H I M: These are those Angels, by whom God bringeth forth Hearbes, Rootes, Plants, and all vegetables. Of the eight degree, are	Without voyce also or speaking, the Angels do deliuer the pleasure of God, as many times in Dreames, and other manner beside. For our Soules beeing Spirits, and the Angels Spirits also, they haue no neede of any Instrument or Corporal Organe, whereby to communicate together whatsoever GOD hath commaunded, the spirituall proportion (onely) being sufficient to performe it. God likewise doth (otherwhiles) enstruct vs in his will, by visions and apparitions: as when God (by a Vision) caused <i>Abraham</i> to come forth of his House, to the end, that he might behold the Heauens, and count the number of the Starres; which only was but to shew him, how hee would encrease and multiply his Seede. By the Vision of the flaming Bush, <i>Moses</i> apprehended the admirable secrets of vnreuealed matters. By the Vision of the Wheelles and Beastes, <i>Ezechiel</i> fore-tolde many things to happen. Saint <i>Peter</i> , by the Vision of the vncleane Beasts, had a reuelation, not to refuse trauaile for saluation of the <i>Gentiles</i> . And Saint <i>Paul</i> , by the Man of <i>Macedonia</i> , which (during the night time) hee beheld in a Vision, had	The Angels doe declare the will of God, without voyce.
The diuision of the Celestiall Hierarchie by the Schoole-men, into three Classes, and nine Orders.	בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים B E N E E L O H I M: by this Order of Angels, God disposeth all kindes of Beasts and Animals. The ninth and last, are	the death of the High-Priest <i>Heli</i> , and his Children.	God reuealeth his wil by Visions.
Esay 6, 9, 12. Ezech. 6, 14. Psalme 28, 3, and 79, 7. Colof. 1, 8.	The Diuines and Schoole-men, doe diuide the Celestiall Hierarchie of Angels, into three Classes or Companies, and nine seuerall Orders. The first, second, and third Orders, are of the first Classe or ranke. Of the first Order, are the <i>Seraphims</i> , who are the very neereft vnto GOD; according as mention is made of them in the sixt Chapter of <i>Esay</i> . The second, are the <i>Cherubims</i> , as in the same place of <i>Esay</i> , <i>Ezechiel</i> the 6. <i>Psalme</i> 28. 79. The third, the Thrones, as Saint <i>Paule</i> in the first to the <i>Colossians</i> . The fourth, fifth, and sixth Orders, are of the second Classe. Of the fourth order, are the Dominations: Of the fifth, the Principalities; and of the sixth, the Powers. The seventh, eighth, and ninth Orders, doe appertaine to the third Classe. Of the seventh, are the Vertues: Of the eighth, the Arch-angels; And of the ninth, the Angels.	the death of the High-Priest <i>Heli</i> , and his Children.	Genesis 15, 5.
Of the first & second Classe	The Orders of the first and second Classe, are for the contemplation and disposition of those things, which the others are to act and put in effect. They of the third Classe, their Office onely is Action and Execution. These good Angels, doe often and many times giue fauour, ayde, and assistance to men inuisibly; And sometimes do appeare vnto them, in such forme, as is fitting to	the death of the High-Priest <i>Heli</i> , and his Children.	Exod. 3, 2.
Of the third Classe.	The Orders of the first and second Classe, are for the contemplation and disposition of those things, which the others are to act and put in effect. They of the third Classe, their Office onely is Action and Execution. These good Angels, doe often and many times giue fauour, ayde, and assistance to men inuisibly; And sometimes do appeare vnto them, in such forme, as is fitting to	the death of the High-Priest <i>Heli</i> , and his Children.	Ezech. 10, 8, 9
The Angels doe inuisibly help men, and doe appeare vnto them in diuers formes	The Orders of the first and second Classe, are for the contemplation and disposition of those things, which the others are to act and put in effect. They of the third Classe, their Office onely is Action and Execution. These good Angels, doe often and many times giue fauour, ayde, and assistance to men inuisibly; And sometimes do appeare vnto them, in such forme, as is fitting to	the death of the High-Priest <i>Heli</i> , and his Children.	Actes 10, 12.
	The Orders of the first and second Classe, are for the contemplation and disposition of those things, which the others are to act and put in effect. They of the third Classe, their Office onely is Action and Execution. These good Angels, doe often and many times giue fauour, ayde, and assistance to men inuisibly; And sometimes do appeare vnto them, in such forme, as is fitting to	the death of the High-Priest <i>Heli</i> , and his Children.	Actes 16, 9.

2. Macha. 15, 12.

Visions haue not bene reuealed to all men,

Math. 24, 30, 31.

had certain assurance, that God had called him to Preach the Gospell in Macedonia. Judas Machabeus in like sort, expounding his Vision, whereby God had reuealed vnto him, the Prayers which Onias the deceased High-priest in his life time had made; armed all his people, with hope in God, to win the victory against Nicanor.

And yet let me tell you, that Visions haue not bene reuealed to all men, as indifferently, or without especial respect; but onely to holy persons elected of God, according as the Psalmist saith; God in a Vision hath spokē to his Saints, And all this hath been done by the Ministry of his Good Angels. And of those elect Vessels it is written; Videbunt filium hominis venientē in nubibus Cæli, cum virtute multa & maiestate. Et mittet Angelos suos cum tuba & voce magna: & congregabunt electos eius à quatuor ventis à summis cælorum vsq; ad terminos eorum. They shall see the Sonne of man come in the clouds, with power & great glory. And he shall send his Angels with a great sound of a Trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect, from the foure Windes, and from the one ende of Heauen to the other. Then, as it followeth, when he commeth in his Glorie, and all his holy Angels beeing with him: he shall sit vpon the Throne of his Maiesty, to iudge the liuing and the dead, and shall separate the good from the euill. The one shall haue life eternall, and enioy this Theory in endlesse contemplation of God: and the other shall be thereof depriued, and depart into Hels perpetuall torments.

CHAP. IIII.

Of this Earthlie, or Terrestriall Paradise, and of the foure Floodes thereto belonging.



MOYSES, proceeding on in his History of Genesis, from the originall beginning and birth of all things, saith; That GOD planted a Paradise in EDEN towards the East, and there placed Man whom he had formed before. He caused also to grow out of

Gene. 2, 8, 9.

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the ground, all kind of Trees, both pleasing to the eye, and good to feed on, beside the Tree of Life. But the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill, that he had appointed to grow in the midst of this Paradise. This word Paradise, is a Greeke word, descending neuerthelesse from the Hebrew Language, or much rather of the Persian or Chaldean, which calleth it PARDES, the Name whereof is vsed in certaine places of Scripture, and is as much to say; as A Garden of delights, an Orchard or place of pleasure, wherein nothing is wanting, to recreate the eye. Of this Name, Aulus Gellius writeth thus. Vinaria que nunc vulgus dicit, sunt quos Greci παράδεισος appellant; That which the vulgar tearme the haunt of wilde Beastes, is that which the Grecians call Paradise.

The holy Scriptures doe also denote by this Name, the Seate or habitation of the blessed; according as is expressed in Saint Luke. Et dixit illi Iesus, Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in Paradiso. And Iesus said vnto him: verily I say vnto thee, to day thou shalt bee with mee in Paradise. The Apostle Saint Paul learned the very same Title, in his writing to the Corinthians, by these wordes. Scio hominem in Christo (sive in corpore sive extracorpore nescio: Deus scit) raptum huiusmodi vsque ad tertium cælum. Raptus est in Paradisum, &c. I know such a man (whether in the body or out of the bodie, I cannot tell, GOD knoweth) which was taken vp into the third Heauen. How that he was taken vp into Paradise, and heard wordes which cannot be spoken, which are not possible for man to utter. And in the Apocalypse. Vincenti, dabo edere de ligno vite, quod est in Paradiso Dei mei: To him that ouer-commeth, will I giue to eate of the Tree of Life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.

Moreouer, that which in the Latine Interpretation, is saide to be Paradisum voluptatis, the selfesame holy Scripture speaks it thus in Hebrew, GANBEEDEN, which is so much to say; as The Garden in Eden; which the seauenty Interpreters haue translated; παράδεισος ἐδέσση, Garden in Eden. The Chaldean Version is the selfe-same, whereby it plainly appeareth, that Eden is the proper name of the place where GOD (at first) had planted the Garden of delights: Not by taking the Grafts or Plants (saith Rupert) from

παράδεισος Lib. 2. Cap. 20

Luke 23, 43. 2 Cor. 12, 4. Apoc. 2, 7.

Eden is a Region of Syria, known to the people of god from the time of the Prophets.

Luke 23, 43.

2 Cor. 12, 3, 5

Apoc. 2, 7.

Rupert sup. Genes. Chap. 37. Gene. 2, 20.

Rupert ubi supra.

from any other place: but (by the power of his Commaundement) made them there first of all to sprout and blossome out of the Earth.

This Garden is watered by a Spring or Riuer, which at the breaking from his maine head, doth diuide it selfe into foure seuerall spreadings, or extensions, and so do make foure great current waters or floods. One of these branching Armes, or wide swift Channels, is called פישון *Physon*, which is as much to say; as *Multitude*, or *Many*. And of the *Grecians* it is named *Ganges*, receiuing nineteene Riuers into the Lap thereof, and it enuironeth the Country of *India*, which *Moyse* calleth *Euilath*, in regard of *Euila*, the Sonne of *Iectan*, and so dischargeth it selfe into the Sea. Gold is saide there to create it selfe (as it were) likewise *Bdelion*, and the *Onix* stone. The Name of the second Flood or Riuer, is נון which in Greeke is called *ρεω*, *Geon*, or *Gihon*; otherwise tearmed *Nilus*. This Riuer watereth all *Aethyopia*, it batheth all *Egypt*, and afterward shoots it selfe into the *Mediterranean* Sea. The third Flood, is הנהל *Hidechel*, otherwise *Tygris*, by Interpretation; and it carries that name, onely in regard of his swift passage, streame, or current: For they of *Medea*, doe giue the selfe-same Title to an Arrow. It is otherwise also called, *Diglath*; and passing along by a part of the *Parthians*, it enters into *Assyria*, and *Mesopotamia*, and afterward buries it selfe in the Red-Sea, which *Iaques Phillip of Bergamo*, holds to bee scarcely true. The fourth Flood, is היא פרת *Hu*, *Euphrates* by Interpretation, which *Iosephus* calleth *Phora*, that is to say; *Dispersion*, or *fructifying*. It glides betweene *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, bedewing the Countries of the *Armenians*, *Cappadocians*, *Syrians*, *Arabians*, and *Chaldeans*, and seeking there to finish his race, shuts it selfe vp in the *Persian* Sea, and not in the Red Sea; as *Quintus Curtius*, *Herodotus*, and *Dyodorus*, haue imagined.

There are three seuerall opinions concerning this Paradise, deliuered by *Saint Augustine*, in his learned labour vpon *Genesis*. The first, doe vnderstand Paradise to be Spirituall onely. The second, hold it to be Corporall. And the third, suppose it to consist of both; And yet these Doctours cannot agree in the scituation or certaine being of this Pa-

radise. *Saint Augustine* (consenting with *Iosephus*) will haue it to bee in the East. Thereunto also, venerable *Bede* giues his allowance, adding moreouer; That it is round engirt with the Ocean Sea, seperated from the other parts of the World, and scituated vpon a Mountaine, whereon no man is able to goe, and so high (withall) that it toucheth the verie circle of the moon, and whereunto the Waters of the Deluge could neuer reach or come nesre. *Auicen*, *Polybius*, and *Eratoſthenes*, are of another minde from *Beda*: for they suppose this Terrestriall Paradise, to bee vnder the Equinoctiall, in a more temperate Region then any other. But this is contrary to the censure (almost) of all our elder Writers, who doe hold, that vnder the way of the Suns passage, there neuer was any habitation. For the Equinoctiall cuts the *Zona torrida*, euen through the middest, and toucheth the Zodiaque in two points; to wit, in the two Signes of *Aries* and *Libra*, where very good temperature is saide to be, the day being equally twelue houres all the whole year in light, and as many houres also of darknesse. Now they that take Paradise to be in the East, doe not farre differ from this opinion: because the Equinoctiall circle hath both his East and West degrees.

There are some, who by the flaming or burning Sword, doe vnderstand the fierie Zoane of Heauen and Earth, euen there where the lightning breaks forth, & kindles the Thunder. Some Doctours say, that the exceeding temperature which is in this place, dooth cause such continual welfare and health, that who-soeuer happens to come there, can neuer dye: and therefore it is saide, that *Henoch* and *Helias* are yet liuing there. The certaine place of this Terrestriall Paradise, cannot be truly gathered out of the holie Scriptures; albeit the *Septuagint* or seuen Interpreters, haue commonly traduced it to be in *EDEN*, and on the East-side. Other Speculatifes, do affirme it to be in *Syria*, but *Iohannes Scotus* is none of that number, who saith; that in what place soeuer it is scituate, it may be saide to be in the East. *Quilibet enim punctus in terra, potest intelligi esse ad orientem, in comparatione ad caelum, vel respectu diuersorum situum terra, praeterquam respectu duorum polorum; qui sunt immo-*

The Riuer in Eden, diuided into foure streames or Currents.

Of the largesse of Ganges, See Solynus Cap. 65.

Pomp. Meli. lib. 3. Cap. 7. Lucan. Lib. 3.

De Nil. vid. Lucan. Lib. 10.

Solynus cap. 45

De Tygris, vide Iosephus. Lib. 1. de Antiquit. Cap. 1.

Hugo. de S. Vi-Elor. excerpt. Lib. 3. Cap. 6. Jul. Solyn. Cap. 50. Plin. Lib. 6. cap. 77. Iaqu. Phil. de Berg. in Chron. Euphrates, vide Lucan. Lib. 3. Jul. Solyn. Cap. 50. Pet. Oliter in Scho. sup. Solyn.

S. August. in lib sup. Genes. Three opinions concerning Paradise

Tho. Aquinas. Lib. 2. de sent. Dist. 17. Ven. Bed. Lib. 2

Ioseph. Antiqui. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

Auicen. Polybim. Eratoſthenes.

All ancient Writers differing in this matter.

Of the flaming sword.

S. August. in Dial ad Paul. Oref. Beda ubi supra.

Thom. Aquinas in loco praedict.

Strabo. Lib. 2. Caelius Rodigin. Lib. 1. Cap. 22.

Iohan Scotus. sup. 2. Lib. de senten. Dist. 17. Quest. 2.

immobiles. In what soeuer place of the Earth it is, it may be vnderstood to be in the East, in estimation or regard of the Heauens, or respect of the Earths diuers scituations, beside the view of the two Poles, which are immoueable. Saint Ambrose saith; How can we describe the scituation of Paradise, which we haue neuer scene? And if we could see it, yet should we (neuerthelesse) be restrained from revealing it to others.

The things then that concerne this Garden of delights and happinesse, doe out-stretch the sense & capacity of men. Wherefore Franciscus Georgius saith; That Moyses the wise describer thereof, hath but lightly gone ouer the report of such important matters, and yet vnder Metaphors too, tending alwaies to an analogicall sense: Considering, that this Garden, not Terrestriall (as the vulgar doe imagine) but rather Diuine and Heauenly, was planted by the Diuine and heauenly Worke-man, not in this perishable Earth, but in the Land of the liuing, figured by the Land of Promise. And this is the reason, that such as would willingly discouer somewhat, concerning the secrets hidden vnder the Veile of the holy History, haue wholly referred (whatsoeuer can be said of Paradise) to thinges of easier apprehension, and conuerted the fruitfull trees thereof, into good manners of Life, and call it the Paradise of the Soule, wherein alvertues should haue the surest plantation.

By the East (where they suppose it to bee scituated) they vnderstand the most resplendishing Wisedome, perfectlie cleare, and truelie Orientall. And look how the Sunne (being risen) discouers all his bright beames vpon the heauens; in like manner, haue the vertues such shining beames, as they doe thereby penetrate into the Soule, and make it of a most glorious luster. This Paradise may likewise represent, or designe, the life of the blessed; or else the Church. And the foure Riuers flowing thence, bee compared to those foure royall vertues: Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, and Iustice: Or else the four Gospels; or the foure Elements. The Trees may signifie all profitable disciplines, or the liues of the Saints, their super-excelling fruites, with the holy Manners and religious Workes of the good and vertuous. The Tree of Life planted in the midst; the

Saint of all Saints, our LORD IESVS CHRIST: And the Tree of knowing good from euill, the experience gotten by the first transgression, or the Riches of mans free will before his Fall.

In breece, there is no one that can deny, but this Paradise may (Allegorically) be transferred vnto spirituall occasions; as the two Testaments was figured in two Children, which Abraham had: by his Hand-maid Hagar, the one, and by Sara his Wife the other. As Iesus Christ was signified and described, by the Stone and Rocke which Moyses smote, from whence the truth of holie Scripture (like the Water) issued forth. Philo the Jew, and many more beside him, haue conuerted the whole Narration of this Paradise, into a spirituall vnderstanding, referung (neuerthelesse) the verity of the Historiall discourse in his bodily Carracter. For the holie Doctours, doe hold by a common consent, that this Paradise hath been made in some certaine place of the World, and was planted with all kinde of flourishing and fruitfull Trees. And it appeareth, that Homer tooke the shape of the Garden of Alcinous, by some former description made of Paradise, and it may bee truely gathered; that his excellent representation thereof, hee borrowed from Moyses, in his setting downe the order of the Garden of Paradise. Euen as Ouid hath done the like, when he describeth the Golden time or age of Saturne, when the Earth did then bring forth all her rich encrease, without any labour bestowed thereon. Why then this Terrestriall Paradise may truly be said to be vpon earth, and it behooueth vs to credit the truth of that holy History, which is so much and often recommended vnto vs, by so faithfull a rehearsal, of all things that were done in elder times.

CHAP. V.

Of the difference betweene the Celestiall Kingdome, and that of Paradise: Taken out of the iudgement of Moyses Bar-Cepha.

There is a great difference and contrariety, betweene the Kingdome Cele-

Paradise spiritually vnderstood, and interpreted.

1 Cor. 10, 19.

Exod. 17, 6.

Philo Iudaic in Lib. de Alleg. Leg. 1. Lib. or. Origen. Ambrose. Ierom. sup. Dan. Damas. Lib. 2. Cap. 21.

Homer Odyss. 7.

Ouid. Metamor. Lib. 2.

S. Ambrose in Lib. de Paradi. & in Epist. Sabin. 42.

Fran. Georg. in Hiermo. Cant. 1. Tom. 7. Cap. 21.

Philo Iudaic. in Lib. de Plant. de Noa.

What construction hath bin made of Paradise.

S. Ambrose in Lib. de Paradi. & in Epist. ad Sabin. 42.

Philo Iudaic. 1. Lib. de Allegor. Leg.

Read *Moyſes Bar-Cepha* the Syrian, in his Commentary written of Paradise.

celestial, & the forenamed pleasant place of Paradise. For the Kingdom Celestiall is much about the Firmament of Heauen, & Paradise is vnder the Firmament, vpon Earth. Therefore the Realme or Kingdome Celestiall must needs bee Spirituall, and Paradise appertaineth to the Body and the minde. Moreouer, the pleasures of the Celestiall Kingdome, doe consist in the visible beholding of God, and eternall beatitude receiued with the glorious Angels: But the delights of Paradise onely doe concerne, the sight of pleasant desireable Trees, their enticing fruits, as also the great & admired floods, which continually water and bedew it.

The Celestiall Kingdome no Mortall eye hath at any time seene. 1. Cor. 2. 7.

Furthermore, the Celestiall Kingdome hath neuer beene seene by any Mortall eye, nor heard by any eare, or euer entred into the heart of Man, according as the Apostle Saint *Paul* plainly telleth vs: But Paradise hath beene visible to *ADAM*, and *EVE* his Wife, euen to their very bodily eies; it was vnderstood by their eares, and comprehended in their euident knowledge. Beyond all this, they are both seuerally distinguished, not onely in the Law, but likewise in the Gospell. In the Law, the holy Father *Moyſes*, in the Booke which we vse to call *Genesis*, as much to say; as the Birth of all things, maketh mention of Paradise; and there hath described it by notes and markes: but hee hath not spoken so much as one word, concerning the Realme Celestiall of the Kingdome of Heauen. In the Gospell, our Lord and Maister *Iesus Christ*, as also his Disciples, and Saint *John Baptist*, in their Sermons and Preachings, haue exhorted all Mortals to repentance; because the Kingdome of Heauen was at hand: but they neuer saide, that Paradise was at hand.

Of the Law & the Gospell, distinguishing both Paradise and the Celestiall Kingdome.

The main and principall difference betweene them.

Finally, there is this difference more betweene them; that after the Resurrection, the Iust shall ascend vp into the Celestiall Kingdome, and there enioy vnspeakeable felicities, according to the true and faithful promise of God himselfe. But no man (after the Resurrection) shall enter into this Paradise, which must remaine voyd of all Inhabitants.

The learned Fathers distinguishing this Argument.

To conclude this point, all learned Doctours doe assure vs, that the Kingdome Celestiall (or of Heauen) and this

Terrestriall Paradise, are two seuerall distinct things. And among those learned Fathers, there is one named *John*, whom *Moyſes Bar-Cepha* (for his honor) dooth name in his Oration, because of his worthy writing, concerning the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill: And likewise vpon those words, which *Christ* spake to the good *Theefe*, saying; *This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*. And another also, called *Seuerus*, in his two and twentieth Oration of *Epi-thronius*.

CHAP. VI.

Of Hell, and of the Fire that is said to burne there continually.



THE word *Hell*, is taken in holy Scripture by diuers significations. In Hebrew it is called *שְׁאוֹל* *SCHOOL*, which is as much to say, as a Graue or Sepulcher. Sometimes likewise it is taken for the dead, by a figure termed *Metonymia*: Also for death it selfe, as the Prophet *Dauid* saith in his 18. Psalm; *Dolores inferni circundederunt me: praoccupauerunt me laquei mortis; The sorrowes of the Graue haue compassed me about, the snares of death ouertooke me*. In the New-Testament, by the Gates of Hell, the power of death is vnderstood, which (by the meanes of sinne) are bent continually against vs. Moreouer, *Hell* is signified (in those blessed Bookes) to be the estate or condition of them, that haue incurred iudgement of the Diuine displeasure, which bringeth with it the true death; according as it is spoken by *Iesus Christ* himselfe, speaking to the city of *Capernaum*: *Vsque ad infernū demergeris: Thou shalt be thrust downe, euen to Hell*. Also of the wicked Rich man, who lifting vp his eyes (when hee was in the torments of Hell) saw *Abraham* a farre off, and *Lazarus* in his bosome. To speak yet more of the New Testament, which containeth the Mysteries of the Olde; *Hell* is there likewise vnderstood, to be the reward and receptacle of the wicked: and Paradise, and the bosome of *Abraham*, for the happy habitation of the

Of the Word *Hell*, taken in many significations in holy Scripture.

Psalme 18, 5.

Math. 16, 18.

Luke 10, 15.

Luke 16, 23.

Of Paradise, and *Abraham*s bosome.

the Saints and iust persons, after they haue put off their corruptible bodyes, and are cloathed with their eternal condition.

The graue compared to the estate of the damned.

Job 10, 21, 22

And not without great reason, is the Graue compared to the deplorable estate of the miserable and damned. For what thinges else are to bee found in Graues, but Death, darknesse, and noysome fauours, answerable to that which Job saith. *Antequam uadam, & non reuertar, ad terram tenebrosam, & opertam mortis caligine. Terram miserie et tenebrarum, ubi umbra mortis, & nullus ordo, sed sempiternus horror inhabitans.* Before I goe, and shall not returne, euen to the Land of darknesse it selfe, and into the shadow of Death. Into a Land (I say) darke as darknesse it selfe, and into the shadow of death, where is no order, but the Light is there as darknesse, and there eternall horror dwelleth. Such (in like manner) is the quality of the Reprobate, when God hath denounced the iudgement of condemnation against them: for then they are seized on by Death and endlesse darknesse.

The estate of the reprobate.

Hierom. sup. Ionas Cap. 2.

Hierom. sup. Ezech. Cap. 14.

Aug. sup. Genes. Lib. 12.

Some are of the minde, that Hell is in the middle part of the Earth, and 3245 Miles vnder the vpper part thereof. And the learned say, that it is vnder the Earth, by interpretation of the Name, which is plurally spoken *Inferi*, as beeing in the inferiour partes of the Earth. It is called *Gehenna*, which is as much to say; as, *Fire of the Earth, or the Land of Fire*: For yⁿ in Greeke, is Earth, or Land of Fire, whereof our Fire is said to be but a meere shadow. God himselfe is sometimes tearmed in Scripture to be Fire; as in *Zacharie*, and *Deuteronomy*: *GOD is a Fire, deuouring or consuming*; Yet he neither consumeth or destroyeth his Friends: but he is said to eate them; as much to say, that he receiteth, and turneth them into himselfe. And it is *Plutarchs* opinion, *That God is a Spirit fiery, or of fire, not hauing any forme, but transforming into himselfe what soeuer he pleaseth, equalling himselfe to all things, and all thinges to him.* Which he doth, not by the Elementary fire, but by himselfe, or by the Seraphicall enflaming, which is something neere to this diuine Fire. But he punisheth the wicked with a very strict Fire, full of torments, but neuer shining or consuming: And hence is it, that such as are afflicted and tor-

Plutarch in Moral. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

That God is said to be a Spirit of Fire.

mented with this fire, are said to bee in vtter darknesse.

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We must needes confesse then, that the wicked are tormented by Fire, by testimony of the truth it selfe, euen Iesus Christ, saying; *Omnis arbor qua non facit fructum bonum, excidetur, & ignem mittetur.* Every Tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewen downe, and cast into the Fire. Nay, it is further added, that it shall bee burned, with the Fire which God hath prepared for the Deuill and his Angels. This Fire did God neuer ordaine for our damage or destruction, neyther shall any one bee therewith tormented, except his own finnes doe kindle and light the Fire. As wee may learne by the Oracle of *Esay*, saying: *Walke in the light of your Fire, and in the flame that your selues haue lighted.* Now albeit, that this Fire hath beene prouided by God, yet notwithstanding, no man shall suffer or feele the torment thereof, if the sparkes of his enormous finnes do not set it ablazing. For looke how we kindle a fiery Feauer in our body, by offensue meates, excesse in drinking, or immoderate labours in this life time: euen so do we kindle both in soule and body, (when after death they shall bee reuited) the torments of this quenchlesse Fire, by the superfluity of our wicked workes, and depraued affections. The super-abounding torment whereof thus flowing in Men, dooth boyle, fry, and fiercely encrease their paine; that by their own lewdnesse first lighted this fire.

Why then (to follow the opinion of the *Pythagorians*) the Fire which is large in extendure, and brightly burning, makes him a happy man that hath a wide and spacious heart, by walking in the Commaundements of God. As contrariwise, a small and narrow Fire, so made by their owne bad and vile disposition, that hate their hearts hardened, & closely shut vp against all goodnes (like to the forging Anuile) is made obscure, darke, and torturing, euen according as the Sunne or Fire softens or hardneth the diuersity of these subiects, that from eyther of the do receiue their warmth or coolnesse. The Doctrine of the same Fire of blisse and torment, is not much varrying from the holy Scripture: because in *Deuteronomy* it is

The wicked are tormented with Fire.

Math. 7. 19.

The finnes of Men doe kindle the Fire of their torments. Esay.

An excellent comparison of a burning Feauer, and the vnquenchable Fire.

The opinion of the *Pythagorians*, concerning a great and small Fire

The Fire of blisse and torment, are answerable to the Scriptures.

Esay 66, 15.

The Fire ordained for the good and wicked.

Math. 25, 41.

The inward and outward torment is Eternall.

S. Gregory his opinion of this Fire.

Saint Gregory his doubt.

Comparison of the Bodies of Angels and Demons with ours.

called, a Fire deuouring; & in the same place also, a Fire, blessing, beautifying, and transforming. And in *Exodus* we reade, that the Law was giuen in a visible flame of Fire. *Quia ecce* (saith the Prophet *Esay*) *Dominus in igne veniet, & quasi turbo quadrigia eius, reddere in indignationem suam, & increpationem suam in flamma ignis.* For behold, the Lorde will come with Fire, and his Chariots like a whirlwind, that he may recompence his anger with wrath, and his indignation with the flame of Fire. For the iust and godly, he ordained the Fire from the Worlds first constitution, but to be to them, in ioy, splendour, and reioycing: which Fire also hee appointed for the wicked and rebellious, to bee to them a seuerer affliction, torture, and punishment. But this tormenting Fire is ordained euerm-lasting; as not onely appeareth by the sentence of the highest Iudge, saying; *Goe ye wicked into euerm-lasting Fire,* But likewise by the Prophet *Esay*, who speaking of the Carkasses of them that had greatly sinned against God, saith; *Their Worme shall neuer dye, or their Fire euer be extinguished.* By which words, the Prophet plainly declareth both the one and the other torment; to wit, the Interiour, and Exteriour, and that they are both to be Eternall.

Now presupposing this Fire to bee Eternall (according to the common receiued opinion) and our Soules and wicked apprehensions, or intelligences, being wholly separated from our Bodies, Saint *Gregory* makes a quicke riddance of it, in this Nature; *Imagine* (saith he) *this Fire to torment the wicked, as an Instrument of the Supreme Justice.* But yet he leaueth to bee presupposed, how this Fire should be an Instrument, and (in mine opinion) whether it tormenteth by his owne proper forme, or whether it bee agitated by some other means: as by a Sythe, or Hammer, cutting or smiting continually vpon the wicked? Assuredly, it is something strange, that Saint *Gregory* hath bene doubtfull in this case; considering, that (else-where) he saith, *The Angels and Demons haue bodies, but yet so thinne and slender, as (in comparison of ours) they are said to be without bodies;* whereof (in this case) there need no difficulty to be made. Our latter Diuines, some of them are of

opinion, that the wicked Spirits and Soules are tormented with a Corporeall Fire, as by an obiekt most disproportionable, and greatly molestuous. And the *Academicks* hold, that all the euill Demons haue one body; whereunto consenteth Saint *Basile, Nazianzene,* and the ancient Doctours mutually, from whom Saint *Augustine* dissenteth not, neither is different. For he, in his Book vpon *Genesis*, rendreth a reason, how the euill Spirits do become in that manner: *Because* (saith he) *they haue most subtile Bodies.* And a little after, he saith; *The Demons are Ayrie and Fiery Creatures, who being actiue, are not so thin or slender, as the Terrestriall and Watry Creatures.* Some others say, that not onely the Angels, but Soules also, being separated from their Bodies, haue aetheri-
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 all Bodies. But if wee had studied in Saint *Pauls* Schoole, who had his enstruction in the third Heauen, we could easily vntye these knots. For he teacheth vs, that the warre between the Spirit and the Flesh, is denounced by such a Law, as who soeuer conquereth, shall giue his properties and qualities to the vanquished, and the conquered shall be cloathed with the Nature of the Conqueror. Because of such as in the Spirit shall become victorious, he saith; *Cum autem mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem, &c.* When this corruptible hath put on incorruption, and this Mortall hath put on Immortalitie, &c. And a little before; *It is sown a sensuall or naturall Body, and is raised a spirituall Bodie.* So then, the Soule being cloathed with the Nature of the Body, shall be tormented by the Corporeall Fire; like as the Body, cloathed with the Nature of the Spirit, shall receiue Beatitude together with the Soule.

Origen, and the ancient *Academicks*, do assigne another punishment to the damned, and say: *It ensueth by a deordination or confusion of those partes, which ought to bee well ordained, disposed and assembled.* For like as when the Members of ones Bodie are disioynted or broken in their Nerues and Bones, we feele a generall torment and greuous anguish: Euen so, when the Soule shall bee out of this order of Hermony, wherein it was Created by GOD himselfe to doe well, and liue profitably; she shall suffer

The consent of Saint Basile, Greg. Nazianzene, &c.

S. August. in lib. sup. Genes.

Saint Pauls enstruction in the third heauen, concerning the war betweene the Spirit and the Flesh.

1 Cor. 15, 44, 54.

The iudgment of Origen and the Academicks

A very apt comparison.

August de Ci-
uit. Dei. Lib. 3.
Cap. 9.

Cicero cont. Ca-
tiline. Orat. 2.

Another rea-
son of this tor-
menting Fire.

The Soule
seeth an Hi-
storie of her
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The highest
Iudge tormen-
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ked in Hell.

suffer paine and punishment by that same deordination and confusion. Answerable to that which Saint *Augustine* saith: *Thou (o Lord) hast appointed it, and it must be so, that euery disordered Spirit shall be a punishment to it selfe.* Of this torment that ariseth from the disorder of the Soule, which ought euermore to be concordant to God; many other things are said, not onely by *S. Hierome*, Saint *Augustine*, *S. Ambrose*, and diuers other Doctours; but likewise by *Proculeius*, *Hierocles*, and others, among whom, *Cicero* writing against *Catiline*, saith; *Thine owne iniquities, shall not they appeare like so many furies before thee?* The Prophets also say the very same: *Vnderstand* (saith *Jeremy*) *and know, that this is a most bitter and wretched thing vnto thee, because thou hast forsaken the Lord God.* And the same *Esay* affirmeth; *The Heart of the wicked Man* (saith he) *is like vnto the boyling Sea, which neuer can take rest, but as the billows, so do they redound and regorge, to his grieffe and dolour; for there is no peace to the wicked, saith the Lord.*

The before named Authots, doe describe another reason of this torment, which they gather to be engendred of a wicked Idoll or representation. For our soule or Spirit, calling to remembrance those thinges, whereof she imprinted some shape in her selfe, euen at the time when the sin was committed, shall see and discern before her own eyes, some History (as it were) of her transgressiōs. And then must the conscience be hurried with her owne piercings; *The verie thoughts accusing one another* (saith the Apostle) whereof are begotten some torments, euen by those bad affectiōs. And they shall be punished by the hot fierie flame of wicked embracings, oblique loue, and selfe-wounding indignation: or by the pale-freezing fire of Enuy, or else consumed by freneticall sadnesse. It is no maruell then, if the supreme Iudge of all, doe thus torment the wicked in Hell, giuing them much greater paine, then the most cleare light, or brightest beames of the Sunne can do to beared eies, scarrified, or any way else offended: And with-holding also from them his benigne influence, whereby all thinges are filled with goodnesse, leauing them in their own vile deordination. For euen he himselfe, that will be seene (of the

good and vertuous) to their ioy & comfort in the resurrection; will be likewise to those euill doers, their dismall paine and endlesse consumation.

This is that whereof the Prophet *Ezechiel* speaketh, saying that hee saw the Lord; *A lumbis eius & desuper, & à lumbis eius usq; deorsum, vidi quasi speciem ignis splendentis in circuitu: Euen from his loynes upward, euen from his loynes downward, I saw as a likenesse of fire, and brightnesse round about.* The Lord then is one while a bright and beautifying fire, making the iust to glitter and shine, like to the Stars, or as sparkles of fire: another while, he is a boystrous storming Fire; to the Children of *Leuy*. One while he is a consuming fire of Wood & Straw, to wast, destroy, and ruinate (as *Ioell* saith) *Speciosa deserti, The Pastures of the Wildernesse*; that is to say, the wicked Actions committed by them that are forsaken by the Grace of God, and the heauenly influxion which would haue made them appeare bright and glorious: Another while also, he is a blacke burning and tormenting Fire, and as *Ioell* else-where saith; *Ante faciem eius ignis vorans, & post eum exurens flamma; A Fire deuoureth before him, and behind him a Flame burneth.*

Now whether this Fire be incorporeall or no, that only is best knowne to God, and yet *Origen* prooues it to bee inuisible, by the iudgement of the Apostle: *This Fire* (saith hee) *is of such substance; that being constituted inuisible, it yet burneth visible thinges, according as the Apostle saith.* For the things which Men see, are Temporall; and those which bee not seene; are Eternall. If then this Fire be Eternall where with they are punished that separate themselves from God: it falleth then vpon necessitie, that it must be also inuisible, because by the opinion of the Apostle, the onely thinges Inuisible, are Eternall. And it is not to bee *Wondered at*, (saith the same *Origen*) *that this Fire is both Inuisible and tormenting, because no Man can see the heate or warmth which is accedentall to the Body, and yet it measurably tormenteth them sometimes, that are but indifferently molested with that Fire, which is of a quite contrary sort or kind, to the Fire which we haue in common vse here on Earth.*

God is (to the good) ioy, and comfort, but to the wicked, endlesse sorrow. *Ezechiel. 1, 27.*

God is one while a bright gladson Fire, and another while a darke deuouring Fire.

Ioel. 1, 19.

Ioel. 2, 3.

Whether this Fire be incorporeall or no. *Orig. in Ilium 9.*

The fire eternall is Inuisible.

Orig. ubi supra.

Nothing is of greater torment in this World, then out visible fire

Neuerthelesse, it is compared to ours, in regard, that there is nothing in this world, which giueth a greater torment then the visible Fire: and if we doe desire to shun the other, which tormēteth eternally, let vs take good heede, that there be no eternall euill disposition in vs ; but rather such, as we may receiue the supreme Fire in ioy, or (at least) in consuming away our wood and straw, the inordinate desires and appetites of this life. And so by expurgation of the Scum, or Dregges and Drosse of the Mettall; we may shine like bright Vessels of pure Golde, fit to be placed in the Celestiall Clouds, and in the dwelling of the eternally blessed.

CHAP. VII.

Of Man (the Image of God) to what end he was created: with the signification of those two words, Image of God, and Similitude or Likenesse of God.



When our good and gracious GOD, by admirable prouidence had Created the whole World, and all that therein is comprised (which is nothing else, but euen a Shop (as it were) wherein the bright Beames of the Diuine Wisedome doe shine and are made manifest.) Presently, for a full accomplishment of his worke, hee formed Man in his owne Image or resemblance, to constitute him, as Emperour and Maister of all things that he had so excellently created on Earth. To the ende, that Man knowing the Dignity of his Creation, and how much hee was obliged to his Maker, might bee the more incited, to loue and serue him in al his powers, and should imploy himselfe in acknowledging so great a benefit, as to be made according to the semblance or Image of God. Not proudly to presume or ouerweene, that the shape of God is answerable in forme to his owne ; for this Word *Image* is not so vnderstood, concerning the exterior forme or similitude: but rather, according to the spirituall intelligence, of the more precious

The World is as the Shop of God, declaring his heauenly workes.

How Man is said to be made after the Image of God.

part, which is the Soule.

For looke how God (by his increated power) is wholly God, and in all places viuiſieth and gouerneth all thinges, and (as the Apostle saith) *Wee moue, liue, and haue our being in him*: Euen so, the Soule giueth life in the Body, to euery part thereof. And now behold how she is said to bee the *Image of God*, like as in a Trinity. For albeit, that (by Nature) she can bee but one, yet it is most certaine, that she hath in her selfe three seuerall Dignities; to wit, *Vnderstanding, Will, and Memory*. And looke how the Sonne is begotten of the Father, and the Holy-Ghost proceedeth both of the one and other: In like manner, is the *Will* engendred of the *Vnderstanding*, and *Memory* hath her procreation from them both. And euen as the three persons of the Trinitie are but one God; so the three powers of the Soule, are but one only Soule. Seeing then that wee are Created in the semblance or likenesse of God, and that this is an vndoubted *Maxime*; *That euery like delighteth in his like*: Wee should euermore wish, to bee vnited with our similitude, which is God. And looke how much these earthly thinges are far off from GOD; euen as farre doe wee estrange our selues from him, when we set our affections on those matters which are not giuen vs to vse, as our cheefest good, or *Summum Bonum*: but to this end, that knowing the goodnes of the Creator, who hath so willinglie provided vs of all things necessary, we should be free from all occasions of excuse, and make the larger confession of his benefits, powred in such abundance vpon vs.

Man then was Created, to the end that he might acknowledge his God, and in knowing him, to honour him; and in honouring, to loue him; and in louing, to serue and obey him: and all this to no other end, but that finally he might attaine to that end, for which he was created; to wit, the fruition of his God and Maker. For this cause, he made him with an erected and vpright Body; not so much for his dissimilitude frō the brutish Beasts, who are crooked, bended and looking downe vpon Earth: as to mount vp his vnderstanding, and eleuate his eyes vnto the Heauens, his originall,

The three dignities that the Soule hath in her selfe.

Euery like taketh delight in his like.

Earthly matters are not giuen vs for our chiefest happinesse.

The end and intent of mans Creation.

The reason why GOD made Man of an erected stature.

ginall, to contemplate there Diuine occasions and permanent, leauing the Terrestriall as vaine.

But if we shall better and more largely declare, the difference, betweene the Image and similitude of God, to make some vnity and concordance betweene them; let vs then set downe the Exposition which *Hugo de Saint Victor* hath made thereon. *As in the Elements* (saith he) *two things are diuers in themselues, and the one far off differing from the other; as in the fire wee behold two dissenting things; to wit, brightnesse, and heate; the brightnesse nor beeing heat, nor the heate brightnesse; because the brightnesse is seene and glittereth, and the heate is onely felt, yet burneth; the brightnesse not burning, or otherwise felt, but by sight, nor the heat shining, or to bee seene: Euen so, two diuers things are likewise to bee discerned in the spirituall Creature; namely, the Image of God, and the semblance or similitude of him, which two doe somewhat differ and are vnlike. For, according as the spirituall Creature is made in the Image of God, so she shineth by knowledge; that is to say, according to intelligence and vnderstanding, the spirituall Creature is the Image of God; And according as she is made in the likenesse of God, so she heateth her selfe by loue and dilection; that is, answerable to will and behauiour, she is semblable to God. Now, the Authour and Maker of this spirituall Creature, ordered, that one part thereof should alwaies remaine simple and wholly spirituall, as the Angels: and that the other should be commixed, as the Soule of Man which dwelleth in the Body.*

Origen is of opinion, that the Image of Iesus is Man, and that for this cause it is said, that he is made in the Image of God: *For the Sonne is the Image of GOD.* Others are of the minde, that the Holy Ghost is vnderstood by the Word *Similitude*: but truely, in the Image, and in the likenesse of GOD, is nothing else meant, but that Man is also the similitude of God Man is the Image of God, saith *Saint Paul*. This may likewise referre it selfe vnto nature; but Similitude or Likenesse must then order it selfe, by those things wherewith Nature is endued; to wit, Immortality, Vertue, and Wisedome, which doe make a man like vnto God. *Thomas Aquinas*, that great and learned Diuine, expoundeth

the present case in this manner. *Man is made in the Image and likenesse of God; according to his Soule, whereby he excelleth all vnreasonable Creatures. In the Image, that is to say; in Memory, Inteligence, & Dilection. In Likenesse, that is, in Innocency and Iustice, naturally disposed in the Soule.* *Saint Augustine* in his Book of the quantitie of the Soule, saith; *The Soule is made like vnto God, he hauing Created it immortal and indissolueable.* *Thomas Aquinas* proceeding on in his last Narration, hath these wordes. *The Image then, is as concerning the forme; and the Likenesse, is as concerning Nature. Whereby it appeareth, that Man is made (in regard of his Soule) according to the Image and Likenesse, not onely of the Father, or the Sonne, or the Holy-Ghost, but of the whole vndiuided Trinity together.*

But God bestowed vpon Man when hee Created him, three especiall good gifts; and principally to be made reckoning of. The first is, that he gaue him his owne Image. The second, that he made him after his own Likenesse. The third, that he gaue him Immortalitie of Soule, if Man had continued in the obedience of his Creator. *Which three great blessings* (saith *Hugo de S. Victor*) *were giuen by God vnto man, and both (Naturally, & by Originall Iustice) vnderstood then to be in him. Two other gifts also he enriched man withall, as exterior benefits; the one, vnder him; the other, aboue him: Vnder him, the World; aboue him, God; the world, as a visible good, yet transitory; God, an inuisible good, and eternall. In this neather gift (to wit the World) Man was created in the higher; that is, in God, Man is to be blessed. God hath beene and is aboue Man, by condition; and aboue the World in Dignity: diuiding himselfe from the inferiour world, to draw him vp to the Soueraigne and Superiour.*

There are also three principall hurts or euils, which doe abuse and corrupt the three fore-named blessings; to wit, Ignorance of Goodnesse, Couetousnes of Wickednesse, and Infirmity or sicknesses of the Body. Thorow Ignorance, the Image of God hath beene, and is defaced in vs; and so by Couetousnes, is the likenesse of God: By Infirmity & sickness, the Immortality of the Body. For these three diseases, there are likewise

Tho. Aquin. sup. 2. de sent. Dist. 16.

Three things concerning the word Image, and three for likenesse.

August. in Lib. de quant. anim. Cap. 2.

Tho. Aquin. in loco predict.

Three good gifts bestowed by God vpon Man in his Creation:

Hug. de S. Vict. Excerpt. Lib. 1. Cap. 2. 3. 4.

Three euils that corrupt the three former goods.

Hug. de S. Vict. in Lib. de interpret. de Imag. & similit. Dcu.

All this whole discourse is taken out of *Hugo de S. Victor. Excerpt. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.*

Colof. 1, 15. Heb. 1, 3. 1 Cor. 11, 7.

1 Cor. 11, 7.

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Three remedies against the three evils

The use of the three Remedies, in their severall degrees.

Of absolute Necessity.

Of Conditionall Necessity

Theorique hath three partes; Divinity, Philosophy, and Mathematical skil. Practique is divided into solitarie, private and publique: Or else into Ethicall, Oeconomical, and Politicall. There be also seaven kindes of Mechanicall order: whereof Hugo de S. Victor amply discourseth, and therefore to him I refer the Reader.

wise three principall Remedies; to wit, *Wisdom*, *Vertue*, and *Necessity*; to the end, that by three Soueraigne helpes, three dangerous harmes may be auoyded. To overcome Ignorance, we are to make use of *Wisdom*; to Master the Vice of Auarice or Couetousnesse, we must imploy the contrary, bounteous *Vertue*; and with *Necessity*, to tread downe Infirmity. *Wisdom*, is to vnderstand things as they are, without idle curiosity: *Vertue*, is an Habitude of the Soule after Nature, conformable to Reason. I call Habitude a quality, which (without great difficulty) cannot be removed from her place and Subiect. Euen as we tearme disposition to be another quality, which easilie is to be elbowed out of his abiding. By the Word Subiect, we vnderstand the vertue of the Soule, wherein the same *Vertue* (which is a *Quality*) maketh her residence. *Necessity*, which is tearmed *Absolute*, is, as when without it, nothing can be done: As, without feete a Man cannot goe; without food, he cannot liue; and without naturall sustenance, he must needes dye. There is another kinde of *Necessity*, which is called *Conditionall*: As, for a Mans easier traouailing, a Horse is expedient; and for a more delicate degree of Life, Partridges, Quails, and other Dainties, may be accounted requisite.

For these three forenamed Remedies, all Arts and Disciplines haue bene inuented: To attaine *Wisdom*, the *Theorique* (which is *Contemplatiue*) hath bene found out; For *Vertue*, the *Practique* (which is *Active*) came into use: And for *Necessity*, the *Mechanicke* onely was inuented. For after that *ADAM* had sinned, He, his Children, and Kindred, were necessarily constrained to the search of thinges: to know Plants and Hearbs; to plucke vp roots and eat them, to labour the Earth, by the sweate of their Browes, to get graine for food, and this *Necessity* they naturally learned, as afterward to grind the Graine, to make it in Paast to be baked: to kill wilde Beastes, and feede on their Flesh, and then to cloth themselves with their Skines. To builde little Habitations, thereby to auoyde the iniury of Weather. To plant Vines, daily adding inuention vpon inuention,

either in finding out diuersity of viands, and then as variable orders of dressing them. To erect big Houses, to beate with Hammers, to File, to Sowe, to make Garments of Linnen, Woollen, Silkes of sundry collours, and other admired kindes of Habit. To buy, sell, and Traffique one with another. And *Johannes Ludouicus Vines* saith, in his Booke called *The Introduction to Wisdom*: *Vtile indumentum excogitauit necessitas, presiosum, luxus, elegans, vanitas. Necessity found out Garments, profitable, precious, light, neate, and vaine.*

God then so dearely loued Man, that he assigned him the whole Worlde for his Country and dwelling. And euen to this day, in what part soeuer thereof a Wise man traouaileth, he is said to bee (euery where) a free Cittizen: so that in all places, all thinges are his, and no where should he account himselfe eyther a Stranger, or to be Hosted. How much more then, was the first Man a Lord of all the Worlde, and as the *Gracians* say *κοσμοπολιτης*, Being the new workmanship of God, endued with all Vertues, Maister of all the Beasts of the Earth, of the Waters, and of the Ayre, with all Creatures to them belonging, he had the whole Worlde (as his Inheritance) in Possession. And did not God declare a great signe of loue to him, when he diuided parts with him? Hee gaue him the Earth to walke vpon, as if he were Sole-Maister thereof, according as the Etimology of the word signifieth. For his Name in *Hebrew*, is *אֶרֶץ* *ERES*, & is so said *à calcando*, of treading or going, *Veluti & Latini terram; quasi terram, à terendo nominant; Like as in Latine, Earth, smooth as it were, so named of often vsing.* Heauen he reserued to himselfe, as his more pure and perfect Habitation: *Caeli enim* *אֵשׁ וָמַיִם* *dicuntur SCAMAIM, ab igni & aqua, quorum utrumq; vim purgandi extergendiq; habet. For the Heauens are saide of Scamaim, of Fire and Water, in that they haue the vertue of both powers, in purging and clearing away all imperfections.*

The Riches and blessings of which heauenly place; to wit, *Celestiall Glory*, and euerlasting Felicity; hee then made Man (neuerthelesse) partaker of, and all that are descended of him (I meane the Friends and Louers of God) where-

Io. Lod. Vines, in Introd. Sap. Cap. 1. 4.

Man is a free Cittizen of the whole world.

God diuided parts with Man.

Mans part.

The signification of Mans Name, in Hebrew and Latine.

Gods part.

S. Ambrose in lep. ad Sabina.

Man and his off-spring made partakers of the riches of heauē.

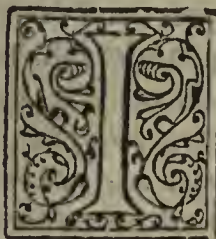
Psalm. 113. 4.

whereof they were absolutely assured, after that the first offence and transgression was repaired, by the second person in Trinity; who came into this World, and tooke on him the true forme and semblance of Man: and al the elect shal vndoubtedly inioy them, after that their Soules are deliuered from the Prison of their Bodies.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Age of Man, and why in the first age of the World, Men liued longer, then now they doe in these later times.

In the first Age Men liued longer then now, by many yeares.



IT is well knowne, to all them that haue bene studious in the holy writings, that in the worlds first Age, and before the generall Deluge (for Sinne) had ouer-whelemed the whole Earth; the life time of Man was much differing in length, from the breuitie wherein wee now behold it. For it is most certaine, that **A D A M** liued nine hundred and thirty yeares; **S E T H**, nine hundred and twelue; **C A I N E**, or **C A I N A M** (as some call him) nine hundred and ten. So descending afterward frō one to another, we find, that he that liued least time of account, attained to the reach of seauen hundred yeares. But now in these our daies, we see very few arriue at eighty, or ninety yeares of age: which date if any one happento exceed, it is esteemed rare and maruailous; so that, we liue not the tenth part of the former life time. Wherefore the learned, both Diuines and naturall Philosophers, that haue seriously discoursed on this Argument, finding Nature (our productresse) to bee the very same teeming Mother with them then, and that those first Men liued naturally heere so long time, and not miraculously: they grew heereat into no little amazement, and therefore began to make curious Inquisition into the causes and reasons.

The shortest life time was seauen hundred yeares.

The iudgement of Diuines & Philosophers in this case.

Marcus Varro and others grew doubtful of the yeares in length.

To *Marcus Varro*, and an infinite number of other like Questionists, this worke of Nature appeared to bee so strange, that they grew into an imagi-

nation by themselves, supposing the yeares of that ancient time, to be none such as are in these moderne daies. But that coniecture was meere idle follie, and an error ouer great, as also inexcusable, vaine, & absurd, as shall be shewn in the following Chapter, after we haue first discoursed in this present, some causes, with the aduise of Graue, Wise, and Learned Authors.

When I looke into the Observations of others, and then make a discent from them into mine owne priuate opinion, I take the principall reason, why Men liue not now so long as ours Elders then did, to be this: That they had no such causes or accidents; as now (in vs) doe beget many infirmities, whereby both Age and Death doe soone steale vpon vs. Heere-withall it behooues vs to consider, that **A D A M** and **E V E** being the first Parents of all mankinde, were created by the hand of God, without any other meanes or helpe: wherefore it is to be presumed, that he made them of a most excellent complexion, perfect simpthy, and such proportionable humours, as must needes yeelde a reason for their healths continuance, so many yeares together. By means whereof, the Children that came from Parents of such rich perfection, and likewise their Off-spring succeeding to them againe, that naturally had the benefit of so long life, must needs resemble their first Deriuers, in selfe-same good and sound constitution, as being descended of most excellent matter; vntill such time, as by the alteration of Ages (whose propertie is to change & impaire all thinges) the condition of Man began feebly to decline, yeelding vp his daies to be few in number.

In those times also, they had one thing which greatly auailed for the lengthening of life, and which now to vs is very contrary & hurtfull. That was, great temperance in drinking, as well in quantity as in quality: Likewise their small variety of meates; for they neuer had so many sorts or diuersity of dishes, as now we haue; neyther knew they any such plenty of idle inuentions. Nor doe we any where finde, that the eating of Flesh was knowne (before the flood) to Men. Moreouer, it is held by common opinion (but yet most certaine) that

Our fore-fathers had no such infirmities as now we haue.

Adam and Eue made by the hand of God onely.

The alteration of Ages impaireth all things.

Temperance in drinking, and little change of meates.

Flesh not eaten before the Flood.

The Deluge made the Earth more barren then before.

Adam knew the vertue of all Hearbes, Plants, and Stones.

The life of Man much holpen by the course of heauen.

that Fruits and Hearbs (in those times) were of farre greater vertue and substance (beyonde all comparison) then now they are or can be; by reason they grew out of a new & vnwearied earth, and not any such as now it is; weake, worne, and vtterly fainting. For that vniuersall ouerflow and inuadation, bereft it of his former purity and fatnesse, making it more brackish, barren and vnfertile, by the Waters generall passage ouer it; which continued for many weekes together.

These reasons are so weighty and iudicious, as each of them may be sufficient to conclude (though many more be ranked with them) that it was no matter of maruaile, but rather meere naturall, for Men to liue longer then, then now they doe or can. It is further to be obserued, and we may boldly credit it for a truth, that ADAM was acquainted with the vertues, in all Hearbes, Plants, and Stones, and his Children so well profited therein by his instruction, as neuer could any (since then) attaine to the like perfection. All these then thus concurring; partly for the health and support of life, and partly for continuance in soundest temperature, expelled all danger of diseases to happen, onely by meere vse of common growing simples, detesting the venomous compounds of this Age, which in stead of purging and purifying Mens bodies, do weaken; yea, and oftentimes kil such as take them.

Beyond all this, in those first yeares of the Worlds infancy, the health and life of Men, was much strengthened and supported by course of the Heauens, as also the influence of the Starres and Planets; they being farre more beneficial and auspicious then, then now they are. For then there had not past half a quarter so many Aspectes, Coniunctions, Eclipses, with infinite other Caelestiall Impressions, whence haue come the causes of changes, variations, & strange alterations vpon Earth, and among the Elements themselues, that were the principall Motiues to life and health in those daies; as contrariwise they are the occasions of infirmities and death now. But to go somewhat further, then what

foeuer yet hath beene said, as grounded only vpon naturall reason; I dare maintaine, that the very cause of so long life in our fore-fathers, proceeded from the vnspeakable prouidence of God; whose will it was, to haue their life time stretched out to such length, and that the fore-mentioned occasions, should mutually be aiding one to another; this being the onely intent, that of two Sole-Persons, many more might bee borne, the Earth inhabited, and mankind multiplied.

We see beside, that Men liued not so long after the Flood as they did before, as being (perhaps) in Gods secret counsell so determined: yet NOAH was permitted to enter the Ark, and there God saued more Men and Women, then at the first he had created, that the World might yet againe be the sooner inhabited. Saint *Augustine* discoursing on these matters, saith; *That our fore-fathers had not onely a benefit beyond vs, in health and length of life; but in the stature of their bodies, as manifestly is remembred of them in diuers Bookes.* And their Bones haue beene found vnder great Mountaines, as also in sundry Graues & Sepulchers, which haue beene beleued for a certainty, that those Bones belonged to Men liuing before the Flood. The same Saint *Augustine* also affirmeth, that hee being at *Vrica*, a City of *Affrica*, sawe there the Bones of a dead Mans Body, and the very Iaw-Bones were so big and weighty, that they would haue counterpoysed them of an hundred Men, now liuing in this Age of ours.

Neuerthelesse, although our life time be so shortned, yet we neede not make any complaint thereof, for in applying that breuity to euil manners, or offence of God, the Lord hath shewne himselfe most mercifull to vs, in cutting off so large a limit, then which, we can acknowledge no greater a benefit. And yet, if we would deuoutly apply our selues to his seruice, he hath allowed vs (in this little) time enough for it. For so great is Gods goodnesse and fauour towards vs, that he accepts our good desires and humble wils, for full, sufficient, and absolute payment.

The prouidence of God was the onely cause of our fore-fathers long life.

GOD saued more in the Arke, then he created at the beginning.

August. de Ciuit. Dei. Lib. 15.

The differēce of stature in out fore-fathers.

Aug. vbi supra.

We haue no cause to complain of our liues shortnesse.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

That the opinion of such, as supposed the yeares in elder time, to bee shorter then now they are at this instant, is vtterlie false. Of the first Citty that euer was in this World. Finally, that our Auncient fore-fathers had more Children; then those which are remembred vnto vs in the holy Scripture.

Because it hath seemed to some, that the life time of nine hundred yeares, in our first Parents, should bee a matter impossible, in regard that they could not comprehend, and reach to the causes and naturall reasons, which haue bene alleadged in the precedent Chapter, as the onely occasions of their so long continuance. And (in not daring to deny the iust number of so many yeares, evidently specified & maintained in sacred writ) they wold yet insinuate a supposition, that those elder yeares, were shorter, then in these Moderne times they are; whereby the aduantage of their long life (out-reaching ours so farre) comes much short of the opinion by vs receiued: we must therefore settle our selues, to a full resolution of these imaginary conceptions. And yet we will examine part of their follies, in that some others among them, would perswade and assure vs; that one of our yeares now, carries equall quantity with ten of those in old time. Nay, there be others, who haue maintained, that each monthly course of the Moone now, stood with them then for a full and compleate yeare, which they pleased to call by the name of *Annus Lunariss*.

Other Dreamers bring in as dity an assertion, that three of our moneths, made them vp one whole yeare; by means wherof, one of our years should iump iust with foure of theirs: for in such manner did the *Chaldeans*, and likewise the *Arcadians* deuide their yeares, according as *Lactantius* recordeth. *Marcus Varro*, a *Romaine*, most learned in many matters, only (heerein) is some-

what blame-worthy, because he held, that these *Anni Lunares*, deriued their number from one Moones coniunction vntill the comming of another new Moone, which may consist of twentie nine daies, and some odde houres beside. *Pliny* likewise esteemes it but as a fable; that Men (in the Worldes none-age) should liue so long; and saith, that the *Arcadians* (according as wee haue already declared) numbred their yeares by three of our months: There is also among vs Christians, a certaine Booke of the Ages of the World; the Authour nameth himselfe *Heliconiensis*, wherein he witnesseth himselfe to be of the same opinion.

Notwithstanding all this, it is a case most plaine and apparant, that those yeares deliuered vs in holy Scripture, were none other, then these are in our time, and if there might be imagined any difference, yet it was not sensibly to be perceiued: and therefore, all opinions held to the contrary, are vaine, ridiculous, and meerely foolish. For it is so directly prooued by *Iosephus*, as also *Lactantius Firmianus*; but especially *S. Augustine*, in a more distinct and better manner, whose reasons and authorities, are sufficient to confound all former grosse and false opinions.

Concerning the first allegation; to wit, that each seuerall Moone (in that Age) made them vp a full compleat yeare, accounting alwaies from the one coniunction to the other: how can this be but an impudent error? Because we know very certainly, that so much time doth not containe fully thirty daies: Which being graunted as they argue, then it must needs follow, that Men in this present Age doe liue longer, then they did vpon the worlds Creation, for neuer any Man liued then, twelue hundred yeares, which (by such account) nothing surmounteth this Age of ours: And yet it is to bee iustified, that some (among vs) haue liued an hundred yeares; some also (though sildome) an hundred & twelue yeares: which wou'd amount to more then thirty hundred yeares, if wee should account them so by the course of the Moone.

We may well ioyne this to their error, whose opinion was, that ten of those elder yeares, did make vp fully but one

Pliny held the long life of our fore-fathers for a fable.

Heliconiensis of the same mind

Lib. 1. de Antiquit. Cap. 2. August. Lib. 2. & 15. de Ciuit. Dei.

That every Moone made a yeare.

No Man liued one thousand two hundred yeares.

Ten old yeares supposed to be but one of ours.

The doubt of some, concerning the years of our fore-fathers, to be shorter then now they are.

One of our yeares now, supposed as long as ten of the first world

A yeare of a monethes length.

Lactan. in 2. Lib de Diuinarum Institutionum.

Gen. 5, 6.

Gen. 5, 12.

An answer to a most grosse absurdity, concerning the old yeare.

Gen. 7, 12.

An answer to the second friuolous objection.

Gen. 8, 4.

That the ancient yeare should be but three Months long.

one of ours now. But might their coniecture passe for currant, then Men should bee capable of Generation, at seauen, eyght, and ten yeares of age, which is quite contrary to all naturall Philosophy. To approoue this, wee read in *Genesis*, that **SETH** the Sonne of **ADAM** begat **ENOC**H, he being then an hundred and five yeares old. If ten of those yeares, had answered (by equall proportion) but to one of ours now; it must needs then follow, that Men in the Worlde's first Age, did beget Children, at ten yeares old and a halfe of our instant account. **CAIN** also begetting **MELALABELL** at seauenty yeares of his age; by our reckoning, must needs be a Father at seuen yeares old of our time: Nay, we must fall to a farre lower account; if one of our yeares should hold leuell with twelue of the first Age, according to some others idle imaginati-

on. But more clearly will we yet reueale their grosse absurditie, & by that which ensueth, squash in peeces their vnexcusable error. For if their ancient yeare were but the tenth or twelfth part of ours now; it must then consequently ensue, that their yeare then consisted not of twelue months, or (at most) that their month had but three daies in it. Which is apparantly false, because the manifest Text of the Scripture saith: That the generall Flood began the seuenteenth day of the second month; whereby we may plainly perceiue, that the Months then, were none other then now ours are. As for the opinion of them, who hold, that the old year made but the fourth part of our Moderne account, and that their yeare consisted but of three months onely: the selfe-same Scripture doth approoue it likewise to be false, because in the fore-named place it is said, concerning *Noahs Arke*; *That in the seuenth month, in the seuenteenth day of the month, the Arke rested it selfe on the Mountaines of Ararat, or Armenia.* Afterward followeth, that the Waters still decreased vntill the tenth Month, and the very first day of that Month, the heads and tops of the Mountaines, each where discovered themselues. This very plainly demonstrates their abusive opinion, that would haue the Ancient year to be but three months long; because

because mention is heere made, both of the seauenth and tenth Moneths. We may well see then, that the yeare in that Age had twelue Months, according as in these times our yeare now hath; for when hee there nameth the tenth Moneth, he doth not rearm it to be the last Month.

10 With as little discretion it is saide, that the Moneth then contained but three daies only; considering, the Text it selfe expressly nameth the twenty seauen day of the Month: Much lesse then could it be saide, that the day consisted then but of two or three houres, because it is likewise set down in the same Text, *That the Windowes of Heauen were opened, and the raine was vpon the Earth, the full space of forty daies and forty nights.* 20 Whereby it remaines very euident, that those daies were naturall daies, of xxiiij. houres in length, and the Monthes and yeares so long as now they are; or the difference so small, that it was not sensible. I speake this the rather, because they then accounted the course of Heauen, as now we do, and this order hath euermore bene obserued among the learned, as well *Hebrues* as *Egyptians*: 30 among whom *Moyse*s was borne and bred, who was the Author & Historiographer of those holy Bookes, wherein the long liues of our fore-fathers are written.

40 Now, albeit we should consent to the censure of many, who did holde, that the *Hebrues* measured their months by the ordinary course of the Moone, and that the full year contained then twelue *Lunary* Months, and each Month had in it twenty nine daies, and foureteene houres; little more, or little lesse, by which reason, the yeare should be shorter by twelue daies, then that which we now measure by the course of the Sun; to wit, three hundred, threescore, five daies and sixe houres: yet cannot this difference (any way) make doubtfull or vncertaine, the Liues and Ages of our elder Fathers. For it is a matter of no moment, that in nine hundred or a thousand yeares, twenty or thirty should be exempted, because the *Lunary* month was not compleated in thirty daies. By this authority then, we may be assured, that the nine hundred and thirty yeares which **ADAM** liued, and the nine hundred 50

That the Moneth should be but three daies onely.

Gen. 7. 11, 12

The Hebrues and Egyptians obserued the same order we doe.

The obseruation among the Hebrues.

The true measuring of the yeare.

dred likewise of others, were such as the hundred seauenty and fine of *Abraham*, and as the seuenty or eighty which men liuenow-adaies; for whosoever beleeueth otherwise, is in a mighty error.

There is also another consideration to be noted, alleaged by *S. Augustine* to this purpose. Put the case (saith he) that the Scripture makes no mention, that *Adam* and his *Sonnes* had any other Children, before them which are expressly named: yet is it most certainly to be affirmed, that both (before and after) they had diuers and sundry beside, for they had Children in their younger daies, whereof no mention is made in Scripture. And to make more ample prooffe thereof, it is saide; That *Caine* built a Citty, the first that euer was in the World, according as *Iosephus* reporteth, saying; That it was beautified with diuers Towers, engirt with wals, and he called it after the Name of his Son *Enoch*, which was then but newly borne vnto him. This may appeare to haue small shew of truth, there being then in the world but three or foure Men onely; for the Scripture makes mention to vs of no more. But well we know, that to the building of a Citty, the help of a great number of men is necessarily required: yet notwithstanding, the Text names but the principall heades of the builders; as appeareth, in saying; That their Sons & Daughters begat diuers others, which in no place of Scripture are named at all. We see, that the holy Euangelists haue done the very like, in setting down their Euangelicall History. For *S. Mathew*, treating of the Genealogy of Christ, according to the flesh, beginneth at *Abraham*, and numbring on to *Dauid*, saith; *Abraham* begat *Isaac*, neuer speaking of *Ismael*. Then afterward, *Isaac* begat *Jacob*, yet sayes nothing of *Esau*; albeit they were their first borne Children. Because, he hauing no other intention, but to descend from one degree to another (euen to *Dauid*) who was not of the Linage of *Ismael*, therefore he made no reckoning of *Ismael*. Then againe, *Jacob* begat *Juda*, and his Bretheren, yet was not *Juda* the first borne Childe. So that discoursing thus of the Generation, he accounted none but them onely, by whom he descended iust to *Dauid*. A prooffe sufficient, to encite all Aduersaries to beleue, that *Moyse* did the like

in his History, and that our fore-fathers had diuers other Children, beside those which are spoken of, and named in the holy Scriptures.

CHAP. X.

Wherefore the Deuil made choise of the Serpents shape when he tempted the first woman, and came not to her in any other forme.

The proud Angell, first Author of all euill, beeing cast downe from Heauen; cunningly coueting to traine himselfe into Mans society, because hee was fallne from Heauen, thorow his insolent offence, therefore his hatred not a litle against him: & to the end that his subtilty might be the more court, he made choise of a Serpent in the Terrestriall Paradise, where, with *Adam* and his Wife, all other earthly Creatures orderly conuersed; not hauing any discord together, or being any way harmfull, but all (as well the sauage as domesticke) acknowledged man for their Lord & Maister, to serue his turn withall. For this Serpent, being a glyding Creature, that could turne and writh it selfe euery way; This false Angell (as *S. Chrysostome* saith) Found to be best fitting for his hellish enterprise and diuillish intended worke, to bee his Organe to speake by. And hauing (in spirituall mallice) subiected this Serpent to himselfe, by meanes of his Angelicall presence, & more excellent Nature, abusing it as an Instrument of falshood and treachery, he would thereby speake to the woman, addressing himselfe first of all to her, she being the weaker body, and least able to resist him.

For hee knew his strength was ouerfeeble, and his craft as yet scarce currant to deceiue the Man, but he must needs faile; except he coulde seduce him by the error of another. For as *Salomon* took it to be no error, when he fell to the seruice of Idols, and became an Idolatour, through the perswasions of Women his Concubins; So *Adam* committed the offence of transgressing Gods commandment, not as she did that spake the truth beeing seduced; but as hee yeilded for

Moyse and the Euangelists obserued one Method in their Histories.

The Devils inueterate hatred against Man.

Chrysost. sup. Gen. Rom. 15.

The Deuill durst not presume to meddle first with *Adam*.

August. de Ciu. de lib. 15. ca. 9.

Adam had more Childre then those that are recorded in Scripture.

Gen. 4, 17.

Ioseph. in Lib. 1. de Antiquit.

One is not able to builde a Citty of himselfe.

The obseruation of the Euangelists in the Genealogy of Christ.

company; wherein he was no lesse fault- ty, hauing sinned with consent and per- fect knowledge.

This wicked Angell (perhaps) had a better will to haue come ro the woman in the shape of a Doue, if God would so haue permitted it. But venerable Bede saith : *It was not lawfull for the euill spirit, to make that forme odious to Man, wherein the Holy-Ghost onely ought to appeare. It is not to be thought (saith Saint Augustine) that the Deuill did (of himselfe) chuse the Serpent, to tempt thereby: but (as his desire was to tempt) hee could not, but by such a Creature, as was permitted him so to doe.* For will to hurt may be in any one, but the power commeth from God: he was therefore permitted to tempt by the Serpent, to the end, that therein the wo- man might take heed of his subtilty that tempted. And for this cause it is writ- ten; *Sed et Serpens erat callidior cunctis ani- mantibus terra; The Serpent was more sub- tile, then any Beast of the Field.*

The Serpent vnderstandeth no words, neither was partaker of reason, like as Man was: yet is hee (notwithstanding) called, most crafty, in regard of the sub- tilty of the Deuill. He hath spoken, like as *Balaams Assē* did; but it was by the Deuill, and the Assē by the good Angel. For good Angels & euill Angels work like operations, but then they are to di- uers effects; *Before the Serpent was made the Devils Organe (saith Rupertus) for the perdition of man, he might haue beene tear- med most wise and prudent.* For in another edition of the Bible, it is thus set down; *And the Serpent was wise aboue all the Beasts, &c.* But after that the Serpents wisdom was combined with the malice of the Deuill, and that it serued as an apt Instrument for death; he might (by better right) be tearmed cautelous and crafty. And before that his prudence lent any ayde and seruice to the Father of lying, he was such as the Disciples of *Iesus Christ* ought to imitate, as he him- selfe witnesseth, saying; *Esto te ergo pru- dentes, sicut Serpentes; Be ye therefore wise, as Serpents.*

Petrus Comestor, in his Scholasticall History saith; *That at the time when the Serpent tempted the Woman, he was straitē, and went vpright like a Man; but after ward (by the curffe) he was cast down to the earth, to glide along thereon.* Venerable Bede

saith; *The Deuill chose a Serpent, that had a face like to a Womans, Quod similia simili- bus applaudunt; That like might be pleasing ro like.* Nor is the Serpent crafty or ve- nomous, because God said; *Maledictus es, Thou art curffed:* But God (euē in iu- diciary equity) denounced him that sen- tence for his wicked desert, and decla- red, that he was made odious to all the other Beasts and creatures of the earth. And why? Because he had bin the De- uils Minister, to the perdition of him, who had bin Created to Signorize and beare Maistry ouer all Beastes in the World. *pythagoras* tels vs, that the Ser- pent is engendred of the Marow which is in the Back-bone of a dead Man. And I remember, that (not long since) I read a good Authour, from whom I collec- ted these two verses:

(sepulchro,
*Sunt qui cum clauso putrefacta est spina
Mutare credant humanas angue medullas.
Of putred Marrow in the backs
of men, long lying dead
In Granes, some hold that Serpents,
for a cert ainty are bred.*

If this be credible (as some haue very constantly auouched) a very great rea- son may be thence deriued; to wit, that as the death of Man ensued by the Ser- pent, so the Serpent receiueth life by the death of Man. Moreouer, it is ne- cessary to bee knowne, and well worth the obseruation: that those paines and punishments, pronounced by God vp- on the Serpent, he did in like manner ordaine for the Deuill, according as *Ru- pertus* expoundeth them in this manner. *Sub nomine Serpentis, quem inuasit Diabo- lus, ipse percutitur, & qui per superbiam suam similem se altissimo fore puta- uit, propter malitiam suam infirma Crea- tura quam ipse vitiauit, iudicatur fieri pæ- naliter similis. Super pectus tuum gradieris inquit, tanquam diceret. Sicut hoc reptile cuius calliditate abusus es, super pectus su- um graditur; sic tu Diabole cum sis rationa- lis spiritus, rationale tuum semper graui fa- tuitate onerabis, & quocunque te verteris, semper intentionem tuā deorsum conteres, & factis pries contrarijs. Terram inquam cōmedes, & non Cælum, id est, non quo- rum conuersatio in cælis est, sed qui terre- na sapiunt, tibi cibus tuus erunt.* Vnder the Name of the Serpent, whereby the Deuill

Ven. Beda. in Allegor. sup. Bib.

Aug. sup. Genes. ad lit. lib. 12. Cap. 4.

Gen. 3, 1.

The Serpent vnderstand- eth no words.

Numb. 22, 28.

Rupert. sup. Ge- nes. Lib. 3. Ca. 2.

The Serpents wisdom ioy- ned with the Devils malice

Math. 10, 16.

Pet. Comestor. in Hist. Schol. ca. 2

Ven. Beda. in Allegor. sup. Bib.

The Serpent is not subtilē or venomous, in regard of the curffe.

How the Ser- pent is engen- dred.

The Serpent receiueth life by the death of Man.

Rupert sup. Ge- nes. Lib. 3. ca. 5.

The Deuill is smitten by the selfe-same meanes of his temptation.

Deuill made his inuasion, himselfe is smitten. And because (in his own pride) he imagined to bee afterward like vnto the most high: for his malicious dealing, by the meanest Creature which he abused, so the same punishments is he adiudged. Vpon thy breast, said God, shalt thou go. As if he would haue said: Like as this creeping Creature, whose wilnesse is abused, is to goe vpon his breast or belley; So (thou Deuill) because thou art a ratiouall Spirit, shalt alwaies beare the weighty burthen of thine owne reasonable folly. And which way soeuer thou turnest thee, thine intentions shall enermore be spent in vaine downward, and be still trodden vpon by contraries. Earth (I say) shalt thou eat, and not Heauen; That is, not such as haue their conuersation in Heauen, but such as trust to their earthly knowledge; they shall be as meat vnto thee. And then it followeth in the Text; *Inimicitias ponam inter te & mulierem, & semen tuum, & semen illius: ipsa conteret caput tuum, & tu insidiaberis calcaneo eius.* I will put enmity betweene thee and the Woman, and betweene thy Seed and her Seed: He shalt break thine head, and thou shalt bruise his heele.

Gene. 3, 15.

Great enmity betweene the Womans seed and the Serpent.

The naked sole of a Womans foote, is present death to a Serpent.

A Serpent biting a man by the sole of the foote, forthwith kills him.

Great enmities (in very deed) haue the Woman and her seed with this kind of creature; to wit, the Serpent. The seed of the Woman, that is *Iesus Christ*, who hath broken the head of that auncient Serpent the Deuill, As much to say; as the very print of his steps, hath abased al his vtmost practises. If the Woman do not daily actually break the head of the Serpent; yet is it neuertheless in her power continually to do it. For, if the naked sole of the foote of the Woman, can preuent the teeth of a Serpent; or, treading vpon his head neuer so lightly, forthwith he instantly dyeth: what shall we then say, when the like is not to be done (so soone and readily) by great leuers, Mallets, and Hammers, nor yet by Swordes, how sharpe soeuer they be? If on the contrary againe, the Serpent (who is so hainous to Man, that all his ayme is at his heele) do but fix his teeth on the neather part of the sole of the foote, he presently kills the man; because so soone as the venome of his bit dooth but touch the blood of a Man, it disperseth it selfe immediatly ouer all the body, and so the Serpent kills the enemy to his Nature, which is Man: Wherevpon the Poet *Lucan* said;

Noxia Serpentum est admixto sanguine pestris, Morsu virus habent, et fati in dente mimantur.

Lucan Lib. 9.

So hurtfull are the Serpents teeth, they pestilent the blood Of Man in byting, and his death can hardly be withstood.

10 Why then, looke how many kindes of Serpents there be, so many feuerall venoms there be, so many colours, so many torterings; and as many diuersities, so many dangers; yea, so many deaths. It shall not be any great sweruing from the matter, if now wee declare (in this place) what is signified by the flaming Sword, and the Cherubins set for the safety of Paradise. We vnderstand by the flaming Sword, the sentence of the Iudgement of God, which is said to be flaming: *In flamma ignis dabitis vindictam; In flaming Fire rendring vengeance*, saith the Apostle. Vndoubtedly, the Iudgement of GOD, is the Iudgement of the flame of Fire, for auengement of them that haue liued wickedly. *Cherubin*, is the Name of the Angelicall forces; that were placed without the Garden of Paradise, to guard the entrance to the Tree of Life; plainly to demonstrate, that wee cannot haue access to the Kingdome of Heauen, except we first passe through the fierie tryals of infinite afflictions, and be examined by the Ministry of the holy Angels. Saint *Paule* saith; *Si quis autem super aedificat super fundamentum hoc, aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosus, ligna, faenum, stipulam: Vniuscuiusque opus manifestum erit, dies enim Domini declarabit, qui in igne reuelabitur, & vniuscuiusque opus quale sit, ignis probabit.* And if any Man build on this Foundation, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Timber, Hay, Stubble: Euery Mans worke shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it, because it shall be reuealed by the Fire, and the Fire shall try euery mans worke, of what sort it is. How can wee otherwise gather from these wordes, but that they may be applied to the Flaming Sword, placed at the entrance of earthly Paradise. As signifying, that we must passe through the fires of many sharp afflictions, which try our actions to the vitermost; how, and in what maner they haue bin done; and being thus examined in those fierie tryals,

So many kinds of Serpents, so many perils to mans life.

Of the flaming Sword.

2 Thef. 1, 8.

Of the Cherubins.

1 Cor. 3, 12, 13.

His application of the flaming Sword; to our passage through many fiery afflictions.

Pfal. 66, 10.

Why the An-
gels are called
Cherubins.

Dan. 7, 10.

Lucan Lib. 10.

Leo Hebraico
in his Philoso-
phy of Louc.See Saint Am-
brose, his 4th.
Epistle, where
he declareth,
wherefore
Moyſes figured
carnall dele-
tation in the
ſemblance of
the Serpent.See also the
ſame Author,
in his Book of
Paradiſe.
Lib. 4. Cap. 15.

the words of the *Pſalmiſt* may be ſpoken to vs. *Quoniam probaſti nos Deus, igne nos examinaſti, ſicut examinatur argentum. For thou (ô God) haſt prooued vs, thou haſt tried vs, as Siluer is tryed.*

And by good reaſon are the Angels there placed, called *Cherubins*; that is to ſay, *Fulneſſe of Knowledge*: becauſe they are filled with Knowledge to Iudge, knowing whatſoever is written of vs in the Books; that is to ſay, they haue ſto- red vp in memory whatſoever we haue done, either good or euill. They read them ouer daily, & at length, will be re- hearded that which is written in thoſe Bookes, according as it is ſaid in *Daniel*; *And the Bookes were opened.* The Fire of this brandiſhed flaming Sword, is vn- acceſſible of vs Mortals. For they that haue gone vpward the Riuer of *Nylus*, to finde the Spring thereof, haue bene hindred from the effect of their deſire, in regard of a ſmouldring fiery vapour, which they haue not bene able to en- dure: as *Lucan* ſaith, diſcourſing on the ſiue *Zones* of Heauen; *Nilum videre ca- lentem; It is hot to ſee Nylus.*

And becauſe we are entred into this diſcourſe, which appertaineth ſo eſpe- cially to the third Chapter of *Genefis*; let mee not forget, what I haue not long ſince read, in an *Italian* Authour, called *Leo Hebraico*, a great Philoſopher, who in his Philoſophy of *Loue*, doth make an Allegoricall and Morrall ſenſe of moſt of that Chapter, which out of *Italian* I haue thus tranſlated. The Serpent (ſaith he) is the carnall Appetite, which inci- teth and firſt deceiueth the Corporall Feminine part. It is called Corporall, when it is found any way deuied from the intellect, which is tearmed the Huſ- band, reſiſting againſt his ſtriſt & ſeuere Lawes, to acquaint her ſelfe with carnal Delectations, and darken her Natiue ſplendour, with acquisition of ſuperfluous and abounding riches or treaſures. Then by ſenſuality (which is the Tree of knowing good and euill) ſhe ſhewes him thereby, that their eyes are to be opened; that is to ſay, that they would know many thinges of that Nature, as thoſe are, which is ſhewne them in the Tree of good and Euill, and (which be- fore) they knew not at all; to wit, ma- ny ſubtilties, cautels, and other notices, appertaining to Lubricity and Auarice.

Hereof they neuer dreamed before, vn- till it was tolde them, that they ſhould be herein like vnto God; to wit, in an a- bounding Generation. For, as God is the intelligent, and the heauens are pro- ductiue cauſes of Creatures to Men heere on earth: euen ſo man, by means of continuall Carnall Meditations, at- taineth to the encreasing of a great Li- nage. In which point, the Feminine bo- dily part, not only ſuffers her ſelfe to be ruled and guided (as reaſon requireth) by her vnderſtanding Huſband: but ſhee drawes him further alſo, euen into the quagmire of Corporall occaſions, to eate (with her) the Fruite of the for- bidden Tree. Whereupon, immediatly their eyes are then opened, not onely their intellectuall eyes, (which they ſhould rather ſtill haue kept cloſed) but thoſe beſides of corporall fantaſie, con- cerning carnall and laſciuious actions. And by this meanes, they perceiue the- ſelues to be naked; that is to ſay, they know the diſobedience of carnall deeds to the Intellect: and therefore, procure to couer the Generatiue Members, as ſhamefull Rebels to reaſon & wiſdome.

Afterward it is ſaid, that hearing the voyce of God, immediatly they hid themſelues; as much to ſay, that know- ing and acknowledging what Diuine thinges they had forſaken, they grew a- ſhamed, and ſo ſubſequentially to ſin, ſuc- ceeded the pain. Alſo the holy Hiſtory, doth ſeparately recite the appointed pu- niſhments; of the Serpent, of the Wo- man, and of the Man. The Serpent was curſed, beyond any other beaſt or crea- ture, to crawle along vpon his belly, and to eate duſt all his life time; enmity be- ing put betweene the Woman and her race on the one ſide, and the Serpent & his race on the other ſide. So that Man ſhould breake the head of the ſaide Ser- pent, and the Serpent bruife the heele of the Man. Whereby may bee vnder- ſtood, that the carnall appetite of Man, is much more immeaſurable, then in a- ny other Creature. And whereas the Serpent drags his belly on the earth, it implyeth, that hee thereby makes the hart of man to encline to earthly thinges, ſhun- ning ſuch as bee high and hea- uenly. And to eate duſt all his life time, becauſe hee nourisheth himſelfe with thoſe thinges which are more baſe and abieſt

God is the in-
telligent, and
the Heauens
the producing
cauſes of
Creatures.

After Sin the
punishment
neceſſarily
enſued.

The Serpent
curſed, and
no Creature
eſe.

The reaſon
why the Ser-
pent drags his
belly on the
earth, and
what is there-
by ſignified.

and abiect then dust. As for the hate & enmity betweene them; it signifieth, that the carnall appetite soileth the corporall part, & defaceth it by ouer-flowing excesse, whereby doe ensue many bodily imperfections; as also diuers kinds of death. Likewise, by this means, the carnall appetite becommeth defeated, enfeebled, loosing it selfe by the intemperance of the complexion, and diseases of the body.

The Woman sentenced to plurality of paines.

As for the Woman, who was punished by plurality of paines in her Conceptions, & to bring forth her children with teares and lamentations, and yet to haue desire to her Husband, he hauing the only absolute power ouer her: Of this we may say, that a lasciuious life procureth the anguish of the Body all pleasures to be dolorous, & their whole race or off-spring filled with pain, trouble and afflictions. Neuerthelesse, the louing the intellectuall part, as beeing her Husband in him remains the intellectuall power (aboue her) to rule and temper it, aptest to the actions of the body. In the next place commeth the Man, who hauing heard and giuen consent to the wordes of his Wife, and eaten the fruite of the forbidden Tree; he must also be punished. God said vnto him, that the earth should be accursed for his sake; In trauaile and paine should he Till it all his life time; It should bring forth Thornes and Thistles to him; He should feede on the Hearbs of the field, and eate his Bread in the sweate of his Browes, vntill hee were returned into that earth, fro whence he had bin taken.

The sentence pronounced against the Man.

Terrestrial things are dangerous to the vnderstanding part: as appeareth in the degrees of Mans punishments.

Hereof we may easily apprehend the Moral meaning; to wit, that Terrestrial things are cursed to the Intellect. They are meats of sadnesse, greefe, and heauinesse; that is to say, they striue to make Immortality partaker of Mortall things, and (by accident of earthly actions) they do wound and pierce that supream part, euen with Thornes, as it were. His food should be the Grasse & Hearbs of the field (which meat belongeth only to brute Beastes) because he gaue ouer his better life, soly to sensuality. Then, if he will eate any Bread, he must do it in the sweate of his Browes, labouring and trauailing: As much to say; As, if he haue a desire to eate Mans meat, & not that as the Beastes do; or, if

he would differ from them in manly actions; it should be very difficult for him so to doe, because of the contrary habitude, which he had already taken in brutish sensuality. It is also saide vnto him, that all these perturbations shal happen to him for his sin, vntill such time as he returne into the earth, from whence he was at first deriued. And so much the rather, because beyond all other things, (created only Mortall) he was made immortal: yet coueting to be but Earth and Dust (in hunting after Corporall finnes) this is the occasion that he must returne into dust, euen as he was at the beginning, resembling (in Mortality) the other Beasts of the earth. Whereby we gather, the pain & damnatiō of him, that giues himselfe wholly to sensuality.

The Text continuing on, saith; that Adam named his wife *Eua*, which name by Interpretation, is a talking, babling Creature: And *Wife*, because shee was the Mother of all things. To let vs vnderstand, that he named the Corporall part by a name common to brute beasts, in regard she was the cause, to produce all brutish abuse in Man. It denoteth withall, that God subiected their Intellect, and (of Contemplatiue) it became Actiue, basely to vnderstand and listen to the Bodies actions. Heerevpon they began to enstruct their vnderstanding in Arts, to make Garments of Beastes skins to couer them. Then are they expelled out of Paradise, to goe labour in the Earth; that is to say, Contemplation was taken from them; and they must now vnderstand Terrestrial things: neuerthelesse, power was yet left them, to eate of the Tree of Life, and so to liue eternally. To which effect the Text saith; *That God placed on the East side of Paradise, the Cherubins and the flaming Sword, to guard the way of the Tree of Life.* Where, the *Cherubins* doe signifie the two Angelicall intelligences concerning Man; to wit, the Agent, and the passible. And the flaming Sword which shaketh without Intermission, signifieth our humane fantasie; who returning from the Corporal, to seek the glorious light of the spirituall, games thereby this perswasion; that at length, leauing the corrupt way of Dust and Ashes, she may humbly attain the spirituall way to the Tree of Life, to liue in Eternity Intellectually. D 3 CHAP.

Sin the onely cause of Gods sentence against Man.

The interpretation of the womans name

Man bereft of Contemplation, is left subiect to earthly occasions.

Of the Cherubins, and the flaming sword

CHAP. XI.

Of Death, and that God neuer was the Ma-ker or Authour thereof.



After that our first Parents were expelled out of Paradise, they were brought vnder the subiection of Sin and Death, and (in them) all their whole posterity therevnto appointed. For Death is common to all Men, as it is said in the Law Licet, in Code, De pactis. And all Men must dye, concerning their Bodies. The Royall Prophet David saith; Quis est homo qui uiuet, & non uidebit mortem? What Man liueth, and shall not see Death? Statutum est omnibus semel mori; It is ordained to all Men once to dye: So saith the blessed Apostle Saint Paule: And a Greeke Poet saith;

ἅπαντες ἀποικαίθανεῖν ὀφείλου.

All Mortall men to dye is necessary.

Death (saith Saint Augustine, in his Booke against the Pelagians) Is nothing else but a priuation of life, hauing a Name, and no Essence. As hunger is said to bee defect of food; Thirst, lacke of Drinke; Darknesse, the absence of Light: euen so, Death is but a Name for want of life. There may be another diffinition made of naturall Death, as to say; that it is the separation of the Soule and the Body, and plato makes vs such a diffinition thereof: As in like manner doth Aulus Gellius, saying; ὄματ' ἔνα' ψυχῆς διάλις. Death then hauing a Name without Essence, God was not the Creator thereof, neither cause nor Authour, for all things that God made, had Essence. Which tearme of Essence, comprehendeth that which is, or that is to be born. Most true it is, that for the punishment of Sinne, God pronounced the sentence of death against Man: but there is great difference, betweene pronouncing the sentence of Death, and to bee the cause of Death. They are the wordes of Salomon, and not mine; Deus mortem non fecit, nec latatur in perdi one uiuorum. God hath not made Death, neyther hath he plea-

sure in the destruction of the liuing. Creauit enim, ut essent omnia, & sanabiles fecit nationes orbis terrarum; For he created all thinges, that they might haue their beeing, and the Generations of the World are preserved. But in another place he saith; Inuidia autem Diaboli mors intrauit in orbem terrarum. Through enuy of the Deuill came Death into the World.

10 The Deuill then being the Authour of Sinne, is also the Authour of Death, by Sinne. The Deuill could incite Man to sin, but he could not constraime him to yeelde consent. ADAM could keepe himselfe well enough from tasting the Tree of Life; but Gods will was, that he should not sinne, and so (consequently) would not haue him to dye. But leauing Life, and taking Death, and following then the free liberty of his will, he made himselfe Mortall, and his fault and disobedience was the cause of Death to him, and all men else beside. The Apostle Saint Paule saith; Propterea sicut per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intrauit, & per peccatum mors: & ita in omnes homines mors pertransit in quo omnes peccauerunt. Wherefore, as by one Man Sin entred into the World, and Death by Sinne: and so went Death ouer all men, forasmuch as all men haue sinned.

20 We haue then nothing more certaine or assured, then Death; neuertheless, the day and the houre thereof is most vncertain to vs: when, in what place, or how a Man is to dye, that only is in the Will, Power, and Knowledge of God. It is an wholesome and profitable thing for a Christian Man, to haue Death in his remembrance by contiual Meditation, and very often to thinke thereon: in regard, that as the forgetfulness of Death, is the cause of a Mans falling into Sinne, so the Memory thereof, turneth him quite from Sinne. Iesus the Sonne of Sirach saith; In omnibus operibus tuis memorare nouissima tua, et in aeternum non peccabis. Whatsoeuer thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt neuer sinne. And the Kingly Psalmist saith; Cogitari dies antiquos: & annos aternos in mente habui. Et meditatus sum nocte cum corde meo & exercitabar, & scopebam spiritum meum. I considered the daies of old, and the yeares of ancient time. I called to remembrance my Song in the night, I communed with mine owne heart, and

Man made Subject to Sin and Death.

Psal. 89, 48.

August. in Lib cont. Pelag. Ca. 9

Aul. Gel. in Lib 2. de Noct. At- tic. Cap. 8.

God neuer made Death, nor is the Authour thereof. Wisd. 1, 13, 14

Wisd. 2, 24.

The Deuill is the Author of Death, by being the Authour of Sinne.

See In sin Martyre, in his answeres to the Orthodoxicall questions 32. Quest.

Rom. 5, 12.

Nothing more certaine then Death, but the time vncertaine.

A Christian Mans Meditation dailie, should be of Death.

Eccles. 7, 36.

Psal. 77, 5, 6.

and my Spirit searched diligently. Plato affirmeth, That the life of a wise man, is meditation on Death. Therefore watch and pray, for ye know not at what hour the Lord will come; let vs so labour, that he may finde vs ready, to drinke the same bitter draught, whereunto (in our first Parents) we are made subiect.

CHAP. XII.

The strange opinion of the Egyptians, concerning the scope of a mans life time, judging it by the proportion of the heart.



That whereof I am now to speake, may seeme a nouelty to many, and fabulous to diuers others, because it is a matter very difficult to be prooued: Nor do I purpose to binde my selfe, to iustifie or maintaine the truth thereof; albeit (in my iudgement) their authority that haue written on the same Argument, may graunt it for true, or very likely. Pliny, and Marcus Varro, discoursing on the time of a Mans life, do affirme; that the learned Egyptians had found out by experience, that Man (according to the course of Nature) could not liue aboue an hundred yeares. But if any one happened to out-step that limitation; it was iudged by particular influence, and power of the Starres, a thing (in Natures worke) very strange and maruailous.

The Foundation of this their settled perswasion, they gathered and conceiued by the hart of a Man, which hauing made prooffe of many times, by order of Anatomy; they thereby attained to the knowledge of very wonderfull secrets. For, say they; when a Man-Childe is a full yeare old, his heart poyzeth the weight of two of their Drams: Foure when hee is two yeares old, and so onward (as many yeares as hee liues) his heart encreaseth in weight a couple of Drammes yearely. So that when hee commeth to the age of fifty yeares, his heart then weigheth an hundred dramms. But thence forward, it is not more ponderous, but proportionably diminisheth his weight (ratably eucry yeare)

by two Drammes, euen according as before it encreased. So that at the age of an hundred yeares, the heart (by continuall decreasing) becomes to bee nothing in poize; and then (consequently) the man of necessity dies, if (by some other accidentall occasion) he dye not before: Because there are so many kinds of seuerall occasions, which can and do customarily hasten death, before men arriue at halfe the time of making this experiment in themselves.

If this do seeme strange to any of vs, yet let it be held for infallible, that the Egyptians obserued it as most certaine, according as these recited Authors doe auouch, beside others likewise liuing in our times; as Caelius Rodiginus alledging Dioscorides, speakes thereof (among other) many notable things. The like doth Petrus Crinitus, in his Book of honest Discipline. Galiot de Nargni, in his Booke of Man; and Cornelius Agrippa. I thought good to acquaint you with these seuerall Testimonies, because (with many) the matter is hard to be credited; therefore let euery man lend beliefe, as to himselfe seemeth best.

And in regard we are now discoursing on the Heart of Man, wherein doth consist such infinite excellencies, euen in that one litle part, because we would be loath to handle one point single or alone; let vs learne somewhat of that woorthy Phylosopher Aristotle, who saith; The Heart of Man is lodged on the left side in his body, but in all other creatures, it is naturally in the midst of their brest; and this doth he affirme in his first Booke of the nature of Beasts. It is also a common receiued opinion among naturall Phylosophers, that the very first part which is formed of Man, is the Heart, as the maine roote of al his other members; the Spring or Fountaine of Natural heat; & it is also the only member, that last looseth his mouing, and dyeth in man. It is a member so Noble & Delicate, as it can endure no touching, but presently the man dies.

Pliny reciteth another maruaile, which yet he maintaineth to happen many times; to wit, that men haue bin found with their Hearts rough or Hayrie; and he that hath it so, is a valiaunt man, and stoutly disposed. As was experimented in the dissection of Aristomenes.

Col. Rodigin. in 10. lib. de Antiq. Lect. Pet. Crinit. in lib. de Discip. Gal. de Narg in lib. de Hom. Cor. Agripp in lib. 2 de secret. Philo.

Arist. in lib. de nat. Anima.

The first part that is formed of man, is his Hart, it liueth first, and dieth last.

Plin. lib. xi cap. 37.

Plin. in lib. xi. de Hist. natu. Cap 36. Marcus Varro.

The Egyptians by experience found out, that man could not liue aboue an hundred yeares.

A secret worthy obseruation.

The Heart of Man decreaseth in weight as it encreased

Aristomenes
flew 300. men
in one battell,
with his owne
hand.

Suetonius Tranquil.
in vit. Calig.
Plin. lib. 11. c. 9

If a man bee
poysoned, his
heart cannot
be burnd with
fire.

The seate of
Laughter is
in the heart.

Sadnesse and
Melancholy
also commeth
from the hart.

Ven. Bede in
Comment. sup.
Mark.

menes, who with his owne hand flew (in one battaile) three hundred *Lacedemonians*; and escaping (afterward) manie great perils, only by means of his great valour, being dead, he was opened, and h's heart found to be very hayry. *Suetonius Tranquillus*, in the life of *Caligula*, (and *Pliny* also saith the same) that if a man dye by poyson, his Heart cannot bee burned, although it be throwne into the verie hottest fire; according as was verified by the Hart of *Germanicus*, the Father of *Caligula*; and the like hath bin tried, by such as haue died of *Cardiaca*, the Heart-ake, which some do term the falling sicknesse.

Moreouer, it is to be noted, that the strength of Laughter or laughing, abideth in the little Skinnes or Celles of the Heart. In approbation whereof, ancient Historians writing of the Romain *Gladiatores*, Fencers, or Sword-players, do affirme; that they being wounded in those folds, or thinne Wrappers of the Heart, thinges haue falne out at those Wounds, like little Threds, and they haue dyed in extreamity of Laughter. Now, euen as ioy or laughter proceedeth from the Heart, so likewise is Sadnesse and Melancholy thence deriued sensibly; and good or euill immaginations in like manner. Our Words are begotten in it; And many are of Opinion, that it is the principall seate and residence of the Soule: which seemes to be confirmed by the saying of our Sauiour himselfe, *That badde and wicked thoughts do come out of the Heart*. And that which enters at the Mouth, defileth not at al, because they are but thinges indifferent. Likewise, venerable *Bede*, in his Commentaries vpon *Saint Marke*, saith; *The cheefest seat of the soule is not in the Braine*, according as *Plato* hath maintained; but in the Heart, agreeing with the speeches of our Sauiour Christ.

CHAP. XIII.

The Reason wherefore Man goeth vpright. Why hee is more waighty fasting, then when he hath taken som sustenance: And the cause why he is heauier when hee is dead, then being aliuie: With many other speciall Observations.



Contemplatiue occasions, which do concerne the composition of men, are wel neer infinit. *Lactantius Firmianus* hath thereof Written a Booke by himselfe, only touching that argument, & so haue diuers other learned men done the like. And in truth, there is one thing (among the plentiful store of others) that deserueth periculer consideration in the knowledge thereof, that is; wherefore God hath made all other creatures (Man only excepted) with their heades stooping or bending downward, with their eies (for the greater part) looking to the earth: & not onely sensitiue creatures, such as are brute beasts; but likewise the vegetatiue Bodies; as Plants, Trees, and such like, who haue their heads & foundations within the earth, and their armes or branches highly extended. As for man, he onely was created with his eies vp toward heauen, his face aloft, and his body strait, in eleuated proportion. Now albeit, for a full and compleat reason in this case, it were sufficient to aledge the wil of God to haue it so; yet it seemeth beside, to relish and tast of some hidden Misterie or secrecy, and therefore it wel deserueth to haue further speculation.

To begin then with our very disposition; me thinkes it teacheth vs by manifest apparance, that we were not created or borne for the earth; but rather, that the purpose of our creation, was to imitate and contemplate high and celestiall matters, which are not comunicable to other creatures, neither are they capable of them, or any (but man only) worthy to behold them. God made all the beasts with their heads deiccted, declaring thereby, that man had the rule & command ouer them. One of these reasons is most elegantly noted by *Lactantius Firmianus*, saying; *God hauing determined to make man for Heauen, & all other creatures for the earth; he created man of a reasonable soule, strait, and with an erected body, disposed to Celestiall Contemplations; to the end, that hee might admire their effects, and hold in reuerence the place of his Originall, and the Countrey of his Natiuity. The other Beastes hee made Base, Crooked, and bending downe vnto the Earth, because they haue no participation in Heauen. Aristotle* who had not so much as the very glimpse

Why GOD made all creatures else, but Man, locking downward.

A hidden secret and Mystery in the composition of Man.

The disposition of man declareth hee was not borne for the earth.

Lactan. Firm.
in lib. 8. de Oper. Dei.

Arist lib. 2. de Animal.

glimpse of light, concerning faith, saith; *That only Man (among all other Creatures) goeth vpright, because that his substance & best part thereof, are Celestiall, and not Terrestriall; and that the Office of Diuine Spirits, is to vnderstand and know.* But heerein man could neuer haue knowne how to exercise himselfe, if he had had a heauy, huge, and deiected bodie, because the waight and burthen of such corporall sense, doth nothing but make the vnderstanding dull and slothful. The learned *Thomas Aquinas*, forgetting nothing in discursion & examining, leaues not this question without determination. For, in his exposition vppon Youth and Age, he saith; *For two causes was man formed vpright towards Heauen. The one, to be the most perfect of all the creatures, & to be he that most pertaketh and neereſt approacheth to the quality of Heauen. The other, because that in the proportion of his body, he is more hot then any other Beast; & the Nature of heat, is, to lift vp it selfe. All other creatures do containe a meane, as lesse participating of the Celestiall quality, and lesse haue they of this heate, whereby to eleuate themselues: for this cause, they are not in disposition or shape like vnto the glorious Image of Man.*

Heerein it appeareth, that *Thomas Aquinas* followed the opinion of the *Platonists*, who held, *That heate and the Spirits of man (wherin he aboundeth more then any liuing thing, regard being had of the proportion of his body) are the causes why he goeth eleuated and vpright, as he doth.* For, by meanes of the strength and vigor of his Spirits and Blood, he listeth and vprighteth himselfe: wherein also hee is holpen by the composition of the Elements, whereof man is composed in such equality and measure of waight, as he can erect and mount vp himselfe. And something else there is in this case to be considered, to wit; that partly in regard of his soule, and partly of his body, man is moued to the loue and contemplation of Heauen; therefore, hee ought to thinke & consider of nothing, but high, spirituall, and good matters; and contrarywise, to contemne and despise base earthly businesſes. Neuerthelesse, many times we are so affected to the abiect respect of worldly considerations, that when our eies and countenances are fixed on Heauen, our hearts

and spirits are too too low humbled vpon earth.

Concerning the propriety of the Spirits of man, whereof we haue now treated, *Pliny* aledgeth another thing, which though it be not of such importance as the others are, yet it cannot but giue pleasing and content to such as know it not, or haue not so much as dreamed, on that which dayly experience maketh manifest: he saith, *That a man being dead, waigheth heauier then when hee is liuing;* and the same he maintaineth in al other kinde of Creatures. Hee likewise affirmeth, *That a man that hath eatē any thing, weigheth lesse then he did when he was Fasting.* *Erasmus* in a certaine Problem of his, doth say as much, with diuers other notable things, alledging the same Reasons as *Pliny* doth; which are all grounded on the Essence of the vitall Spirits, and the Ayre, which comforts & cheers them vp, as we haue before approued. The like is said of a man fasting, that his waight is then more ponderous, then when he hath eaten; albeit it appears in common iudgement, that he should be then lightest, because refection hath more charged him.

And yet notwithstanding, it is so for certaine, and there is no maruell to be made thereat, for drinking and eating do encrease those vitall Spirits which giue cherrishing to man, enlarging and multiplying naturall heate within him. And hence commeth it, that when one man essaicth to lift vp another from the ground, if he that is lifted vp be so pleased, he may make himselfe the heauier, by breathing forth abundantly the inward Ayre in his body: but if he retain and hold it in, hee makes himselfe then to be the lighter. So when a man runneth, he retaineth his breath onely, to hast him away the more speedily: for, the Ayre being a very light Element, coueteth to raite him the loftier in running, euen vnto his ayery place of abiding.

Experience heerein may be a present Tutor, by any Skin or Bladder, which being throwne into the Water empty, and not blowne vp with Ayre, sinketh of it selfe forthwith to the bottom: but let it bee filled with ayre, which is the breath of man, it floateth lightly on the face of the water. *Pliny* also telleth vs, that

A further Relation concerning the Spirits of man.

Plin. in Hist. Nat. lib. 7.

Erasm. in Probl. 5. & 6.

That a man is heauier fasting, then when he hath fed.

Eating and drinking, doe cheare vp the spirit of Man.

A familiar triall of a mans weight.

A Bladder not blowne with winde, sinketh of it selfe.

Thom. Aquin. in Sum. cap. 10. Quest. 9.

Two especiall causes why mā was made Vpright.

The *Platonists* opinion concerning mans going vpright

Man in regard of his soule & bodye goeth vpright

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that

A man drowned, ariseth with his face upward, but a woman hath hers downward.

that a body dead in the water, if it be of a man, in rising, he hath his face vp towards Heauen; but if it be of a woman, she ariseth with her face downeward; wherein she may giue some honour to Nature, for so wise and discrete a provision, so to conceale the vnfighly Secrets of the Woman. Beyond al this, there is yet another naturall reason, to wit; that a Woman weigheth heauiest in her fore-part, by reason of hir breasts; and a man heauiest behinde, because of his shouldets.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Supreme Dignity of the Head above all other Members of the Body. That it is an euill signe to haue a little Head, or a strait breast. And whence it came, that it is accounted as a courtesie and honor, to take off the Cap or Bonnet, in saluting one another.



If it bee such an excellent preheminance, that Man among all other creatures hath his bodye of vpright stature, and his face aduanced to beholde Heauen, as his Hart also to meditate on Heauenly Matters; why then vndoubtedly, the head, which is the most eminent, lawdable, & highest part among all the others members, by reason, ought to haue aduantage & authority about the rest. And in verie deed, all the other parts are but as guardes and obedient Seruants to him; because, so soone as any harme or annoyance happeneth to the Head; presently the Foot, the Hand, the Arme, and all the other Members beside, do naturally endeouour for his helpe and defence. For in him consisteth the security of them all; in regard, that if the head bee diseased, all the other parts of the bodie, do feele the smart thereof.

The Head ought to haue preheminece ouer the other members.

Ambrose in Epist. 24.

Saint Ambrose giues vs an especiall Comendation of the Head, sayeng; *The facture and composition of the Bodie, is a weere example of the whole world. And as Heauen is the most eminent and principall part, and the ayre and the other Elements thereto inferiour: so is the Head of Man su-*

preame to the other parts, as being their Governour, Lord and Maister; because they are but as a Casile or Cittadell, seated vnder a maine Rocke, in the midst of a Citty. In him lodgeth wisdom and Industry, which gouerneth euery part of the body; from him, both power and prudence is deriued, and (as Salomon saith) *The eyes of the Wiseman is in his head.* Lactantius Firmianus saith, *The Lord there placed the Head of man, to the end, that in him might remaine the Empire and Gouernement ouer all the Beasts.* Galen giues the Head the principality ouer all the other members of man. And Plato in his *Timeus*, nameth it *The whole Body of Man*. Being then of so great importance, and the Sanctuarie of the bodies Sences, and Powers; it were necessary that his forme and greatnesse, should be proportionable & fitting for such a potent priuiledge.

Belike it was vpon this Reason, that Paulus Eginetus saide in the first of his Bookes of Physicke: *The ouer-little Head of a man, is a signe that hee hath very little Iudgement, and wanteth a good Brain.* The same Reason is alledged by Iohannes Alexandrinus, saying; *The little Head is as vnhealthfull, as the strait brest lockt vp and chested: Because that as the breast is the lodging of the Hart and Lungs, who cannot (without great danger) endure a strict enclosure, in regard that the hart being narrowly shut vp, cannot conueniently mooue it selfe, but looseth and diminisheth his Natural heat; and beside, decayeth al digestion: Euen so, in like manner, it behooueth, that the Head or dwelling place of the Organs, belonging to so many powers and vnderstandings, should be of a competent proportion.* Galen affirmeth the very same, & maintaineth, *That a little Head, is a manifest token of little intelligence, and an vnstable Brain;* So that a Head of a good and indifferent proportion, signifieth a free and liberall vnderstanding.

The Naturall Phylosophers say, that a man hauing his Head trenched or bowed inward, cannot liue long. And if a man haue his Head cut off, whereby he cannot mooue or goe; yet, it is not through defect of respiration, but because all his Nerues are cut in sunder in the suprem place; and they are the Instruments and wayes of all the Bodyes Motions, euen as they are in all other Creatures liuing. Neuerthelesse, Auer-

Prouerb. 12. 9

Lactan. Firmian. in lib. de oper. Dei.

Galen. in lib. 1. de ass. Feb.

Plato in Tim.

Paul Eginet. in 1. lib. de Med.

The little head of a man, is, a signe of little wisdom.

Iohan. Alexan. in Comment. sup. pest. de Hippocrat.

Galen. ubi supra.

Aucr. in 7. lib. de Med.

roes

A man wal-
ked, after his
Head was
smitten off.

Plin. lib. de A-
nimal. 11.
Man, and a
Horſe becom
white-headed

Many famous
men that
could daily go
bare-headed,
in raine, ſtor-
mes, or heate.

Of the Reue-
rence of Vai-
ling the Bon-
net.

Plutar. in Probl.
Cap. 9.

The reue-
rence of Kin-
ges & Princes
to their Sacri-
ficing Priests.

roes faith, That he ſaw a poore vnfortu-
nate Patient, who hauing his Head ta-
ken off, walked too and fro (for a ſmall
while) in ſight of all the people. It is al-
ſo written of *Dionifius Areopagita*, that
after his Head was ſmitten off, hee wal-
ked certaine paces. Some ſay, it was a
league and more from the place of his
Execution, but this was more myracu-
lous, then Naturall. Among all other
liuing Creatures (as *Pliny* auoucheth)
Man only, and a Horſe, do becom ſoo-
neſt Hoary and white-headed, eſpecial-
ly towards their latter daies. Man, be-
cauſe he hath his Head rounder, higher
aduanced, and cleaner from putrifacti-
on, is therefore the more ſure & ſtrong
in his Head; where contrariwiſe, who
ſo ſauoureth moſt of imperfect moy-
ſture, is commonly of weakeſt and ſlen-
dereſt Iudgement or capacity.

We read of diuers worthy and vali-
ant men, who haue had their Heades ſo
ſolid, ſound, and well affected, that they
could go daily bare and diſcouered. As
among others: *Iulius Caſar*, *Hanniball* of
Carthage, and *Maſaniſſa* king of *Namidia*,
who wold neuer couer his Head, either
in his oldeſt age, nor yet for rain, ſnow,
rough ſtormes and winds, or parching
Heat of the Sun. We read the like alſo
of the Emperours, *Adrian* and *Seuerus*,
with diuers other of the ſame diſpoſiti-
on. And ſeeing we haue ſpoken ſo much
of the Head, methinkes it were good
likewiſe to know for what reaſon, and
whence it enſued, that it was reputed
for a courteſie, when one man tooke off
his Bonnet or Hat before another, in
ſigne of Reuerence; and that it was ſo
conceiued, if a man diſcouered his head:
we will therefore not forbear to ſpeak
ſomwhat thereof, although it may ſeem
but of ſlender conſequence.

Plutarch ſaith in his Problemes, that
in his opinion, this is the reaſon. In An-
cient time (ſaith he) he which offered ſacri-
fice vnto the Goddeſſe, kept his Bonnet on his
Head al the while. And that Princes and
worthy perſonages, to do courteſie and Ho-
nor to the Sacrificer, in regarde of his high
function, would (in humble manner) diſco-
uer their heads before him: becauſe it ſhould
not appeare, that they would preſume to pa-
ragon his ſupream authority, or equalize
themſelues with the Goddeſſe; but ſatisfied
both thus, in honouring their Sacrificer. He

further tels vs, that it was the uſe, that
when a man met his enemy, or any other
that he hated, if his head had bene bare
before, either by heate or otherwiſe, he
would inſtantly couer it, in deſpight (as
it were) of him, And yet he thought it
fitting, that before his Prince or Friend,
he ſhould be bare.

Marcus Varro, agreeing with *Pliny*,
10 faith and maintaines it; that at the firſt
beginning heereof, it was not doone in
regard of awe or reuerence, that men
diſcouered their Heads in the preſence
of Magiſtrates: but only, that through
want of wearing their Bennets, they
might make themſelues more health-
full, ſtrong, and hardy; for which cauſe
only, and to ſhew themſelues ſuch, they
bared theit heads; and not for any duty,
20 as hath bin imagined. *Galiottus* of *Narg-
ni*, is of opinion, that when a man diſ-
couereth his head to do any one honor,
he giues therby alſo to vnderſtand, that
in baring the principall, beſt, and moſt
worthy member of Man, he offers and
puts himſelfe into his power, whom he
ſalutes; as ſaying and confeſſing to bee
his Inferiour.

Lodouicus Cælius alledgeth and rende-
30 reth almoſt the ſelfe-ſame reaſon; ſay-
ing; In regard the Head is the principall of
all the other Members, and whereunto they
ſerue and obey for his defence: euen ſo, is it
a ſign of honor and reuerence, when that ſu-
preame part diſcouereth it ſelfe in humilitie.
All which notwithstanding, let the
cauſes be as they are taken, yet it is both
hurtfull and ſcarſe commodious; to bee
thus continually reuerend to men. And
40 much better were it, that theſe Reue-
rences and ſalutations for duty, reſpect,
or whatſoever, by courteous language
might be performed only.

CHAP. XV.

50 Whether euill Dæmons and Spirits, can fore-
tell thinges to come, they hauing no cer-
taine knowledge.

NEither do the Good Angelles, or
the euill Spirits, know or appre-
hend things futurely to happen,
as of themſelues, for that is in the power
and

Men would
couer their
Heads, mee-
ting their eni-
mies.

Plin. lib. 28.

Men did not
bare their
Heads to Ma-
giſtrates for
reuerence,
but to make
themſelues
hardie and
ſtrong.

Galiot. de Narg-
ni. in lib. de
Hom.

Lodouic. Cælius.
lib. 11.

Baring of the
Head, is a dif-
commodious
kinde of cur-
teſie.

The good an-
gelles haue
knowledge of
future acci-
dents.

*Arist. Polit. lib.
1. cap. 7.*

The Devils
mingle lies &
truth together
only thereby
to deceiue
men.

2. Kings 2, 22

The Gods of
the Gentiles,
were meere
lying Devils.

and Science of the liuing God onely. True it is, that the good Angelles haue an intelligence of future occasions, yet not in their owne Nature, but according as God giues it them by reuelatiō. The Devils also do sometimes foresee what is to ensue, yea a long time before it hapneth, by disposition of the celestially and inferiour bodies; like as men do sometimes foretell by knowledge in Astrology, bad and sterile seasons, from fruitfull and plenteous. As *Thales Milesius* (by meanes of the Stars) foretolde the abundance of Oliues which should be the yeare following. Somtimes likewise, the euill Dæmons or Spirits, doe presage future matters, by coniecture only, and then their predictions do euer fall out to the contrary. For it is their habit and custome, to mingle lyes with truth, to the end, that they may the more easily perswade the falshoode. Euen in like manner, as they vse to do, that are preparing a poyson, they mingle it with Wine, Hony, or some sweet thing, that the deadly venome may be couered & hidden vnder the sweet shadow: & it doth not a little delight those peruerse spirits, when they can any way abuse the credulity of men, by lying, in their Mystical prædictions of things to happen.

Wee finde it written in the second Booke of Kings, that an euill spirit being desirous to deceiue *Achab* King of Israel, said to the Eternall; *I will go out, and be a false Spirit in the Mouthes of all his Prophets.* Wherewith the Prophets of *Achab* being instructed, they and the lying Spirit assured him, that hee should haue the victory against the Assyrians. And yet notwithstanding, *Achab* was slaine in that battell, according to the words of the true Prophet *Micheas*. *Porphirius* saith, *That the Goddess do often lye, & that the certaine foresight of future things, is not only oblique and vncuen to men, but likewise most vncertaine to the Goddess themselves, being full of many ambiguities.* Nor indeed were the Gods of the Gentiles (wherof *Porphirius* thus spake) any other then wicked Dæmons or Spirits, as plainly may be noted by the name of *Belzebub*, as much to say, as God or lord of Flies; the Idoll of whom, was adored by the *Accaronites*.

Moreouer, the Devils are said to bee

learned, and haue knowledge in the Sacred Scriptures, as appeareth in the gospell of *S. Mathew*; where it is declared, that *Sathan* brought our Saviour into the holy City, and hauing set him vpon the Pinnacle of the Temple, he said vnto him; *Si filius Dei es, mitte te deorsū: Scriptum est enim, quia angelis suis mandauit de te, & in manibus tollent te, ne forte offendas ad lapidē pedem tuum.* If thou be the Son of God, cast thy selfe downe, for it is writtē, that he wil giue his Angels charge ouer thee, & with their hands they shal lift thee vp, lest at any time thou shouldst dash thy foot against a stone. Which allegation of scripture, *Sathan* had borrowed, or rather stoln from *Dauid*, in his 91. Psalme, where the verie words are likewise set downe.

The good Father *Athanasius* recordeth, that an holy Religious man, discovered diuers subtilties of the Deuil, and acquainted therewith sundry of his louing Brethren, saying vnto thē, among other of their qualities, in this manner: *It is their custome also, to sing very melodiously, and yet are not seene; With their impure mouths (O horrible guile) they meditate and talke of holy Scriptures. When wee are reading in them, like Ecchoes they wil often make aunswere to our last wordes, &c.* Heereby wee may perceiue, that those vnclean Spirits do vnderstand the scriptures, but they apply them (by false exposition) to their own wicked purpose.

CHAP. XVI.

40 *Of the sign of the Crosse, that it was in great estimation long before our Saviour Iesus Christ was crucified thereon. Also, how before Letters were known or inuented, the Egyptians wrote their mindes by Figures, Characters, and Hieroglyphickes, applying them to many notable vses.*

50 **L**ong before our Saviour and Redeemer Iesus Christ suffered vpon the Crosse, the signe of the crosse was regarded and esteemed, as a Prognosticke sign, fatall and ominous to some. But the Egyptians caused it to be engrauen on the breasts of their Idoll *Scrapis*, which they reuerenced and honoured

Math. 4, 6.

Psa. 91, 11, 12

S. Athanasius
of the subtilties
of the deuils.

Scrapis was an
Idoll among
the Egyptians
in forme of
an oxe, which
they worship-
ped.

noured as their God. But for our better manifestation, how much this Figure hath bin respected; it is expedient first to know, that the ancient *Arabians*, who were most skilfull in iudgement of the Heavens, and the powerfull influences of the Starres, did vse to make (for many causes) Images and figures Carued in Stones, Mettals, Rings, & other things, for obseruation of certain pointes, and dayes of marke or note; whereof we purpose to speake in more conuenient place. Among all which signes, they most especially affected that of the Crosse, as attributing more efficacy and Vertue thereto, then they did to any of the other; because therby they compassed the knoledge of darke secrets, which with great curiosity they concealed to themselves, and hardly would impart to their children or dearest friends.

I purpose not to meddle with the opinion of *Marsilius Ficinus*, describing it in diuers manners, because the price of our redemption was paid thereon; but doe meane to consider the figure of the Crosse in it selfe meere. For in Geometrical contemplation, it is allowed to be a most excellent & perfect figure, because it containeth (in it self) an equal length and largeness. It is composed of two strait lines, euery way equall; the ioynture whereof, as it is taken by his Center, shapeth by his points & yt most reaches, an absolute perfect roundure. It containeth foure seuerall corners, directly each way extended, wherein is the greatest effects of the stars, because they haue the greater force and Vertue when they are extended to their extremities, and come nearest to the corners of East, West, North, and South: and being so seated, their very splendor then shapeth it selfe in signe of a Crosse, if with wary iudgement it be duely considered. Moreover, I could shew the reason wherefore the Egyptians so esteemed it beyond all their other markes and figures, & what signification they made therof: but my meaning is to speak first of some other of their Images, as also of their Hieroglyphicall Characters, with their purport and interpretation.

Before the Egyptians knew any letters, they wrote their intentions by Figures, Carracters, and Ciphers of diuers things; as Birds, Beasts, Trees, or

by some of their owne perticular members; wherein they grew to be so prompt and ready, as they quickly apprehended the signification of any thing, onely by the frequent vse made thereof; the Father first instructing his Sonne, and so discending from one succession to another, as is witnessed by *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Strabo*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, from whom, and from many places of *Plinie*, I haue Collected some scantlings of their reasons.

First of all, by the Gripe, they vnderstood Nature, because (say they) of that kind of Fowle, they neuer knew a male: the same affirmeth *Amianus Marcellinus*. By the Hawke or Falcon, they intended such things as were to be done quick & expeditiously, figuring this their meaning, by the swiftnesse and celeritie of the Fowle. By the Bee, they vnderstood the Dignity of a King; because (sayde they) a King ought to haue both Honey and a sting. By the Basiliske or Serpent, that round circled it selfe with his taile in his mouth, they figured the reuolution of the year, because it endeth where it beginneth. The Wolfes head, pointed at time being past; in regarde, that Beast hath no memory, but is all for the instant. The Lyons head, figured the time present, because of his power and imperious command. They set downe the head of a Dogge, licking his chaps with his Tongue, whereby they presented time to come, for euermore, our succeeding hopes do make vs to cherish them very carefully. The Oxe, signified the Earth, in regard of the great labour of the Beast. Iustice was Charactered by the Storke, for they alledged, (and many more haue affirmed as much) that this Bird dooth Iustice and Equity to his begger, feeding and cherishing him in his age, as the other first had nourished him, and brought him vppe diligently in his Nest.

They described Enuy by the Eele, because it neuer keepe company with other Fishes. The Liberall Man, was figured by a Right-Hand wide open: As contrariwise, the auaricious Niggard was, by a Left-Hand close gripte. The Crocodile, being a Beast of very vile qualities, by him they presupposed a deceitfull wicked man. The Eye figured wide open, gaue demonstratio of the

E man,

The signe of the Crosse highly respected by the old *Arabs*.

Marsili Ficini in *lib. de trib. vit.*

The figure of the Crosse in Geometry, like the foure Corners of the world.

What the Egyptians did describe their minds by, before they knew letters.

Amian. Marcel
Lib. 14.
Lib. 17.
Lib. 4.

Hieroglyphicall Characters, and their applications.

An especiall note of Iustice and Equity, and a good lesson for youth.

man, who was a dilligent obseruer of iust actions. By the ear they vnderstood memory. And a man that was of exquisite memory, of him they gaue notice by the shape of a Hare, hauing both her cares wide open, and her eies bent forward. And thus could they discourse on all things, by practise and experience in such like retemblaunces, euen aswell as if they had bene written to them in Letters.

We returne now againe to our former speeches of the Crosse, holding it somewhat memorable, that among so many other seueral signes, it only shold be the most euident and knowne Character. And they placed it on the brest of their Idoll God, to signifie their future hope of Happinesse; and prognosticating (as it were) so long before, what vniuersall vse should afterwarde bee made thereof; as in adorning the wreaths and Diadems of Emperours, Kings, and other Potentates; the beautie of their stampes and Coines: but especially, the distinguishing of Christians, from barbarous Infidels. So speaketh *Ruffinus* in his Ecclesiastical History, and *Petrus Criuitus* the like, in his seuenth Booke of honest Discipline, as also *Marsilius Ficinus* before alledged. But contrariwise, among the *Romain* Iewes, and other such like people, the death of the Crosse was reputed most ignominious. And *Constantine* the Emperor, was the first that prohibited the condemned to death, from being any longer crucified; because GOD had miraculously shewne him in a Crosse in the aire, with promise (vnder that Standard) to conquer; whereof making triall, he fought with his enemy *Maxentius*, a great persecutor of the Christians, & vanquished him in the field, according as it is witnessed by *Eusebius*. So much shal serue to be spoken concerning the sign of the crosse, without any superstitious opinion thereof, or any friuolous worshppe yeilded therto, as too many (mistaking the true meaning) fondly & vainly do; but in all times it hath bene almost a custome, to draw error out of good intentions, and to wound with abuse, things meerly indifferent in themselues.

The Vniuersall vse made of the signe of the Crosse.

Ruf. in hist. Eccles. cap. 9. Pet. Criuit. lib. 7 de ciuil. Df.

Constantine his vision in the ayre, the sign of the Crosse.

Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. lib. 9.

CHAP. XVII.

The excellency of Secrecy, & with what care it is to be kept: Diuers good examples are produced, apt to the intended purpose.

ONE of the principall partes, that makes a man knowne to bee wise indeed, is his intelligent strength and ability to couer and conceale those secrets, which (by anothers trust) are committed to him, with sound retention likewise of his owne serious affaires and priuacies. They that will reade the auncient Histories of times long past, shal find a great number of vertuous attempts, that neuer reached their endes and aimes (were it either in peace or war) but were shaken in shiuers, bruised and defeated, only through defect of secret concealment; and yet, beside such vnhappy prevention, infinit great euils haue thereby ensued. But amongst all other examples, let vs consider one more notable, and excelling all the rest, deriued euen from God himselfe; who so especially preserueth his own secrets to himselfe, that he would neuer let any man know what should betide or happen to morrow; neither could they that liued in the Ages past, imagin or diuine what should befall vs in these our dayes; wherby we may easily discern, that God himselfe is wel pleased with secrecy. And albeit, that (for mans good) he hath reuealed som things, yet impossible is it at any time to change or alter his determination; in regard whereof, the reuerend wisemen of elder times euermore affected to perform their intentions secretly.

We read that *Cato Censorius* often said to his friends, that of three things hee had good reason daily to repent himselfe, if he fel into the performance of al or any one of them. The first, if he did disclose any secret, to any one whatsoever; but principally to his wife. The second, if he aduentured on the water, & might keepe himselfe on dry land. The third, if he should let any day neglectly escape him, with omission of some one good action or other. The later two are well worthy obseruation, but the first concerneth our instant argument. *Alexander* hauing receiued diuers letters of great importaunce from his Mother, after hee had read them in the presence of none but his deare friend *Ephestion* & him-

Secrecy is the absolute note of a wise man.

God keepeth his Secrets to himselfe.

Cato the Censor, his example of three things of especial respect.

Alexander sealcth vp *Ephestions* lippes with secrecy.

himselfe, he drew forth the signet wherwith he vsed to seale his most priuat letters, and saying nothing else, set it vpon *Ephestions* lips; intimating thereby, that he in whose bosome a man burieth his secrets, should haue his lippes fast lockt vp from reuealing any one of the. When King *Lisimachus* made offer to the Poet *Phillippides*, of whatsoeuer hee would make request, the Poet replied:

Phillippides his answere to K. *Lisimachus*.

O King, the very greatest good deede thou canst do me, is, neuer to acquaint mee with any of thy Secrets.

Antonius Sabellicus, concerning this purpose, declareth a notable & meruailous example. In the time of Pope *Eugenius* (saith he) the Siegnory of *Venice* had a Captaine named *Cremignola*, by whose disloyalty and treason, their army had receiued the ouerthrow. Whereupon, the Senate iudiciously consulted together, what might best be done in a case so desperate. Some were of opinion, by an instant mandation to call him home; and being possessed of him, to let him know the vertue of their Iustice. But others dissented, and held it against both honor and pollicy. Finally, it was concluded, that a maske or ignoraunce (as yet) shoulde muffle all, and not so much as suspition of his delict, any way be conceited; but purpose should be made seruant to more apt opportunity: & howsoeuer delay excused the error, yet death in the end should close vp all. This determination was deferred, and slept for the space of 8. months, but shut vp in each brest with such secrecy, as his eares (in all that time) could reach no supposition therof. This was (questionlesse) a matter of no mean maruel, considering there were so many Senators; among whom, diuers were much indred to *Cremignola*; some by propinquity in blood; others in friendship; & most of them by desertfull affection. Beside, many of them were poore, and pouteries eies being commonly bent on gifts & rewards (whereof there was no want in the Captain) might haue bin an easie benefit, & his best fortune. All which notwithstanding, this honorable seal of Secrecy, was set with such assurance vpon euery soule, that the 8. months hauing consumed themselues, he was verie kindly recalled home to *Venice*, entertained with all embracings and affectuous

Antonius Sabellicus, concerning the hittorie of Captaine *Cremignola*, & the *Venetians*.

Eight months secrecy contained among many.

Ceremonies. But on the motrow, hee was surprized, condemned before the Senat to forfeit his head, and he paide it by imediate performance. This may well serue for a remarkeable president to all our modern States, their Senators, Iudges, and Counsellours, least it fall out with them, as it hath done to many, who forthwith haue discovered such secrets, as (in greater wisdome) they ought to haue concealed. In reproofe and iust check of whom, I will rehearse a pleasant discourse, deliuered by *Aulius Gellius* in his *Attick* nights, and by *Macrobius* in his *Saturnals*, according as followeth.

The Senators of *Rome*, at their vsuall sitting in the Senat house, had constituted a custome among themselues, that each man (hauing a Sonne) so soone as he was able to walke with his Father, he might bring him with him to the Senat, to abide or depart as occasion best required. Nor was this fauour generall, but extended only to Noblemens sons; and lasted til they were seuenteen years old: and the intent was, that by beholding the discreet behauiour of their Fathers, they might make the better apprehension thereof afterward, vntil they attained to riper yeares of gouernment, to be instructed in affaires of the wealepublicke. All which time, they were so well taught and tutord, as, whatsoeuer was discoursed in Counsell, it was concealed in them from publick reporting. One time, beyond all other, the Senate sat in consultation of a very serious and important cause, so that their rising was much later, then before had bin accustomed: and the conclusion was referred ouer vntill the next day, with expresse charge of Secrecy in the meane while. Among other Noblemens Children, that had bin there in this waighty Businesse, was the yong son of the graue Senator *Papirius*, whose family was one of the most noble & illustrious in al *Rome*.

The child being come home, his Mother (as women are highly affected to nouelty) intreated him to tell her, what strange case had bin that day debated in the Senate, that had power to detaine them so long beyond their vsuall houre? The Vertuous Noble youth tolde her, it was a Businesse not beeseeming him to speak of; & more (as al Noblemens sons else) he was commanded to silence. She

An especial president to al States, for retaining secrecy.

Aul. Gell. in Attic. Noct. Macrobius in Saturn.

A worthy kind of education for the sonnes of Noblemen.

Women are euermore couetous and desirous of Nouelties.

An excellent
example for al
Noblemens
sonnes.

His witty ex-
cuse to his
mother, to pre-
serue secrecy.

A womans fu-
rie quickly
kindled, and
then no rea-
son can be ad-
mitted.

hearing this answere, according to the immoderate heat of weomens desires, became more earnest in stricter inquisition into the case, & nothing but intelligence thereof might any way content hir. So that, first by faire speeches & entreaties, with large and liberal promises she practised to break open this poor little Casket of secrecy; that, not preuailing, to stripes & violent threats was hir next flight, because force may compel, where lenity cannot. The admired Noble spirit, finding a Mothers threats to be very harsh, but hir stripes more bitter then any thing beside, comparing his loue to hir as his Mother, with the duty he ought to his father; the one mighty, but the other more impulsive: he layes her & her fond conceit in the one scale; his Father, the Senate, himselfe in his yong budding reputation, and the serious iniunction to secrecy in the other; and finding her currant waight, as being his Mother, but lighter then wind, being thus gone out of hir selfe: whetting his tender wit vpon the sandy stone of her edging importunity; to appease her, and preserue himselfe sound (as out of a kind of constrained vnwillingnesse) resolued her thus. *Madam. & deare Mother, you may well blame the Senat for their so long sitting, at least for calling in question a case so impertinent; For, except as many Senators wiues may be there present, as Senators that consult thereon, there can be no hope of conclusion. I speake this but out of my young apprehension for their grauity I know may easily confound mee. And yet, whether Nature or duty so instruct me, I cannot tell, albeit it seemeth good to them, that for encrease of people, & help to the weal-publicke, the Senators only should bee allowed to haue two wiues, or else their wiues two husbands: I shall hardly vnder one rooffe call two men by the name of Father, I had rather call two women by the name of Mother. This is the question Mother, & to morrow it must haue determination.*

The Mother hearing this, and by his vnwillingnesse reuealing it, beleeuing it for infallible; her blood was quickly fiered, for this was Tinder apt enough to take. And (as commonly) such suddain heats do admit no consideration, but hurry the senses & faculties to further rashnesse: So shee, requiring no other counsel, but such as hir selfe, flings forth

to the other ladies & Matrons of Rome, and by the bellows of hir breath, blowes them al vp into as brainsicke a passion. And, which is rare, for a Parliament of women to be gouerned by one speaker, yet, the affaire being so vrgent, the hast as pertinent, and the case (on their behalfe) meerly indulgent: the reuealing woman must prolocute for her selfe, & all the other women. And such a din is the next day at the Senat doore, for admission to sit with their Husbandes in this woonderous consultation, as if all Rome had bin in an vprore. Their minds must not be knowne before they haue audience, which (though against all order, yet necessity inforcing) being granted, such an Oration was made by the woman-speaker, with request that women might haue two Husbandes, rather then men two wiues, that could scarsely content one: as (vpon the Riddles solution) the Noble youthes secrecie being commended, the Ladies (with folly and impudence confounded) I guesse, that with blushing cheekes they thence departed. Neuerthelesse, for auoiding the like inconuenience, it was determind, that thence-forward, the Fathers should bring their Sons no more into the Senate; only yong *Papirius* was freely allowed, & his discreet policy to conceale the Senats secrets, not only applauded, but himselfe with Titles of honour dignified and rewarded.

Vndoubtedly, old men of these dayes, may make good vse of this young rare wisdom, and consider with themselus, that if a priuat secret do merit such concealment, much more then deserues that, whereon the whole weale publicke dependeth, especially among men of years and mature iudgement. *Marcus Brutus, Cassius*, and all the rest that had Conspired the death of *Iulius Caesar*, because in their eyes it seemed expedient, for benefit & liberty of their country; vpon their vowed determination, wold neuer yet disclose it to *Cicero*, one of their most intimate friends, and that desired (more then any of the other) the extirpation of tirany out of Rome; not for any distrust they had in him, but because he was reputed scarce a good secretary. *Fulvius* imparted an important secret to his wife, which the Emp. *Octavian* had before committed to his trust, but being dif-

Shame is the
waiting hand-
maid to imo-
desty.

Brutus, Cassius,
and they that
conspired *Ce-
sars* death, wer
very secret.

The Wife of
Fulvius could
containe no
secrecy.

disclosed by her, it came at length to the Emperors eare, which procured the Senator such a check from his Lord, for being no sounder to himselfe, that falling into dispaire vpon this disgrac, he resolved to kill himselfe. But imparting first his minde to his wife, to let her know what a shame she had done him, she made him answere; That he had no reason to be offended with her, because (during the long time they had liued together) till then, he had found no intelligence of her shallow Capacitie. But if he had made any prooffe before, his beleefe could not haue bin abused, by crediting her. Neuertheless, since hee had bin the motiue of this hir first offence, she would make no further reference to him, but inflict the punishment vpon her selfe: wherupon, immediatly she slew her selfe in his presence; so did her Husband very quickly after.

We read in the life of the Emp. *Nero*, that a conspiracy of his death beeing made in *Rome*, as a matter most requisite for the *Romans*, and the whole State beside, in regard of his cruelties: The man that had vndertakē to do the deed, meeting (by chaunce) with one, who was led to prison by the tirants command; and falling into a present consideration with himselfe, of the Emperors nature, that whomsoever he caused to be apprehended, could not escape death (as the present example of the prisoner approued, who wept bitterly because he could not auoid his hard lot) forthwith he stept to him, and (neuer remembering the important case which he was bound by Oath to conceale) said in his ear; *Pray that thy life may be spared but till to morrow, for if thou canst escape this day, I dare assure thee, Nero himselfe shall not put thee to death.* When the prisoner heard this, suspecting the case to be as it was indeed, and coueting to saue himselfe, revealed it to *Cesar*, willing him to haue especial care of his life. Heereupon, *Nero* caused him to be instantly attached that had spoken with the prisoner, and (by means of torments) forced him to confesse the whol coniuration; so by putting him to death the purposed plot was ouerthrowne.

Now *Pliny* reporteth an example to the contrary, of one *Anaxarchus*, who being taken vpon the like occasion, bit his tongue off in the midst betweene his

teeth, because he would not disclose the secret complor; and afterward, he threw it in the Tyrants face. The *Athenians* caused to be erected in *Brasse*, the Statue of a *Lyonnesse*, in honor of a publique knowne Woman, named *Lyonna*; for a memory of her constancy, in keeping secret an especiall Conspiracy: and the Figure was made without a tongue, to declare Secrecy thereby. The Seruants and Slaues of *Plancus* are likewise much commended, because no Torments could preuaile, to make them confesse to their Maisters Enemies, (who searched narrowly for him, and faine would haue slaine him) in what place hee had hidden himselfe. The Slaue of *Cato* the Oratour, perceiuing some Offence by his Maister committed, by Torments was in like manner laboured, to reueale his abyding; but nothing could preuaile against his settled constancy, to be Secret.

Quintus Curtius telleth vs, that the *Persians* helde it is an inuiolable law, to punnish most greuously (and much more then any other Trespasse) him that discovered any Secret. For confirmation whereof, hee saith; That King *Darius* beeing vanquished by *Alexander*, and not knowing (in Flight) where to hide him-selfe; at length, when he had found out a place to his owne liking, no Tortures whatsoever, or liberall promises of recompence, could preuaile with them that knew it, or compell them to disclose it vnto any person. Hee saith moreover, that the *Persians* were of this Opinion, that no man ought to commit any matter of Consequence, to him that could not truly containe it.

Secrecie then is very necessarie in all things and occasions, but especiallie in Warre; and our most excellent and ancient Captaines, did euermore most iustly obserue it. *Phillip*, son to *Antigonus* the successour of *Alexander*, in the presence of diuers others, demanded of his father, when the Army shoulde march on? whereto the King angerly answered; *Art thou so deafe, that thou canst hear a trompet, as other men shal?* whereby he gaue him to vnderstand, that he had offended in such a demand, which deserued no other answere in the presence of witnesses. There was a certain Tribune;

The Athenians bow downe to *Lyonna*.

The faithfulness of the Seruants of *Plancus*; and of the slaue to *Cato* the Orator.

The Lawe of the *Persians* for breach of Secrecy.

Secrecy most requisite in all occasions.

A rash reward for breach of Secrecy.

A strange example vpon the breach of Secrecie, by the very sight of a prisoner.

Plin. lib. 7. c. 23
Of *Anaxarchus* that bit out his own tongue to keepe Secrecy.

The Tribune
of *Cecilius Me-*
tellus.

Horace in his
Lawes conti-
nuall, and the
Athenians Cu-
stome at Ban-
quets.

The instructi-
on of *Pythago-*
ras to his
schollers for
secrecy.

Aristotles an-
swere of the
most difficult
thing.

The patient
gift of silence.

Angerona, the
Goddesse of
silence.

Plin. lib. 3. ca. 5.

The God of
Silence.

Salomon would
haue a king to
Drinke no
Wine, for dis-
closing his se-
crets.

in the Army of *Cecilius Metellus*, who asked of him; what hee intended concerning the warres yssue? To whome *Metellus* replied: *If I thought that my shirt knew what I haue purposed, I would immediatly burn it heere before thee.* Horace among his Coniuniall Lawes, would haue euery man keepe secret whatsoever was done or said. For this cause the *Athenians* were wont (when they met at any Feast) that he who was most auncient among them, should shew to al the rest the doore whereat they had entered, saying; *Take heed, that not so much as one word passe out from hence, of whatsoever shall heere be done or spoken.*

The first thing that *Pythagoras* taught his Schollers, was to be silent; therefore (for a certaine time) he kept them without speaking, to the end, they might the better learne to preserue Secrecy, and neuer to speak but when time required: expressing thereby, that secrecy (among al other,) was the rarest vertue. To approue this true, when *Aristotle* was demanded what thing appeared most difficult to him, he answered; *To be Secret and silent.* To this purpose, *S. Ambrose* in his Offices, placeth among the principall foundations of Vertue, the patient gift of silence.

The *Romaines*, among their vaine & ydle Goddes, had a Goddesse of silence, named *Angerona*, which was figured holding her Finger vpon her Mouth, in signe of silence. And *Plinie* sayth, that they vsed to Sacrifice vnto her the xxi. day of December: whereof likewise *Marcus Varro*, *Solyus*, and *Macrobius*, doe make mention. The GOD of Silence was also honoured by the *Egyptians*, and painted with his Finger vpon his Mouth, as *Catullus* and *Ouid* in like manner haue written. Whereby we may easily gather, what reuerend respect hath beene made of Secrecie, in regard they honoured it as a God. *Salomon* saith in his Prouerbes, that a King ought to drinke no wine; for no other reason, but because, where drunkenesse is, there can be no containing of Secrecy. And (in his opinion) he is vnworthy to raig, that cannot keepe his own Secrets. He saith moreouer, That he which discouers secrets, is a Traitor; and he that concealeth them, a faithfull Friend.

CHAP. XVIII.

How commendable it is, to speake but little.



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O speake but little, and (in that little) to be succinct & sententious, is a thing vertuous in it selfe, and highly commended by all Men of

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Knowledge. *Salomon* saith, *That to speake much, cannot be without vice, but hee that refraineth his tongue, is wise.* Besides, *Who keepes his tongue, keeps his soule.* And contrariwise, *He that speakes inconsiderately, yeelds himselfe as a prey to many euils.* Heer might be alledged the testimony of diuers learned men; but the Text in the Gospell, may bee sufficient, where it is said; *That we shal giue an account for euery ydle word.*

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The *Lacedemonians* (beyond all other of the Greeke Nations) delighted most in speaking briefely; so that when anie Man was heard to speake Compendiously, they would presently say; *He discoursed Laconian-like.* King *Phillip*, the Father of *Alexander*, sent them Worde, that he wold passe through their countrey with his Army; and therefore, they were speedily to answer him, if he shold passe as their Friend, or their apparant Enemy; whereto (without any plentie of wordes) they replied: *Neither as the one, nor the other.*

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Artaxerxes King of Asia, likewise sent to tell them, that hee would come to make spoile and booty of the; to which threatning, they answered thus: *Come and do what thou canst.* I am of the mind, that in greater Coppy of wordes, they could not haue made a graner answer.

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The Ambassadors of the *Samians*, vsed to hold very long discourse in their consistory, so that their Auditours (greatly wearied with such tedious talking) wold thus answer them; *We haue forgotten one part already by you propounded vnto vs; & as for the rest, wee know not wel how to vnderstand it.* In like maner, to other Ambassadors of the *Abderites* (for vsing too much affectation in deliery of their Embassie, and scarsely knowing where to end) when they demanded their dif-

Prou. 10, 20.

Prou. 15, 4.

Math. 5, 12.

The delight
of the *Lacde-*
monians.A witty short
answere.Another of
the same Na-
tion.The *Samians*
prolix in their
speakings.

An apt answer to tedious Ambassadors.

dispatch, that they might returne home againe; Agis King of the Lacedemonians made them this answer: *You shall say to the Abderites, that wee heard yee all the huge while you were willing to speake.*

A tedious Orator talking with Aristotle, well answered.

Vpon a time, a certaine Oratour talked with Aristotle, and was so prolix in his speech, as himselfe acknowledged his owne errour, and made his excuse, in concluding thus; *That he desired pardon, because he had held so long discourse with so wise a Philosopher.* Aristotle answered him pleasantly: *Good friend, thou hast no cause at all to aske pardon of me, because I tooke no heede of what thou saidst.*

Example of them that kild the Poet Ibycus.

Wherein Aristotle returned him a iust requitall, and replied aptly to our present purpose. Wee haue another example of too much pratling, by them that robd, and afterward kild Ibycus the Poet; for as thy halde him along throw the Fieldes, farr enough from being seene, or heard of any body; he espied a Flocke of Cranes flying in the Ayre, to whom he cryed aloud, saying; *You Cranes shall beare witnesse what they doe vnto me.* After his death, no knowledge (in a long time) could be gotten, who were faulty in so foule a fact: vntill a certaine day, when a publique solemnity being made in the same Fielde, whereat two of them that had murdered Ibycus happened to be present. Suddenly, a great noyse of Cranes was heard aboue in the Ayre, which one of them perceiuing, scoffingly said to his fellow (not thinking any stander by had heard him;) *Hearke Fellow, these are the witnesses, that Ibycus said should disclose his death.*

A notable example.

This being ouer-heard, by one too neer them, yet doubtful what he should imagine of such words, he began to suspect some euill; whereupon, he aduertised the Iudges and Gouvernours what hee had heard. In breefe, the two Gallants were apprehended, and confessing the truth, Iustice was executed on them; This ensued through their liberall talking, without circumspection. Therefore a Man ought to regard well what he will say, while hee is maister of his owne minde; and withall, to respect both the time and persons present. *Hecates* the Greeke Orator, was on a time reprooued, because (beeing at a merrie Banquet) he spake neuer a word, which checke being heard by *Archimedes*, hee

The iust reward of laquish talking.

replied thus for him: *Me thinkes thou shouldst learne to vnderstand, that they which know well how to speake, do also know at what time to be silent.*

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Heere might be alledged infinite examples, of perills, ignominies, and death, hapning at diuers times to Men, onely by reason of too much talking. Wherefore, a Man should be very circumspect before hee open his mouth, least that which he speakes, do redound to his owne preiudice. Great *Cato* the Censor, from his Child-hood, was naturally sober in speech; whereof he being reprehended by many, who tolde him that he was too strict in *Taurni*, he thus answered them: *I am not offended to be reprooued for my restraint of speech, seeing no man hath occasion to detect my life: for then, and not else would I break silence, and then it should be knowne how I could hold my peace.* *Isocrates* in the Book which hee wrote to *Demonicus*, saith; *There are two times for speaking; the one, when occasion dooth necessarily require it; the other, when a Man knowes whereof hee speakes.* *Plutarch* compares them that talke (without knowing what, or whereof) to emptie vessels, which alwayes do found louder then those that are filled.

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It is declared to vs, by *Zeno* the Philosopher, that Nature gaue vs two ears, and but one tongue: for no other reason, but to heare much, and speake little. *Horace* giues vs counsell, to shun such as are busie in many demaunds, because themselues are but Questioners, and needlesse Praters. *Suetonius* reporteth (in confirmation of other mens Arguments, to the same intent) that the principall cause, which moued *Octavius* to fauor *Mecenas* so much, was; because he vsed to speake sildome, and then but little too, giuing himselfe wholly vnto silence. *Cicero* affirmeth, that *Cato* the Oratour, would neuer set downe any of his Orations in writing, saying; *I can repent my selfe of any thing that I haue said, but I would not haue my writing come to re-prooue, because that it cannot be anyway denied.* And because in reprehending ouer-much talking, I would be loath to fall into the same errour, I will be silent, concluding thus with that Graue Philosopher *Seneca*: *I haue many times repented my selfe for speaking, but neuer because I held my peace.*

Archimedes answered for *Hecates* the Oratour.

Cato Censorius his wife answered in his owne defence

Isocrat in Lib. ad *Demonicus*. Cap. 15.

Plutarch in *Moral*. Cap. 4. Lib. 6.

To heare much, and to speake little.

Busie questioners are to be atoyded.

Of speaking sildome and but little.

Cicero, of *Cato* the Oratour.

An excellent saying of *Seneca*.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the famous Philosopher Plutarch; his learned Letter to the great Emperour Traiane, and diuers of his singular comparisons.



Plutarch was one of the most excellent Morall Philosophers that euer liued; and beside, hee was a true Historiographer. Hee was

Schoole-Maister to the good Romaine Emperour Traiane, born in Spaine, euen at the time that the Romain Empire was more great in Power and Possessions, then euer it had beene before, or after. This Emperour was the best and iustest of all the rest, and one that would diligently listen to the councill of his Maister: who fearing, least Traiane should be forward to any errour, or doe any thing vnwoorthy the good Discipline which hee had taught him: one day among others, he sent a letter vnto him, wherein these following instructions were contained.

I know very well, both modesty and simplicity with-helde any desire in thee to the Empire, although thou didst euer more in merit out-go it, by thy vertue and perfection in manners: which made thee so much the more worthy of it, by how much thou soughtest least meanes to enioy it: So that I attribut all to thy vertue and good Fortune, which will enlarge and heighten my contentment, when I shall see thy faire Graces shine in thy Government: for if thou doe otherwise, I make no doubt of thy falling into daunger, and that thou wilt giue occasion of reproach towards me. The danger concerning thy selfe, is, that Rome could neuer endure a bad and cruell Emperour; and mine is, that people are alwaies ready, in imputing the Schollers faultes to the Maister. Wee haue two notable examples to confirme this; the one, of Seneca, against whom all Neroes wickednesse was daily murmured; and the other, of Quintilian, who bare the rebuke of his Schollers ryot and excesse. I am assured, that if thou doe not forget thy selfe, but first will take order with thine owne af-

fections, referring all thine actions to vertue: thou canst do nothing but what is good and perfect. The rules which thou oughtst to obserue, that the manners of thine Empire may be mended, they are taught thee by my Bookes, if thou list to follow them: Plutarch may so be Authour of thy life; if otherwise, I call this my Letter to witnesse, that it was not by my councill or aduise, that thou didst any thing to the preiudice, and damage of the Common-Wealth of the Romaine Empire. So God preferue thee.

This Letter had such power ouer Traiane (with the helpe of his owne vertuous inclination) that he became a most excellent Prince. True it is, that before he was called to the Empire, hee was a Man of good manners and vertues: so that, although this Dignity had neuer before beene permitted to strangers, yet so it happened, that Nero his Predecessour (albeit hee had a great Kinred in Rome, and Traiane was a Spaniard:) yet hee (notwithstanding) elected Traiane to succeed him in the Empire, whereby Nero wan himselfe Grace and good opinion. For Traiane gouerned so iustly, and was a man so vertuous, that after his decess, when they went to elect and institute a new Emperour: the people alwaies desired of God, that he would giue him the goodnesse of Traiane, and the fortune of Octavian.

Plutarch then being a man of rare and especiall vertues, filled his workes with Learning and singuler examples; that any man (how well read soeuer he was) might thence deriue good Rules and Instructions, for guiding him to an happy and vertuous life. He had a great Grace in his comparisons, wherof I haue made obseruation of a few, according as they follow. He that abaseth himselfe, and forsaketh vertue. for any mishap that may betide him: is like vnto a Childe, who seeing something taken from him where with hee spotted, in a rage casts away all the rest out of his hand, though it were neuer so sweete and delicate to feed on.

As he that is amorous of a Woman, doth continually repute her to be faire, though some Wart or Scar may somewhat impaire her countenance: So a true louer of Vertue, albeit he beholde the vertuous despised and ill intruded, will neuer thinke of her waies the worffe,

The Emperour Traiane, was the best of all the Emperours

Plutarchs Letter to the Emperour Traiane.

Seneca reprooued for Nero, and Quintilian for his Schollers.

What Traiane was before he was Emperour.

The rare Iustice of Traiane in his gouernment.

Plutarch his witty and learned comparisons.

Of Vertue.

worse, or giue ouer for any disgraces wharsoeuer.

Of Enuy.

As Kites or Rauens can neither more or lesse hurt a liuing Body, but worke their tyranny on the dead: So hee that hateth any Man, lookes onely vpon his dead Vices, and neuer lifts vp an eye to his good and vertuous Actions.

Of Temperance.

As Water moderateth the heat and fury of Wine: Euen so in a Common-Wealth, old Men ought to temperate with good counsell, the angry and fiery spleenes of such as are young.

Of Discretion

As a poore Slaue or Seruant, is most ioyfull when hee gets free from the power of a sharpe and cruell Maister: So should an old man reioyce, to escape the bad inclinations and disordered affections, which alwaies are the dangerous companions to youth.

Of Negligence.

As a Blinde man growes quickly angry, and sticks not to call him Blinde, who (against his will) happens in meeting to harme him: Euen so wee complaine on our ill fortunes, though they come by our owne occasions, and worthily whip vs with our owne Rod.

Of Prouidence.

As through fault of quenching a smal sparke, a great fire is kindled, which consumes the whole House: So thorough want of prouidence, against the sedition of a few particulars, sometimes the whole State happens to be ruined.

Of Phisicke.

Plutarch tels vs moreouer; That hee who is subiect to Phisitions, Purgations, and Medicines; resembleth him, that being banished from the Cittie of Men wherein he was borne, is forced to seeke his fortune among hard-welcoming Strangers.

Of Willfaines

He that craues counsell and aduise for his errour, and then amends it not: is like vnto him, that needs will haue his Impostume opened, and yet cannot endure to haue it purged and healed.

Of Folly.

He that learnes Morall & Politick Philosophy, and knoweth not how to make vse of it: is like him that lights a Lamp, and feedes it not with Oyle to doe him seruice.

Of Wickednesse.

As the Worme is engendred at the Trees foote, and encreasing with it, at length destroyes it: Euen so a bad man, bolstreth his lewdnesse vnder the fauor of his Prince, and in the end becomes an ingratefull Traytour to him.

Of Talking.

Newes that are reported by a Foole

or Iester; is like Corne put into a moist vessell, where it gets a competent greatnesse, but quickly breaketh and cometh to nothing.

CHAP. XX.

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The Originall and beginning of the Art Military, or Warre: Who they were that first intruded one vpon anothers Governmet. Of the Inuenters also of diuers kinds of Weapons, especially of Artillery, and such like.

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It is a matter sufficientlie manifest, that warre, strife, & discord among Men, took their Originall from the finnes of our fore-fathers; and it remaineth to perpetuall remembrance, that of ADAMS first Sonnes, one killed the other. So that Originall Iustice being thus lost, afterward there neuer wanted debates and strife among Men; whereby it appeareth, that Warre and Enmity began in our first Parents. But the Science of Warre, or Military Art, as also the manner of making Warre, practised by a number of many, against as many (albeit his beginning came from Sinne, and his best part; yea, oftentimes his end is cruelty, blood, and impiety) yet hath it beene held in such reputation; that both the Art it selfe, and those skilfull therein, haue beene preferred by Men, beyond all other matters of Prudence and Industry, and hath risen (by degrees) to bee aboue all other degrees.

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Diodorus Siculus, and other Authours beside, doe holde, that Mars was the first Maister of this Art, and that for this cause, the Poets fabulously named him the God of Battails. Cicero giues the honour of this Inuention, to Pallas the Goddesse, and saith; that thereupon she was named Bellona. To whose opinion many Poets do consent; therefore, they contrary herein the auncient Originall, which Iosephus attributes thereto, in the first Booke of his Antiquities; for there hee assures vs, that in the first Age, and before the Deluge, Tuball

War deriued it selfe from the sins of our first Fathers.

Of the Art of Warre.

Diodorus Siculus.

Cicero in lib. 3. de natura Deorum

Ioseph. in Lib. 1. de Ant. quit. Cap. 12.

Tuball

Tuball taught
the Art of
Warre.

Ambition and
Honour the
cause of con-
tention.

Ninus was the
first that led
an Armie.

Fabianus, Proc.

August. Lib. 4.
de. Ciuil. Dei.

A long discent
of continu-
ance from Ni-
nus, gotten all
by rapine.

There were
Warres be-
fore the time
of Ninus.

Vesfor King of
Egypt, warred
against King
Tanais, & was
ouerthrowne
for his labour.

Tuball was the only Man of his time, and that by great paines and endeouour, hee first instructed the Military Art. Others are quite opposite hereto, and say; that it was first knowne after the Flood: therefore it is hard to know the particular Author, whatsoeuer he was. Neuerthelesse, it seemes, that from the beginning, wars and quarrels (which arose among Kings and Princes) grew rather vpon ambition, & desire of honor, then any intent to bereaue or deprive the goods of one another.

Iustine, and *Trogus Pompeius* say, that *Ninus* King of the *Assirians*, was the first that guided an Army from his Kingdome, onely vpon greedy Auarice, and desire to subdue anothers Territories. The *Pretor Fabianus* certifies as much, in the beginning of that little scantling which wee haue of his History; and the like doth Saint *Augustine*. King *Ninus* so well gouerned both himselfe and his Army, that he ouercame many Citties and Countries, leauing them to his successours, and so they continued to his Posterity, according to the Computation and Record of Saint *Augustine*, *Eusebius*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, for the space of thirteene hundred yeares, still descending downe from Father to the Sonne, and no want or defect of Heires in succession, in the whole course of three and thirty Kings; or (according as some others do maintaine) for thirty six Kings, euen vntill the full power and rule came to the lubricious Monster *Sardanapalus*, in whose time the Empire was lost, and fell then into the Possession of the *Medes*.

Ninus then, according to the Testimony of our recited Authours, was the onely first victorious Conqueror; and yet we read, that (before his time) there had bin Wars; but (as we haue said already) it seemeth that it was not attempted, for the dispossessing Men of their Goods, Lands, and Inheritances, but for an affection after the Worlde's honor and estimation: as we find recorded of *Vesfor* King of *Agypt*, who would needs start out of his owne Kingdome, against *Tanais* the *Scythians* King. *Tanais* (bound in honor to meete him) hapned to be the Conquerour: and yet did not he bereaue *Vesfor* of his Crown or country, or any other of his Goods, as King

Ninus made it his visuall custome to do. Therefore it should appeare, that he was the first, that made and instituted lawes to be obserued in Armies and Battailes, allowing the victor to be Maister of the Lands & possessions of the vanquished.

Now concerning those Weapons (as well defensue as offensue) where-with they put their attempts in execution, & pursued the spleen of their violent fury: it is not to bee doubted, but that at the beginning of those Wars, they vsed no Weapons of inequality or aduantage. But (as the Poet *Lucretius* reporteth) they began with byting and scratching, teeth, and nayles; and afterward fell to Stones and Staues: euen as yet to this day, many barbarous Nations vse to do. For (as yet) they had not reached to the height of hate and mallice in men, to force Iron out of the earths Intrals, and therewith to graspe at their Neighbors goods. *Pliny* affirmeth, that in the first Wars of the *Moors* with the *Agyptians*, they fought onely with Cudgels and Staues: but afterward they grew to further practise, and inuented such diuersity of Weapons, onely to hurt and offend one another, that it was accounted very strange to behold, how men endeuored to kill and murder one another.

Concerning the men that were Inuenters of these deuises, the opinion is very diuers. Poets in their fixions do tell vs, that *Mars* the God of Armes was the enginer of them. *Pliny* recordeth, that the *Aetolians* were the first that euer carryed any Launce to the Fielde; and likewise saith, that the *Lacedemonians* first inuented the Head-peece, and the Sword and Axe for defence thereof. But *Herodotus* attributeth the deuising of the Helmet and Shield, to the *Egyptians*: as also the Arming Coat of Maile, and the Breast-plate, to a man of *Misena*, named *Mydas*; and Darts were deuised by one borne in *Aetolia*. It is likewise maintained, that *Penthesilea* Q. of the *Amazons*, was the first that fought in field with the Axe & Club: and that *Scythes*, the Son of *Iupiter*, was the first Inuenter of Bow and Arrowes, but it is thought to be *Perseus*; and *Diodorus* holds it to be *Apollo*.

The people that inhabited the Ilands cald *Baleares* (which at this day are tearmed *Maioorque*, and *Minorque*) according to the opinion of *Vegetius*, in his treatise of the

Ninus made
the first lawes
for Armies.

The first Or-
der of wea-
pons, Teeth
and Nailles.

Plinie. in Lib. 7.
Cap. 16.

Who were
the first deu-
isers of War.

Herod in Lib. 4.
Cap. 9.

Veget. in Lib. de. Arte Milit. Cap. 2.

The self same weapons haue bin deuised in diuers places, and at one instant.

In Lib. 9. de- preparat. Euang- gel.

The vse of the Sword, deuised at the sledge of Troy.

All former in- uentions were nothing, in comparison to shot and powder.

Blondus, and Raphael Volateranus, con- cerning who first made vse of shot and Powder.

the Art Military, were they that first in- uented Slings, for conueyance of stones against their Enemies, because they had no other Weapon of defence for themselves. Thus Men (we see) according to the times, necessity, and variety of their owne mindes, haue found out and deuised diuers weapons and Instru- ments: which neuerthelesse (in my conceit) the very same Weapons haue bin likewise inuented in other places, not much differing from the instant Times, without any intelligence or knowledge the one of the other. Therefore, that I may not bee troublesome to the Reader, I leaue to wade in further search of opinions; albeit, they are much pertinent to our present purpose: as to set downe who were the deuisers of sundry sorts of Engines, and Warlike Instru- ments, for battering of Walles, Forts, and Bulwarkes, wherein there is like- wise as great difference in opinion. For *Eusebius* affirmeth, that *Moses* was the Deuiser of those huge and great Engins of Warre. *Plutarch* tels, that *Archytas* of *Tarentum*, and *Eudoxus* brought and reduced these Artes to full perfection, and that they found out many Instru- ments, for the breaking downe of Wals and greatest Buildings.

The *Beliers* (and beside according to *Pliny*) found out the vse of the Sword at the sledge of *Troy*: but *Vitouuius* is of the mind, that it rather cam from the sledge of *Athens*. The Scorpion or great Crosse-Bow, where-with they would hurle huge Stones into Towns; in *Plinies* iudgement, was inuented by them of *Creete* and *Syria*. The people of *Pha- nicia*, were the first that releued them- selves with the Engines of repulse and sharp piercing: but yet all these Inuen- tions were light, triuiall, and of slender importance, because they are farre sur- passed in rigour and cruelty, by de- uise of Powder for the Cannon, and other such like Artillerie. These are said to be first deuised by a *Germaine*, whose Name we finde no where recorded, and deseruedly (in my minde) as beeing vn- worthy of any remembrance. The first that made vse of them, as *Blondus* & *Ra- phaell Volateranus* doe affirme, happened to bee the *Venetians*, against the *Gene- waies*, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and eighty. And yet according

to better Iudgement, and partly I am of the same opinion, that this inuention is of more ancient standing: because in the Chronicle of *Alphonfus*, the elea- uenth King of *Castile* (euen he that con- quered *Algazara*) it is found recorded, that he being at the sledge of the saide Citty, in the yeare one thousand three hundred forty three; the besieged *Moores* did then throw forth of certaine Thundring Engines or Weapons, which were made of hollow Iron, like Morters or Troughes in them, diuers annoyances among their enemies; and this was forty yeares before the time whereof *Blondus* speaketh.

Againe, long time before that also, in the Chronicle of the saide King *Al- phonfus*, whose fortune was likewise to Conquer *Tolledo* in *Spaine*, the Lorde *Don Pedro* Bishop of *Leon*, writes that in a Battell by Sea, which was betweene the King of *Thunis*, and the *Moore*, King of *Senile*, whom King *Alphonfus* highly faouered: the men of *Thunis* had cer- taine Tonells or Bombards of Iron, & there-with they threw abroad strange thundrings of Fire, which needes must be Artillery; Although it was not in a- ny such perfection, as vse and time hath made it now to be: and this was foure hundred yeares since, and more.

The *Moores* besieged at *Algazara*, by the King of *Castile*.

A Battale at Sea betweene *Thunis* and *Se- nile*.

CHAP. XXI.

The rare fortune of two Women, who by wear- ing the Habite and Garments of men; with Actions and Gestures sutable ther- to, attained to two mightie Dignities, the one to be Pope of Rome, and the other Empresse.

50 **S** Make no doubt, but that many haue heard of a Wo- man, who was made Pope of *Rome*, yet because al men do not know in what man- ner it was, and beeing one of the most especiall matters of maruell happening in those times; I am the more willing to speake thereof, according to the ex- tract made out of the truest Historians. Shee was borne in *England*, and in the time of her youth, she had acquaintance with

Pope *Ioane* was an Eng- lish Woman borne, and left her coun- try in the ha- bite of a Man.

with a learned Man, of whom finding herselfe to be beloued, with no lesse affection then she bore to him, she vnder-tooke the habite of a Man, & calling hir selfe by the Name of Brother *Iohn*, left her Countrey, and went to remaine with him in the City of *Athens*, where the *Academies* and generall studies then flourished. Therefor a certaine space she sojourned with him, and attained such a liberall flowing Spirit towards learning, that with-drawing her selfe thence afterward to *Rome*: she read there publicly in the Schooles, in the habit and degree of a Doctour. By which reading, besides diuers daily disputations, she wonne such an vnaccustomed conceit of her Auditory, that shee was reputed for one of the very chiefest learned Men of that time; yea, and gained such advancement by the rising of degrees, that the Seat Apostolicall being in intermission (by reason of the death of Pope *Leo*, the fourth of that Name, in the yeare of our Sauour, eight hundred fifty two, and being taken to be a Man by Nature) shee was chosen to be great Byshop of *Rome*; and Pope vniuersal, to gouern the Church, wherein she held the Seat for the space of two yeares, thirtie dayes, and (as is thought by some) some few others beside.

Being in this supream Dignity, which is a strange Spur to very bold attempts, (especially in a Sexe so fraile by nature) forgetfull of her former carefull and ciuill carriage; she affected the company of one of her Attendants, vpon whose trust and faith relying, shee not onely disclosed her imperfection of kinde, but also acquainted him with so much familiarity, that there grew an alteration in the supposed *Grand-Pontifex*; euen so much, as (in secret) might be saide, great with child. Neuertheless, she couered this Crime with such Art & cunning, as none but her Minion onely could any way reueale it. But that high and supream power, which continually hath an eye vpon the closest wickedness (in Iustice) permitted the meanes to bring it to immediat correction. For as she was carried in the vsuall solemnity, to visite the Church of Saint *Iohn de Laterana*: the time of womens denounced trouble suddenly came vpon her,

and vnder suspicion of a contrary sickness (but indeede the fruites of her Louers disease) she was there deliuered of a Male-Child (though some say Female) euen betweene the Church of Saint *Clement* and the *Theater*, improperly called *Coliseus*, and there the Mother & Child died both instantly together, and were likewise so buried, without any pompe or solemnity.

For which vnexpected accident, the common opinion is, that a new order was determined for procession of the succeeding Byshoppes; which was, to shunne that former way, because it had giuen a note of so great scandall, and therefore they must passe through another streete, in detestation of a Fact so horrible.

And yet in regard of this reason, they haue set downe an obseruation, that when any one comes to be enstaull'd Pope, they haue a Chaire purposely made open, like a Close-stoole, and by their passage vnderneath it, it is secretly and assuredly knowne, if *Habet testiculos*, hee be a Man or Woman. And many Authors discoursing hereon, doe make an vndoubted certainty thereof.

Platina onely saith, that they haue a rich appointed Chair (but of the same fashion as is vsed in common necessities) to the end, that hee who is to be elected Pope, may (without further question) be knowne for a Man. What is saide heereof beside, as by the same *Platina*, *Martinus* in the liues of the Popes, *Sabellicus*, and S. *Anthoninus* in his Histories, they do all agree to the same effect. I finde also written, that in the sayde Streete, there is an Image or Statue of stone erected, which declares the childs birth, and death of this impudent and shamelesse Woman.

But notwithstanding all this, let the accident be held very strange, as it is indeede, yet during the time that this Woman abused the World, it was no reproch vnto the Church of God, neyther did it become any iot blemished in Faith, because shee can neuer want her true Head, which is Iesus Christ, who still bestowes on her the Influences of his Graces, and the blessed effects of the Sacraments; And so long as such a head doth protect hir, the Sacraments continue in their poverfull vertue, to such

She read in the publique Schooles in *Rome*, as a Doctour.

Pope *Leo* the fourth dying, *Ioane* was chosen Pope.

The frailtie of a woman Pope.

Pope *Ioane* was deliuered of a Childe, in her solempne procession to *S. Iohn Laterana*.

The order of the Chaire for enstalement of Popes.

Iesus Christ is the true head of his Church heere in earth

The onely dependance of the Church, is vpon Christ her Head.

Of Theodosia, Empresse of Constantineple.

such as soundly receiue them, and with firme Faith, because Christ supplies (by his Grace) all other defects. Admit this woman, nor any other, can be capable of receiuing or giuing any one Character of orders, or absoluing any one, but that whatsoeuer was then done by her or them, it standes to no effect or purpose, as wee haue already said: yet the Spouse of Christ, standing clear and vntainted of any corruption, hath still recourse to the onely Head Christ, who euermore hath an especiall care of her and hers. Yet this we may say concerning her, that questionlesse her Wisdome appeared to be maruailous, onlie in this respect, that for so many yeares, and in such degrees of Estate, she could so well maintaine her credit.

But that which *Theodosia*, the Empresse of *Constantinople* did, is woorthy of as great admiration, because the minde of the one, was but to faigne her selfe a Man; and the other, to bee reputed a Man; notwithstanding, euery one knew her to be a Woman. For the Empire beeing vacant, by the death of her Brother *Zoer*, and her Husband *Constantine*, she being at that time entred into Religion: knew yet so well how to manage the State affaires, that she tooke vpon her to be Emperour, and (in his place) was feared and obeyed. For without the helpe of Father, Husband, or Brother, she gouerned the Empire most nobly in peace and prosperity, for the space of two yeares, and then died, to the great greefe of her Subiectes, and in the time of Pope *Leo* the ninth, and the yeare of our Lord, one thousand and fifty.

CHAP. XXII.

The first beginning of the Amazons, and of many notable thinges by them not onely attempted, but likewise boldly put in execution.



Although I haue not bound my selfe to any direct or absolute order, concerning my first intended purpose in this worke, but doe

10 write of thinges according as they present themselues, or els as they please me in Collection; yet notwithstanding, by this ensuing Chapter, I shall not much differ from the last declared Subiect, where I discoursed of two hardy and aduenturous Women, and the vnsuall fortunes that did befall them. For which cause, I holde it not amisse in this very next place (maintaining still the last argument) to speake of the *Amazons*, who were as woorthy as any other in the Worlde whatsoeuer. Albeit, there are many Men, that take a delight in abasing the perfection of Women, taxing them with leuity, wantonnesse, softnesse, and many other imperfections: yet I cannot but confesse, that there are men, who doe exceed the in a thousand greater defects. For to speake no more then meerly Iustice requireth, Women haue gone beyond men in all kindes of vertues, or (at least) not giuen place to them in any thing; either in Loue, Loyalty, Charity, Deuotion, Pity, Affability, Temperance, Mercy, and all other vertues that can be alleaged. And if among them; some one bad and imperfect body hap to be met withall, a thousand worse are easily found among me; and it is a case so plaine and apparant, as it were needlesse heere to insert any examples.

30 In one thing (perchance) men will claime some superiority aboue them, that they haue the aduantage of them in martial disposition, whereunto women are not so apt and able, because that in such an exercise, ther is required fiercenesse, cruelty, and many other stormy qualities, which (by nature) they cannot vse, neither hath it pleased God (if it be lawfull to say so) to make them thereto prompt or able. Yet notwithstanding, to the end that men may know, that euen therein also (when they list to imploy themselues) they can stand equall with them; yea, and (if neede be) somewhat surmount them. For there hath bin found many women, that haue performed admirable things in Armes. And because rehearfall of many commendable Histories to this purpose, doth require too long a discourse; it shal suffice to speake of the *Amazons*, who were most vvarlike vvomen, and (vvithout the counsell or aduise of any Man) 40 50

Men take a pleasure in disgracing the vertues of Women.

Womea haue equalled Men in all perfections whatsoeuer.

Men more apt to Armes, the Women: and yet women (when they please) as able as Men.

did vanquish diuers powerfull Armies, conquered great Countries, Citties, & Prouinces, which continued long time after in their rule and possession.

Many learned men both Ancient and Modern, haue approoued their Histories to be very certaine. *Diodorus the Sicilian*, he affirmeth them to haue two feuerall Prouinces of the World; the one was in the *Asiatique Scythia*, a Prouince in the North parts of *Asia*, which was very great, and contained in it many other Prouinces. *Ptolomey* did deuide it into two partes, by the Mountaine **Imaus*, and it is at this day (in mine opinion) that which is cled *Tartaria*, in *Asiaticke Scythia*, and different from that *Scythia* which is in *Europe*. The other was in *Lybia*, a Prouince of *Affrica*, and (as one saith) that it was long before that of *Scythia*. But because most commonly, Authors (speaking of the *Amazones*) doe vnderstand and meane them of *Asia*; it is of them that I am determined to speake, and I will principally follow *Iustine & Diodorus*, who haue written most distinctly of them.

The *Scythians* were very warlike men, of whom wee haue good testimony in many Histories, they had (in their first yeares) two Kings, to whom they yeelded al obedience, and were in order gouerned by them. Neuerthelesse, because it is the naturall propertie of Dominion, quickly to wax proud; and not to allow any equall or companion: there happened betweene these two Kings so great question and controuersie: as at length it grew wholly to a ciuill warre. In which difference, one side remained Conquerour in the end; and two men (of greatest note) on the contrary faction; the one being named *Plynus*, and the other *Scolopith*, were bannished thence, with a great number of their Adherents; who with-drawing themselves to the limits of *Cappadocia*, in the lesser *Asia*, in despite of the Inhabitants of the Country, they made their abode along the Riuer* of *Thormodon* (now called *Pormon*) which entreth into the *Euxine Sea*, otherwise called **Pontus*. There making themselves Lords of the Country, and of the neighbouring parts, they raigned there for some certaine yeares, vntill such time as the Country people and their Confederates, finding them-

selues to bee greatly offended, made a conspiracy against them, & assembling themselves secretly together, did so cunningly by deceit ouer-reach them, that (in the end) they slew them all.

The tidings of their death comming to the eares of their Wiues, remaining in the former Country, procured them to extreame greefe and heauinesse, and preuailed so with them, that (albeit they were Women) they tooke vpon them such a manly courage, as, concluding to reuenge the death of their Husbands, they rose vp in Armes, and grew to bee very expert therein. Now, to the end, that in this fortune they might bee all equal, and the sorrow common, without any exception: they slew some other of their Husbands, that remained behinde when the other were bannished. And then mustring themselves into a mighty Army, they left their dwelling, refusing mariage with many that earnestly thereto required them. When they were arriued at the Countrey of their Enemies, (who made slender account of it, notwithstanding they had sufficient aduertisement) they tooke them vnprovidid, and put them euery man to the Sword; heereof is deliuered credible testimony, by *Pomponius Mela*, *Propertius*, and *Claudian* in the rape of *Proserpina*. And they do further signifie, that this being done, they tooke vpon them the gouernment of the Country, abiding (at their beginning) along the Riuer *Thermodon*, in the place where their Husbands was slaine.

Now although that diuers Authours doe differ, concerning the first place of plantation or seating, where these *Amazons* made their dwelling; yet neuerthelesse it is a constant truth, that the beginning of their raigne, and the certaine place of their habitation, was by this Riuer: but of their surmounting afterward to many other Prouinces, diuers opinions are deliuered, which at large are discussed by *Strabo*, and others. But in these places they fortified themselves, and wan sundry other neighbouring Countries, making election of two Queenes among them; the one named *Marpesia*, and the other *Lampedon*. These two worthy Women, deuided their warlike Troop into two parts, continuing with great concord, and each assisting the other with boldnesse and hardiment,

to

Concerning the abiding of the *Amazones*, according to the opinion of Authors.

*A Mountain parting *India* from *Scythia*.

Of the *Scythians* a warlike Nation, who first were gouerned by two Kings.

**Pormon* was so called of *Themiscyra*, a country of *Pontus*, bordering vpon *Cappadocia*.
*The Seabettweene *Mæotis* and *Tenedos* so called of *Pomus* the son of *Nereus*.

Women rise in Armes, to reuenge the death of their Husbands.

Pomponius Mela. Lib. 1.
Propertius lib 3
Claudian. in rapt. *Proserpin*.

The first beginning of the raigne of the *Amazons*.

The two first Queenes of the *Amazons*.

to defend the Countries which they had conquered. In the end, to make their name more famous and dreadfull (such was the folly and credence of weak Men in those times) they feigned themselves to be the Daughters of *Mars*, according to the affirmation of *Iustine*, and *Seruius* vpon the *Aeneidos*, and *Valerius Flaccus*, in part of his fourth Booke of the *Argonauts*.

Afterward, these wonderfull women liuing in this manner, with peace and vpright Iustice among them, they began to consider on the succession of time, that through want of Daughters to succede them, Warre and Time would at length deuour them: wherevpon, they purposed to contract Marriage with certaine of their Neighbours, whom *Pliny* reporteth to be called *Gargarians*, vpon condition, that at a certaine time, their Husbands should meet them in a place conueniently appointed, and there to keepe them company for diuers daies, vntill they could guesse themselves to be conceiued with child; which done, they were to returne againe to their owne Habitations. If they hapned to be deliuered of Daughters, they would bee Nurses to them, & breed them vp in aptnesse of Armes, with all other manly exercises: as to ride Horses, runne swiftly, Hauke, and Hunt. But if they were Male Children, then they would send them to bee educated by their Fathers, except they pleased to reserue some one or two only. *Diodorus* saith, that such Male Children as they kept with them, they wold writh and bruise their Armes and Legs; so that in no wise they should bee able to carry Armes, and therefore they serued to no other vse, but to spinne, sow, weaue, and performe such other like feminine qualities.

Now because these *Amazons* did much helpe themselves in their Wartes with Bowes and Arrowes, and finding that in this & other exercises of armes, their Dugs or Breastes were a very great hinderance to them: They vsed to burn off the right Pap, both of themselves and their Daughters; and therevpon they were called *Amazons*, which signifieth in the Greek tongue, *No-Breasts*; albeit some other doe giue another Etimology to this name. Encreasing still on

by course of time, to be in number both many and mighty, they made great provision for Armes and warlike Actions, and leauing their Countrey (which seemed somewhat too little for them) to the custody of such as they reposed trust in, they wandred abroad, displacing & conquering all such, whom they found to be rebellious against them. Hauing passed the riuer *Tanais*, they entred into *Europe*, where they subdued many countries, and so directed their course towards *Thrace*: from whence they returned (afterward) with great spoiles and victories, and re-entring *Asia*, brought diuers other Prouinces into their obedience; which were so many, that *Amianus Marcellinus* saith, they went so farre as to the *Caspian Sea*.

They builded and peopled infinite goodly Citties, among which is comprised (according to the opinion of some Authours) that of *Ephesus*, so much renowned, because it had bin alwaies the cheefe City of their Empire; and the principall of all other, on the borders of *Thermedon*. They vsed in their warres, to defend themselves with Targets, which (according as it is saide by *Virgill*) were made in resemblance like halfe Moons. *Martianus Capellus* declareth, that at their entrance into battaile, they sounded strange kindes of Flutes, to harden and embolden their followers to the fight, euen according as the *Lacedemonians* were wont to doe. In large extendure did the fame of these Women spread it selfe, euen to the time that *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and many other valiant men liued in *Greece*. This *Hercules* was commaunded by *Euristhenes* King of *Athens*, that he should go with a strong power of armed men against the *Amazons*, & that he should bring away the Armors of their two Queenes, which then were two Sisters; to wit, *Antiopa* and *Orythia*. Vpon this commaund, *Hercules* (swelling with desire of honour) accompanied with *Theseus*, and others his deare Friendes: tooke Sea, and sayling by the *Pontique* Sea, landed in the most commodious place of the Riuer *Thermedon*, which hee entred so couertly, and at a time of such aduantage, as *Orythia* (one of the two Queenes) was gone out of the Countrey, with the greater part of her Women, to war and conquer a new

* A Riuer in *Scythia*, which parteth *Asia* from *Europe*.

Amianus Marcellinus in lib. 9. Cap. 13.

* *Ephesus* an old Cittie of *Ionia*, rebuilded by the *Amazons*, famous for the Temple of *Diana*, which was held for one of the seauen wonders of the world.

Euristhenes K. of *Athens*; his charge to *Hercules*.

Antiopa and *Orythia*, Queenes of the *Amazons*.

Hercules and *Theseus* came against the *Amazons*.

Iustine, Lib. 5. *Seruius*, sup. *Encl.* *Valerius Flaccus*, in Lib. 4. *Argonaut.*

Plin. lib. 6. cap. 7.

The order obserued among the *Amazons* for increasing their government, and education of their Children.

Vpon what reason they were named *Amazons*.

found Countrey: so that he found *Antiopa*, neither doubting or knowing the least note of his coming. By meanes whereof, *Hercules* and his Followers found the *Amazones* vnprovided, and although they betooke themselves to Armes, & immediatly stood vpon their owne defence, with such diligence as so short warning gaue them leaue: yet were they neuerthelesse vanquished, throwne into disorder, and many of the flaine, and the rest surprized: among whom were two Sisters to the Queene, whereof the one was named *Menalippa*, prisoner to *Hercules*; and the other *Hippolita*, in like bondage to *Theseus*. Some Historians say, that they were conquered on a certaine day appointed for the battaile: And that afterward these two Sisters were vanquished in the *Duello* or single combat, one to one; but herein I follow the opinion of *Iustine* and *Diodorus*.

The Queene *Antiopa* perceiuing this ouerthrow, and that her Noble Sisters were in this manner taken; she came to a composition with *Hercules*, to whom she gaue her Armor to cary to King *Euristhenes*, vpon condition, that he should deliuer backe her Sister *Menalippa*. But *Theseus*, notwithstanding all Royall offers made him, by no meanes would returne his Prisoner *Hippolita*. *Hercules* hauing thus compassed his intention, returned home with his company. These newes comming to the knowledge of *Orythia* (then absent from her Country, (as we haue heard already declared) no tidings euer came to her of more griefe and disgrace; so that (growing iealous of a greater danger) she returned home suddenly with her *Amazones*. The greater part of them (iumping with her in opinion) perswaded the Queen *Antiopa*, to reuenge this their iniury vpon the *Grecians*. Whereupon, they prepared great prouision for war, and after they had assembled and marshalled the greater number of their *Amazones*, they sent to entreat *Sigillus* King of the *Scythians*, to lend them assistance: who then sent them his Sonne *Peasagoras*, with a great multitude of his ablest Horse-men. Being thus by them strengthened, the *Amazones* entred *Europe*, and proceeded on to the Limits of *Athens*, doing much damage all the way of their passage. But

Peasagoras entred into a priuate quarrell with the Queene and her Women, by means whereof, the *Scythians* could not be drawn to fight, but withdrew themselves apart; which so weakned the power of the *Amazones*, as they were not able to endure the rough encounters of the *Grecians*, but perforce must yeeld to their hard fortune, being subdued and vanquished, and the most part of them cruelly massacred. Such as could escape, fled to the Camp of the *Scythians*, who tooke them into their defence, and so returned backe into their owne Country, where afterward they liued not so potent as before.

In following time it fortun'd, the *Grecians* passed into *Asia*, when they attained to that memorable Conquest of *Troy*, at which time raigned as Queene ouer the *Amazones*, a worthy Woman named *Penthesilea*, who remembering the former wronges receiued by the *Grecians*: went with a mighty band of her *Amazones* to succour the *Troyans*, where the Queen did performe very rare deeds of Armes. But the *Troyans* being conquered as fast as they fallied forth (wher they found the *Amazones* fighting in their assistance) they were almost all flaine: *Penthesilea* perished by the hand of *Achilles*; whereuppon, so many as remained aliue, returned home into their Countrey, with such small strength (in regard of what they had bin before) that very hardly could they defend and keep their ancient possessions.

And so they continued vntill such time as *Alexander* the great went into *Asia*, to make war vpon the rebellious *Hyracians*: At which time, one of their Queens named *Thalestria*, accompanied with a great number of her *Amazones*, left her Countrey, with desire to see and know that powerfull Conquerour. And comming neere the place where hee was, she sent an Ambassadresse vnto him, to attaine safe conduct for her fight of him; giuing him to vnderstand, that the renowne of so great a personage, had forwarded her desire to beholde him. Which being vnderstood by *Alexander*, he royally sent her his safe conduct, by meanes whereof, after she had selected some of the principall of her *Amazones*, to the number of three hundred Ladies (as some report) and left the rest

Peasagoras quarrelleth with *Orythia* and her *Amazones*, which caused their ouerthrow.

The *Grecians* goe to the siege of *Troy*

Queene *Penthesilea* flaine by *Achilles*.

Alexanders entrance into *Asia* against the *Hyracians* and the going of *Thalestria* Queen of the *Amazons* to see him.

Menalippa and *Hippolita* Sisters to *Antiopa*, Queene of the *Amazons*.

Composition between *Hercules* and *Q. Antiopa*.

Orythia and hir people perswade *Antiopa* to reuenge on the *Grecians*.

in

Alexanders entertainment of Thalestria.

in place conuenient : in very honourable equipage she went to Alexander, of whom shee was most graciously entertained, with extraordinary affability, & offered her whatsoeuer remained in his power ; so that very instantly he desired her, to demaund what she pleased, and it should not be denied her.

The answer of Thalestria to Alexander.

She answered in this manner : I come not (great Alexander) to desire Landes, Rule, or Dominations, because I haue sufficient of mine owne, but onely to know a King so much renowned; of whom I haue heard such matter of maruaile, that I come (if thou please) to accept thee as my Husband, and to haue Issue by thee, that I might baaſt of an Heire sprung from the Loynes of so excellent a Princee. And King, thou canſt not mislike my Linage or descent, being euery way as generous as thy selfe, and of so high Parentage as deserues no disdain. Withall, I promise thee, that if the Gods doe graunt me a Daughter by thee, I will bee Nurſse to it mine owne selfe, and make her mine onely Inheritour. But if it be a Sonne, then will I send it to be nourished as great ALEXANDER shall appoint it.

Alexanders answer to Thalestria.

Alexander replied, if she would goe along to the wars with him, & he wold respect her as his honorable Companion: But she shaping an excuse, replied; that she could not go with him, but to her shame, and in daunger to loose her owne Kingdome; wherefore, again she requested him, to grant her desire. To conclude, she kept company with Alexander for the space of thirteen daies, in modest (and yet secret) conuersation: which time being expired, and her leaue admitted, she returned to her Country againe.

The decaying of the Amazons Empire.

But, as it is the naturall property of time, to consume al things; euen so the raigne and power of the Amazons, grew afterward to a diminishing: so that decreasing still by little and little, it fell at length to be wholly extirpated. This hath beene generally helde for a true History, and for such doe I heere insert it. Trogus Pompeius affirmeth it, and so doth Iustine, Diodorus, Orosius, Martianus Capellus, Quintus Curtius, Herodotus, Iulius Solynus, Polihistor, Pomponius Mela, and Amianus Marcellinus, with many other auncient Authours, besides those that are Moderne. Onely Strabo, after

Trog Pom lib. 3. Iustine Lib. 2. Diocl. lib. 3. & 4. Orosius lib. 15. Martian. Capel. Lib. 9. Quin. Curt. Lib. 6. Herod Lib. 4. Solyn. Lib. 65. & 77.

he hath reported this History, he seems to distrust the credit thereof. But whofoeuer shall reade the History of Bohemia (which Pope Pius the second hath written very truly, and with such painful diligence) and there perceiuethe how these Women long time helde the Dominion of Bohemia, ouer-treading the whole Countrey, & making very often and necessary warres, this Historie of the Amazons will no way seeme incredible to him.

Pius Pap. 2. in Hist. de Bohem.

We read also in the life of the Emperour Claudius the second, who triumphed ouer the Gothes, that in the battell which he had against them, there were taken ten Souldiers that fought verie valiantly: who being disrobed of their Garments were found to be Women, and it was held for an vndoubted opinion, that they were descended of the Linage of the Amazons.

Claudius the second, his wars against the Goths.

What might we also say of the Maid of France, whom the French-men called the Pucelle de Vancoleur: There is hardly any Man, neuer so meanelly read in Histories; but is acquainted with the many battailes fought by her, wherein she had the charge of a Captaine; as also how many times she was in the Fielde, as valiant as any man in the world could be. I could yet name many other Women, but I must needs let them sleep in silence, to obserue the breuity which at first I promised.

The Pucelle of France.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Antiquitie of Constantinople, and how it became Conquered by the Turkes.



Mong all the famous inhabited Citties of the World, there was neuer any (after Rome) that hath beene seene of so great strength & honor, as Constantinople very highly renowned both by the Grecians and Latines. Strabo calleth it Magnificent; Pliny and Iustine tearme it most Noble; scituated in a most excellent and fertile soyle, ennobled with great personages,

Strab. lib 7. Cap. 2. Plin. lib. 6. cap. 9. Iustine. Lib. 7. Cap. 9.

and sumptuous Buildings. It was a long time the cheefe Citty and Seate of the Empire, wherein hath beene held many generall Councils, for destroying and extirpation of infinite Heresies. Many noble and notable occasions haue therein happened, both in the prosperity and tribulations thereof: and yet (as we too well knowe) it is fallen into captiuitie, whereof wee will breiefely declare the whole History.

It is a Cittie in *Europe*, seated in the Countrey of *Thrace*, being plentifull in Fertility, great in Circumference, and very mighty in power. Her plot and Plantation is on the narrow Sea, betweene *Asia* and *Europe*, at the entrance of *Pontus*, or the *Euxine* Sea, called the great Sea. For which cause, *Ouid* calleth it the Port of two Seas; because it standeth in a narrow, or straight. *Constantinople* (according to *Ptolomy*) containeth three and forty degrees of Latitude; that is to say (for their better apprehension who are herein ignorant) that it is distant from the Equinoctiall, three and forty degrees, there, where the Poole is eleuated, and in the sixe and fifty degree of longitude of the *Meridian*, which passeth the Island of the *Canaries*. The first founders of this Citty (by common opinion, and of the best Authors) were the *Lacedemonians*. *Orosius* saith, the *Spartans*, with *Pausanias* their Captaine and King: Albeit, *Eustachius* (according as *Volateranus* also reporteth) that it was founded by a Captaine of the *Megarians*, named *Bizeus*, and after whose name it was called *Bizantium*. *Diodorus* and *Polybius* doe say, that it was called *Bizantium*, after the Name of a Captaine, that laid the Foundation thereof. Neuerthelesse, *Pliny* affirmeth, that at the first it was called *Ligos*, and not *Bizantium*.

But that it should be true, that *Pausanias* founded it; *Iustine* iustifies it: The like doth *Paulus Orosius*, and all the Moderne Writers, deliuering the reason of the building it. For (say they) *Pausanias* being wandring with his beggerly followes through the Worlde, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, to know where he & they should make their abiding, and had this aunswere returned him; *That hee should remaine face to face with the blind*. This he vnderstood

to meane the *Megarians*, who dwelling in *Calcidonia*, in a bad barren place, hauing forsaken the side of *Constantinople*, which was good and fertile. The selfesame is deliuered by *Strabo*; albeit hee doth not name the founder. But in what time soeuer it was, *Eusebius* speaking thereof, saith; that it was builded very neere to the time of the thirtieth *Olympiade*, euen then when *Tullus Hostilius* raigned in *Rome*. At the first beginning, it was but a small thing, as all other new erected Townes were wont to bee; and for a certaintie, it was some while subiect to the *Lacedemonians*; or, as others say, to the *Athenians*, vntill such time as those two great Estates contending together, it had leysure to growe rich, encreasing both in wealth and power, and by meanes of their dissention still continuing, it enlarged it selfe to some more greatnesse.

Afterward, it flourished it such sort, with the liberty which it had, and the fruitfulness of the soyle, that *Phillip K.* of *Macedon*; Father to *Alexander* the great, grew enamored of her beauty & mighty riches, and concluded to Conquer it; whereto (for his better attaine-ment) he laid a long time of besiedging, and yet could not take it. One day, *Leo* a notable *Sophister*, had conference with king *Phillip*, and the same was afterward written by *Philostratus*, in the History of the *Gymnosophists*. For as *Phillip* continued his enterprize: with a very huge Army of choise selected men. *Leo* a learned *Sophister*, dwelling in *Bizantium*, went vnto him, and spake in this maner:

40 Tell me King *Phillip*, what iniury hast thou receiued of *Bizantium*, that hath moued thee to make Warre vpon her, with such violent fury? I haue receiued (aunswere *Phillip*) not any iniury of the Citty, whereby to prouoke me as her Enemy: but because she seemes more beautifull to mee, then all the other Citties of *Thrace*; as enamored of her perfections, I would faine Conquer, and make her mine. Kings that are amorous (aunswere *Leo*) and would be beloved where they place affection: doe labour to compasse their intent with sweet Musick, pleasing speeches, gifts, and such like kinde behauiour; and neuer strine to enforce them, by rough tearmes and rude Warre.

And euen so it fell out with this King, for (as we haue already said) hee could

not

The situation of Constantinople, in the straight of the Sea.

The first founders of Constantinople.

Oros. Lib. 3. cap. 13. Lib. 9. Cap. 19.

Diodor. Lib. 3. Cap. 12. *Polyb.* lib. 2. cap. 7.

Plin. Lib. 7. cap. 12. & 17.

Iustin. Lib. 9. Cap. 9. *Oros.* Lib. 3. cap. 6.

Pausanias conferreth with the Oracle of *Apollo*.

Strabo Lib. 7. Cap. 14.

Euseb. in Lib. de Temp. Cap. 12.

Strife betweene the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*, gaue encreasing to *Constantinople*.

Philostr. in Hist. Gymnos.

The conference betweene *Phillip* of *Macedon*, & *Leo* the *Sophister*, concerning the long siege of *Constantinople*.

Trouble doth oftentimes fall out for the best.

Pessinius the Tyrant, enemy to the Emperor Severus, got possession of the City.

Bizantium spoiled by the tyrant.

An Angurie of an Eagle to Constantine the Great.

Bizantium rebuilt by Constantine, & made as faire as Rome.

not compasse his desire, but left it in far greater strength and liberty, then it was before. Afterward, by succession of time, when the *Romains* began to make warre in *Greece*, they entred into league and amity with the *Bizantians*, and many times were supplied with their helpe and kindnesse, in sundry warres & stout foughten battails, which strenghtned still her flourishing prosperity; and also augmented her buildings and wealth. A long while after, the *Romain* rule coming to the gouernment of Emperors, (*Seuerus* then rainging) the Tyrant *Pessinius* (enemy to the Emperor) tooke possession of this City of *Bizantium*. By meanes whereof, *Seuerus* sent thither a great Army to besiege it: but hauing not strength enough to surprize it by assault, they compelled him by Famine to yeeld himselfe; but first, the wals and goodly fortifications were battered, spoiled, and throwne downe vnto the ground, & so were all the goodly buildings. In brieft, the Tyrant had taken from them all their publick and priuate possessions, which he had wholly giuen away to the *Parintians*; and now after this besieging of it by the *Romaines*, there remained nothing of the former estate, but a very poore desolate City, wherein few or none desired to dwell. The parts and fragments of the destroyed wals and Houses, which remained to be seene in lamentable ruines, were of such an excellent kind of Stone, cut and squared with such admirable Art, that hardly could their ioyntes and closures be discerned.

This Calamity beeing ouer-blowne, and the Emperor *Constantine* rainging at *Rome* (euen hee that was surnamed the Great, Sonne to *S. Helena* the Queene, that founde the Crosse of our Sauour Christ) he determined to passe into the East, being mooued and meerey compelled thereto, by diuers Angures or Wizzards, concerning an Eagle, which broght him (as it is said) a cord between her Tallants, wherewith this Bird had measured out a new Habitation for him in another Countrey. Whereupon he concluded, to haue old ruined *Bizantium* againe re-edified, to honour it with another Name, and to make it the chief City of the world. By this means it was restored to her former estate, with such

a large surmounting of Houses & faire Buildings, as she stood in contention with *Rome* for beauty. There he erected sumptuous Pallaces, goodly Churches, and high Towers; thither also he transported the Empire, with his Court, the Consuls, Senators, and all other Magistrates and Officers. Now, albeit he had amplified it in such forme and greatnes, that it seemed a new *Rome*, and so hee would haue had it called: yet notwithstanding, the voyce of the people so far preuailed, that the name of the Emperor must needs be giuen it, and so it was called *Constantinople*. The historians that then liued, & soone after, doe say, that the greatnes and sumptuous shew thereof was such, as it could not bee described without much prolixity.

The Emperor *Constantine* liued there many yeares, in the height of prosperity; so did the other Emperours likewise that succeeded him. There they continued the Empire, some in peace, others in warre, vntil such time, that (after a large expence of yeares) by diuers fowle sinnes committed by the Cittizens, occasioned thiorowe prosperity, ease, and ydlennesse, and partly by the weakenesse and negligence of the Emperours, the greatnesse and power thereof began to decline. So that hauing endured many misfortunes of fire, Pestilence, and terrible Earth-quakes, (the History whereof were too long to recite) there hauing also passed ouer cleauen hundred yeares of the Christians holding it in possession: This famous City (that alone ruled ouer so manie Nations, that was rich in Gold and Silver, honored with approued auncient excellencies, incomparable Churches, admyred Monuments, and raised out of the dust of Obluion by Gods permission, by *Constantine*; and afterward, by another *Constantine*, Sonne also to an Emperesse, named *Helena*) was besieged by *Mahomet* King of the Turkes, Lorde of the Lesser *Asia*, and of many other Regions and Prouinces, the grand-Fathers Father to *Solyman*, that liued when I wrote this History; the Predecessours of which *Mahomet*, had before that time Conquered the greater part of *Greece*.

The siedege was laid against this Cittie with such power and perseuerance, and maintained with so violent fury, that after

Bizantium called *Constantinople*, after *Constantines* name.

Constantinople begins againe to decline her glory.

Constantinople besieged by *Mahomet* the Turke.

The Turke
assigneth his
last day of
battell.

after many bloody Battels, & by course of as many Months while the siege continued, after the death also of infinite worthy men, as well on the one side as the other, the Turke appointed the last day of Battaille, to be the nine and twentieth day of May, in the year one thousand, foure hundred, fifty three (some say fifty two) the Emperor *Frederick* reigning then at *Rome*, thirde of that name, and he gaue them battaille by breake of day. In which extreame fury, the inhabitants being no longer able to resist the huge multitude of their Enemies and the impetuous storme; at length, the Cittie was surprized in the assault; and some Authours Record, that it was in this manner:

The manner
how Constantinople
was conquered by
the Turke.

The Emperor being giuen to vnderstand, that the Turke had abandoned the Citties Pillage for three dayes together, after many woorthy Orations made, he went out of the walles with a great number of his people, to defend the Barbacanes or Subburbes, which were of as high mounture and strength, as the walles of the Cittie. And he went himselfe in person, to counsell and giue order what was to be done, causing the Citties Gates to be fast shut after him, to take from his people all hope of Flight.

And euen now, did there happen the very fiercest and most cruell Battaille, that euer was scene since the inuention of Warre, with all kindes of Armes and Instruments for fight, as well for defending, as assailing. It seemed as if the very Heauens would haue split in sunder, with the noise and outcries of the Soldiers; and the earth looked like a Shambles, covered ouer with the Bloude of the slaine and Wounded. The Emperour on the one side, and the Turke on the other, added Spirite with their chearefull Wordes, to the great Encouragement of their armed Troopes, being themselves euer formost or hindmost, according as occasion and need required.

Of *Iustinian*
the valiant
man of *Geno-
uay* on whom
the people
much relyed.

Among the Valiantest Warriors, that boldly stood for defence of the Barbacanes, there was a *Genowese*, named *Iustinian*, vpon whose Vertue and Valour the people within the walles not a little depended, in regard of his skill and manly power; and because in all the pre-

cedent battailes, he had bin stil the principall occasion of the Citties safety. Neuertheless, after a long resistance, being fore wounded, and his blood abundantly streaming from his hurts, he forsook the place that he defended, to haue some Medicines applied to him in the Cittie. Which when the people perceiued, their courage became immediately quailed; and worde thereof being brought to the Emperor, hee ran after him, instantly desiring him to returne & make good his place, shewing what necessity stood vpon his presence. But no conditions or promises whatsoever, could cause him to go backe: be it, that either it so pleased God, that his corage should faile him, or else that hee could no longer beare the griefe of his wounds, but (hauing them drest) intended to returne; the Gate was opened to him, and Chirurgions called to giue what help they could. In the meane space, his folowers that defended his quarter, not hauing him with them, began to shrink backe and giue ouer the place.

The Turkes no sooner beheld this advantage, but they fell afresh to a much more dreadfull assault; and contrariwise the Christians were so weake and out of hart, that being able to resist no longer, they turned their backs, seeking to shelter themselves in the City. The Gate remaining open, (wherat *Iustinian* had entered) in expectation of his returne; the Turkes mingled themselves among the Christians, and entering the City with them, went vp vpon the wals, and did pittiful massacres vpon the Christians. The Emperor (as some report) hauing changed his habit, to the end hee might not be knowne, was slaine by the enemies. Others say (among whom is Pope *Pius* the second) that as he desired to retire into the Cittie, grieving to see his people in such disorder, he was thrown down by the flying multitude, & being greatly trampled vpon by their passage ouer him, he died vnder the feete of his own folowers, euen in the very gate of the City. But be it howsoeuer, his body was knowne by the Turkes, who cut off his head, & fixing it on a Lances point, caried it (as their victories trophe) thorow the Camp; & after, into the City.

As for *Iustinian* (the flight of whome was the principall occasion of so Lamentable

Iustinians departure
disheartneth the
people.

The Turkes
driue the
Christians to
flight, and enter
with them

Pius. 2. *Pap.* in
Hist. Const. 6. 3.

The Emperor
trodden to
death by his
owne people.

The death of Iustinian the Genovese.

The tyranny of the Turkes in their Victory.

The Villany of the Turkes to the Crucifix of Christ.

mentable misfortune) he seeing the City taken, fled away by the Sea, and dyed in a little Island, either of the woundes he had then receiued, or of some other disease; albeit he had it once in his own choise, to haue died honourably in the place where he had liued with so much Fame and Credit. The Turkes beeing thus entred the City, left no kinde of bloody cruelty vnperformed; that malice or villany could deuise. All the household and Kindered of the Emperour, both Men and Women, were (without mercy) put to the sword; & in like sort they dealt with all the people, except such as escaped, or whom they tooke to their slauish seruitude.

And heer I may not forget one notorious detestable action; for they could not content themselues, to execute their barbarous malice vpon Christian Men and women, but hauing gotten a goodly Image of the Crucifixe of Christ, they (in a shamelesse mockery) would needs performe another Crucifying thereof, vpon a Crosse made foule and filthy by their own beastly ordure, representing a new passion of our Sauiour; and ouer his head they wrote this Inscription: THIS IS THE GOD OF THE CHRISTIANS, with many other abominable blasphemies. In this manner, that Noble City of *Constantinople* fell into the hands of the Disciples of *Mahomet*, the sworne Enemies to Iesus Christ, as yet they doe continue. I would it pleased God, that euen as they hath bin in her wals many mutations to her great misfortune, that once againe it might bee regained, to serue to his Glory, and the generall good of Christendome.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of what Nation and race the Imposture Mahomet was, and at what time his Sect had his first beginning.



Here is a variation among the Historians, concerning of what Stocke or Parentage, as also of what country the false Prophet Ma-

homet was. *Platina* saith, that he was of a Noble lignage. *Pomponius Letus*, a very diligent Author (whom I meane to follow in this Chapter, principally in his abridgement of the *Roman* History,) He writes, and so doe diuers others beside, that he was of ignoble Race, Obscure and vile, and so indeede we may safeliest credit; because so wicked a man hauing nothing in him worthy of Memory, but a pride in Malice, Lewdnesse, and Iniquity, could neuer bee deriued from any Noble Blood. Some say, that he was an *Arabe*; Others, a *Persian*: but this is a matter of small moment, & yet both may haue some good colour of Reason, because in those times, the *Persians* had Dominion ouer *Arabia*. As for his Father, let him be either Noble or a Villaine, sure it is, that hee was a Gentile, an Idolater, and no Christian, much lesse a Iew, according to *Platina*, and all the rest. As for his Mother, most Authors are of Opinion, that shee was descended of *Abraham*, by the Linage of his Sonne *Ismael*, whom hee hadde by his Handmaid *Agar*: and therefore, she was Iewish, and obserued the Lawes of the Iewesse, for euery Father then delighted to instruct his Children in his owne Law.

This *Mahomet*, was of a quicke and liuely spirit, very soone apprehending whatsoeuer was taught him: but being yet very young, and left as an Orphant, was by a casuall aduenture, taken as a Slaue to the *Scenites*, who were then in that Countrey, as now at this day the *Arabes* are in *Affrica*. For they hadde no certaine place of abiding, neither any settled Goods or possessions, but liued in Common, vnder Tents and Trees, doing dayly Thefts and Robberies. Hee was afterward sold to a rich Merchant, named *Adimoneple*, who for the delight he had to see him so young, well featured, and quietly disposed, would not vse him as a Slaue, but rather as his owne Sonne. *Mahomet* being thus fortunately entertained, managed his Maisters Affayres with great care and diligence, making a mighty returne of profite, by trading dayly both with Iewes and Christians. Moreouer, by reason of this frequent conuersation, he learned sufficient in either of their lawes. While matters thus continued, the Merchant his

Plat. in vit. Pap. cap. 30. Pomponius Letus in Breui. Hist. Rom.

The Nation and parentage of Mahomet.

The disposition of Mahomet.

The Scenites are a people that liue in Tents, who sold Mahomet to a rich Merchant.

Mai-

Mahomet married his Mistress.

Sergius the hereticall Monk commeth acquainted with *Mahomet*.

Mahomet would become a Prophet, and was a great Magician.

Maister died, without any children, leaving his Widdow very rich, aged about some fifty yeares; and she (according as I finde in the Chronicles of *Constantinople*, which agreeth with the opinion of some others) was of *Mahomet's* Kindred, and named *Ladigna*. She having made prooffe of his person, & his sufficiency, (euery way) took him to bee her Husband, making him (of a poore wretch) a rich Lord.

It fortuned at this very time, that there trauailed vpp into those parts of *Arabia*, a Christian cowled-Monke, named *Sergius*, a man of very euill nature, and who (for his Heresies) was fled out of *Constantinople*. Being come thither, he fell in acquaintance and amity with *Mahomet*, who already began (as puffed vp with Ambition) to thinke on great matters, and yet by very oblique waies. For he had an acute spirit, and was well entred into Magicall Sciences, so that by the Counsell and helpe of *Sergius*, he resolved to perswade the Gentiles, that he was a Prophet; and to that end, hee performed diuers sleights of Magicke, whereby his Wife, and they of his own house were first abused. Heere we are to vnderstand, that he hadde a disease (somewhat straunge to such as knew it not) which indeed was the falling sicknesse, wherat his wife and the rest waxing amazed, desired to know some reason thereof; and he would answer them, That the Angel of God vsed often to come and conferre with him, and hee could not (as being a mortall man) endure his Diuine presence, but fell into this Agony and alteration of spirit; but by these frequent visitations, he had instructions what to do, according to the will and direction of God. He was likewise so subtle and cautelous, that by meanes of his wife, who did constantly credit him, and made such straunge reports to her Neighbors, as also, the chiefeft of her friends and Kindred, that they grew by little and little to belieue him, and (among the Gentiles) hee attained vnto an especiall reputation.

Soone after, his wife died, so that he remained her vniuersall heire, in verie wealthy possessions, and huge sums of Money, which made him much bolder then he was before: and therefore, by assistance of *Sergius* the Monke, he pub-

lished himselfe openly to be a Prophet, saying; that he was sent of GOD, to giue new Lawes to the world. And because he was very learned in al the laws, he practised so industriously, that he accorded partly with the Iewes, to possesse their affection, and partly with the Christians, not to make them his Enemies. Hee likewise held consent with many Heretickes then liuing, to compassse their fauour; with *Macedonius* hee denied the Holy-Ghost to bee God; & approoued the multiplicity of Wiues, with the *Nicholaitans*. On the other side, hee confessed that our Sauour and Redeemer Iesus Christ, was Holy, and a Prophet; and allowed that the Virgin *Mary* was also holy, and woulde much extoll her. With the Iewes hee helde Circumcision, and other Ceremonies: and generally, he permitted in his false Religion, all Vices of the flesh in absolute Liberty. In all which, beeing made potent and no way contradictory, they were written altogether in a Booke, named *Mahomet's Alchoran*.

Now because he distrusted the sufficiency of his cause, he did forbid to all men whatsoever, not to dispute his ordinances on paine of death, saying; that they ought to bee obserued by force of Armes throughout the World. At the beginning of these things, he was much frequented with the vulgar multitude, and men apt to be abused by his grosse perswasions. They flocked together in huge troupes, to bee acquainted with him, for all carnal vicious men were his chiefeft-fauourers, and being no meane number of them in the world, they grew to a very great Sect, and by their means and assistance, he assaulted the Confines of *Arabia*, and made himselfe Lorde of much wealth. This was done, in the year of our Lord, about 620. *Heraclius* being then Emperor of *Rome*, and holding his seat at *Constantinople*. *Boniface* the fift, being then Pope and great Byshop of *Rome*: and after him, *Honorius* his Successor.

This Newes comming to the Emperor *Heraclius* (as *Platina* testifieth) he prepared to redresse it; & partly did so, by entertaining in pay the *Scenites* of *Arabia*, a warlicke people, and who had fauoured *Mahomet*. The Emperour dispersed them into sundry places, and they pre-uailed

Mahomet publisheth himselfe to bee a Prophet, by helpe of *Sergius* the Monke.

The variety of opinions maintained by *Mahomet*.

The Disciples and chiefeft followers of *Mahomet*.

Lib. 7. Cap. 12.

The Emperor *Heraclius* seeketh to cut off

this new Sect, but leaues it off before it was finished.

Mahomet with his Confederates, do enter the bound of the Romaine Empire.

Mahomet warred vpon the Persians, and is foied at the first.

The reason why he tearmeth them to be Agarians, because they called the Christians so in come

uailed so well by their power, that this new Sect (for a time) became indifferently asswaged: but it was a great error in him, that he did not still pursue them, or seeke such meanes, as might root vp that wicked generation, who deliuered such Diuinish Doctrines abroad. For proceeding on no further in his enterprize, it did the more harme that he had begun it; because through defect of keeping promise with the *Semites*, and paying them their accustomed wages; they (in meere despight) ioyned with Mahomet; and elected him to be their Captaine, because he was of great reputation, and held to be a Prophet of God. They grew to such boldnesse and strength, that they assailed the people and Countries belonging to the Romaine Empire, and entring *Syria*, conquered the Noble City of *Damas*, with all *Egypt*, *Judea*, and the Lands neighboring therabout, perswaded the *Saracens*, (a people of Arabia) that the Lande of Promise appertained vnto them, as the Legittimate Successors to Father *Abraham*.

Mahomet beholding such prosperous successe, and ayming to Maister all the World, he proudly attempted to warre vpon the *Persians*, who were then verie mighty: but at the beginning it went not well with him, in regard hee was vanquished; and some say, that it was in the very first battaile. Afterward, hauing recomforted his troopes, & enlarged them with a greater number, he set vpon the *Persians* againe, brought them into subiection, and inforced them to embrace his Religion. Now, albeit the Emperor *Heraclius* was heereof aduertised, yet he offered no such assistance as he ought to haue done, for hee might haue stifled this Brat in the verie breeding: but nowe, it was a matter much more difficult, for hee had conquered *Cosroes* the potent King of *Persia*, taking from him the Crosse of our Saviour, which he had brought from *Ierusalem* into *Persia*, as a safe defence for it, that it might not fall into the handes of Mahomet, and the *Agarians* his Complices.

I tearme them *Agarians*, because that they which followed Mahomet, and tooke part with him, wold cal the Christians *Agarians*, in derision and mockery, saying; that neither they, nor Maho-

met, had taken their Originall from the line of *Sara*, the Wife of *Abraham*; and therefore ought not to be cald *Saracens*, as after *Saraes* name, but rather they shold bee called *Agarians*, as deriuing their fourse from *Agar*, the Hand-maid of *Abraham*. To conclude, after Mahomet had run thorough many strange & horrible things, he was poisoned, and died in the fortieth yeare of his age, (some say at the age of thirty foure yeares) in the yeare of our Lord (according to *Sabellius*) 3.

And because, Mahomet had often tolde his pertakers, that (after hee was dead) he should mount vp to Heauen, they kept his body for certaine dayes aboue ground; vntill such time, that it fauoured most horribly, stinking euen like his soule; & then, it was put into a chest of Iron, and they carried it to the City of *Meca* in *Persia*, where it is adored of all the people of the East; yea, euen of the greater part of the world, and that for our finnes.

Calipha succeeded Mahomet in the Empire, and *Haly* after *Calipha*. These two, did greatly augment the power & Sect of Mahomet, and so from time to time, by diuers orders and successions; but especially by the finnes and Cowardise of the Christian Emperors in those times, this pestilence hath spread ouer the world, euen to our dayes. But by the care and good dilligence of that Noble Emperor *Charles* the fift, we were once very graciously deliuered, euen when the great Turke *Solyman*, came with an Army of about 600000 men, to enter the Countries of *Hungaria* and *Austria*, with intention to conquer al Christendome. Against which enterprize, the Emperor *Charles* presented himselfe in person, hauing but a small moiety of men with him, in comparison of the multitude brought by the Turke, yet were they all well chosen, and able fighting men. At the report whereof, the Turke left his enterprize, with losse of many of his people, as hee did also the second time, in the yeare, 1537. when he came by Sea, and by Land, against *Italy*; and surprized some places in the kingdome of *Naples*.

There are some Authors, who haue written the original of Mahomet, much different from this which I haue heere set

The death of Mahomet, and the time whe.

Mahomet's body carried to Meca, where it is worshipped of the greater part of the world.

The happy deliuerance by Charles the fift, from the Turkes intended spoile.

Platin. in vit.
Pap. Blond. de
decian. Imp. Ro.
cap. 19.
Baptist. Ignat.
in Br. imp.
cap. 20.
Annal. Constant.
Naucler ca. 50.
Anton. cap. 24.

set downe, and say, that he was a theefe vpon the High-waies, and by the means of great robberies, attained to his greatnesse; but indeede, they carrie slender credit, and therefore their opinion is disabled. The most part, and all the best Writers, do agree with our discourse. *Platina* is one, in his liues of the Popes. *Blondus*, in his Booke of the *Roman* Empires declining. *Baptista Ignatius*, in his abridgement of the Emperors. The *Annales of Constantinople*. *Nauclerus*, *Antoninus*, and other.

CHAP. XXV.

The Originall and beginning of the Turkes, how they came to their Government, and what Princes haue ruled among them.



HE mighty Dominion of the Turkes, which at this day is so great & dreadful: likewise the Lignage and Family of the *Ottomans* & Kings; they are but nouell, and of no Antiquity, albeit the Turkish people haue bin of long continuance; so that it is a matter almost meruailous, that in such short time they should be so hugely augmented. For it is not about* two hundred and fifty yeares, that they were knowne to begin and get a Name. Behold therefore, how it may well be credited, that they were sent as a scourge by Gods permission, to chastise his vnthankful christian people, euen as heertofore, he sent an *Antiochen*, a *Nabuchodonosor*, a *Cyrus*, and such other, to oppresse and vex his elected children. And because the Christian Church hath receiued by them one of the most memorable persecutions and losses that euer she had, I held it not much differing from my purpose (especially, hauing made mention of the Originall of this Sect) to speake somewhat more thereof, as briefly as may be. As the like hath bin done by *Aeneas Syluius*, *Raphael Volateranus*, & *Nicholaus Secondinus*, far more distinctly then any of them before named. Also, *Frances Philephus* in a Letter which hee wrote to *Charles 8. K. of France*: & *Antonius Sabellicus* in his History. From all

* Accounting to the yeare, 1577. from the precedent time.

Ene. 15. Syl. in Cosmograph.
Raph. Volat. li. 7
Nico. Secondin.
Fran. Philel.
Anton. Sabellic.

which Authors, I haue collected what I will briefly set downe. But principally, I do obserue *Paulus Iouius*, in a particular Tract by him Written, concerning these people and Turkish Nation, not forsaking *Plinie*, and *Pomponius Mela*, in the end of his first Booke.

To begin with these two last recited Authors, they say, That their Originall came from the * *Sarmates*, which are on the Confines of *Scythia*, at the vttermost entrance into the *Caspian* Sea, and that they liued sauagely in vast Fieldes, hunting for victuals to maintaine their Liues: Of which *Sarmates* or *Scythians*, it is certain (all other opinions left) that the Turkes (to this very instant) haue receiued their Originall. And all such as say or thinke, that they were discended of the *Troyans*, do but abuse themselves. It would seem to them, that because the Turkes haue ruled *Troy*, and that the *Troyans* were named * *Teucres*, that the Turkes had thence their first deriuation: But indeed, they are issued of the *Sarmates*, whom all our Ancients hold to bee *Scythians*, and so did they call them. But in former times long since, their proper name was *Turaces*. *Pliny* and *Pomponius Mela* do title them so, but since the, they haue bin called *Turks*; and so commonly are they vniuersally tearmed. These people (as *Otho* the Arch-bishop affirmeth in his History) about 800. yeares after the Natiuity of our Lorde (albeit some others write that it was before) would needs depart out of *Scythia* into the lesser Asia, which to this day, in regard of their name, is cald *Turky*; where by robbing and spoiling they conquerd some few Princes; and then (as people barbarous and void of Faith) they embraced the wicked sect of *Mahomet*, as the very first that presented it selfe vnto them, and seemed most conformable to their detestable customs. Thus this people, by reason of their multitude and sauage fiercenes, became dreadfull to the world, & soone surprized many Cities.

Some hold, that they intruded vpon *Persia*, *Armenia*, and *Media*, but howsoeuer it was, it is most euident (among all other things) that they inhabited the Lesser Asia, according as we haue already declared: yet not by meanes of any King, or any other chief notable head among them, but coupled themselves in

Paulus Iouius.
Plin. Lib. 6.
Pomp. Mela. l. 1.

* *Sarmatia*, a Country reaching to *Hyrkania*, along the Riuer *Visula*.

* Of *Teucer*, a King that gouerned *Troy*.

Plin. lib. 6. cap. 7

Otho in Hist. c. 9

Asia Minor, now called *Turky*.

They liued without any King or commander among them.

in companies together; sustaining and defending one another, for a long space in that Countrey. Some of the most aparant or best note among them, wold call such supply of men as they best fancied, and with them they would goe to feize on Townes and Countries.

Among those of boldest spirit, there was one named *Solyman*, who got to himselfe the Realme of *Cilicia*, and part of the bordering limits. In those dayes, Duke *Godfrey of Bullen*, accompanied with diuers other christian Princes, passed the Seas (with such powers of men as they had assembled) to Conquer the Holyland. Against whom, *Solyman* (with his followers) came very forwardly, but they were all vanquished and scattered. By which means, the Turkes remained a long time without any Captaine or Commander of name among them; & therefore were little respected, vntill in the yeare, 1300. that another then named *Ottoman* (a man of base discent) began againe (by little and little) to gaine some reputation among them, for that he was a very valiaunt man, mighty of body, fortunat, and of an ingenious subtile spirit. This fellow, took occasion to aduance himselfe, for the discourse hee held with them, and strengthening himselfe with a multitude of able men, hee conquered and made himselfe Lorde of many Countreyes; aswell of his owne, as others of his neighbors. Being by this meanes become somewhat powerful, he left vnto his successors the raigne & authority, which continueth to this day by the linage masculine among the Turks.

He hauing raigned 28. yeares, died, in the yeare 1308. *Bennet* the 11. being the Pope of *Rome*. *Ottoman* thus deceased, a son of his, named *Orcan*, succeeded him; a man no lesse strong and valiaunt then his Father, but rather more industrious and better aduised in his Conquestes. Moreouer, he was a notable inuenter of many Engines & Instruments for war; magnanimious, and very bountifull to all men; in regard whereof, he so much augmented the raigne of his predecessor, and the number of his men of war, that (beside the Countreyes which his father had commanded in *Asia*) he vsurped vpon *Bythinia*, & the Kingdome of *Constantinople*. And in the lesser *Asia*, he subdued *Hircania*, *Phrigia*, *Caria*, and

other potent Lands. When hee had raigned twenty two yeares, in assaying a Cittie, he chanced to be wounded; of which hurt he died, in the yeare, 1350. when *Clement* the sixt was Byshop of *Rome*.

He had to be his successor, *Amurath* the sonne of a Christian woman whom he had espoused, she was Daughter to the King of *Celicia*, now called *Caramania*. This *Amurath* was much different from his Graund-Father, and Father; for he was a mocker, a man double and false, weake of his person, and of wicked inclination; Ambitious, and very desirous to enlarge his Empire, whereof he had very faire occasion offered him, when the Emperour of *Constantinople* was in strife with diuers Princes his subiects who greatly fauoured the Lord of *Bulgaria*, which is a portion of the ancient neather * *Mysia*. For the Emperour was then constrained, to request aide of this *Amurath* King of the Turkes, who sent him fiftene thousand woorthy men of Warre, by whose helpe the Emperour ouercame his Enemies. And leauing part of these fiftene thousand Turks in his Countreyes, when hee had sent home the rest, *Amurath* got aduertisement (from them) of the peoples disposition. By meanes whereof, hee determined to visite *Greece*, vnder colour indeede, that he would helpe the Emperour against his Aduersaries. Heereupon, he leuied three score thousand footmen & a great number of Horse, with which strong power, he made himselfe Lorde of * *Callipolis* (which I thinke should more properly be called *Galloris*, because it was builded by *Gallyans*) and of other strong Fortresses therabout, as also the Cittie of * *Adrinople*, now termed *Andronople*.

On the otherside, the great Lord & Maister of *Bulgaria*, named *Marcus*, after he had prepared such an army as was possible for him to do, with the aide of *Lazarus* the *Despote* of *Serua* (which is a Prouince on the limits of *Thrace*, anciently called the higher *Mysia*, & assisted also with the Princes of * *Albania*, hee went against the Turke, where fighting a great battell, the Christians were in the end vanquished, and almost all slain. Thus *Amurath* (in despite of the Emperour) continued Lord of a great part

Solyman first named himselfe King of the Turkes.

Duke *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, his iourney to the Holy-Land.

Ottoman the second man of name among the Turkes, and the second K.

Ottoman was very fortunat in all his Attempts.

Orcan the Son of *Ottoman* succeedeth him in rule, being the third King.

The great Conquests of *Orcan*, and his death.

Amurath Son to *Orcan*, was the fourth K. of the Turkes

* A Countrey by *Hellespont* bordering on *Troas*.

* A Cittie in *Thrace* by the *Hellespont*.

* A Cittie also of *Thrace* built vpon the Riuer *Hebrus*.

* A Countrey between the *Caspian* Sea & *Iberia*.

Anurath was traiterously murdered.

Baiazeth killed his elder Brother Solyman to rule alone.

Baiazeth fift King of the Turkes.

Bulgaria and Seruia won by Baiazeth.

* Deuided into four parts, Valachia, Bulgaria, Seruia, and Transyluania.

* Betweene Macedonia, & Achaia, builded first by Cecrops, and called Cecropia, but called Athens of Minerva, who in Greece, was named Athens.

Baiazeth leaueth his siege to meete the Christians power.

of Thrace, and also of Greece. When he had liued 23. yeares; a Slaue (that was Seruant to Lazarus Lord of Seruia) traitorously killed him, in the yeare, 1373. Hee left two Sonnes; the one, named Solyman, and the other Baiazeth; which Baiazeth, slew his Brother Solyman, and remained Prince alone: of a singuler Wisedome, & high resolved courage. He was extraordinary diligent, and of great iudgement in Warre, very ready in effecting what he had commaunded: And for this cause hee was called generally, King of the Sunne.

So soone as he began his raigne, hee determined to make war vpon the christians, in iust reuenge of his Fathers death, and with admirable speede (having prepared a very powerfull Army) passed into Greece. First of all he set on Marcus, Lord of Bulgaria, who ioyning battell with him, was there slaine, with the greater part of the Nobility of Bulgaria and Seruia. Three yeares after a victory so famous, hee returned againe vpon the Christians, and made most cruell warres in Hungaria; but first of all in Albania and Vallachia, which is a great Countrey, in ancient times stiled Dacia, and it extended it self in length euen to Hungaria: from whence he brought home into Turkey, a very great number of Christians, and there made them Slaues.

Seeing himselfe to bee possessed of the greater part of Greece; that is to say, of the old city and Country of Athens, of Boetia and Arcania; hee then came & laid siege to the great City of Constantinople; which was the reason, that the Emperour (in person) went to entreate the Westerne Princes, to fauour him with their needfull assistance. To help a case so desperat, Charles the 7. gaue ayd of 2000. Lances, amongst which faire Troope, were two French Gentlemen of worthy note, that ioyned their power with Sigismond King of Hungaria, who afterwards was Emperour, and had likewise provided a great Army for the same enterprize. With them tooke part the Despotes of Seruia, the grand Maister of the Rhodes, & a great number of other Christian Princes. Whereupon, Baiazeth leauing his attempt for Constantinople, marched suddenly with 300000 men, to meet these Christians, who

were about an 100000. whereof there were 20000. Horse. Being met together, they had a wonderfull bloody battaile, wherein the Christians were conquered, and the greater number of them slaine, by reason of the base Flight of the King of Hungary, and the Maister of the Rhodes; as for the French-men, they wer all slaine, or taken: and this battell was fought in the yeare 1395. being the Eeuen of S. Michaell.

After which Victory, Baiazeth returned againe to his former besiedging of Constantinople, which hee reduced to such hard extreimity, as (without anie doubt) he had taken it; but that Newes came to him of Tamburlaine the Great, (of whose life and actions, we shall discourse heereafter, by it selfe) that (with a meruailous Army) he was entred into his Countries of Asia and Turkey, and there already had surprized many goodly Citties, Townes, and Prouinces. Wherefore, trussing vp bag & baggage, he returneth into Asia, where preparing to the Fielde his very ablest power, hee went to encounter this presumptuous Enemy.

Now, did the two most potent Princes in the whole world, make a meeting day in Martiall armes together; where, to speake of the dreadfulness of the fight and wonderful slaughter on both sides, it may much easier be imagined, then in any breuity reported. But fortune was aduerse to Baiazeth, for his power was vanquished, and himselfe taken; Nay more, he endured the most vile & strictest imprisonment that euer was. For, Tamburlaine led him in triumph along with his army, in a great cage of wood; (or of Iron, as some others report) & at euery time he mounted on his horse, he made the shoulders of Baiazeth his footstool. Moreouer, when he should eat, he made him to lie vnderneath his Table; to the end that he should feede on nothing, but what he cast down to him, euen as if he had bin a Dog. And in this manner, this Prince ended his life, who had bin the most aduenturous, most renowned, & more feared, then any other that was in his time. Tamburlaine Conquered Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, with many other countries in the Dominion of Turkey: and from thence, he went and made war vpon the Soldan of Egypt.

The

Baiazeth goeth againe to besiege Constantinople.

Great Tamburlaine entred into Asia, and causeth Baiazeth to giue ouer his siege.

The calamitie of Baiazeth, being conquered by Tamburlaine.

The Conquests of Tamburlaine in Turkey.

Baiazeths children taken by Gallies of Christians.

Calapine sixt King of the Turkes.

The Death of Calapine.

Mahomet seaventh King of the Turkes.

Amurath eight King of the Turkes, a fortunate Prince

The Children of *Baiazeth*, who escaped from the battell wherein their Father was taken, in their flight towards those parts which they commaunded in *Greece*; were surprized vpon the Sea by certaine Christian Gallies. But if such extremity had bin shewne them, as was necessarily required: those harmes had bin prevented, which after followed. For *Calapine* being one of them that was deliuered, comming to name himselfe Lord in the Empire of his father, began to strengthen himselfe, and mustering vp his peopletogether, fortifying also his holds in *Greece* and *Thrace*: the Emperor *Sigismond* made offer to hinder him, to the end he might not come vpon him againe; and also to reuenge on him, the battel hee had lost against his Father; wherupon he leuied his forces, and made against him very valiauntly. *Calapine* prouiding to encounter him, appointed the day for fight, wherein *Sigismond* was againe vanquished, & escaped from the battell by Flight: this was 3. yeares after his first discomfiture. Afterward, *Calapine* hauing sufficiently spoyled the country of *Serua*, he returned to his owne Prouinces, where hee raigned six yeares, and died in the time of Pope *Alexander* the fift.

Calapine left two sons, the eldest named *Orcan*, and the other *Mahomet*; but *Orcan* was slaine by his Vnckle, because he would haue had the gouernment himselfe. Neuerthelesse, *Mahomet* obserued so discreet a cariage, that hee slew the murderer of his Brother, & got the Empire into his owne hand. Soone after, he made strong Warre vpon the Christians in *Valachia*, and passed thence into *Turkey*, or the Lesier *Asia*, where hee reconquered the Landes and Prouinces which *Tamburlain* had gotten from his Grandfather. In which war, he spent 14 yeares of his raigne, and died in the year 1420. during the High Priest-hoode of Pope *Martine* the fift.

After *Mahomet*, succeeded a Sonne of his called *Amurath*, a very fortunate Prince: for he being at the death of his Father in *Asia*, assembled a mighty power of Soldiers, and in despite of the Emp. of *Constantinople* (who much laboured to resist him) he entred very far into the Christians Countries. He took diuers Cities in *Serua*, conquered the

kingdom of *Epire* (at this day called *Romania*) & made diuers courses into *Hungaria*, then into *Albania*, which is a part of ancient *Macedonia*. In which enterprises, albeit he received many shrewd endamagements, yet such was his fortune, that hee still continued victory; beside much wealthy profit, and great store of Horses. He besiedged also the Cittie of *Belgrade* in *Hungaria*, on the riuer of *Danubie*; but yet he could not take it, wherfore he was compelled to raise his siedege, with great slaughter of his men.

Not long after, *Ladislaus* K. of *Polonia* and *Hungaria*, came with a great Arnie against him, which when hee heard, hee sent before him, one of his chiefest Captains, conducting a potent company of men; and the two Armies ioyning in battell, *Ladislaus* (after much resistance) became the Conqueror, with a wonderful massacre of the Turkes. By meanes whereof, and because *Amurath* was aduertised, that the K. of *Caramania* made warre on him in *Asia*, he was forced to make peace with *Ladislaus*: which peace while *Amurath* was fighting in *Turkey*, was broken, by perswasion of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, Pope *Eugenius*, the *Venetians*, and *Phillip* Duke of *Burgundy*, who altogether in one vnanimity, bound themselves by oath, so strongly to defend the straits of the Sea, at the entrance into *Europ* and *Asia*, that *Amurath* could not passe with his Troops, to succor those parts which were afflicted, and so *Ladislaus* should haue leysure to win, & make himselfe sole-Commander of them. *Amurath* hearing of this bolde enterprize, returned very powerfully, and in despite of the Christians Army, passed the straits, and after, came to present *Ladislaus* the battaile: wherein the aduerture was so doubtfull for *Amurath*, that hee saw no remedie but Flight. Neuerthelesse, one of his valiant *Bathaes* cōpelling him to stay, they got the victory, and *Ladislaus* lost his life; on *S. Martins* day, in the yeare, 1440.

After this great conquest made in *Hungary*, he set vpon the kingdom of *Morea*, in elder times called *Peloponnesus*, where the Famous old Cities of *Lacedemon* & *Corinth* were; and hauing broken down the wall at entrance into the Prouince, which contained sixe miles in length, he entred into the *Ionian* Sea: As also,

Amurath besiedged Belgrade.

The overthrow of the Turkes by Ladislaus King of Poland.

Amurath's powers disapointed of passage.

King Ladislaus slaine in the field, and the Christians vanquished.

*part of the
Mediterrane sea
neere Greece,
deuided Eu-
rope from Asia.

Originall of
the Janissaries.

Mahomet, 9.
King of the
Turkes.

John Vauoida
defendeth
Belgrade.

* An Isle in
the Egean Sea
ioyning to
Boetia.

Mahomet
fortunate suc-
cesse in warre

the **Egean*, where he conquered al, except some few coasting places. This he did, when he had raigne 31. yeares, and died in the yeare, 1450. Hee first ordained the band of *Janissaries*, which were reuolted Christians, who are the principall strength of Turkey. By reason of his death, his Son Mahomet came to succeed after him in the Empire. But some say, that his Father resigned it to him in his life time, feeling himselfe far spent and aged.

This Mahomet was excellent in all things, only he was somewhat too cruel. At the beginning of his raigne, to the end he might attempt some matter, answerable to the greatnesse of his mind, he determined first of all to conquer the Citty of *Constantinople*: and the better to accomplish his purpose, hee leauied mighty powers of men, as well by Sea, as on the Land, wherewith he besieged it, and wonne it also, according as wee haue declared in the former discourse of that Citty, and all other places in Obedience to that Empire. Which done, hee came against the Citty of *Belgrade*, but it was defended by the strength of a woorthy *Hungarian* Captaine, named *Iohn Vauoida*, who in many valiant Batels, vanquished great numbers of the Turkes best Captaines, and now also, he compelled him to raise his siege, after diuers sore wounds and losses, & to leaue his best Artillery behinde him. These things not prospering to his purpose, he sent one of his Bashaws to spoil *Morea*, which had entred into rebellion against him, by the assistance of the Venetians; and to rumaré the Isle of **Neyropont*, in former times cald *Euboca*, with *Mytelene* and *Lemnos*, an Iland in the *Archipelagus*, bordering on the *Egean* sea. Then he entred the Prouince of *Bossina*, which is part of the vpper old *Mysia*, and into *Seruaia*, where he tooke the King, & commanded his head to be smitten off.

Hauiing gotté al these victories against the christians, he crost into *Asia* against *Vsancaffanus* the puissant K. of *Persia*, bidding him two seuerall battailes; In the first whereof he was vanquished; but after, remained conqueror. This businesse ended, he determined to set vpon the Emp. of *Trebisand*, which is one of the coasts of ancient *Capadocia*, on the shore of *Pontus*, or the *Euxine* sea, winning the

Empire, and killing the Emperour himselfe. So ended all the gouernment which the Christians had in those Countries. He sent also a potent army (vnder Conduct of a valiaunt Captaine) into *Italie*, which passed on to **Carinthia* and **Isbria*, euen to the lands of the Venetians, who sent a strong power to withstand him: but in the conflict, the Christians were vanquished, and there perished many of the Nobility of *Italy*. Moreouer, he sent another army against the Isle of *Rhodes*; but beeing able to compasse nothing there, he withdrew again. Then he sent the like army to the kingdom of *Naples*, conducted by one of his Bashaws, named *Acomath*, who won the Citty of *Ottanta*, which was in the Turkes possession aboue a yeare, to the great scandall and damage of *Italy*.

Afterward, with an army of 300000 men by Land, and 200. Gallies, accompanied with 300. armed Shippes, he set forward to make war against the Great Soldan of Egypt, but he was preuented by death on the way; by means whereof, the enterprize went not forward, but was presently staide. And hauiing raigne 32. yeares, he died of the Collicke, in the year 1481. By whose death, the Citty of *Ottanta* was recouered, and *Ponilla* also released from the Turkes, which was a great comfort to *Italy*, in no meane feare and wofull Calamitie; which indeed was such, that Pope *Sixtus*, in whose time this terrour happened, determined to withdraw himselfe downe into *Fraunce* (the Auncient recourse of the Romaine Church,) for that there was small hope of defending Rome against him. And it is reported, that in the Warres of this vnhappily too fortunate *Mahomet*, there dyed (as well by Weapons, as other violences, which were acted and vsed in the saide Warres) more then three hundred thousand men.

Two Sonnes remained as Heyres to this Mahomet; the one, being Named *Baiazeth*, and the other *Zizim*, because their Elder Brother died before their Father. Each of these sons sought the aptest meanes, to get possession absolutely of the Kingdome. *Zizim* had the helpe of the Soldan, & some strong Bashaws, likewise another part of the Bashaws & *Janissaries* fauored *Baidzeth*:

* In the South
of *Italy* ioyn-
ing to the
Alpes.
* Ioyning to
Illiricum, and
now called
Slauonia.

The death of
Mahomet the
great conquer-
or.

The great di-
stresse of *Italy*
by meanes of
the Turkes.

The heyres of
Mahomet con-
tend for the
Kingdome.

on the other side, a Son to this *Baiazeth*, called *Corcutus*, was created grand Signeur in *Constantinople*. Whereupon, *Baiazeth* made such quicke speede thither, & carried with him so strong a power, that he took such sufficient order with his son, as the Empire was his own. Vpon this good successe, he returned again into *Turky* against his Brother, & droue him to Flight among the Christian forces; and finally, he died in *Italy*, *Baiazeth* remaining then Lord alone. Within 3. yeares after, hauing prepared a puissant Army, hee passed along on land, by the Ritter *Danubie*, & hauing performed many dismal stratagems, he returned home. Then sent he a strong power against the Soldan of *Egypt*, with whom he was exceedingly offended, for giuing aid to his Brother *Zizim*. The Soldan also sent an Army to meete him, which was much lesse then that of the Turkes, & yet they had the victory, with a great slaughter of the Turkes. Which when *Baiazeth* vnderstood, he took truce with the Soldan, and made war vpon the Christians, wherein he sped so wel, that he won the City of **Durace* in *Albania*, and that of *Vallona*, which bordereth on the coast, & fronteth *Pouilli*. Hee sent also a great number of men into *Hungary*, against whom the Princes came with their forces, but were foiled to their great losses.

In these times, he did much harme to other Countries of the Christians; and ayd being requested of him by *Lewes D. of Millaine* (who made warre vpon the *Venetians*, that ioyned themselues with *Lewes* king of *France*) he sent him a stout Captaine with 10000. horse, who passing along by *Frioly*, without resistance, tooke, burnt, and made hauocke of the Country, euen so far as the Mountains which front *Venice*. The year following, in person he conquered the city of **Modon* in *Morea*, with other Sea-coasting places held by the *Venetians*, and labouring to make a deuastation of all, his intention was hindered by the Duke of **Sesarnum*, who being a Spaniard, by the helpe of a stout company of Spaniards, called him to battell, and there ouercam him, conquering also for the *Venetians*, the Isle of **Cephalonia*; by means whereof, the Turke was forced to take Truce with them, which euer since hath continued, euen to our time. And in this

narrow straite, ceased the fury of *Baiazeth*, for then he quite gaue ouer warre (seeing himselfe aged) to rest & betake himselfe to study. In his time, began the Empire of the Sophy in *Persia*, which hath bin, and is, a great bridle vnto the Turkes, and hindereth them from doing such endamage to Christians, as they haue done, and wold do. For these two mighty Princes, are continual enemies one to another: Which hapned, thorow a man named *Ismael*, that called himselfe a Prophet, and published a new manner of *Alchoran*, contrary to that which was inuented by *Mahomet*; by whose meanes he leuied a very powerfull army, wherwith he vanquished certaine Bathawes, which *Baiazeth* had sent against him, and so put himselfe into full possession of *Persia*, with diuers other wealthy Prouinces beside; since when, he hath much enlarged his Dominions. But to our former purpose.

This *Baiazeth* had three Sons: The first named *Acomath*, the second, called *Corcutus*, who (as wee haue already declared) gaue himselfe into his Fathers hands at *Constantinople*, and resigned vp the Empire. The third, was named *Selim*; great Grand-father to the Turke now raigning. And albeit this *Selim* was yonger then the other, yet had he a more manly spirit. This fellow, seeing his Father olde and decrepite, determined to take the kingdome from him, and put himselfe in possession thereof: which the better to effect, hee acquaints himself with the Great *Tartarian*, and makes his Daughter his Wife. No sooner came an inckling heereof to the other Brothers, but each of them went seuerally about the like purpose. It appeared for lawfull in the eye of *Acomath*, because he was the eldest Sonne, and in reason the Succession appertained vnto him. On the other side, *Corcutus* pleaded, that hee once had possession of the gouernment, and resigned it in dutie to his father, who being now old & vnable to rule the kingdom, he ought in reason returne it to him againe. The Old man perceiuing these busy disputes, and the dangers thereby like to ensue: became greatly perplexed, specially at the disobedience of his children. During these intercourses, diuers murmurs & tumults arose, wherin many of the chiefest parta-

The Original of the Persian Empire, and the hate betwene them and the Turkes.

Baiazeth had three sonnes, *Acomath*, *Corcutus*, and *Selim*.

Selim conspireth against his Father, and so do the other Brothers by his example.

Old *Baiazeth* grieueth at his sonnes disobedience.

Baiazeth tenth King of the Turkes.

The Soldane vanquisheth *Baiazeths* Army.

* *Dyrachium* in *Macedonia*, where *Tullie* was releued in his banishment.

* By the Sea side in *Peloponnesus*, in olde time called *Methon*.
* A Towne in *Paphlagonia*.

* In the *Ionian* Sea beyond *Coccyra*.

Baiazeth banished and poisoned by his Sonne *Selim*.

Selim the 10. King of the Turkes, a traitor and Parricide to gaine the Kingdom.

Selim the murderer of both his Brothers.

kers in either faction, died and miscarried. Neuertheless, *Selimes* side, (albeit he was the yonger Brother) continued yet of best ability : because (vnder colour of begging pardon, and making peace with his Father, as also defending himselfe against his eldest Brother, who made war with his Father) he caried his courses so currantly, and preuayled in short while, to win the hearts of the *Ianissaries*, and the other stoutest Warriours, that (by their helpe) he took the Kingdome from his Father, compelling him (perforce) to renounce it ; whereupon, he banished him from *Constantinople*, and in the end (continuing in exile) procured him to be poisoned. Thus died *Baiazeth*, in the yeare, one thousand, five hundred, and twelue. And in this manner, came the Turkish Empire into the hand of *Selim*, a Traitour and Parricide.

He caused himselfe to bee Crowned with great solemnity, euen the very same day, which fell out to be so cruell and bloody to *Rauenna* in *Italy*. So soon as he saw himselfe seated to his owne contentment, he began to distribute the Riches and Iewels of his Father, to his *Ianissaries* and Valiaunt men of Warre, which made him the better esteemed, and the more strong in power. Soone after, hee went into Turkey against his Brothers ; where first of all, he slew diuers Children of some other Brothers of his, deceased in the life time of his father ; and followed so fiercely on his Brother *Corcutus*, till hee got him into his hands, and then he murdered him. *Acomah* the eldest Son, acquainting himselfe with the Sophy and the Soldane, by their meanes provided himselfe of a great Army, wherwith he gaue his Brother battell, wherein hee loosing the day, was taken, and afterward strangled.

Thus this Wicked Tyrant, hauing flaine all of his owne bloud, liued without ieaousie of his Kingdome, and because he held the Sophy and the Soldan in disdain, hee made peace with *Ladislaus* then King of *Hungary*, and confirmed his league with the Venetians. Then preparing a very great army, with no meane forces of Artillery, hee went against the Sophy ; who trusting in his happinesse and prosperity, made heade against him with a strong Army, & wel

provided. Notwithstanding, when it came to bee discided by battell, which was very sharpe & violent for the time : the Sophy was foyled and Wounded ; glad to saue himselfe by Flight, which meruailously augmented the honor and reputation of the Turke by this successe : and this discomfiture hapned the 24. of August, in the yeare 1514. The yeare following, he being addicted wholly to warre, would goe against a great Lord, whose Regiment was at the Mountaine *Taurus* ; and albeit he was a very valiant Prince, yet was hee so hotly pursued, that falling at length into the Turkes hands, he put him to death, and tooke possession of all his iurisdiction.

This done, hee concluded to make the like war vpon the Soldan, and bringing his army neare the Coast of *Suria*, gaue it out in common report, that hee wold once more try his fortune against the Sophy. But the Soldan, who was not void of suspition, had euermore in readinesse a mighty power of men, able to encounter the greatest Lorde, that would resist against him in *Suria*. In the end, these two puissant Princes came to accost each other, and met neer the City of *Damas* in *Suria* ; and after certaine skirmishes past on either side, the battell was giuen the 24. of August, in the yeare one thousand, five hundred and sixty, vpon the like day as the Sophie had before by him bin vanquished. This Battel was for a long while maintained very woorthily on both parties ; but in the end, the victory fell to the Turkes ; by reason of the great distruction which their Artillery made vpon the Soldanes people : and likewise, because a Captain (the Gouvernor of *Alleppo*) ioyned with the aduerse side, and yet would not fight neither he nor his men. In this Battaile the soldan was found dead, without any wound, but onely by being among the great throng of horses, hauing attained to the age of seuenty six yeares. The Turke tooke possession of all *Suria*, and likewise *Palestine*, with *Iudea*, and going towards *Egipt*, in pursuite of his victory, he rested for diuers daies in *Ierusalem*, where hee visited the Holy Sepulchre ; and passing further on, hee made himselfe well provided of Goats skins, and filling them with Water, they serued for his iourney through the Deserts

The Sophy of Persia, vanquished by *Selim*.

Selim makes warre against the Soldan of Egypt.

The Souldan meeteth *Selim* before the City of *Damas* in *Suria*.

The Soldan is overcome by *Selim*, & found dead without any wound.

By

Tomombeus the new Soldane of Egypt, conquered likewise by the Turkes.

The death of Tomombeus by Selim, and his seizing on Egypt.

Solyman Son to Selim, eleventh King of the Turkes.

By this time, the *Mammeluckes* and other men of Warre, that had escaped from the battaile, and were retyred home to *Ægypt*, had elected themselves a new Soldane, a Gouvernour of *Alexandria*, named *Tomombeus*, who came in person against the Turkes with a very huge Army. The battaile being appointed, it was (by the report of very good Authours) the most cruell and dangerous fight that euer was: notwithstanding, by the wonderfull multitude and power of the *Turkes*, *Tomombeus* was conquered, and with-drawing himselfe to the grand *Cayre*, they fought there two daies and two nights together, without any repose or intermission. So that loosing the Citty, he fled ouer *Nylus*, and labouring to re-enforce fresh meanes for encounter, he was surprized by certaine Traytours, and deliuered into the *Turkes* power, who put him to death. After *Tomombeus* was dead, the *Turk* (in short while) got possession of the most auncient and mighty Kingdome of *Ægypt*, where he left (as also in *Suria*) such order as was best to his owne liking. Then returned hee in great triumph to *Constantinople*, where his Sonne welcomed him backe from his warres, and there he dyed of an Impostume, in the month of September, one thousand five hundred and twenty, hauing reigned eyght yeares, and liued forty sixe. This Tyrant was of such great and vndaunted Spirit, as hee was neuer noted to be fearefull of any thing.

He had but one Sonne named *Solyman*, who succeeded him in the Empire, and was Crowned the same day and yeare, that *Charles* the fift Emperour, was heere in Christendome. But so soone as the death of *Selim* was known in *Suria*, a great personage named *Gazellus* (who was Gouvernor) rebelled, and made himselfe Commaunder of *Tripoly* and *Baruth*, with other neighbouring Townes and Citties, drawing many *Mammeluckes* and other Nations to his faction. Against whom *Solyman* sent a *Bashae*, named *Ferrat*, who vanquished *Gazellus*, and put him to death, reducing *Suria* to quietnesse, and *Ægypt* also, which began to mutiny. The yeare following, *Solyman* went in person to war

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upon the Christians, and laid sledge before the Citty of *Belgrade*, which was the Port and chiefe defence of *Hungaria*, and had beene before in vaine attempted by his Predecessours: but king *Lewes* being then ouer young, and gouerned by the Princes of his Countrey, made no such resistance as was needfully required. Wherefore, by force of Arms, the Citty was taken by the *Turke*, although it cost much blood, and many liues of his people. When he had accomplished this enterprife, hee went againe in person (contrary to the opinion of al his *Bashaes*) and would needs besiedge the Isle of *Rhodes*, with an innumerable multitude of Men and Artillery, both by Land and Sea, and hauing conquered the Isle, hee brought his Campe before the Citty, in the yeare one thousand five hundred twenty and two, in the end of the month of Iune. During this sledge, there was then performed such Noble and heroycall deeds of Armes, as it is impossible to make any small abridgement of them, or sufficiently to extoll the vertuous valour of the besiedged. But in conclusion, after some sixe months hardy resistance, the great Maister and Gouvernor of *Rhodes*, named *Phillip de Villiers*, of the French Nation, was constrained to surrender it vp to the Turk, being vnable any way longer to defend it. Heereon, the *Turke* returned triumphantly to *Constantinople*, not a little glorying in so great good fortune. And three yeares after, which was, in one thousand five hundred twenty and sixe, hee entred *Hungaria* with a wonderfull Army: against whom King *Lewes* (badly councelled) went in person with his power, betweene *Buda* and *Belgrade*, at which place (being too confident of himselfe, and hauing ouer few Men) he gaue the Turk battaile, wherein hee was vanquished, and founde dead, drowned in a Ditch. The battaile was the same yeare, the eight and twentieth day of August, when as the *Turke* tooke *Buda*, and diuers other neighbouring places, stil returning home Victor. After which, once more hee came into *Hungary*, when *Charles* the fift, Emperour, gaue him resistance.

Solyman besiegeth *Belgrade*, and winneth it.

The Isle of *Rhodes* besiedged by *Solyman*.

Rhodes yeilded vp to *Solyman*, by the Gouvernor.

Buda & other places won by *Solyman*.

CHAP. XXVI.

That the death of Man or Woman, is to bee reckoned happy or unhappy, according to the quality and estate wherein the party dieth: with sundry examples of the death of many.



That a Man is to dye once, is a matter common to all Men, but to know when, how, or in what manner his death shall be, is not by any meanes reuealed to him, or euer hath beene in former times: for that mainly consisteth in the good or euill condition of death, and ought not eyther to bee called good or vnfortunate, but when a Man (in that estate) is not found as hee ought to be. Death therefore lyes oftentimes hidden in wayes, walkes, or houses, where men suspect or least looke for him; and sometimes (like his Wife) lies with him in Bed: for which cause, hardly should a moment of life time be spent, without due and intire consideration thereof. Examples tending to this purpose, are infinit, whereof I purpose to produce some very notable: albeit, the effectes of death are not to be wondred at, in regard they continually happen day by day.

Aulus Gellius, and so dooth Valerius Maximus also, set downe, that in Italy there is a Town called Crotonna, neer to Calabria, where a Man was borne, named Milo, who was so excellent, able, dexterious, and skilfull, either in action belonging to Playes, Wrastring, Dancing, and all sprightly kinds of exercises, as he was not to be equalled by any, but in all such delights he bare away the victory: so that of him it was commonly said, that no Man, eyther in strength, agility, or otherwise, could in his time be found to deale with him. This man, walking one day on the side of a Mountaine (beeing with-drawne out of the common high-way to refresh himselfe) among other Trees he beheld an Oake, which had two great branches or armes falne off and lying by, and had beene begun to be cleft by some labouring Man;

who hauing left his Wedges in the Stock, it remained wide open extended by their stretching. Hee being desirous to finish the Mans labour, sets his hands to the braunch to teare it in sunder, and opened it so much by his strength, that the Wedges fell quite out. But whether (as it might bee) that his strength fayled him, or the Branch was ouerweldy for him, pausing a litle to breath himselfe, the rift clapt it selfe so suddenly close together againe (except his hands, being now betweene in stead of the Wedges) that by no meanes could he help himselfe, neyther came any passenger that way to helpe him. So that it was his hard fortune, to starue there and dye a most miserable death, worse then can easily be imagined, for he was a prey to wild Beasts, & thus ouerthrown in trying his owne strength.

But if this death of Milo, may (as it deserues no lesse) appeare to be strange: that then of the Poet Aeschylus may bee thought little lesse; for hee walking one day out of a Towne in Sicily where he dwelled, to take the Ayre of the fieldes, and comfort himselfe in the warmth of the Sunne, because hee felt his ioynts somewhat chill by standing; tooke this to be his wholesomest recreation. Hee beeing aged, white headed, and balde withall, sat downe vpon on high place, where the Sunne might haue greatest power to heat him, and being bare headed, an Eagle (by accident) was hounding aloft in the Ayre, holding a Tortuise in her Tallents, and espying the bald head of Aeschylus, which shee imagined to bee a stone, forthwith let fall her burthen from an high, to breake the Tortuise vpon that supposed stone, that afterward she might deuoure the creature. The Tortuise falling iust vpon the Poets head; cleft it so farre, that instantly he dyed. A matter of no meane maruaile, because he sat so high, and openly discovered, as it might seeme impossible, that any thing whatsoever, should from so high light vpon his head.

Baptista Fulgoso, in his learned Booke of extraordinary examples, declareth the vnfortunate death of a King of Navarre, named Charles. This Prince was old and very sickly, feeling great anguish in all his Nerues, and (for this disease) by aduise of most excellent and skilfull Phisiti-

The iudgement of a mans death, is according to the estate he dyes in.

Aulus Gellius. Valerius Maximus.

Of Milo, the excellent man in all qualities

When Men will try their strength wher they need not

The strange death of the Poet Aeschylus

That which is ordained, cannot be auoyded.

Baptist. Fulgo. in lib. de Exemp

The strange death of Charles K. of Navarre.

Phisitions, there could not any likely remedy be found but one onely, which was thus: His body was to bee round wrapped about with a Linnen Cloath, that first had bene well steeped in *Aqua-vita*, and then it must bee sowed somewhat strait about him. The party that performed this businesse, hauing fullie ended his labour, and wanting a Knife or Sheares ready to cut the thred: took the Candle to burne it in sunder, and the thred flaming to the Cloth, caught such sudden holde on the same and the *Aqua-vita*, that before any meanes of help could be applyed, the King in this flame was burnt to death. Thus was he cured of that extreame paine, and all other diseases he had beside.

The death likewise of *Philemon* was in a merry manner, for he seeing an Ass draw near to a Table, & feed vpon Figs that were serued in a dish for himselfe & others, fell into such an extreame laughter, that his life ended in his laughing. Wee see then what slender assurance there is of Life, when a man may loose it in a laughter. It is also recorded, that *Phylition* the Commicall Poet, dyed laughing. And many man haue dyed with excesse of ioy, among which number was *Dyonisius* the Tyrant, *Sicilie*, *Diagoras*, and the *Romaine* Lady, seeing her Sonne returne from the battaile, where she heard he was slaine. The accident also happening to *Cratis* the Goat-heard, was very strange; for he sleeping vnder a Hill side among his Goates, an Hee-Goat killed him, in ieaousie of his She-Goat, wherewith this *Cratis* had diuers times peruerted the course of Nature. This is faithfully affirmed by *Ludouicus Calius*, and *Volateranus*, who do alleage for their authority, diuers good Greek Authors.

I forbear to speake of diuers other kindes of Death, as that of Pope *Boniface*, who died in Prison with extreame ty of hunger; that also of *Richard* the second, King of England: or that of the Arch-Byshoppe of *Magunce*, who was kild and eaten vp by an huge multitude of Rats: or that of *Decius* the Emp. of whō *Æmilius Victor* writeth, that being very victorious, yet he was found dead, drowned in a Lake. In which manner diuers haue dyed in our time; as *Lewes* King of *Hungarie*, and *Sforza* the Father

of that worthy Captain *Frances Sforza*, who drowned himselfe to saue one of his Pages. *Andrew* the King of *Prouence* dyed by the hand of a Woman, who (being assisted by other Women) hung and strangled him. The Emperour *Tiberius* was likewise poysoned by his Wife *Agripina*. And therefore Emperours, Kings, Princes, and great Lords, haue bene euen as subiect to vnfortunate and vntimely deaths, as the verie poorest or most wretched person, albeit (in vaine) they sometime purposed to preuent such inconueniences.

CHAP. XXVII.

How many Popes of Rome there hath bene since Saint Peter; And wherfore the Names of the Popes are still changed: As also, by what authority they haue bene vsually elected.



NE of the most excellent Histories, and deserueth among Men to be remembered, is the liues of the cheefe Byshops or Popes of *Rome*, who if *Saint Peter* were the first (because there hath bene much doubt and question about it) are tearmed his successors, and Vicars of Christ. I meane all them that haue bene Byshoppes of *Rome*, in successiue order from the first, who in regard of our purposed discourse, we will admit to be *S. Peter*, and so proceede by the obseruation of some Authors. And first we are to consider, that sometimes these chiefe Byshops haue bene absent from that Citties seat, yet *Rome* ceased not to bee the principall Seat, though the Byshop were absent, as belonging to the deputation of *Saint Peter*. But returning to our intent; there hath been in *Rome* two hundred and one and twenty Byshops and Popes, as I haue gathered from the beginning, to *Iulius* the third of that Name, who was then Pope, when I made this collection, among whom haue bene most excellent and learned Doctors.

But me thinkes it is a matter of some maruaile, and needes must haue some Mystery

Philemon died with extreame laughter.

Phylition died laughing.

Dyonisius the Tyrant; *Dyagoras*, and a *Roman* Lady, dyed with excesse of ioy.

Cratis the Goat-heard kild by a Hee-Goat.

Diuers that haue died many strange deaths.

Many haue doubted whether *Peter* was Byshop of *Rome*, or no.

Two hundred twenty & one who haue bin Popes to *Iulius* the third.

S. Peter liued
twenty five
yeares after
the death of
Christ.

No Peter but
the first amōg
all the Popes.

Claud. Viſt in
19. Lib. de
Pont. Chap. 12.

The originall
of changing
the Popes
names, and
vpon what
reason.

The new Pope
muſt be na-
med after ſom
one of his pre-
deceſſors.

Mystery in it, that not any one of them in ſo long a time of ſucceſſion, attained to ſuch length of time as S. Peter did: for it pleaſed God, that as he exceeded al other in ſanctity, ſo held he poſſeſſion of this dignity much longer then any other, for he liued twenty five yeares after the death of Chriſt. The firſt ſeauen he remained at *Antioche*, and the following eighteene at *Rome* (as it is ſaid) where he confirmed his Seat. And I haue read, by the opinion of ſome, that not any one of his ſucceſſors after to enſue, ſhould enioy ſuch length of time, as hee then did. There is alſo another thing, whereof I haue made obſeruation in the liues of the Popes; which is, that from the beginning, to this very day, there is not any one found, that (in the change of his name) hath bin called *Peter*, or that his name was ſo before the change: whereby (ſay ſome) that God would permit the Name of *Peter* to none other, but onely to him on whom he founded his Church.

But *I know not* (ſaith a very learned Writer) from what Authours this laſt opinion may be deriued, becauſe I can produce ſeauen (at the leaſt) whoſe Names before the changing, were *Peter*. And theſe were they. Innocentius the firſt; Iohn the two and twentieth; Celeſtine the firſt; Gregory the eleauenth; Boniface the ninth; Clement the ſixt; and Alexander the firſt, without adding hereto one Anti-Pope.

Now, it is good to vnderſtand whence proceeded this mutation of their names, and vpon what occaſion. Let me tell you then, that Pope Gregory the fourth being dead, in the year eight hundred forty two; the next election of Biſhop and Pope of *Rome*, was made of a worthy *Romain*, of Noble blood, honorable diſcent, & very gracious behauior, whoſe name was *Hogs-face*, or *Swines-face*, chuſe ye whether. Now, in regard that this name ſeemed very harſh, rude, and vnfitting a place of ſuch Dignity, they remembring withall, that our Sauiour had changed S. Peters name: they would now alſo begin that order, and changing his name, called him *Sergius*, according to the Name of his Father. And from hence came the cuſtome, which is yet obſerued to this day, that hee who is elected Pope, may make choiſe of what name he wil, or fancieth

beſt: But albeit hee altereth thus his name, yet they hold an eſpeciall order, that he muſt accept the name of ſome one of his Predeceſſors. And Authours to iuſtifie this, are *Platina*, *Mathews Palmierus*, *Eufebius*, and others.

We are moreouer to know, as we find recorded in the beſt Hiſtories, that vntil the time of *Conſtantine* the great (who gaue ſuch wealth and large priuiledges to the *Romain* Church, becauſe many of the Biſhoppes had ſuffered the death of Martyrdoine) there was no ſuite made for the place, neither were any very deſirous of it; but contrariwiſe, by force or faire meanes, they were conſtrained to vndergo the charge; becauſe in thoſe times they were aduanced to that Dignity, onely by the Priests in the *Romaine* Church. But when the Emperors began to bee Chriſtians, and likewise many worthy Cittizens of *Rome*; the election then was made by them, when the Cleargy had made preſentation of the Man, and the voyce and conſent of the people concurring. Which being done, Meſſengers were diſpatched to *Conſtantinople* (where the Emperors then made their abyding) to deſire his confirmation of the election, becauſe their choiſe was not abſolute til then. And it appeareth, that this order was obſerued to pleaſe them, or elſe it was their will to haue it ſo: and ſometime it was done by a deputy or ſubſtitute of theirs, who remained for them at *Rome*, being named *Hipparchus*, exerciſing (in this caſe) the authority of the Emperour.

This manner and cuſtome of electing Popes by confirmation of the Emperour, made their eſtabliſhment the more certaine (though ſome ſay they did it as in tyranny, and not by permiſſion of the Church) yet after the death of *Benet* the firſt, *Pelagius* the ſecond was next elected, and becauſe (in that time) *Rome* was beſieged by the *Lombards* (of whom thoſe of *Lombardy* to this day are deſcended) and in regard alſo, that it rained ſo exceſſiuely, as the Floodes, Riuers, and other Waters ſwelled in ſuch ſort, that (as *Platina* ſaith) infinite people were drowned & periſhed, wherby it was expected to haue proued another deluge; therefore this *Pelagius* was the firſt that tooke on him the Popedome, without knowledg of the Emperour.

The election
of Popes by
the Clergy &
common peo-
ple, and not
abſolute, but
by confirma-
tion of the
Emperour.

The *Lombards*
beſieged
Rome.

A great and
mighty flood
in *Rome*.

Neuer-

Neuerthelesse, fearing least *Mauritius*, Emperor then at *Constantinople*, would be offended thereat; he sent an Ambassadour to make his excuse, and deliuer those reasons before expressed.

Afterward, diuers yeares being past, and this order obserued without discontinuance; *Bennet* the second coming to be elected Pope, the Emperor *Constantine*, fourth of that Name, being aduertised of his singular Holinesse and Learning, in regard also of his own authority for his Election: hee sent the Pope a Charter and Letters Pattents, whereby he renounced to himselfe and his Successours, all causes and reasons before pretended, for confirmation of the Papal Election, but that thence forward, so soone as the Cleargy and people of *Rome* had made choise of their chiefe Byshop, he should then bee held as Gods Vicar, without any other confirmation or amplification: This endured for some small while, till afterward the Romaine Church happening to be afflicted againe, & her Patrimony much molested by the *Lombards*, who swayed mightily in those parts, being then succoured by *Charles Martell*, in the time of *Gregory* the third, and by his Son *Pepin*, in the time of *Stephen* the second; they were glad to let fall their former priuiledge, because they had found no mean helpe (alwaies) from the Emperours of *Constantinople*.

Finally, Pope *Leo*, the third of that Name, after much discourse and deliberation about this matter, considering what great helpe and succour he had received from *Charlemaigne* K. of *France*; laboured and procured him to bee named Emperour, and so translated the Empires Seat out of the Easterne parts, into the West, where it hath still remained to this instant. Whereby may easily be gathered, whether in regard of especial priuiledge, or vsurpation of *Charlemaignes* Successors in the Empire, the Popes helde on their confirmation by the Emperours or no; and confirmed & approued their election of the cheefe Byshops, in acknowledging alwaies the Westerne Emperours, and hauing recourse to them in all their affaires and necessities. By succession of time, and in the yeare eight hundred and seuenteen, *Pascall* the first was elected (by death of

Stephen the fourth) and enstalled, without attending the confirmation of *Lewes*, Sonne to *Charles* the great. And yet he was glad to send an Ambassador to the Em. to make his excuse, and say; that hee was thereto compelled by the people, and could not stay for his confirmation. The Emperour *Lewes* allowed of this excuse, and yet sent an expresse commaundement, that he would haue all auncient Customes to be kept and preserued.

Long time after, and while the abuses of Men still encreased, there were many scandals and disorders happening at these elections; for remedy whereof, Pope *Nicholas*, second of that Name, in the yeare one thousand seauenty nine, procured a publique Counsell, whereby there was made a Decretall, which be-ginneh in *Noxine Domini*, in the three and twentieth distinction, and thereby it was giuen in full authority, to Bishops, Priests, and Cardinals, to make this election. According to which order, the Election hath in that kinde continued, without any request of the Imperiall confirmation, but in the absolute power & priuiledge of the Church, because by Emperours and Kinges, it hath not (since then) beene called in question.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The cause of those daies which are called Dies Caniculares, or Dogge-daies; And wherefore they are so called: With many notable examples incident to the same purpose.



Here are few or none, but (in common conuersation) they will talke familiarly of the Dogge-dayes, onely by reason of the extremitie of heate, which vsually continueth all that time: And yet notwithstanding, all men doe not know, vpon what occasion those daies are so called. Or let vs admit, that there are very few of any discreation, but the reason thereof is well enough knowne vnto them; yet may we speake our minde to those few, and satisfie them as well as the rest, accor-

Constantine, the fourth Emperor of that name, renounced the election of Popes.

The translation of the Empire out of the East into the West, where it hath euer since continued.

The Emperor would haue no ancient orders and customes broken

Platina. Dist. 59

The reason of the Dog-daies is scarcely knowne to all Men.

according to the iudgement of Astrologers, both Ancient and Moderne.

Most true it is, that among many other constellations and figures, which the auncient Astronomers both knew and obserued, in company of the fixed Starres; there were two especially, and they were tearmed Dogs: one of them the great Dogge; the other, the little, or lesse; which lesser hath two Starres, one equalling the first in greatnesse, the other not so much by a fourth part, and they are of the Nature of *Mercury*, and somewhat of *Mars*. This constellation of the little or lesser Dogge, was at the time of *Ptolomy*, in the signe of the Twinnes: and from that time to this instant (by reason of Motion in the eight Sphere) one of these two Starres hath attained to the fift degree; and the other to the nineteenth and a halfe, of the signe of *Cancer*. Of this Constellation these Authours doe speake; as *Pliny*, *Iulius Firmicus*, *Mauilius*, *Eginus*, and *Ptolomy*. But because that this is no occasion at all of our Caniculare or Dog-daies; let vs come to the other, which is called the great Dogge, which is a Celestiall Image or Figure, hauing eightene Starres, and they were placed also by *Ptolomy* (in his time) in the signe of the Twinnes; except one onely, by reason of the Motion it made by the eight Sphere, from the West to the East. But at this day, they are all to be found at the signe *Cancer*, except one or two, that are not (as yet) departed from the signe of the Twinnes.

Among which Starres, there is one that is saide to be in the throat of the fore-named Dogge, which by the *Arabies* is called *Alfabor*, and by the *Greekes*, *Seirios*. It is of the cheefest greatnesse, and more cleare and splendant then any other of the fixed Starres; which in the time of *Ptolomy* (as appeareth by his tables) was eightene degrees and tenne minuts from the Twinnes. Afterward, King *Alphonsus*, iustifying the saide Tables, found yet the saide Starre to be in the fourth degree, and forty eight minuts of *Cancer*: and now at this day, we finde it in the eight degree of the same signe *Cancer*. Her Latitude is Meridionall (according to ancient obseruation) sixteene degrees and ten minuts, and is vnvariable; notwithstanding, the opi-

nion of Moderne Writers, touching the moouing of trepidation or terror: For although she were not certaine, yet most sure is it, that the mutation of the said Starre is no way notable. Her declination is Meridionall, by fiftene degrees, and fifty minuts. And albeit that the whole Constellation of this Celestiall Image, hath very great power and influence, yet are we to speake especially but of the very greatest Star; because all ancient and Moderne Authours, haue made great reckoning thereof, and by her occasion are the daies called Caniculare.

She is of such power and efficacy, as during the time that the Sunne and she doth go together from the East, the vapours and beames of the Sun, do in such sort heat and chafe themselues, by the vigor of her property; that shee procurereth a maruailous alteration & warmth, both on the Earth, Sea, and in all other things, as *Pliny* and *Auicenn* hath intirely noted. *Hippocrates* in his Aphorismes, did expressly forbid, that (while the Sun walked in this Constellation) no Man should take any Phisicke, because the time was full of dangerous effectes; which are so euident and certaine, as all the World is well acquainted therewith, and ancient Authours haue spoken thereof very plentifully. Especiallie *Pliny* in diuers places, saying; *That during this time, the Wine is troubled, and becommeth starke naught. In some Countries, you shall see the Sea to cast up her Fishes, & they to swim dead aloft on the Water, the Dogs also to run mad about the streetes.* In like manner, *Columella* giueth aduise to Shepherds, that while the Dog-daies doe continue, they should suffer their Flockes to feede from morning to mid-day, drining them continually from the East towards the West, to the end they should not haue the Sunne vpon their shoulders: But after mid-day is past, & onward to the Euening, to guide them from the west to the East, because they should neuer haue the Sun on their eies. For he further saith, that those daies are very dangerous, and doe cause many great inconueniences to happen vnto Men.

Moreouer, *Iulius Firmicus* saith, that such as are borne during the season of these Caniculare dayes, will prooue to be

The great Dog and little Dog obserued by the Astro-nomers.

Plin Lib. 16.
Iul. Firm lib. 6.
Mauil. Lib. 5.
Egin. Lib. 2.
Ptol. in Alma-gest.

Of the Starre called the great Dogge, and the obseruations thereof by our Elders.

The power of the Star, called the great Dogge-Star, while it goeth with the Sun.

Plin. Lib. 2.
Auicenn. Lib. 4.
Hippocrat. lib. 5

Plin. lib. 5. ca. 18

Columella lib. 7 de Agricult.

How daungerous it is to be borne in the Dogge-dayes
Iul. Firm. lib. 9.

Mauil. Lib. 5.

* An Island in the Egea Sea, wher the Silk wormes were first found.

Cicero in Lib. 2. de diuinat.

Tho. Aquin. in Metaph. Lib. 3.

The Dogge-dayes doe begin, when the Sunne riseth with the Dog-Starre.

The order & obseruance of the Starres.

bee men of very badde inclination, forward and apt to commit great Euilles; Proud, Cruell, Furious, Daungerous, full of Vaunting, Seditious, and to be suspected; which MARCVS MAVILIVS in like maner affirmeth.

Cicero saith also, *The Inhabitants of the Isle of Ceaor Ceos, * Neighbour to Negropont, doe make Obseruation of this Starre, and iudge thereby the whole course of the yeare, whether the seasons will be healthfull, or subiect to sicknesse. For, if it appeare obscure or Clowdie, they gather thereby, that the Ayre is moyst, thicke, and naught, and the whole yeare to holde the like qualitie. But if it be seene to rise cleare, bright and shining, it then signifieth a pure ayre, Healthfull, and Sweete, and accordingly they do prognosticate wel fare vnto men.*

These things, are in this manner set downe by *Cicero*; and yet we know, that such kinde of Iudgements are not sufficient, because one Starre onely sufficeth not to prognosticate the whole yeares course. True it ist, that sometimes these Dogge-Dayes do fal out to be Colde, and the times verie Rainie, which is occasioned by the Suns Coniunction with Saturne, or else by some other Colde Starre, whereof *Thomas Aquinas* sufficiently speaketh. Besides, Saturne may bee the cause of this times ill disposition, beeing opposite to the Sunne, or in a Quartile Aspect with the Sunne.

Behold the Effects of this Star, and of her Constellation, which doe continue diuers Dayes, and beginneth when as the Sunne mounteth or ariseth with her in the Horizon: These are they, which deserue most especially to be noted and knowne at what time of the yeare they are. Then for our better direction heerein, it is to be vnderstood, that euery Starre is saide to be rising or springing; and likewise, that they doe bestow and order themselves in diuers kinds; some hauing respect to the Horizon, and others to the Sun, who one while keeps aloofe farre off from them, and another while approacheth neere vnto them. But we will speake of them onely, that aunswere to our purpose, which (at one time in the yeare) do rise with the Sunne vppon the Horizon, as hath beene well knowne, vnderstood,

& Written by them that haue discoursed thereon, and then is the beginning of the Dogge-dayes.

Now this moment of birth or Originall, is not common to all places, nor at all times alike, because the moouing or motion (as we haue already said) being according to the succession of the signes, this Starre came forth (heeretofore) in one certaine time of the yeare, and now it happens in another. For the Star being in lesse degree of longitude, euen so as the Sun, it goeth according to the order of the signes, and passeth the rather to the point of the Zodiacke, that holdeth euen way with him toward the East, in what place soeuer wee shall consider him. Therefore, in one and the same place, and one selfe-same Horizon, the apparition of this Starre was more forward, and sooner in times past, then now adayes it is: And likewise, by the finitures or limits of sight, shee beginneth to yssue forth rather in some peculiar places, then in others. Wherefore, the Dogge-Dayes do beginne rather with them that are neere vnto the Equinoctiall, then with those that are more Northerly, according to the seat of the most oblique Horizons.

Necessarily then it is to bee noted, that although this Starre were in the eight Degree of Cancer, yet would shee spring or rise from one Paralell onely, in the same Degree; but (in all the rest) diuersly, more or lesse, according as shee raungeth or keepeth her selfe off from the Equinoctiall, so shall shee be the more slacke and tardie in her appearing; whereof an example may be hadde, by the Inhabitants of Ciuill, which is at the end of the fourth Climate, in thirty seauen Degrees of Latitude.

In those Dayes when as AVICEN LIUED, (according as himselfe hath Written and Recorded) beeing about foure hundred yeares agoe; the Dogge-Dayes beganne then the fiste day of the Month of Iune: and yet notwithstanding, in those verie times, when the Sunne had made two Degrees, and five and twentie Minutes in the Signe of Leo, this Starre yssued from forth the Horizon, so soone as the Sunne. This haue I equalled, by the Direction of *John de Mont-royall*,

The beginning of the Dog-Dayes.

The rising of the Dog-Star is not alike in all places, or at all times.

The Dogge-daies doe begin with them neere vnto the Equinoctiall.

Diuerfity of the dog-daies beginning, by diuersitie of places.

a great Astrologer and Mathematician, and it is to be seene and knowne by the *Astrolobe*. But, if wee speake of the ordinary time, which is the seauenteenth day of Iuly, then truly doe the Dogge-dayes begin in our City of *Ciuit*: so that it is an error to say, that they commonly begin the fift or tenth day of Iuly, although it might be true in some precedent times; and in like maner it may be beleued, that for certaine dayes, some of the effects declared themselues to the world, before the Sunne was perfectly eleuated in the Horizon, with the Starre.

To such as are far from the Equinoctiall, the Dog Star is long before it riseth

To such as dwel in places far off from the Equinoctiall line, and are neere neighbors to the North; the Dog-Dayes do begin much later, because the Sunne must be risen in more degrees of the signe *Leo*, and therefore more dayes of Iuly must be past. Also in the Paralell of 41. degrees, whether it be *Rome*, *Tolledo*, and other places; this Starre, riseth with the Sunne, when he commeth to the sixt degree of *Leo*, which will be the 21. day of Iuly, and then beginneth the Dog-daies with them. And to them that are vnder the 47, 48. or 49. Degree; as are *Paris*, *Strasbourg*, and *Vienna*, with other Citties; this Star ariseth in the Horizon with the Sun, euen then when he enters into the 12, 11, and 10. Degree of *Leo*, which shall be the 24. or 25. day of Iuly. Hence may it be concluded, that the Dogge-dayes doe not begin alike in all places; or euery yeare, at one certeine or selfe-same time of the yeare.

An especiall direction for the beginning of the Dogge-dayes.

It is an errour then to say, that they haue their beginning vniuersally, or in all places, the tenth day of Iuly. For, such as are vnder the seauenteenth Degree declining, haue thence that verie day to beginne with them. And they which are vnder the twentie nine and thirtith degrees, haue them the seauenteenth day of the saide Month; because (as we haue said before) this Diuersitie proceedeth from the different eleuation, in diuers Horizons or Limits of the eye. For which cause, those men that read Poets and Historians, are to be aduertised, that when they finde in diuers Authors, diuers Births or Originalles of this Starre, and as diuers beginnings of these Canicular dayes, they must due-

ly consider, at what time, and in what Climat the Authors liued that Wrote those thinges, to the end, they may be confronted with truth; for otherwise, he may assure himselfe, that they do expressly contradict themselues.

The length of time or continuance of these Dog-dayes, which is all the while the Sun carrieth his passage in this constellation (according to the opinion of Physitians) is forty dayes, wherof some are much more dangerous then the rest, according to the Aspects that be in this Starre, and the Sunne, with the other Planets; because that if those Aspects be good; the good Plannets doe partly temperate and correct his Malice, but the badde doe worke the quite contrarie.

And now it appeares to mee, that in this matter, concerning the Canicular Starre, or Dogge-Dayes, we haue saide sufficient, and giuen tast enough thereof. Now, albeit there might be much more saide and knowne; yet in regarde that it is not fitting to euery mans Apprehension, I will rest silent, and passe on in this Argument no further. Many others, haue Learnedly and sufficiently Written, of the Power and Effectes of this Starre: as *Plinie*, *Ptolomy*, and almost the whole Schoole of Poets. *Perseus* calleth it the Madde Dogge, and sayth; That it burneth vp all Seedes. *Ouid*, *Virgill*, *Macrobins*, *Iulius Firmicus*, *Marcus Manlius*, with diuers other excellent Authours beside (aswell Auncient as Moderne) whom heere I will not spend time to name, they haue at large set downe their Opinions of this Starre; & such as are further inquisitiue in this case, may there be fully and amply satisfied by them.

How long the Dogge-dayes haue their continuance.

Plin. lib. 2.
Ptolom. in Alm.
Perseus Lib. 1.
Ouid. 4. de Fast.
Virgil. Geor. 1.
Macrob. in som.
Scipionis.
Iul. Firm. lib. 8.
Mar. Man. li. 5.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Admirable Art (in Man) of Swimming: The Originall of the Fable of the Fish Colas, with some incident Histories beside.

Many men of good and founde iudgement do say, that matters of meruaile or rarity ought not

Matters of novelty, doe carry suspition of certainty.

The Fish *Colas* carried the true shape & proportion of a man in all parts.

Pontanus lib. 2. Alex. de Alex. and in lib. Dier. Genial.

Use & custom begets an habit of courage and boldnesse

to be Written, because doubt of their truth or credit, dooth most commonly attend on them. Neuerthelesse, when for such things as are alledged, the Testimony of vnreprouable Authority is auouched; a man may remain the more assured of them. I can well remember, that in the dayes of my Child-hoode, I heard old people oftentimes talke of a Fish named *Colas*, that had the true Figure and proportion of a man, and vsed to swim dayly in the Sea. Of this Fish, many fabulous deuises haue bin reported, and my selfe neuer caried any other opinion of them: vntill by the reading of many Books, I found as many things written in them, and as full of admiration; so that, if I had receiued them from men of slender worth or respect, I should haue reputed them for vaine and ydle lyes.

Concerning those aged peoples Reports, which the comon vulgar held to be fabulous, I made some pause of rash Censure, after I had read two excellent men, of no lesse Authority then Learning: The one of them, being *Pontanus*, a great Humanist, Oratour, and Poet; the other, is *Alexander of Alexandria*, a Doctor of the Ciuill Lawes, a man of Deepe Experience and Learning, speaking of them in his Booke named *Genial Dayes*.

Both these Worthy men do write, that in their time, there liued in *Catania* a Towne of *Sicilie*, a man, whom euery one tearmed to bee the Fish *Colas*, that from his Infancie was wholly enclined to Bath himselfe in the Sea, and it was his onely chiefest Delight or pleasure, either in the Night time, or in the Day. This grew in him (by litle and litle) to such a Custome; and afterward to such an extremitie; that if a day had past him without spending the most part thereof in the Water, he would say; that he endured such a passion and sicknesse of stomacke, as made him doubtfull of immediate death.

Continuing in this exercise, and hee attaining to the yeares of manly disposition, his strength and dexteritie was such in the Water; that although the Seas were very violent and Tempestuous, yet hee would Crosse-swim them, without any feare or perill. And these two Authours say, that (at a certaine

time) he was forcibly compeld to Swim aboute fise hundred Stades, without finding Land, or any where to rest himself, which Stades do amount to aboute fixteene or seauenteene Leagues. And sometimes hee would Swim in the Sea (as a Fish) two or three dayes together, wandering into diuers Coastes of the Neighbouring Countreyes, & was met by many passengers, to whom he wold cry and call in their Shippes. Diuers times they would take him vp vnto the, and after they had questioned him concerning his voyage, they woulde giue him both meat and drinke.

Thus would he (for some smal time) abide with them in sportful recreation, but when he saw his opportunity, then would he suddenly leape into the Sea againe, to returne whence he came; and by this meanes, oftentimes hee carried tydings to sundry neere Townes & Villages, of them that he had met at Sea.

Thus liued this man for a long time in good and healthfull Disposition; vntill at length, at a great Feast and Solemnitie, which King *Alphonsus* of *Naples* made at *Messana* (a most Famous Port in the *Sicilian* Sea) onely to approue the Swimming of this Man, and others, that made vaunt of their skill & dexterity in this Art. There he commaunded a Cup of Golde (of very great woorth and value) to bee cast into the Sea, and it was giuen as a reward to him that could soonest finde it, purposing to throw in other things of worth beside, after the triall of the Cup should first be made.

In this Assembly, there were manie excellent Swimmers, that made no doubt of their cunning and sufficiencie, and amongst them also was this *Colas*, who (with the rest) leapt into the depth of the Sea, at the place where the Cup was cast in; but afterward hee was neuer seene againe; nor any tydings what was become of him. Some thought, that hee fell into some Gulphe or deepe pit, which might bee in the bottome of the Sea, and his disafter was such, that not being able to ascend out of it, there hee died. This History, being deliuered by two such approued men, gaue me occasion to conceiue, that this might be the same thing which aged people had spoken of, concerning the Fish *Colas*.

A matter almost incredible, but that good Authours do auouch it for truth.

*A City in Sicilie, neere to the Promontory *Pelorus*.

A triall of swimming, before *Alphonsus* King of *Naples*.

Another story alledged by the same Author.

Puteoli is a City by the Sea-side, in Campania, distant from Naples, eight mile

Astrologers opinion concerning such as swim.

Naturall Philosophers their iudgement for swimming.

Swimmers, called *Vrinators* in olde time, but now *Guzans*.

Veget Lib. 2. de Art Milit.

In Rome they vsed to instruct their Children in Swimming.

The same *Alexander*, in the very same Chapter saith; That hee knew another Man, who was a poore Mariner, and had (almost) no other kinde of liuing, but onely by Fishing. This man (as he saith) was so expert a Swimmer, that in one day hee went and returned from an Island, which is face to face with *Naples*, named *Æuaria*, so farre as *Prochyta*, which is vp in the firme Land neere to * *Puteoli*; and there is betweene the one and the other City, the distance of fifty Stades. One day also it hapned, that as he threw himselfe into the Sea, to make the like Voyage, there were other men in a Boate to passe the same place also; but it was no way possible for them (albeit they had men that vowed very speedily) to ouertake the man in his Swimming.

Such things are truly maruailous, and our Astrologians say; that it proceedeth from the influence of the Stars, that gouerne in the birth of these men. And that such as haue then the signe of *Pisces* in the ascendent, shall be wondrous strong, and excellent Swimmers. Our Naturall Phylosophers doe maintaine, that a man hauing his Armes very small, shall be apt and agile to Swimming. The ability of diuing vnder water, is verie admirable in some Men of the West-Indies, whence our choysfest Pearles do come; for it is said, that they sinke downe into the bottome of the Sea, and do tarry there so long a time, as it seemeth to bee a thing altogether impossible. Our Elders termed these people *Vrinators*, but now they are called *Guzans*.

Al the Historians do report meruailous matters, of a man named *Delio*, so that it grew to be a common Prouerb, to say, the Swimmer *Delio*. And albeit (in very truth) it is no Vertue to Swim, neither is a man bound to Learne it, yet the knowledge thereof is no way hurtfull. For the ancient Romaines, according as *Vegetius* declareth, admonished their yong youths, not as yet invred to the Warres, that they should endeouour to Swim, and then they vsed to call *Tirones*. They had also a certaine Custome in *Rome* that the yong Children should pract se Swimming, in a place beside the Riuer of *Tyber*, neere to the felde called *Campo Martio*, and there they made it a

daily exercise, as iudging Swimming to be a lawfull pastime, and necessarie for such occurrences as might happen in war, as well for the passage of Lakes & Riuers, as also to withstand harde fortunes on the Sea.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Men liuing in the Sea, called *Mare-men* or *Seamen*, and *women of like Nature*, termed *Mare-maids* or *Sea-women*, and of some other notable things.



It is a matter of no meane maruell, and it draweth a man into hie contemplation of Gods handyworks, to behold the great diuersity of fishes in the Sea; as also, the Beastes and Creatures liuing on the earth; whereof *Pliny*, *Albertus Magnus*, *Aristotle*, and many other natural Phylosophers, haue liberally discoursed. Full well I know, that man composed of reason & vnderstanding, is no wher to be found but on earth, and that men were not ordained to liue in the water. Neuertheles, I haue diuers times read, that there are fishes in the Sea, which beareth the liuely shape of a man; among which, there is both male and female: The Female hath the perfect resemblance of a woman; and as they are called *Nereides*, so are the males named *Tritons*. Of whom, I will not recite diuers things, which a number of light-headed men, and of slender authority haue reported, in whose Books may be read very strange & variable matters. And yet notwithstanding I may lawfully set downe those things which I haue obserued and collected from writers of sound iudgement; men of grauitie, and deseruing credit. Among whom, *Plinie* saith, that in the time of the Emperour *Tiberius*, the Inhabitants of *Lisbone*, a City of *Portugall*, (famous then, and yet continuing so to this day) sent Ambassadors to the Emperour, to certifie him; that they had seene one of these *Trytons*, or *Marine men*, oftentimes to withdraw and hide himselfe in a *Cauerne* near to the Sea, and that there he vsed

Plin. Lib. 9. Alb. Mag. lib. 1. Aristot. Lib. 3

Nereides and *Trytons* are as women and men liuing in the Sea.

Plin. lib 6.

Tydings of a *Tryton* sent to the Emperour *Tiberius*, by the inhabitants of *Lisbon*

used to sing in a great shell of the Sea. And *Pliny* saith moreover, that *Oetavianus Augustus* was certified, that on the Coast of *France*, many *Nereides* or Sea-women hath bin seene, who afterward were found dead vpon the Sea-shore. The like tydings also was sent to *Nero*, that among many Fishes of the sea (cast vpon the sandes) diuers *Nereides* were found, and other kindes of Creatures Marine, like vnto Beastes liuing on the Earth; The same, and much more is confirmed by *Elianus*, in his Booke of Beasts.

Ouer and beside, those of Antiquitie who haue written of these things, & diuers others in like nature. Our Modern Authors also haue spokē as meruailously; as (among others) *Theodorus Gaza*, a man very learned in sundry Sciences, & who was liuing in our Fathers Dayes. His writings are iustified by many, and especially by *Alexander of Alexandria*, who saith, that the said *Theodorus* being in *Greece* on the Sea-shore, after a huge stormy tempest that then happened, he beheld abundance of Fishes cast vpon the sands, among which was a *Neriade*, or Fish, hauing a face perfectly human, and like vnto a very beautifull Woman down to the Girdle, but all the rest was formed of Fish, writhing vp the tail like vnto an Eele; euen after the same manner, as wee haue seene a figure painted, called a *Syrene* of the Sea; so this *Neriad* being vpon the sands, by her outwarde gesture and behauiour, appeared to bee in great paine and anguish: *Alexander* further saith, that this *Theodorus Gaza*, tooke the said *Neriade*, and (by the best meanes he could deuise) put it into the water, wherein shee was no sooner entred, but shee beganne to swim very delicately, and vanished on a sudden out of his sight.

Georgius Trabazonzius, a man of no lesse learning and authority, affirmeth also, that passing along the Sea side, he saw a Fish rise vp in the water, & al that could be discerned vnto the middle, seemed to bee a very beautifull Woman, whereat hee was no lesse amazed then

terrified, because she wold hide and discover her selfe, according as she perceiued her selfe not to be noted; but beholding too many eies to gaze on her, shee sunk into the water, & was neuer seen after. All these things are maruailous, & yet notwithstanding, who will not giue credit to such worthy men, being fortified with that which I can yet further say?

Alexander of Alexandria declareth, that in his time he was aduertised by credible assurance, that in *Epirus*, (now named *Romania*) there was a Riuer neere vnto the Sea, where children often used to fetch Water thence. In short while after, a *Triton* resorted thither, and would hide himselfe in a Caue neer adioyning, watching till he could see some maiden come alone: whereof speeding at last, he would seize and carry her along with him into the Sea, and thus he did to diuers young Maidens. The Inhabitants being heereof aduertised, beleagred the place in such sort with spies, that he was taken and broght before a Iustice there dwelling, where he was found in all his Members like vnto a man. For which cause, they put him vnder safe custodie, giuing him sustenance to preserue life withall; but he would feede on nothing that was giuen vnto him, and therefore pined away with hunger to death, by beeing too many dayes in an Element strange vnto him, and wholly contrarie to his Nature. This History, is in the same manner deliuered by *Petrus Gellius* a Moderne Authour, in his Bookes of Beasts: where moreover he saith, That being at *Marseilles*, he heard reported by an aged Fisher (a man of good repute) that his Father had affirmed for truth to him, that he had seen a Sea-man or *Triton*, like vnto such as we haue spoken of, who was presented to King *Rene*. We may well then say, that a matter so approved, and by such Learned Authors knowne to the world for men of sound truth, ought not to be held as a Fable, but for an infal-
lible certain-
tie.

Elian in lib. 1. de Animal.

Theodorus Gaza, a Famous Writer, saw a *Neriade* cast vpon the Sea-shore in *Greece*

A *Neriade* taken, and being put into the water presently it vanished away.

Georgius Trabazonzius concerning another *Neriade*.

Alexand. de Alex in Lib. 1. Dier. Genial. c. 8

A strange History of a *Triton*, that carried young Maidens into the Sea.

Petrus Gellius in Lib. Animal.

The End of the first Booke.

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The Second Booke.

CHAP. I.

What manner of Speech was used at the beginning of the world : And how the Division of Languages began at the first.



When the first age of the world began (both before the Flood, & for some long while after) men generally used one kind of language:

for there was (as then) no diuersitie of speech, neither was there any man, but hee easily vnderstoode when another spake to him. The first diuersity & confusion of Tongues, which hath done so much damage, caused so many mischiefs, and yet is the continuall Nurse of them to this day (through the sinnes of men) was sent them by God. *Moyse* recordeth in the Holy History of *Genesis*, that the Malice and Presumption of men encreasing, *Nemrod* (Nephew to *Noah* by the discent of *Caine*) was soone after borne, and manie others beside, of as audacious a Nature. These Men concluded among themselues, to make a Tower, the top whereof might reach vp to Heauen; and this they did, in remembrance of the deluge, because they had heard it reported, that GOD had sent such a Flood vpon the earth, and therefore they would thus resist against

God, if the like invdation should happen againe. *Iosephus* speaketh thereof, in the first Booke of his Antiquities, and saith; That so many men assited *Nemrod* in the erection of this mighty building, that the work grew incredible for height & state. *Iosephus* moreouer writeth, that they made the foundation thereof so large and deep, that although it was of wonderfull height (according as Holy Writ maketh mention) yet it appeared to be more broad then high.

But God being willing to Correct this audacious enterprize (albeit not with punnishment answerable to the pride) gaue instantly so many manner of speeches amongst them, and such a myraculous Confusion of Languages, that they who at first vnderstoode one onely tongue, were diuided now into seauenty two: by means whereof, such variance grew among them, that thorough defect of vnderstanding one another, not only the worke remained vnperfect, but euery man departed with them he best vnderstood, and so inhabited diuers Countries: and for this cause the Tower was named *BABELL*, that is to say, *Confusion*. *Isidore* saieth, that it was in height, five thousand, one hundred, sixty foure paces, all made with stone of Bricke, bound and knit fast with Clay, insted of Morter; of which clay, there was very great store found in diuers parts of the Country.

In the same place where that Tower was built, according to the said *Isidore*, *Iosephus*, *S. Augustine*, and *Orosius*, was likewise builded that most famous City, whereof so many great matters

Ioseph. in lib. 1. de Antiquit. c. 9.

The confusion of 72. languages.

Isidor. in lib. 15. de Et. mol.

Isidor. ubi sup. 10. lib. 1. de An. Aug. de ciuit. Dei. Orosius.

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Men spake all one language at the beginning of the world.

Genesis 11. 4.

are remembered, called *Babylon*, vpon the Riuer of *Euphrates*, whereof the round Neighbouring Lands and Countries tooke their Names; as *Chaldea* and *Mesopotamia*. The Sacred Scripture also maketh mention, & is of the same consent with them, that the beginning of *Nemrods* raigning was in *Babylon*: wherefore, by opinion of the same Authors, it must needs be graunted, that *Nemrod* builded that renowned City of *Babylon*, which afterwardes was walled and more ennobled by *Semiramis* and *Ninus*.

Gen. 10, 10.

Nemrod build the City of Babylon.

Aug. de Ciu. Dei. lib. 5. cap. 2

Not any of Abrahams race, were at the building of Babel.

The Original of the Hebrue Tongue.

Adam spake Hebrue.

Of the Chaldean Tongue, somewhat agreeing with the Hebrue.

Now to returne to our former intent, concerning tongues and Language; the question is well worthy disputation, to wit; what Language it was that men did then speake; before the Confusion and Diuision of Toongues. Saint *Augustine* moueth the argument, and plainly determineth; that the first Language or Speech was Hebrue, and the same that the Iewes do yet speake to this day. Which, according as may be gathered from the Bible, and likewise as Saint *Augustine* iudgeth, was preserued in *Heber*; of whom, both *Abraham* and the *Hebrewes* discended, because neither he, or any one of his Lignage, are found to haue giuen any helpe in the building of that Tower. In regard whereof, both hee and his discent, that neuer conformed to such a sinne, had no feeling of the punishment. And therefore, it may be very well presumed, that in *Heber*; and in his family, it remained still found and entire, euen the auncient and first Tongue, not any way corrupted or confused, but only in that house it continued firme, being vtterly lost in al the other; and hence it commeth, that of *Heber*, the Language hath euer since bin called *Hebrue*.

Maay *Hebrues* (his Successours) haue affirmed, that this Language is the very same that *Adam* spake, and al those men of the first Age, conserued in *Heber*: and his Successors *Abraham* and *Iacob*, & the very same also wherein *Moyse* Wrote. Such is the opinion of S. *Augustine* and *Isidore*, that it may be rather credited in this kinde, then their coniecture, that hold the *Chaldean* to be the first tongue. And yet in some measure they may be excused, because those two Tongues haue a very neere Neighbouring vnity,

as also a great conformity in their Letters and Charracters, and in great store of other matters. Besides, in this case it hath bin questioned, and partly concluded, that if two Children or more in number, being borne and nourished in some obscure place, where company may bee no hinderance, or any other voice heard; some are of the mind, that their first Language would bee *Hebrue*; and others think, the *Chaldean* Toong.

But if we, may beleene *Herodotus*, a very famous and worthy Historian, he tels vs, that experience was made in this case, by reason of a contention happening betweene the *Aegyptians* and the *Phrygians*, each man pretending a primacie of Antiquity, and a soueraignie in Language aboue al others; as also for the first inhabiting of Citties. To stay the head-strong course of this difference, it was thus concluded betweene them; that two Children (of either Nation) should be nursed in such manner, as we haue before declared: & in such a place, where not any kind of speech might be heard, but that which they naturally began to speake, and it should bee confirmed, to be the first and chiefest: as also, the people (speaking the same) to be of oldest Antiquity. He addeth moreouer, that a King of Egypt, caused too infants to be nourished in a Desert, where no man could be heard to speake in any manner whatsoever: And when the Children had attained to foure years of age, he commanded them to be brought before him, & they vttered in his presence many times, the word *Ber*, which signifieth Bread in the *Phrygian* Language, & therefore the *Phrygians* (of all men) wer said to be most Ancient. Thus writeth *Herodotus*, and many other Authours, both Wise and Iudicious, do giue him their approbation, and (in such Differences) do chiefly alledge him.

Neuerthelesse, were it, that we should allow this his opinion for trueth, yet it may (by some others) be answered, that perhaps these Children heard and vnderstood the voyce of some Beast, Bird, or other Creature liuing in the Fields, that did bellow, bray, or shape the same word in his voyce; and so in that kind it might be learned. But for my selfe, I am of the minde, that were there two children now brought vp in this manner, I thinke

The naturall Language of Children.

Herodot. Lib. 7 cap. 1.

The Egyptians and Phrygians, their strife for Antiquity, by the Naturall first Speech of Children.

The Phrygians held to be most ancient.

The Authours opinion concerning the first Speech of Children.

thinke they would speake the first Language of the Worlde, and that is the *Hebrue*. And I dare as boldly maintain, that they woulde shap to themselues, some nouell strange speech, deliuering new and vnheard of Names, Accents, & Attributes, as Children (of themselues Naturally) are enclined to do, and will bestow names least knowne, on thinges that by them are most desired. Whereby we may gather, that Nature woulde instruct them in some new kind of Language, before they could attaine to that of their Fore-fathers. Experience (in this case) may cleare vs from all doubt, and serue (as a true Schoole-maister) to them that are most curious in questioning, if their Wisedome would striue to reach beyonde the best receiued apprehensions. And yet (in meane while) I will not be so preiudicat, but leaue euery man to be gouerned by his own censure; Prouided, that it stretch not to wrong the Learned, who haue labored heerein for their best information; and will further satisfie them, if they be capable of their writings.

CHAP. II.

Of the Deuision of the Worlds Ages, & what notable matters haue happened in them. Also of the beginning of Kingdomes and Common-weales.



Albeit that many men haue taken no meane delight in talking of the ages of the world, and what occasions haue hapned in one, with as straunge occurances following in another: yet are there a great number, that know not how the Diuision of these Ages came at the first, nor what yeares is required to each Ages accomplishment. Let me then tell ye, that the Age or lifetime of the world, from the first Originall vntill this instant, is diuided (by the greater part of Authors) into sixe parts or Ages. Neuerthelesse, there are diuers that number them into seauen, which diuision is made according to the *Hebrues*. But for my directi-

The world diuided into six Ages by som, and into seauen by others

on in this enterprize, I purpose to bee guided by *Eusebius*, with the common receiued iudgement of all Historians, that haue set downe their rest on the number of six. Concerning the Diuision of these Ages, there is great difference and confusion found among the, so that very hardly can a certainty bee resolued on. For it principally appeareth, that those authors are diuided into two feuerall factions: One side following the computation of the Septuagint, or seauenty two Interpreters, that traduced the Old Testament out of the Hebrew Tongue into the Greeke; the others do imitate the Hebrues, and the common Text of the Bible, all which opinions, I will seuerally declare.

Variety and difference found among the Authors.

The first Age of the World, is reckoned (by the common account) from the first Creation thereof, to the vniuersal Deluge and drowning of it. And this was tearmed the Worlds Child-hood or Infancy, which Age lasted for a long continuance. Wherefore, it may well be credited, that during this time, there hapned many notable accidents among men, although there be no History, nor any recorded memory; made of them: Only the Holy Scripture saith; That after God had created *Adam* and *Eue*, and (before them) all other creatures, which he gaue in subiection to man, with absolute rule and foueraignty, both ouer the Beastes on Land, and Fishes in the Sea.

The first Age of the world.

Adam did then beget two Sons, who were *Caine* and *Abell*, that likewise begat diuers others Children, from whom ensued a mighty people. *Moyse* afterward Writeth, that *Caine* builded in the East, a City, which he called *Henoeh*, after a Sonne of his that was so named. In that time, *Lamech* was the first twice-married man, and that durst aduenture vpon two Wiues: By one of them, he had a Son named *Tuball*, or *Tubal-Kaine*. that inuented the Art of Musick, as also the found of Vialles and Organes. *Caine* deuised the skill to worke in Iron, & to engraue thereon.

The building of the first City in the world, and the name thereof.

The first Bigamus, was *Lamech*.

While this Age continued, there wer many Gyants, of whom many Authors haue written, and say; that they were of wonderful stature and strength, sterne, rude, and robust, far exceeding humane ability. Finally, for the finnes

Of Gyants in the first Age.

of

Contrariety in opinion, a- bout the length of time in the first age.	<p>of men, came the generall flood vppon the earth, whereby all mankinde was drowned, except <i>Noah</i>, and such as wer preserued with him in the Arke. This Age endured, according to the opinion of the <i>Hebrues</i>, one thousand, six hundred, fifty six yeares; whereunto agreeth <i>Philo</i> the Iew, <i>Beda</i>, <i>S. Ierom</i>, & the common Text of the Bible. But according to the seauenty two Interpreters, <i>Eusebius</i>, and other Historians, it lasted two thousand, two hundred, forty and two yeares. Saint <i>Augustine</i> saith, two thousand, two hundred, seauenty two yeares: and <i>Alphonsus</i> King of <i>Spain</i> saith, two thousand, eight hundred, eightie two yeares.</p>	<p>afterward they made their abiding. During this Age, <i>Tuball</i>, or <i>Tubalkaine</i>, the Sonne of <i>Iaphet</i>, went to dwel in <i>Spain</i>, where he erected a kingdom, and began there his raigne. Some also say, that he was indifferently called <i>Suball</i>, or <i>Tuball</i>, the Sonne of <i>Falech</i>, and Nephew of <i>Heber</i>. The raign of the <i>Scythians</i> began in this Age, in the northern or Septentrionall parts; and therefore, they haue alwayes pretended, that their Dominion preceedeth all other in Antiquity, as <i>Trogus Pompeius</i>, and <i>Iustine</i> haue recorded: whereupon, great enmity still grew betweene them and the <i>Egyptians</i>; and heereabout they hadde continuall controuersie. Then was the Art Magick, & Incantations first found out by <i>Cham</i>, who likewise was called <i>Zoroastres</i>. About the ending of this Age, and a little before the birth of <i>Abraham</i> (according to the iudgement of <i>Eusebius</i> & <i>Beda</i>) the most potent raign of the <i>Assyrians</i> began to exalt it selfe, hauing <i>Belus</i> for their first King, whom some others tearmed to bee <i>Iupiter</i>. It is also Written, that the second <i>Ninus</i>, in whose time <i>Abraham</i> was born, did then conquer many Citties and Prouinces. Moreouer, there was then another kind of gouernment in Egypt, tearmed <i>Dinastia</i>, where the first supream Ruler was named <i>Vexor</i>, or <i>Vexor</i> (as <i>Eusebius</i> saith) who about the ending of this Age instituted the Kingdome or sway of the *<i>Sicyonians</i> in <i>Peloponnesus</i>, now caled <i>Morea</i>, whereof <i>Agessilaus</i> is said to bee the first King. In this time likewise beganne Idolatry and Gentilisme. Behold, what a confused knowledge we haue attained vnto, of this second Age; in the end whereof, the most famous Citty of <i>Ninuy</i> was builded, consisting of admyred greatnesse: for, according to the Scripture, it was three dayes iourney in Circuit about.</p>	The begin- ning of the Scythians raigne.
The second Age of the worlde.	<p>The second Age beganne in <i>Noah</i>, after that hee was come foorth of the Arke, and continued vnto the byrth of <i>Abraham</i>, consisting in length of time, according to the Interpreters, <i>Eusebius</i>, <i>Isidore</i>, and the greater part of Chroniclers, 942. yeares. But the <i>Hebrewes</i> make lesse account, and grant no more then 292. yeares; and of the same opinion is <i>Philo</i> and <i>Iosephus</i>. - <i>S. Augustine</i> affirmeth one thousand, seauentie two yeares. There remaineth very litle certainty, concerning such occasions as chanced in this Age, for no perticuler History is found thereof. Only there are some things saide in generall, touching the beginning of Kingdomes & States, and those that were the first inhabitants of Prouinces.</p>	<p>10 20 30 40 50</p>	<i>Trog. Pomp. Iu- stin.</i>
The <i>Hebrewes</i> account of the second Age.	<p><i>Noah</i> being come forth of the Arke, planted the Vine, and what therby hapned to him, is sufficiently knowne. Hee begat children, the like did his Sonnes, so that the world began againe to bee greatly peopled. <i>Cham</i> the second Son of <i>Noah</i>, begate <i>Cush</i> and <i>Mizraim</i>, of whom are the <i>Aethiopiens</i> and <i>Egyptians</i> descended; the <i>Aethiopiens</i> of <i>Cush</i>, and the <i>Egyptians</i> of <i>Mizraim</i>: then had hee <i>Canaan</i>, from whom the <i>Canaanites</i> are deriaed. His other Sonne <i>Iaphet</i>, begate <i>Gorney</i> and <i>Magog</i>, of whom so many nations descended, as were ouer-tedious heere to recite. In this time was the Tower of <i>Babell</i> builded, and the confusion of Languages then hapned by meanes whereof (as hath in the former Chapter bin declared, and as <i>Iosephus</i> truly hath recorded) men were thence fundered into diuers Isles & Prouinces, wher</p>	<p>20 30 40 50</p>	<i>Cham</i> surna- med <i>Zoroastres</i> was the first inuentor of the Magicke Art.
Of the begin- ning of King- domes & Re- giments.		<p>30 40 50</p>	The begin- ning of the Assyrians; raigne.
Genesis 10, 6.	<p>Genesis 10, 6.</p>	<p>40 50</p>	* An Island in the <i>Egeum</i> sea against <i>Epi- daurus</i> .
The race de- riued from the Sonnes of <i>Noah</i> . Genesis 10, 2.	<p>Genesis 10, 2.</p>	<p>50</p>	The building of <i>Ninuy</i> .
<i>Ioseph</i> in 2. lib. de <i>Antiq. ca.</i> 20			The third Age of the world.

Of Q. Semiramis her valiant deeds.

Of Abrahams trauell & victory.

The beginning of the Amazons,

Pharaoh in the Egyptian tongue signifieth a King.

The selling of Ioseph into Egypt.

August. in lib. 3. de Ciuit. Dei. Cap. 2. Beda in Hist. Cap. 9.

The first rule of Spaine.

Beros. Lib. 9.

Of Siuile in Spain, and how at first called Hispalis.

The contradiction of Isidore, concerning the place

formed her memorable actions. For, faigning her selfe to bee yong *Ninus* her Sonne, and hauing chaunged hir Womans habit, she raigned so a long time, and conquered many great Landes and Prouinces. She also re-edified, & round engirt the famous City of *Babylon* with wals. In this time did *Abraham* (by Gods Commandement) make his peregrination, and won the victory which he obtained ouer foure Kinges, in the rescue of *Lot*, whom they led away as prisoner. In this time also, the *Amazons* had their first beginning. And likewise, the Kings that were called *Pharaohs*, did then flourish in Egypt; and *Sodome* and *Gomorrhah* were also then destroyed. In *Isaacs* time began the raigne of the *Argiues* in *Thessaly*; and in the dayes of his Sonnes, *Iacob* and *Esau*, the Kinges of *Cesta* began their rule; the first whereof was named *Acris*. Then in short while after, *Ioseph* was sold by his Brethren to the Egyptians, in manner as the holy History discourseth; and likewise, how his Father and Brethren (with their children) went into *Egypt*, where the people of *Israell* that descended of them, liued foure hundred and thirty yeares, according as *Beda* writeth, and *S. Augustine* in his book of the *City of God*.

During this Age, *Hercules* of *Lybia* trauelled into *Spaine*, where he beganne his Government. And after him, were *Hyuer*, *Brigus*, *Taga*, *Beto*, *Gerion*, & diuers others. Of their seuerall raignes & Iurisdictions there, *Berosus*, with sundry other well approued Authours, do make like mention. In this time was the City of *Siule* first founded; and it is acknowledged in the world, to be one of the most ancient, as likewise is set down by *Berosus* and others. It was first of all called *Hispalis*, according to the name of *Hispalus*, the Sonne, or (as others will haue it) the Nephew of *Hercules*, who raigned worthily there; and it was hee that caused the first foundation thereof to be laide, and after built it in comely manner. Yet *Isidore* contrarieth this iudgement of *Berosus*, and saith; That it was entitled *Hispalis*, because it was erected in a very Marshy ground; and that for their safe security in building, they were compelled to driue great beames of Woode, Trees, and Stakes into the ground. But howsoeuer it was, the Ci-

ty of *Hispalis* was afterward called *Spain*, as wee are credibly certified by *Trogus Pompeius*, *Iustine*, & diuers others. True it is, that *Iulius Cesar* did terme it *Siule*, ennobling it with great enlargement, making it his chiefe Colony and abode for his *Romaines*, because it was (before that time) very famous and noble.

10 But returning again to our first purpose; by succession of this time, *Moyse* was borne; vnder whose guidance, the *Hebrues* departed out of *Egypt*: in which dayes also liued *Iob* the iust. And not long after, the mighty Deluge or overflow of Waters happened in *Thessaly*; whereupon ensued the encreasing of diuers Kingdomes in many Landes and Territories: For *Aethiops* the Sonne of *Vulcan*, first raigned in *Aethiopia*; which had bin first called *Aetheria*, next *Atlantia*, and lastly, a Kingdom, after *Aethiops* name: *Siculus* gouerned in *Sicilia*, & *Loetius* in *Boetia*. So that Kingdomes and Countries receiued their Names by them that were the first commaunding Princes: as *Sardinia* likewise was so called of *Sardus*, another Sonne of *Hercules*. In those dayes the famous City of *Troy* flourished, and *Iason* made his conquest of the Golden Fleece; & thence ensued the known history of *Medea*, that famous Witch, Daughter to *K. Octa*, by his Wife *Hypsea*. And now were the *Amazons* more powerfull in strength, then at any other time before or after; and then began the Kingdom of the *Latines* in *Italy*.

20 In this Age also, *Paris* made his rape of the faire *Helena*, which caused that long warre, and lastly, the destruction of *Troy*, with the comming of *Aeneas* into *Italy*, beside many other thinges which our intended breuity admits no speech of.

30 Now the third Age fayling, it gaue place to the fourth, entering at the beginning of *Dauids* raigne, who was second King of the *Hebrues*. This fourth Age continued, till the transmigration and peregrination of the Iewes into *Babylon*, containing 484. yeares, (but *Beda* counteth no more then 474. yeares.) This Age may wel terme it selfe the lusty and sprightly Age of the world; for in this time, infinite occasions hapned, wherewith all Histories are plentifully enriched. The famous victories of that holy

Iulius Cesar, made *Siule* his Colony for the *Romaines*.

The birth of *Moses*, & life time of *Iob*.

The drowning of *Thessaly*.

How Kingdomes at first receiued their names.

The Citie of *Troy*, and *Iasons* Fleece.

The rape of *Helena*, & destruction of *Troy*.

The fourth Age of the world.

A note for well vnderstanding this word, *Mundi inuentus*.

The victories of Ki. David.	holy King <i>David</i> had now their Originall: he conquered the <i>Philistims</i> , reuenged himselfe on the <i>Ammonites</i> for the disgrace done to his Ambassadors, and put to death the Captaine of the <i>Affyrians</i> . Next him, succeeded the raigne of the Wise King <i>Salomon</i> , who builded the rich Temple of <i>Ierusalem</i> ; but he dying, his Kingdome was diuided, <i>Ierobom</i> succeeding in ten Families, and <i>Robom</i> his Sonne in two. After this, the empire of the <i>Affyrians</i> , which hadde lasted more then 1200. yeares, became vtterly ruined, by the death of <i>Sardanapalus</i> , who was Lord thereof, & the most potent King in the world; but he being slaine by <i>Arbacltus</i> , the Empire then fell vnto the <i>Medes</i> .	of mighty Armies, would appeare so farre from common beleefe, that silence is more fitting, then an abusive abridgement; especially, in matters of such weight and importance. Almost at the beginning of this Age, the famous Monarchy of the Persians had hir Original, the raigne whereof was then most powerfull beyond all other, by the means of great <i>Cyrus</i> his victories, who raigned thirty yeares. In which time he vanquished and ouerthrew the rich King <i>Craesus</i> of <i>Lydia</i> , but was foiled himself, and put to death by <i>Tomyris</i> , Queene of the <i>Massegeta</i> or <i>Scythians</i> , who sowed his head in a barrell of blood.	The Monarchy of the <i>Persians</i> , and victories of <i>Cyrus</i> , who was after ward slaine by <i>Tomyris</i> .
The raigne of <i>Salomon</i> .	In the same Age, the powerful kings of <i>Macedonia</i> began their raigne, and the <i>Grecians</i> counted their yeares by <i>Olimpiades</i> , which were Feasts and sports of actiue variety; and continued (by them) from five yeares to five yeares, with prizes and rewards for the best deseruers. Then also was the magnificent City of <i>Carthage</i> builded by Queene <i>Dido</i> , and very soone after <i>Rome</i> , by <i>Romulus</i> and his Brother <i>Remus</i> , where the Romaine Kinges (from this their beginning) alwayes after held on their raigne. The great City of <i>Bizantium</i> , was now builded in like manner, and afterward, was named <i>Constantinople</i> . At this time beganne great Warres and alterations of Kingdomes in many parts of the world, but especially towards the ending of this Age, according as Histories doe at large discourse. <i>Nabuchodonosor</i> , King of the <i>Medes</i> and <i>Babylon</i> , went against <i>Ierusalem</i> , destroying both it & the Temple likewise; then led he the people of <i>Judea</i> thence as Prisoners with him, and thereof was it named the transmigration of <i>Babylon</i> .	10 20 30 40 50 Seauenty yeares of this Age beeing compleated, the Hebrues were deliuered out of their captiuity, and then was the Temple new built againe at <i>Ierusalem</i> , which formerly had bin destroyed. In <i>Europe</i> also, the Romaines expelled their Kinges, and gouerned themselues by Consuls; The first whereof, was <i>L. T. Brutus</i> ; and next vnto him succeeded <i>Colatinus</i> . In <i>Greece</i> also flourished learning and Chiuallry, which caused no lesse famous Phylosophers, then valiant and excellent Captaines. <i>Xerxes</i> came thither with an innumerable Armie, as hoping to conquer it, but hee was constrained to retire with mighty losse, and greater shame. After this, King <i>Phillip</i> began his raigne in <i>Macedon</i> , and he subdued <i>Greece</i> , the Mother of good Artes and armes, who had fostered (with her Milke of Knowledge) in those Dayes, <i>Demosthenes</i> , <i>Themistocles</i> , <i>Epaminondas</i> , <i>Agefilaus</i> , <i>Zeno</i> , <i>Plato</i> , <i>Aristotle</i> , and many such like beside. No sooner was king <i>Phillip</i> dead, but <i>Alexander</i> his Sonne would no longer abide in <i>Greece</i> : He entered into <i>Asia</i> , which he quickly conquered, destroying the Empire of the <i>Persians</i> , and by means of his victory against <i>Darius</i> , hee continued the rest of his lifetime, sole Monarch, and Emperour of the whole world. But after his death, his Captaines diuided his Dominions among them; which dishonorable deed, raised no meane dissention, with warres and battailes thorow <i>Asia</i> , as also in the greater part of <i>Europe</i> . Now likewise, (beyond measurable limits) began the strength of the <i>Romaines</i> and <i>Carthagenians</i> , each Nation contending, & proudly pretending a right vnto the whole worlds	The Temple newly re-edified.
The Affyrians Empire ouerthrowne and translated to the <i>Medes</i> .	The Greekes <i>Olimpiads</i> .	The Temple newly re-edified.	Rome gouerned by Consules.
The building of <i>Carthage</i> , & of <i>Rome</i> .	The building of <i>Carthage</i> , & of <i>Rome</i> .	Learning and Chiuallry began in <i>Greece</i> .	Learning and Chiuallry began in <i>Greece</i> .
<i>Bizantium</i> , afterward caled <i>Constantinople</i> .	The most excellent men of <i>Greece</i> .	The most excellent men of <i>Greece</i> .	Phillip of <i>Macedon</i> .
<i>Ierusalem</i> destroyed by <i>Nabuchodonosor</i> .	The most excellent men of <i>Greece</i> .	The most excellent men of <i>Greece</i> .	Alexander, sole Monarch of the World.
The fift Age of the world.	Whereuppon, began the fift Age of the world, which continued to the Natiuity of Iesus Christ, God and Man, our Sauour and Redeemer. This fift Age, lasted 589. yeares, by computation and consent of all Writers. During this time, there were many powerful Kinges and politticke Common-weales in the world; whereof to speake, as touching their rare and vnheard of subuersions, their alterations and change of States; the wonderfull leuying and mustering	Whereuppon, began the fift Age of the world, which continued to the Natiuity of Iesus Christ, God and Man, our Sauour and Redeemer. This fift Age, lasted 589. yeares, by computation and consent of all Writers. During this time, there were many powerful Kinges and politticke Common-weales in the world; whereof to speake, as touching their rare and vnheard of subuersions, their alterations and change of States; the wonderfull leuying and mustering	Warre and dissention in <i>Asia</i> .
Strange alterations of States.	The <i>Romaines</i> and the <i>Carthagenians</i> begin their strife	The <i>Romaines</i> and the <i>Carthagenians</i> begin their strife	The <i>Romaines</i> and the <i>Carthagenians</i> begin their strife

worlds Soueraignty, with perticular at-
tribution of the Empire to their Juris-
diction.

These two mighty people, not know-
ing whose number or stomacke was
greatest; fought many worthy battailes
together, for each of the Cities yeilded
Captaines very excellent in armes. *Car-
thage* had for hir Defenders, *Hafiruball,*
Hanno, Hanniball, and others; *Rome* also
afforded the *Fabij,* the *Scipios,* the *Marcel-
li,* the *Æmilij,* and such like. But in con-
clusion, after great expence of bloud on
both parts, *Rome* had the victory, & *Car-
thage* was sackt and vtterly subuerted, all
Affrica becomming Tributary to *Rome*:
This victory thus obtained, made the
Romaines grow proud and enuious also
of the *Grecians* prosperity, seeking al oc-
casions to war with them, as afterward
they did, and taking *Greece*; made it tri-
butary to them likewise. Yet not so sa-
tisfied, their greedy Auarice stil increa-
sing; they stroue to gaine a further foo-
ting, and passing into *Asia*, they vanqui-
shed *Antiochus*, and after him, King *Mi-
thridates*, making themselves Lordes of
all the Lesser *Asia*: as also of *Syria,* *Pale-
stine,* and *Egypt*. And then on this side
nearer hand, of *France,* *Spain,* *England;*
and of the greater part of *Germanie*. In
which Conquests, the chiefe Comman-
ders, were, *Metellus,* *Silla,* *Marius,* *Lu-
cullus,* *Pompey,* *Cæsar,* with many more
of as great spirit.

It came to passe, that these Gallants
could not be pleased with their seuerall
good fortunes; but enuious Ambition
swelling in their breasts; they woulde
needs moue ciuill warres, and each of
them strue to command the other, but
at length the Empire remained to *Cæsar*
onely. Next whom (after many great
Fortunes) his Nephew or adopted Son
Octavianus succeeded; and hee hauing
vanquished all his enemies, enjoyed the
Empire quietly. So that seating him-
selfe in peace and amity with all Kinges
and Common-weales, he shut vppe the
Temple Gates of *Ianus* his God, which
nener were closed in the time of warres.
And now the full accomplishment of al
things beeing come, the sifst Age of
the Worlde finished, with the Birth of
our Sauiour & Redeemer *Iesus Christ*;

true God, and true Man, in the yeare of
the Worlds Creation, according to the
Hebrewes, threethousand, nine hunde-
red, fiftie two yeares. And according
to the seauenty Interpreters, *Eusebius*,
with the greater part of Historiogra-
phers, siue thousand, one hundred, ninety
nine yeares. According to *Orosius*
siue thousand, and twenty yeares. Ac-
cording to *Isidore*, one yeare lesse. But
according to *Alphonsus*, siue thousand,
nine hundred, eighty four yeares, which
are many more then others make ac-
count of.

At this birth of our Lorde, the sixt
Age began, which hath endured to this
day, and shall continue to the Worlds
end. In this time, the greater part of
Christendome hath beene gouerned by
one man only, Emperor of the *Romans*:
and Emperours haue prosperously suc-
ceeded one another euersince that time.
But by the coming of the *Goths*, with
other Nations, and *Mahomet* also; ma-
ny ouerthwarts hath happened in the
Empire, to the great diminishing there-
of, and iniuries to manifold rightes in
Kingdomes, and perticular Seignories:
Thorough which Discords, and Faults
waxing very colde: The Enemies to the
Church of Christ, haue compassed the
meanes to mollift faithfull Christians,
deprining them of many goodly Coun-
tries and Prouinces.

The Computations of these seuerall
Ages by mee recited, are collected out
of these alledged Authors, *S. Augustine,*
Isidore, *Beda,* *Eusebius,* *Philo Iudaicus,* and
Orosius, all singular Historians beside,
Vincentius, a man of excellent Learning.
Our Moderne and Later writers are, *Pe-
trus de Aliacus*, and more especially, *Jac-
annes Driodorus*, in his Ecclesiasticall
Writings. The Poets do graunt to the
worlde but foure Ages, and no more.
The first, the Golden Age; the second,
the Silver Age; the third, the Brazen or
Steele Age; and the fourth, the Iron
Age; As signifying thereby, that the
Mallice and Wickdnesse of men en-
creasing, the excellencie of Mettalles
should also decay, whereto the seuerall
Worlds were compared; and so sayth
Ouid in the first Booke of his *Metamor-
phosis*.

CHAP.

The Captains
that either
Nation bred.

Carthage quite
subdued.

The Romaines
overcame the
Grecians.

The wonder-
full successe
of the Romaines
in their wars.

The Romaines
worthy Cap-
taines.

The enuious
ambition a-
mong the
chiefe Romaines.

Octavian en-
oyeth the
Empire qui-
etly.

The birth of
our Sauiour
Iesus Christ.

The variety
of Authors.

The sixt Age
of the World

How the di-
minishing of
the Empire
first ensued.

August. in Lib.
15, 16, & 17.
de Ciuit. Dei.
Isid. l. 3. de Etim
Beda, Eusebius,
Philo Iudaicus.
Vincent. Histor.
Petri de Aliacus
Iacobi Driodori.

Ouid. in 1. Lib.
Metamor.

CHAP. III.

Of the State and Governement of the Spartanes, the Common-wealth observed among them, their Lawes, & other memorable occasions.



HE City of *Sparta*, which also was named *Lacedemon*, and now is called *Metrixa*, was destroyed in the time when the *Grecians* flourished; but it was very famous, by manie honourable actions of her most excellent Captaines; and yet much more illustrious, in hauing *Licurgus* to be her ruler with his Lawes, which gaue hir long life, and might haue continued for many hundreds of yeares: but after she fell to contemne his Lawes, too soone she saw hir owne ending. Now, because hir ancient glory appeareth to me, to be a notable State, and worthy much Commendation, I cannot let hir passe, with speaking somewhat of hir.

Considering then, that the City of *Sparta*, (aboue all other Citties) was sufficiently inhabited with men of great strength, and of Name also, which only made it Famous in *Greece*; it appeareth to me a very Myraculous matter, how, and by what meanes it could be so compassed. But then againe, when I remember the study of the *Spartanes*, all meruaile easily is resolved. And yet, I must needs admire *Licurgus*, and repute him to be an especiall Wiseman, in giuing them such Lawes; and they being obedient to them, did thereby become so happy and blessed. For they, without taking example therein by any other City, but rather being farre contrary in opinion to many of them, did yet so carry themselus, that their country went beyond all the rest in their felicity.

For the procreation of Children, (because I take this the principall thing first to be spoken of) and because there are some, who with most curious food doe foster those Children, which they deeme fitting for such kind of delicacy: Wine they vtterly forbid them, or cause

them to vie it with great allay of water; now what do they else heerin, but euen set so many Artificers (as it were) in a place of quietnesse, where no kinde of stirring is to be heard; and the women likewise to bee in their repose, setting onely the Virgins (in meane while) to spin their wooll for wearing. But who can any way hope, that this is the way to be borne great, and of women educated in this manner. Therefore *Licurgus* was of another iudgement, in that a better building was in this case required, and that it was the work of seruants and not Children, to sit and make Garments. And therefore perceiuing, that the generating of Children was an important matter, and with free-women, that were of as free disposition; he especially ordained, that the woman should exercise hir Body no otherwise then the man. According to this rule, the sport of running, and actiue vse of strength, was allowed (among them) to be as free for women as men. Because he held it a principall maxime in his iudgment, that Children being bred and born of chearfull disposed Parents, would themselues containe the like sprightly nature, and their issue also be of the same true temper. Whereupon, when conuenient time came, for women to take knowledge of men, it was duly considered, that they who were of such temperate capacity in conuersing with their wiues; in this case would haue a quite contrary opinion to the other. Therefore, he ordained, that when the Husband went to visit his wife, & when he likewise departed from hir, it should be done with such discretion, as it might not be discerned of any other; in which respect, it was so thought fit, both for the procuring of most sweet delight, and greater desire of pleasure in the state of Matrimony. It was withall considered, that they of the strongest Complexion, might sometime fall into infirmity, and therefore it required the lesse continuance together, till both the one and the other were in better condition.

Moreouer, he made a Law, that no man at his owne wil should marry with a woman, neither that any marriages should be made, til the parties had attained to ful ripeness of yeares, because hee conceiued, that it wold be the best help, both

Licurgus the Law-maker of *Sparta*.

The happines of the *Spartans* in obeying *Licurgus* Lawes.

Of the procreation of Children.

women allowed as free exercises as men

Children born of chearfull Parents, wil be of the same Nature.

In what manner men and their Wiues, should meete together.

At what time men and women should marry, either aged or yong.

both to fecundity and strength. Now, if it hapned, that any old man should haue a yong wife; *Licurgus* did fore-see, that men of those yeares would bee hard to their wiues, and suspitious of them also: wherfore he ordained the contrary in this case, and instituted, that any woman of aged yeares being disposed to mary, should make choise of such a man, whose minde and body might best bee pleased with hirs, and take him home to her house, although no hope of Children were to be expected. Besides, he made another Law, that if a man had no will to a wife, and yet was desirous to haue free children: in this case he prouided, that if such a man had seene a generous & fruitful woman, if he could win the liking of hir husband, cōtenting him and she not displeas'd; hee might beget children of hir. Many like thinges were in the Lawes of *Licurgus*, permitting, that a man might haue two wiues in his house, if he would; and that maried folk might purchase Brethren to their owne borne Children, who equally shoulde participate of their family, and of their power, but neuer of their faculties. By this institution of begetting diuersity of children among the other *Grecians*, it may bee easily imagined, how farre the *Spartans* went beyond others; both in excellency of people, and of power.

Concerning their discipline (because the rest of the *Grecians*; & especially they who desired to haue their children nobly instructed, so soone as they should vnderstande what they spake; they would presently giue them in gouernment to *pedante* Seruants, and suddenly also provide them of other Maisters, to learne good Letters, Musicke, and such actiue feats as appertained to wrastling. Besides this, with shooes they then wold soften their Childrens feet, and adorne their bodies with diuersity of garments and moderate their Diet, according to the stature of their bodies. But *Licurgus* in exchange of pedanticall seruants, to whom priuately they gaue their Childrens gouernment: ordained, to haue them tutord by one of those men, that should be elected by the chiefest Magistrate, who, because he was an instructor of children, they vsed to call him *Pedonomo*. To him they gaue authority to congregare Children together, as in a

Schoole, and he might seuerely chastise them, that (by him) were founde inclined to bad, crafty, and lewde dispositions. According to their increasing in yeares, so was one set to walke vp and downe among them, that carried a rod in his hand, wherewith (as they offended) they were beaten: the punishment wherof, & the publick disgrace, in short time made the children so ashamed; that they would readily obey, and performe whatsoeuer they were inioyned to do.

And then at this growth, in stead of Hose & shooes they were appointed to go bare foot, and bare legd, because *Licurgus* foresaw, that by this hardning exercise, they woulde easily run vp the hills and rockes, as also, with most safety descend down again, mount, or dismount, running swifter vnshod, after they had well exercised their feet, then if they were suffered to weare shooes. And for variety of Garments, he commaunded, that they should vse themselves to one kind or fashion of habit onely, iudging, that (in this maner) they should the better indure both cold and heat. Next, he appointed, that the Male-child should haue so much meat, as neuer afterward his stomack might be offended with ouerfeeding. Aduising also, that he should be invred to tast want or scarcity: as wel vnderstanding, that such apted bodies as should be trained vp in such manner, would much better (when occasion serued) be enabled to endure labour without food, then others, because this kind of education, gaue them the meanes of longest abstinence; and beside, taught them to make vse of any other viands, then their accustomed meat and drink, so to content themselves with any nourishment whatsoeuer.

Also, he very well knew, that who-soeuer was desirous to preferue health, and to encrease the bodies stature, such kind of sustenance was more conuenient; then to feed the body with subtile & superfluous meats, which only made them grosse. And to the end likewise; that they might not be oppressed with famine, he would not permit, that such as suffered want through ydlenes; should haue any thing giuen them: but tolerated them to steal such food as might suffice against famine. And this he did; as knowing no readier way, wherby to

The Spartans hardning of their children

Their Childrens Garments & food for the present, and for time of abstinence.

Preseruation of health, and encreasing of stature.

Against Sloth and Idlenesse.

That men might haue two Wiues if they would.

The discipline vsed among the Spartans, concerning their children

make them industrious or forward, for their owne wants and necessities. And it is very euident, that hee that is desirous to steale any thing, it is necessarie for him, to spend the night in Watching, and the day time in subtile Deuises, laying his Traines equally in order, if hee will compasse those occasions which hee most aymes at. It is not to be doubted then, that they who would haue their Children quicke and aptest, for such necessaries as are to maintaine life, they should haue them in this manner educated and enstructed.

But some man may heere infer, that if to robbe and steale may be counted a good quality, when a man grewe expert and cunning in Theft, wherefore did they punish him with many stripes? Thus I answer, according to mine own opinion and coniecture, that as in other matters taught by men, the learners are punished for dooing them well; euen so in like manner, they that held on in these Pilferies, as pretending sufferance to be a License vnto their immoderate Libertie, were as seuerely chastised, as they that stole foolishly and without discretion, and both duly reprehended, for knowing no end of their owne leudnesse.

If the *Pedonome* chaunced to bee absent, yet that the Children might neuer be without a Maister, it was ordained, that the Cittizen, who was present at his departing, should haue Authoritie and command ouer the saide Children, to instruct them according to his owne liking, and as they offended, accordingly to correct them. But this prooued most vnto the Childrens shame and disgrace, in regard, that neither Children nor men will feare any one more, then him that is their chiefe Maister. Yet som man must needs be present, for the childrens better gouernment, and such an one as was imagined best able to command, he euermore had the Male Children in charge, as the like care was had ouer the Female; so neither of them were destitute of Maisters. But now, I hold it conuenient, to speak somewhat concerning the Childrens Loue, because it also appertaineth vnto Discipline.

Some of the *Grecians*, as they of *Boe-*

tia, permitted yong men and Maides to be together; the *Ephesians*, in the interchange of affable courtesies, made especiall delight in eithers beauty, yet some others there were, who by no meanes would suffer yong Louers to talke together. *Licurgus* was of contrary opinion to all these, because if there were any, who (as Nature requireth) considering the inward beauty of a Maidens minde, became affectionat towards hir, & so to grow to irreprehensible loue, & without taint or blemish: he graunted them license, that they might be together, and reputed it to be honest discipline. If any were thought to desire the Maidens body, it (beeing iudged a most shamefull matter among the *Lacedemonians*) he ordained that Louers should no otherwise abstain from cōpanying with maidens, then as fathers did with their Children, or Brethren with Brethren, in the pleasures of *Venus*, which thing I maruel not a litle, if som there be that scarce belieue it; because in many Citties, that Lawes do not hinder their owne practise. But so soon as children leauing their schooling, attained to more forwardnesse in youth-hood, some ceased immediately from all control of Schoole-maisters or other Gouernors, & freely were at their owne disposition. This course also, did *Licurgus* much dislike, & as one that wel knew, that youth do naturally incline to great furlinesse of minde, by vnbridled license, and vncircumscribed Libertie of pleasures, therefore he enioyned them to very hard labors, and deuised such apt occasions for them, that alwayes they should be full of busines. Whereunto, he also added, that if any one contemnd or fled from such employment, he shold neuer rise to any degree of honour: ordaining withall, that not only publicke persons should bee deputed to this Gouernment, but that parents also should haue especiall care of their Children, to the end, that this kind of fear remaining as a Bridle in the city, few or none shold become insolent or vngracious.

Next to this, being desirous to plant in them a graue and naturall kind of honesty, he commanded, that passing thorough the streets, they should hide their handes vnderneath their Cloakes, and neither talke together, nor gaze about them, but still to keepe their eyes fixed vpon

Of Loue betweene the children.

Licurgus his opinion concerning yong louers.

Licurgus disliked the liberty of youth.

Orders for walking abroad in the streets.

A pretty question well answered.

The Children loose no instruction in the absence of their Maister.

upon the ground. By which meanes, it was obserued, that the Masculine sexe excelled in modesty and bashfulnesse; the very choifest perfections in the Feminine. Their voyces were no more heard, then as if they had bin Statues of stone; and as easily were their eyes enduced to gazing, as if they had bin Pillers of Brasse; nor were the young Damofels more chaste in their Chambers, then young men were as they walked in the streets. In like manner, if they were inuited to Feasts or Bankets, they vsed neuer to answer or speake, except some question were first moued or demanded. Concerning Orders and Institutions among them, the one was no sooner commanded, but the other was as duly and diligently obserued, especially among the young men, of whome, no meane and prouident care was had, because the course of their education, did greatly auaille to inable them for the Commonwealths benefit. And for this cause, the Manners, Disposition, & behavior of euery one was diligently noted, and such as naturally were addicted to make prooffe of all Exercises; their Minds and affections were most listned vnto, the game of Wrastring being in frequent vse among them, because they reputed it an especial exercise, to imbolsden young men to buckle with Vertue; and thereby attaine to the chiefest perfection of all other good qualities.

The Ephori would Elect three of the gallantest Spirits among the rest, who in the Assembly of the Caualery or Horsemen, were called *Hippagriti*. Each one of these made election of an 100. men, declaring by their seueral respects, which sort were to be honoured, and which to be reiected. They that stood out of this honourable Election, were commaunded to incounter with the other in battell, to win the reputation which (as yet) they wanted, if their skill and indeuour would stretch so far, and so, by this meanes, iust trial was made of eithers Vertue. This proued to be a verypious and profitable contention for the Common-wealth, wherein such actions were best declared, as beseemed a man of vertuous inclination: and so seperately (on either side) such Study and diligence was daily put in practise, as no one could be found an idle & vnfit mem-

ber, but altogither (one way or other) auailable to publick benefit. They were also constrained to haue an especial respect of health, in euery place where they met to encounter, either in ambitious fighting, or manly wrastring. And while in this maner they contended together, euery man that was there present, and had authority, might part the; but if any one would not bee obedient; the *Pedonomo* caused him to be called in iudgement before the *Ephori*, and they would very seuerely punish him, as men that hadde discretely ordained, that no man should be ouertome with rage or fury, but euery way be obedient to the Lawes.

So soone as these yong men came to years of Maturity, and some of them elected to be Magistrates: diuers of the *Grecians*; without any regard of their bodies strength, would put them to the affairs of war. But *Licurgus* made a law, wherein he declared, that it was an excellent exercise for a man of those years first to be trained vp in Hunting, except it might be hinderous to some publick Office, and thereby both yong men, as wel as others of riper yeares, were the better enabled to indure the trauaile of Military Discipline.

Now concerning their maner of feeding, for sustentation of life, *Licurgus* vnderstanding, that the *Spartans*, as also diuers of the *Grecians*, vsed much priuat banquetting in their Houses, he thereby gathiered; that much rior & excesse was daily committed: whereupon he commanded, that all such meetinges of the people shold be in publick; conceining that (by this means) they durst not transgresse their imposed iniunction, but obserue such a comly order in feeding, as they would not exceed, either in too little, or too much. Moreouer, idle persons were easily alured to commit many disorders; & rich men (ofittimes) held some resemblance with the slothful or negligent; whereby insued, that (while they sat at the table (they wer suffred neither to be too sumptuous, nor too sparing. Therefore prohibiting them of vnnecessary drinking, which offendeth both the mind and Body, it kept them from drinking til they wer thirsty, for that it was both wholsom & profitable: & the people being thus orderly gouerned, what

Orders and institutions for youth.

The Ephori were as the Tribunes among the Romaines.

The profitable exercises of the Spartane youths.

Orders against disobedience in their contending.

The young Spartans were exercised in Hunting.

Orders for diet and banquetting.

is he that can wrong either himselfe or his dwelling, with vnseemely gurmardizing or drunkennesse?

Licurgus his orders both for young and olde.

In other Citties, men of equal condition would drinke extraordinarily together, and made such a custome thereof, that no shame or respect was hadde among them: but in the City of *Sparta*, *Licurgus*, to them of younger years, administred Discipline, and to the Elder, graue Customs and Obseruations. And it is a matter much concerning anie Countrey, that at Feastes or such like meetings, honorable occasions of the City should be the chiefest talke, to auoid all other lewde and vnbeseeing Discourse; as also, ouermuch quaffing, whereto vaine speech is the onely Spur and Prouoker; nor should any but honest actions passe thorough the Table, or any word that may make the speaker ashamed. And by this publicke feeding together, it proued to be another benefit, that men would haue care of their home-returning, and not ouer-weaken their Bodies with Wine, lest they should passe disorderly thorow the Streetes. For they knew very wel, that they were not to rest where they had supt, & night must be no other Mantle or Cloake for them, then the day had bin: wherefore, as they were vnder an honest subiection, so should they gouerne themselues honestly both for day and night.

Idle talke, the Spur to drunkennesse.

The benefit of publicke meetings.

Licurgus likewise considered, that such as went to labour after their meat, were of a well coloured Complexion, healthfull and lusty; but others, that consumed time in Idleness, became Corpulent, swolne vp, and verie sickely; therefore, he prouided against such inconueniences, and knowing that idle immaginations were but to pamper the body, as bringing fresh Fuell to the fire; he appointed, that the Elder persons in this case, should haue care of the younger, and keepe them stil from excesse of feeding, and set them to one lusty exercise or other, by which commendable meanes, hardly could any men elsewhere be found, that either in health or strength of body, could compare with the *Spartanes*, for they made equal exercise, both of their Legges, Armes, and the whole bodie.

Labour is the best nourisher of health.

Licurgus made Lawes also contrary to them of other Citties; for, in other

Cities, each man was Lord of his Sons, Seruants and Money; but *Licurgus* ordained, that Citizens (without any offence among them) might haue the benefit of Commerce or Exchange, and no man to commaunde his Children or Seruants, but in such things as were iust and behoouefull. So that heereby, both Honesty of the Father, and Duty of the Sonne, were equally discerned; that, as no shame ensued by the Iniustice of the Fathers command, so no punishment followed by the Sonnes disobedience. And if Children quarrelled, or fell out together, so that blowes (perhappes on either side) ensued; if the Parents had no vniust hande therein, the reconcilment was the sooner, and no partie offended. Such order also was for the seruants, both in Domesticke and Open Busineses, and the Iustice of the Master, was no meane honour to the Seruant.

Licurgus Lawe for Fathers & Maitters to their Childre and seruants.

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Hee appointed also, that Houndes for Hunting should be to common vse; and such as had no delight in the game, should yet keepe Hounds, & lend them to others benefit. The like seruice was commaunded of Horsses, and hee that was not able to trauell on foot, and had neither Horffe or Waggon, yet must needs bee at some place in hast, where his earnest occasions vrged his presence: whersoever he saw an Horffe, he might safely take him; and when his businesse was ended, restore him backe vnto the Owner, who might be as bold with him or any other, and all accepted in friendly manner, as doing no worse then hee would be done vnto. And when anie were returned from Hunting, and wanted food to supply their Hunger, it was ordained, that such as had supt, and left prouision fit for the vse of other, they should make it presently knowne, & deliuer it where such vrgent occasion required. By which meanes, the pouertie of many was oftentimes well releued, and those Victuals honestly eaten, that else (by couetous keeping) had bin spild and spoild.

For the exercise of Hunting.

In other matters likewise, *Licurgus* would haue the *Spartanes* to differ from other *Grecians*; for wheras in other Citties, euery man endeuoured (to his vttermost) for his owne enriching, some by Husbandry, others by Nauigation; others

Licurgus wold not haue free men to meddle with money.

others by Merchandize, and others by Handy-crafts: *Licurgus* did then prohibit the *Spartans*; that Free-men should not meddle with any thing, whereby any Money was to be gotten; but all such matters, as brought liberty to Citizens, & no way made the seruile; them he appointed, and them they might iustly terme to be their studies. For to what end should men toyle themselves for riches, where all things necessary are equally brought vnto them? By this institution for honest maintenance, it came to passe, that no occasions whatsoever, could make men desirous or couetous of Money. . And that which is much more, no gaine could enforce them to variety of Garments, because they cared not for any exterior or magnificent pompe in cloathing, but onely for well ordering and gouerniug their bodies. In which respect, they made the lesse esteeme of Mony, to haue vse or expence thereof in any company, because they were of the minde, that much more nobly one man might helpe another, being his friend or familiar, with the labor of his body; then with such needesse trash, which declared them to be as industrious in minde, as others were in gathering Riches. And yet notwithstanding, no man (in any case whatsoever) might enrich himselfe by anothers wrong or pteiudice. Wherefore first of all, was ordained such a piece of mony, as was of the value of ten Drachmaes, to the end, that so soon as it was brought into any house, it might not be hidden either by the Master or seruant, because it required a great place and carriage: Whereupon, diligent search was made for Gold and Siluer; and wheresoever it was found, the possessor thereof was seuerely punished. What needed anie man then to hide or hoord vp money in any place, where the keeping brought him greater daunger, then the getting could yeild him pleasure? By this it may be gathered, that among the *Lacedemonians*, euery one obeyed both the Magistrate and the Lawes. And I am of the minde, that *Licurgus* neuer attempted this excellent order of a Commonwealth, before hee had thereto first reconciled the Noblemen that were in the City. The rather am I induced to this perswasion, because in other Cit-

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ties, the men that were in greatest power, stood in little or no feare at all of the Magistrate, but held it dishonourable for them to be obedient. But in *Sparta*, the very Princes themselves would yeeld reuerence, especially to the Magistrate, and they reputed it their greatest glory to be humble, and would rather run then go, when they were called; so tractable wer they to obedience, because they were perswaded, that others would be the easier drawn by their example, when they themselves first shewed Humility, and so indeed it came to passe with them. But very like it is, that the power of the *Ephori* had thus ordained it, well vnderstanding, that obedience is the greatest benefite that can be in any Common-wealth, both in War abroad, and in peace at home: therefore the greater persons of esteeme, that are about the Magistrat, the sooner (in mine opinion) are Citizens drawn to declare their obedience.

The *Ephori* were such potent men, as they might punish whom they pleased, reconcile all differences, and depriue other Magistrates of their Authority, or prevent them before they came to it: they might commit any man to prison, and call him in question for his life. But these that had such supream priuiledge, would not permit (as in other Cities they did) that such as were elected to be Magistrates, should alwaies beare sway according to their owne wils: for so they might haue prooued to be Tyrants, or as ouer-awing Schoole-Masters, without feare or discretion, punishing what they pleased to term breach of Law. No, *Licurgus* in this case declared great prouidence; and as in many things hee became admired for conforming the people vnto the lawes, yet this (aboue all the rest) I hold to merit no meane applause, in that he wold not publish any Law to the people, vntill himselfe and the Princes had first gone to *Delphos*, to demaund of their God *Apollo*, whether it might be profitable, & for the wel-fare of the City of *Sparta*, if the people did yeild their Obedience thereunto. If he had answere from the Oracle, that it was for the best, then he would divulge it; iudging it to be not only very vniust, but also meeer wickednesse, if any man should be obedient to

Example of obedience in great men, is the best lesson that can be to the meaner sort.

The power of the Spartan *Ephori*.

Licurgus wold first question *Apollos* Oracle, before he published any Law.

The Spartans hated Couetousnesse of money, or pompe in Apparell.

The Spartans Drachmaes, valued 3 s. 4. d. and was very bigge of stampe.

a Law, that had not bin confirmed by *Apolloes* Oracle.

An honorable death, preferred before a shamefull life

In one thing also, *Licurgus* is said to deserue immortall memory, because he inioyned the *Lacedemonians* to prefer an honourable death, before an infamous life. And surely, if men doe consider it well, they shall finde the one much more glorious then the other: And let them speake but truly out of their owne hearts, they do (in honesty) beleue, that they liue longer by the meanes of Vertue, then by the idle allurements of Vice; because Vertues Documents, though they appeare to be vntastable at the first receiuing; yet (in prooffe) they are found to bee more easie, more delightfull, more expeditious and lasting, then any other offered to the contrary. For, it is manifestly seene, that (aboue and beyond all other things) Glory is the onely Companion of Vertue, because all men (in a certain manner) do desire to be helpfull to the good and honest. Vppon which solid ground, methinkes it is expedient that wee should heere discourse, after what manner those people applyed their endeouour, that they might attain to such true fame and credit. They dealt therefore in such sort, that good men liued in honor, and bad men miserably. For, in the Neighboring Citties, when anie one offended lewdly, he was rewarded only with the name of a bad man; and yet notwithstanding, in one & the same Market, both good men and bad might Trafficke together, sit, sport, and feede in one company. But among the *Lacedemonians*, euery one took it as no mean reproach, if hee were but seene talking with a badde man, or offered to try his strength with him in Wrestling. And many times, a man of ill repute, intruding himselfe among them that plaid at Tennis; caused them instantly to giue ouer play, and could not be accepted as a Companion, on either side. And while the young people were at Dauncing, the very worst place of al was this vnwelcome Guestes allowance, and at parting thence, euery one would shun him on the way, and very rarely coulde he be admitted into any assembly, either among the young or olde: but that he must giue place vppon their present appearance.

Glory is the sole companion of Vertue.

Bad men, might not converse or sport with them that wer good and vertuous.

It was ordained also, that the Parents of Virgins should traine them vp in their owne Houses, till their abilitie of body made the fit to be seen abroad. And it was not lawfull for any Man, to leaue his Wife alone in his own house, least thereby he did incur great punishment: for solitude (oftentimes) admitted way to vnmeet insinuations, with others dangers thereon depending, easily listned vnto, & learned of the lewd, which Offences wer euermore seuerely chastised of the better sort. And therefore, when euill doers were exposed to publicke shame; it was no great matter of meruaile, if Men and Women did much rather couet death, then to liue in apparant disgrace and obliquy. Worthily then did the Lawes of *Licurgus* deserue commendation, which made such excellent prouision, that (to the verie extreimity of Age) euery one (in duty) might apply himselfe to vertue. For, such was his opinion, that the Crown or honour of a mans life, consisted on age, and therefore the younger sort (attaining to that renowne) by example of their Elders, were bound to the greater care of goodnesse and honesty. In which respect, wee may not omit another singular Law by him prouided, for such aged persons as were good and Vertuous. For he considering, that the best triall of true life indeed, was in the aged mans hand: expressely commaunded, that Age should be more highly honored, then the best strength of youth. And to speake vprightly, this time of triall or conflict, dooth make the best prooffe (beyond all other) of a man. For as the exercise of Wrestling, giues Testimony of the young mans able bodie. so do the Combats and Conflictes of Age, yeild absolute euidence of the old mans mind, and looke how much more excellent the soule is aboue the Bodie, euen as much, or rather more, doo the exercises of the soule conquer them of the body. Wherefore then should we not (euen to this day) admire & honor this good Institutiō of *Licurgus*? For after he perceiued, that such men as were negligent in the actions of vertue, could no way exalt the dignity of their country: he tooke diligent care, that in *Sparta*, all Vertuous endeouours should bee publickely exercised. So that, as men adorned

No mā might leaue his wife in his house alone without company.

Age is the honor & crowne of life.

The combats of Age, exceedeth the wrastlings of youth

Sparta onely allowed publike exercise of vertues.

No greater enemies to any Commonwealth, then idle and vitious liuers.

Negligent officers lost the name of Citizens.

Orders for wars among the *Spartanes*.

adorned with vertues, doe easily vanquish abiect or priuate Spirits, and the studious, the negligent: euen so *Sparta*, that (onely) made publique exercise of goodnesse and honesty, ouercame (by many degrees) all other Citties in vertue. For they would punish such Men onely, as did iniury to others; but *Licurgus* would haue any man in like manner chastised, for not expressing a manifest care, both how to auoyd such offences, and how to equall his reputation with the best. For *Licurgus* was perswaded, that hee which did cast his Neighbour into Prison, or forcibly did steale any thing, or priuately vsed purloyning; all these were no more but priuate iniuries to the persons offended: but the Common-wealth was more haynously wronged, yea (in a manner) betrayed to the Enemy, when idle and vitious Varlets escaped vnpunished; and therefore, for such Cankers and Caterpillers to common good, hee ordained very strict and seuerer punishments.

Beyond all these fore-recited ordinances, as in an intollerable case of necessity, his care was extraordinary, for all ornament due to Ciuill life. And therefore, such as were of ability, and had least feeling of others wants, were enioyned to haue equall respect of the Common-weale; both in infirmities belonging to the body, and other occasions as they happened. Beside, if any Man were found negligent, in any office committed to his trust; he was not afterward numbred among the Citizens. Which appeared to be a very ancient Law, because *Licurgus* is found to be in the time of the *Heraclidi*; who albeit they were of great Antiquity, yet (in these times) they seemed new to others: and that which most of all is to be admired, was the promptitude of all men, to like and allow of their studies, yet not any City or State willing to folow their example, then which could be no greater benefit, both in Peace and Warre. Therefore, if any one be a curious Inquisitour in this case, he shall plainly perceiue, that *Licurgus* (better then any other) prouided for the affairs of Warre. First of all, the *Ephori* tooke graue aduise together, in what yeare they should send forth their Armies, vn-

der what Commaunders, and with what prouision; electing first the ordinary Footmen, and next to them Artificers, appointing Armour for each, according to their seuerall condition, and as the necessity of the case required: whereby ensued, that as the *Lacedemonians* had great plenty of Warrers, so could they as plentifully serue themselves, with able men of their owne Cittie. They likewise ordained, that those Engines or Instruments, whereof they had most neede in their Armies; should all be readily brought thither in Carts, or on Beasts backs: so that, euery Man might forth-with perceiue, which of them needed most employment.

And first of all, each Souldier was appointed to weare a Crimson Stoale or Tipper about his necke, and a Shield of Brasle; because they knew that this kind of Stoale (being most apt for war) was not meete for Women to weare, in regard it kept longest cleane, and free from soyle. It was permitted also, that such as had past the years of Childhood, might weare a little Bush or tuft of hair before on their heads, appearing thereby, to be free-borne, of greater Spirit, liberall endowments, and much more fortunate then others were. The Armies being in this manner ordered, the Horse and Foot-men were distributed into sixe Tribes or parts. Each Tribe of the City had a Tribune ouer the Souldiers; foure Marshals for the seuerall ranckes of Pikes, eight *Quinquagenari* or Gouvernours, of fifty yeares old each Man; and sixteene Captaines of the Squadrons. Out of these Tribes the seuerall Bandes were appointed, sometimes in three Squadrons, other whiles in six. But because there are many, who haue imagined this order of the *Lacedemonians*, to be very vnfit and impeachable for Warre. I will let them see, that they doe diuersly vary in their coniecture, and farre from the truth of the matter indeede. For in the ordination among the *Lacedemonians*, there were appointed diuers heads and commanders, who had power (in euery degree) ouer all things to the vttermost. And so easie was it to learne this institution, that no one (could hee but obserue the knowledge of men) was able any way to erre therein. For as some had commission to

The Souldiers Stoale and Shilde.

The five and thirtieth part of the people, after the *Romane* manner

be

The order
observed in
the Spartane
Squadrons.

be guides, so others were commaunded to be followers. And the manner of moouing the Squadron, was deliuered from the Head or commander thereof, by a word, after the order of a Trompet. One while the Squadron appeared to be very thin and narrow; otherwhiles, more large & thickned with company, which (in their March) was no difficult thing to learne. And albeit sometimes (by encounters) they fell into disorder; yet was their obseruation such, as eue-ry one could retire againe to his rancke, and be as ready to meet with the enemy againe, onely by the enstruptions receiued from the lawes of *Licurgus*.

Many things
were easie to
the Lacedemo-
nians, that wer
obscure to o-
ther.

To the *Lacedemonians* many things were apt & easie, which to the Armies of other parts were very harsh and hard. For when they marched in forme of a Cornet, the Squadron came to his vtmost imployment behinde, and if the Enemies Battalion were noted (at the encountring) to proceed in the same order; the chiefe of the Squadrons were instantly commanded, to confront them with their Targettiers, and alwaies to be in that forme, although the Enemies battaile should stand firme. And if the Enemy (in this manner) assailed them behinde, they turned all immediatly in order: to the ende, that euermore the strongest might oppugne the Enemy. But when the Prince happened to be in the left Wing, they did not therefore iudge their condition the worse, but many times the better; because, if any attempted to engirt him, the strongest Army did presently relieue him. And for diuers respects it seemed profitable, that the Generall of the Army should lead the right Cornet, making the battaile of his Cornet, and ording his followers in such sort; that, as at the first the General guided the right band, so at the last he should be seen in the left. And if the battaile were securely fenced from the enemies right Cornet; they had no other care, but presently to change all their Ensignes, opposing the all against the enemy, as if they were aduanced on the prow of a Galley, and so should the rere-ward suddenly bring their power on the right side. But when the Enemy offered to make his assault on the left side, they were still ready for him, and either valiantly repulsed him, or reuer-

The Generals
order in the
Army.

sed their Squadrons in such contrarie manner to the enemy, that stil the rere-guard stood like a Shielde of defence against them. In ording also, how their feuerall quarters should be lodged, *Licurgus* did iudge it very vnrequisite, that the Cantons should fall into a quadrant or four-square; but rather to plant their lodging round, except they were secured by some hill, or had behind them a wall or Riuer. He appointed a Guard for the day time, who should alwaies haue care within the Army, not in regard of the Enemy, but on the friends behalfe; because they might discern thence the Enemies Caualiery, and how best to defend themselues against them. And if any one did willingly issue soorth of the place appointed for lodging, order was giuen, that the *Sciriti* should obserue him; for they had authority, to suffer no man to step out of the lodging, and to be careful also, that strangers should not walke to suruay them. Sometimes they vsed to dislodge themselues, as best they might offend their enemies, & be helpful to their friends. And to the end they might be forward to this Martiall exercise, the lawes had ordained certain honorable rewardees for all *Lacedemonians*, according to their feueral quality in merit: whereby ensued, that among themselues they were most magnificent, and appeared to others very valiant. Each man must take no more paces, then the Tribune himselve did appoint him, because none should stray far off from the Army. But after the Warlike exercise was performed, the chiefe among the Souldiers, would commaund all the rest to sit down in a ring; and after they had dined, the Scouts were suddenly sent abroad, in which time they went to councel againe, graunting time of rest, to such as were to be vsed in the night-seruice. Which things being ended, supper is published by the sound of a trumpet, that afterward they may sing prayes to their Gods, and please them with sacrifices, while the Army reposeth.

Concerning the person of the King, when he is in the Camp, it is conuenient to know, that the City findeth his prouision, and all that are with him. His Guardes are the familiar Seruants of his House, and with them the Tribunes of the Souldiers, for they beeing euer

The lodging
of the Armies
quarters.

Sentinels for
the Corps
du Guard.

Rewardee for
wel deseruers
according to
the merit.

When the K.
is in the field.

euver present with him; Councell is the readier, if occasion require it. The chiefe of these familiar attendants, are three especiall men of respected degree, who with the other together, haue the sole care of all necessary matters, and sildom are absent from businesse for the Wars. At the Armies leading forth, they doe first offer sacrifice in the House to *Ioue* their Patrone and Guide, and to the other Gods, that if any thing haue formerly bene amisse sacrificed, the *Fecial* Priest (who, of the Fire he carieth, is called *Pirphorus*) taking the fire from the Altar, may go before them to the Confines of the Countrey, where againe he sacrificeth, both to *Ioue* and to *Minerva*. So soone as this Sacrifice to the Gods is performed, he goes on still with them forth of the Countries bounds, the fire continually flaming with that Sacrifice, and Beasts of all sorts led ready by him, to offer as occasion serueth. About the dawne or breake of the day, he returneth from this seruice, perceiuing first, that he hath obtained the beneuolence and fauour of the Gods. About the Sacrifice stand the Tribunes of the Souldiers, the Gouvernours of the rankes, the chiefe of the fifty strange Souldiers, the Commanders of them that beare the Armies luggage, and the Pretors of the City. There are also present two of the *Ephori*, who do nothing, except they be thereto called by the King; but stand ready to guard what euery one dooth, and to punish as they perceiue conueniency. The Sacrifices being ended, the King calleth his Councell, and commandeth them what is to be done. And so, he that duely obserueth this kind of discipline, may easily iudge the weaknesse and want in others in Military affaires, and that the *Lacedemonians* might iustly be tearmed, true and expert Maisters in the managing of Armes.

When the King leadeth forth his Army, if hee see no opposition to come against him; none goes before him but the *Sciriti*, and the Horsemen appointed for discouery. And if he see necessity of comming to the battaile, the King taking the Squadron of the chiefe Tribe, leades it on with quicke expedition, vntill he come into the middest of the other two Tribes, and there ioineth himselfe with the Tribunes of the Souldiers:

And he that is of eldest standing in the Common-wealths affaires, giues order of Governement to all the rest, which are all those, that (in one and the same obseruation) doe feede together, as the Soothsayers, Phisitions, Trumpeters, Heades of the Army, and all other Officers, that voluntarily happen to be among them. Whereby necessarily ensueth, that there can bee no doubt of any thing needfull, but there it is in order readily provided. And vndoubtedly, in very excellent manner did *Licurgus* provide for all affaires in the Army, for if any were to suffer torture in the sight of the Enemy, the Law commanded, that al the Trumpeters should (by sounding) giue publike admonition thereof, and all the *Lacedemonians* to stand there present, with their Crownes of atchieued Honour on their Heads: that when the Army was rid of so foule an Obloquy, the young sprightly Gallants, and those of choiser election, might enter the next battaile with greater courage, and shew themselves more vndauntedly valiant. The care of all which, consisted in the chiefe of the Squadron, because it concerned none of the company to meddle in the matter, but only the Head and Commander of the Squadron; which directly he did, except he pleased to refer it to the Tribune of the Souldiers.

But when was fittest time for the Armies lodging or dislodging; *Licurgus* referred that to the will of the King, that hee should appoint the manner, time, and place. The order also for mission of Ambassages, treaty of Leagues, and motions of Warre; was likewise an Article of the Kings priuiledge, and euery one went to attend the King, when any such occasions were in hand. If any strifes or differences happened, the king committed them to the Iudges appointed for contentions: if about summes of Money, to the Treasurer; if about spoyles or robberies, to those that had to deale therein. Now when the King had ordered all these busineses, there remained no other negotiation for him about the Governement; but to carry himselfe as a Priest in Diuine cases, and as a Captaine in Armes towards his people: Because *Licurgus* had ordained, that the King (in all publique matters,

as

The order of leading forth their Armies.

The manier of the Sacrifices performance.

The *Lacedemonians* most expert in war

Licurgus his strict Law for torture in the Army

The Kings prerogatiue respected by *Licurgus*.

as proceeding from God) might sacrifice in the Citty, and was Captaine of the Army in euery place, whether soeuer the Citty sent it; withall, that hee might take the guift of all such thinges as were to be sacrificed. Moreouer, so many Territories were allowed him in the neighbouring Citties, as he should not grow scanty of honest prouision, not super-abound in excesse and ryot.

The Kinges feeding openly, and prouision for sacrifice.

And because the King might feede in publique, he was appointed a publique Table, and at Supper he was honoured with a double seruice; not because hee did eat twice as much as any other, but in regard they would grace (with his leauings) whom they pleased. They allowed him likewise two companions, such as himselfe liked to make choise of, and them they tearmed *Pitij*. They presented him also daily, a farrowing Sow, that whensoever he needed to consult with the Gods, hee should not be destitute of an offering. Neere to his Court they made a great Pond or Pool of Water, which abounded in all prouision thereto belonging, and due care was still had for the maintenance thereof. All the Magistrates (sitting on their Seates) did reuerence to the King, except the *Ephori*, and euery month they gaue the Oath one to another; the *Ephori* in name of the Citty, and the King in his own. The Oath of the King was to commaund, according to the Lawes made for the Citty, which were, to maintaine in the Citty the Kings authority stable, and binde the whole Kingdome inuiolably to obserue the same. Those honours affoorded by the Country to their King in his life time, did very much exceed their priuate obseruations; because *Licurgus* would not attribute tyrannicall pride to a King, neyther prouoke the Cittizens to be enuious against the Maiesty of Kinges. But those Honours done to their dead Kings, are declared in the Lawes of *Licurgus* at large, who would haue the *Lacedemonian* Kings to be honored, not as men, but rather as if they were halfe Gods.

Licurgus his care for the oath due to Kings.

as proceeding from God) might sacrifice in the Citty, and was Captaine of the Army in euery place, whether soeuer the Citty sent it; withall, that hee might take the guift of all such thinges as were to be sacrificed. Moreouer, so many Territories were allowed him in the neighbouring Citties, as he should not grow scanty of honest prouision, not super-abound in excesse and ryot.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the Governement and Lawes most used among the auncient Athenians; What kind of Common-wealth they obserued, &c.

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*A*thens, the most famous and illustrious City among the *Grecians*, was (in precedent times) held only by wise men, and, for

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orderly Governement in their Common-wealth, exceedingly renowned. The first Originall theteof, was attributed to *Minerua*, euen as if it should be saide, that the men liuing in this Cittie in those daies, did manifestly declare, that Wisedome and Prouidence were the onely Builders of *Athens*. *Theseus* was her restorer or deliuerer, but *Solon* was he that did her the chiefe good; because he gaue such Lawes to her people, that diuers other Prouinces disdained not to liue by the selfe-same rule as the *Athenians* duely obserued. And the *Romaines* (at the foundation of their State) sent Oratours to learne the Lawes of *Solon*; approouing them for the most excellent, that the whole World at that time affoorded. Now, in regard that from this Citty, many other receiued their best forme & shape: I am the easier induced, to make knowin the order of her Common-wealth, which wil appeare to bee as profitable, as pleasing.

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1. The *Athenians*, who highly delighted to be called *Indigeni*, as much to say, as naturally home-bred, not descending of other people, nor sprung from any other place, whereby to make their originall more high or diuine; were distinguished by three seuerall names, as many good Writers haue well obserued. The first were styled *Epatride*; that is, Noble-men, holding the like Dignitie in *Athens*, as the *Patricij* did in *Rome*. *Geomori* were the second sort called, who were *Rustici*, or Country-people, and so tearmed, because they had graunted them one part of the *Atticke* fieldes, for their

The first beginning of Athens.

Solon the best Benefactor to Athens.

Rome learned Solons Lawes.

The Athenians were cald Indigeni.

Epatride, Geomori, and Artifex, three kinds of men among the Athenians.

their Husbandry. The third kind were named *Artificers*, who exercised in the City both Mechanicall Arts, and Merchandise also: According to the word *Dimiurgi*, which signifieth *Artifex*, and may likewise impart the very same, as the name *Publicanus* among the *Romans*; to wit, a Customer, or receiuer of toles and Customes. As for such as held the supreamest place among the rest, both in honour and yeares; they were called *Demogeronti*, or Senatours, who had a very high authority ouer the vulgar sort. The first name of *Indigena*, was not giuen at the foundation of *Athens*, nor to the place of people, or to the City it selfe; but only to these, who were the greatest persons, and the very cheefest whereof, had onely liued in *Athens*, and could boldly affirme, that their beginning was from no other place. So, by pride, pompe, and ouer-awing, they grew to be tearmed *Sons of the Foundation*; and this or the like names serued, with the memory of Letters, vntill such time as the names of factions arose, which hapning among the popularitie, and the Common-wealth; the diuision continued so long, till *Draco* the Law-maker ordained Magistrates, and the State to be governed by *Oligarchia*; to wit, a few persons managing the whole authority: And these were then their names; *Pediei*, *Diacrij*, *Parali*, and *Ettimorij*. The first soly fauoured (as beeing made firme by riches) *Oligarchia*, or the power of a few. The *Diacrij* were appointed to popular administration, enduring (though much against their friends) that the most potent should hold chiefest place in the Common-wealth. Those who were tearmed *Parali*, fauouring one while the one side, and another while the other, would leane to which part best liked them, taking to themselves, and from others, the meanes of liberty. In this combustion, all iniury fell on the backs of the miserable *Ettimorij*, because all men of least faculty were so tearmed, and euery yeare were they enforced, to giue the sixt part of their goods, to the tyrannous oppression of the stronger power. Whereby ensued (as in like cases it commonly fals out) that extreame right, proued to be extreame wrong, and as euill humours in a body not well purged, do beget and

nourish infinite diseases: Euen so fared it with the Cittizens in their miseries, for they beeing forsaken of all fauours, were glad to beare off all blowes with their owne bare heads. And because the people of *Athens* may bee the better knowne, what care and discretion the Magistrates obserued, to contain themselves in their degrees and offices: I thought good to make some description thereof, according as I finde it in the sixt Booke of *Polybius* set downe.

The people of Athens were (saith he) like vnto a pylot, cast out of his Ship, and quite forsaken. For, as the Pilot giueth command in the Ship (when all the Mariners are accorded with him) that neyther by the Tempest of weather, or dread of Enemies, they should be driuen into disorder, but by their obedience, the greater diligence on all sides vsed: As also when security is thus obtained, they being (in some strange manner) to despise their head and guide, falling to mutiny and sedition, because euery man is of an humor by himselfe; some, desirous to saile on; others, labouring their Governour to put into harbour: As likewise, I say, by such distraction in behauiour (most abrupt to behold) the strife and diuersity of opinion among the Saylers, makes some strike the Saylers; others cast Oares into the Water, one part drawing this way; the other to another kind of course, whereon immediat daunger ensueth, and in hoping to gaine Land, runnes upon a Rocke, and so is split: Euen such, and no other, appeared the wofull estate of the Athenians. For when the Commonwealth had out gone great and dangerous perills, as well by the peoples vertue, as by the care and indulgence of many Magistrates and Captaines: it ruined it selfe rashly in the end, for matters of small importance, and among Rockes that were of no account to be feared. No better can be said of any estate, where the multitude haue the Helme of government in their hands: Thus far are the words of Polybius.

Now, where the people were so disagreeing both in will and reason, they could do no lesse, but shape themselves into a Monarchy, and to make choise of one head, who should take on him to gouerne such vnruely mindes. Therefore, by the consent of all, but most especially the popularity: *Solon*, for his

K inte-

Demogeronti,
or Senators.

How the
name of *Indi-*
gena was first
giuen them.

Magistrates
ordained by
Draco, by *Oli-*
garchia.

Pediei, *Diacrij*,
Parali, and *Ettimorij*,
their
seuerall con-
ditions in the
State.

The danger
ensuing by
potent op-
pression.

Polib. in Lib. 6.
His wordes
concerning
the people of
Athens in their
diuersity of
opinion for
gouernment.

The *Athenians*
make choise
of a Monar-
chy vnder one
Ruler, & elect
Solon to be
their Ruler.

integrity of life, and because he had neuer yeilded to any thing against the people, was called to this gouernment. But, it appearing to be a businesse full of perrill, the issue very doubtfull, hee being likewise a Man of great integrity, and admirable Wisedome; made refusal of their offer, with these wordes: *If I haue spared mine owne Countrey, and receiued therein no tyranny, nor implacable violence, that could deface the glory thereof, or bring shame to my selfe: I feare the lesse, in that by these meanes I haue exceeded other men; especially in conquering my selfe:* Thus auoucheth *Plutarch* of him. But he beeing condemned by many others, who sought for that Dignity by fauours, gifts, and earnest entreaties, yet wholly by him so lightly neglected, had diuers Verfes of scandall and disgrace framed against him, which more at large you may read in *Plutarch*.

Now, albeit he thus refused to bee a Sole-Monarch, yet was he not backward, in lending help to this disparing Common-wealth, by such medicinable Art as might be best auailing thereto; namely, Wisedome and Counsell. First of all hee bethought himselfe, how to succour such as were oppressed by the might of great men; wherupon he made a law, whereby any debt was frustrated, that any poor man ought to a rich man: but he should submit his body to his seruice and command, and yet (not in way of vsury) to abridge him any iot of his liberty. Many imagined, that such kind of proceeding would ouerthrow all manner of debts; and therefore, they who began to execute this Lawe before open publication thereof, were called *Crecopidi*; that is, Cutters off of other Mens debts, which was done in a kind of gratification to them, in whom the desire of such a law was most affected. Others were of opinion, that men of base condition, might free themselves from their Debtors after this manner, thereby to increase the price and value of Money: because that which formerly was worth seauenty Drammaes, was afterward esteemed at an hundred Drammaes, and according to the auncient valuation so passed. But both the one and the other were thought scarce tollerable, or the one without the other, because such cutting off of Debtors, grew as displea-

sing to Creditors, as it was pleasing & coueted by the poorer sort: wherupon it was supposed, that this would not proue the way to quench the flame already begun, but rather much more to encrease it. For the enhaunsing of the Drachmaes added to the former sum, was exempted from the poore mans power in paiement; wherby was imagined, that at one and the same time, it would commaund both the one and other; to wit, that it would increase to the Rich mans aduantage, that which by Law he could neuer haue recouered from the poore man. But because euery Law-maker, in giuing other men example, ought to begin with himselfe, deriuing the originall from his own possessions: *Solon* sent in six talents of Gold to the people, which valued as much to them, as forty five thousand Ducates do among vs.

In time, while things stood vpon alteration, the Law made, did yet hardlie please: because Rich men supposed themselves to be euill intreated, & poor men expected, according to the vsage of the *Laconians*, the benefite of the *Atticke* fields. Neuertheless, in proesse of time, the peace being well considered, that such a Law might produce; it was so generally approued and ratified, that they gaue it the name of *Sisachthia* among the sacred occasions. Things proceeding thus on by little and little, this proued sound Phisick to the former vnhealthfull body, and because it might fall no more into the like calamity, euery member was duely made vse of according to his Dignity. Then he ordained, that the peoples censure should be allowed of, to the end that each man, according to his faculty, might haue Honour and Dignity in the Common-wealth, making no difference betweene *Plebeians* or Commoners, and Gentlemen. Neuertheless, especiall regard was had, that such Noblemen, as at that time were seated in Magistracy; should not any way bee compelled to leaue their places, without their owne free consent. Wherupon, by this temperate kind of course, great men were the more easily enclined, to consort with them of meaner quality, & so much the rather; because, before it was held vnlawfull, for any Commoner to yndergo any office, or to be a Magistrate.

The

*Solon*s words in refusing the Athenians offer.

Plutarch in *vit. Solon*.

Solon protech the best friend to Athens, and fetterh downe Lawes for them.

Crecopidi, such as did cut off other mens debts.

The debts cut off were offen siue to both parties.

Solon began his law by his own example

The Law named *Sisachthia*.

Allowance of the Peoples censure.

Great men ioyne familiarity with the meaner sort.

Four divisions of the people. Pentacosmedimni, Ippi, Zephrita, Thita.

Gentlemen.

Pentacosmedimni.

Ippi.

Zephrita.

Thita.

Solon brought Athens to full perfection.

Of Tribes & other divisions of the people.

The people were then ordered into four divisions, with invention also of such tributes as were to be paid; to wit, *Pentacosmedimni*, *Ippi*, *Zephrita*, and *Thita*. The valuation of the first degree, was allotted to be five hundred measures of Corne. This was the first rate, and these were the first degree of Men in the Countrey, next vnto the degree of Senators. Gentlemen were wont to be elected in the *Eseto Oligachia*, a place so named, before *Solon* ordained the *Ariopagiticall* Senate. The charge of the *Pentacosmedimni*, was, when any necessity happened, or neede required to conferre matters for vse of the Common-weale. After this ordination, quickly ensued in the same, the second, of three hundred measures of Corne valuation, who were called *Ippi*, because to them belonged the breeding of Horses, which by their faculty they maintained; and in time of Warre, they were bound to pay so much as should sustain a Man and a Horse for a whole year. Next to them were the *Zephrita*, who were rated at an hundred and fifty measures of Corne, called halfe a *Mina*. *Aristotle* makes no mention of these men in his institutions of *Solon*, yet writes of them in the Books of his *Politicks*. Goldsmiths, Dyers, and other such like Artizanes, were comprehended vnder the *Thita*, who paid no more but a Crown to the Common-wealth, which (after their name) was tearmed *Thitico*: These men could neuer rise to any Magistracy, while they stood at so low a rate, and in so base a degree. In this manner did *Solon* appoint his Lawes, making a sound and settled estate, of that which before was extreame weake and sickly. And because the approbation of Lawes implied the greatest power, being imposed both on the Noble men and Commonalty; for sounder stability, they were engrauen in Tables, with the division of the *Atticke* fieldes; which being publicly knowne, and vniuersally allowed; they sacred his Lawes to immortality, without any sinister rumour or contradiction.

2 The people being thus reduced to peace, I think it requisite to begin from the first Originall, discoursing (by the way) of the Tribes. *All people, all Nations & Cities* (as *Liuy* saith) used to deriue their

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original from rare and excellent men, or else from such, whom rude Antiquity in the Worlds first infancy, placed among the number of the Gods, imposing names on them after their manner. Hereupon, many ascribed their beginning and protection to *Ioue*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, *Pallas*, *Vulcane*, & such like Patrones, for the greater supposition of vertue, yet grounded but on their owne bare opinion. By which example, the *Athenians* not contented with one Sole Nobility; to wit, that of *Pallas*, gaue diuers names to variant partitions of their people, whom they tearmed Tribes, after the name of the *Eponomi*, who were worthy Heroes, and whose Memory could not dye, because their statues were preserved, not so much for their vertue, but for others to imitate them, helping themselues (in that manner) to become the more worthy. There were four Tribes of the first kind; one was named *Cecropida*, of old *Cecrops*, because, if we may credit *Pausanias*, there were two severall Men of that Name. The second Tribe of that Nature, was called *Astochton*, that is; *Indigena*, the peculiar vocable to those people. The third were stiled *Attican*; And the fourth *Paralia*, taking name of their neer neighbouring to the Sea, which more aunciently was tearmed *Cronao*, and devided into four sundry parts. One *Cronao* was so called of it selfe; the second *Attida*; the third *Diacrita*; and the fourth *Nezogena*. *Attida*, so called of the people; The *Diacri*, of a high place in the City, because the *Athenians* liued in little hills, and the *Mesogenij*, of the middle Region, were so named. Now, the Mother of *Erietheus*, to hide her Adulterie, told him, he was the son of *Ioue*, which dissembling, for addition of greater grace to the father; taking away the old Titles, four other names (deriued from the Gods) were imposed vpon *Athens*. It was cald *Diada*, after the name of *Ioue*; *Atineada*, after the name of *Minerva*; *Festiada*, of *Vulcane*; and lastly *Possidonia*, of *Neptune*: each of them being devided into three partitions, and therefore tearmed by the Tribes of three; not so named of freedome by gift; compleated their full number to twelve. These 12. parts in threes thus devided, continued vntill the time of *Alcmeon*, sixe hundred and sixty yeares, or little lesse.

The Athenians gaue diuersity of names to their people.

Cecropida, of Cecrops.

Astochton, or Indigena.

Attican and Paralia.

Cronao, Attida, Diacrita, Nezogena.

Mesogenij.

Four other names giuen to Athens. Diada, Atineada, Festiada, Possidonia.

The continuance of these twelve partitions.

The tentribes of the Princes, and how they tooke their names.

Afterward, by answer from the Oracle of Apollo, the tenne Tribes of the Princes were named, that before him should raigne in greatest fame. It was called Cecropia, of Cecrops; Ericthea, of Erictheus; Aegaea, of Aegaeus, Pandionia, Acamantia, Leontia, Aenea, Hippotoonta, Antioca, Eanta; whereunto were added Antigonia, and Demetria, to make vppe the iust number of twelue: all which (euery one by it selfe) like vnto the first foure, were deuided likewise into three partitions, and so made vp the number of thirty fixe Tribes, which the Romaines followed in imitation, wanting but one: whereby may be obserued, that not onely they vsed the example of their Lawes, but likewise the deuisions of the Athenian people. These thinges, as they were matters of very great and maine importance in in the Athenian Common-weale: so shall wee haue the more liberty to discourse of them, in our further progression.

The Romaines did imitate the Athenians, both in lawes and diuision of their people.

How the Eponimi first receiued name.

Of these Princes then, of whom the Tribes receiued their Originall Names, were likewise the twelue Eponimi first named, whom I knowe not, whether Herodotus (in his Erato) doe call the Gods of the Athenians, or no, because the selfe-same Authour, hauing there delcribed some of their Names, saith afterward in his Euterpe, that in Aegypt was the first honoring of twelue Gods, and that from thence they were brought into Greece, and that in Pisa they had an Altar, common to all of them, which was called the Altar of the twelue Gods.

Obseruatiions collected out of Herodotus in his Erato and Euterpe.

Moreouer, he saith afterward, that these Kinges were also called Gods, so many of them as had gouerned iustly: beyond which report, the Historie yeildeth no further credence, neyther doth Aristotle record any such matter in his Politiques. Whereby may partlie be gathered, that those Kinges might also bee tearmed Gods, and that they were foure and twenty in number; to wit, twelue brought out of Aegypt, and the other twelue ruling in Athens. Pausanias, in the place which hee speaketh of the Eponimi; saith, that Herodotus might well speake it. Yet notwithstanding, there is diuersitie betweene them of their Names, and he reckoneth

Pausanias his opinion of Herodotus speeches.

neyther more or lesse then twelue, whereto consenteth Attalus, Ptolomeus, & Adrianus, in whose time he wrote. But else where shall wee speake of the Magistrate, named Eponimo. The people being made knowne, and their partitions declared; it is high time that we should say some-what of their Magistrates.

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3 In three seuerall kindes did they vse to elect their Magistrates; to wit, by lot; by publique voyce of the people; and by election of Dignity. By Lot, they elected all the Magistrates that were intended for Iudgement. The Senate, who were elected in the like manner, were called, The Councell of five hundred Men. By publique voyce of the people, they created Captaines, Tribunes of the Souldiers, and the Generals for Warre, both by Sea and Land.

After what manner the Athenians elected their Magistrates. By Lot.

By voyce of the people.

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Such as were afterward made choise of by Dignity, by Riches, and by Nobility; were called Choragi, and serued in the publique Pastimes, as also for Sacrifices: in which weighty charge much liberality was vsed, and great expences of their owne Wealth. Of this order there were no more but tenne. Among, & by al which elections, as Demosthenes declareth in one of his Orations, the Common-weale was sweetly embraced by this three-folde Ligature. Because the Iudges (by sound reasons) defended the Citty from the iniuries of Domestickes, Neighbours, and Strangers: The Souldiers preferred and enlarged the Confines; And Religion kept the Soules of Men pure and vnpolluted. Now giue me leaue orderly to relate, how, during the offering of this Dignity, the order began of the Ariopagite.

By Dignity & Nobility.

Demosthenes his verdit of this triple bond.

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4 In memory of Learning, the Senate Ariopagiticall had beginning, and both for equity and seuerity was accounted most honourable and famous. Now, as it was in great estimation, so was the number of them not a few; albeit, vncertaine how many, which incertainty of number ensued by the Tesmoteti (of whom we shall speake in their apt place) because, as they had ended their Magistracy, which lasted for a yeare: in rendring vp their account to the Logists for their passed Office, some of

The Senate of the Ariopagite.

The Tesmoteti and Logists.

some of them were entertained and accepted among the *Ariopagite*. Such as were to go to the *Logists*, who were Magistrates for publique and generall accounts, should deliuer their Names to a Commaunder, and require open Proclamation in this manner; *Whosoeuer can accuse such men of any vniust Act committed, let him come foorth, for they haue ended their Office of Magistracy.* Vpon this Proclamation, enery Accuser that could make iust proofoe of offence, had his free admission; and this made much for the *Logists* credit. Now, by this kinde of iudgement so seuerely followed, it fell out, that few men, but of worth and reckoning, and supported by theit owne honest innocency, holpe to encrease the number of this Order. And whosoeuer was noted to be auaritious, or guilty of some other such infamous crime; could neuer gaine acceptance into this inuolable company. And because no man should vse any deceit or fraud, each man examined one anothers conscience, in open sight of the people, and of the Senate. Thus by the yearely addition of many of the *Tesmoteti*, the number grew to be vncertaine, and manifested apparantly, that the latter choise in this kinde of life, did much excell the former.

The like institution was inuented by *Solon*, because (in former times) *Solon* had appointed fifty *Epheti*; that is, Prefects or Gouvernours, who gaue sentence in Capitall causes, and on Robbers, which (before that time) apparained only to the Kings office. In their name then did *Solon* constitute the Senate of great authority in this Common wealth, who not onely answered in capitall occasions, but likewise in the very grauest busineses of State. The chiefe Magistrate of the *Ariopagite*, was by the *Grecians* named *Adiadoxon*; that is, perpetuall and diligent. Now, albeit, he was opposed to all scelerous matters, and publikely did punish them: yet notwithstanding, his peculiar businesse, was concerning impoysonings, burning of Houses, Murders, wounds, Cozonages, Treacheries intended against the Countrey, and many other. The manner of Iudgement then vsed, (according as by memory of good Letters is to be seene) was thus. The guil-

ty person, or he that was accused to be guilty; after the first questioning, being confronted by coniecturall testimony, and of probation; immediatly sentence should bee giuen, without deferring it to any longer time, for compassion (in the *Ariopagite*) was reputed to be vtterly vnlawfull, and so neerely did the *Epheti* ioyne in this seuerity, as they would punish the offendour, with punishment equall to his transgression. *Aristotle* very highly commendeth this seuerity, in the beginning of his Rhetoricke, which praiſe *Quintillian* breefely Collecting together, saith. *In Athens (meaning the Ariopagite) the Oratours were prohibited, from moouing their Auditors to any passion.* For the Senators did apparantly perceine, that there was no matter whatsoeuer, but Oratours (by their Rhetoricke) would reduce the Hearers to their owne opinion therein. Let vs now proceede to the execution of their iudgement.

The Offendour being in Prison (let vs suppose the case to be Homicide, or Murder) by commaund: the Parents, Seruants, Friends, and neereſt acquaintance of the dead person, are summoned together, and as (in their Iudgement) the penalty is imposed, so dooth the punishment proceed, according to the iniury receiued: which Custome, because it is vsed and obserued to this day among the Turkes, wee therefore may make more ample demonstration thereof.

The *Cadi* (for so signifieth the name of a Iudge in the *Arabian* Tongue) so soone as an offendour in Murder is taken, presently aduertiseth the dead parties Parents thereof. If he haue none, then others are sought for, to whom the deceased was most beholding in his life time. If that none at all be found, yet will hee proceede as Atturney to the King, and punnish according to the written Law. He then entreateth, that such men as are there present, will declare, whether they will haue the Offendour punnishd by the Law, or payment of Money, and according to their desire, so shall be his sentence. If the man dead were thought to be worth threescore thousand Aspers, which (after our account) are a thousand

Their maner of iudgement then vsed.

Aristo. in Rhetor.

Quintillian his words concerning seuerity.

Their maner of executing iudgement.

The order obserued at this day among the Turkes.

A note worth the obseruation.

Couetous persons not accepted among the *Ariopagite*.

Solons institution of Prefects or Rulers.

Adiadoxon, cheefe Magistrate of the *Ariopagite*.

Payment for halfe a man.

and two hundred ducates of Gold: with that price shall the dead mans losse of life be paid. If he pay halfe, then he payes but for halfe a Man; and halfe a Man, is hee that lackes a hand, an eye, or some such member of his body, and so the payment is obserued, according to the dammage done to the body. If the party offended be dumbe, a fatherlesse Child, or imperfect in speech; the *Podesta* or Iustice hath power, to iudge the penaltie according to the condition, and answerably to punish the offender with Death, or pecuniary payment. Thus, as the *Ariopagite* vsed great diligence and seuerity in their Iudgements; so were they rarely or sildome troubled with such inflictions, and they gaue Iudgement onely but three dayes in a Month, and assembled not together, except they were thereto required, or vpon necessity of some important businesse. Which is very like vnto the Conncell of *Venice*, who, for election of Magistrates, do meete once together euery eight daies.

Iudgment giuen but three dayes in a month.

Gulielm Budens, in Annot. Pand. 1.

Lucian.

They gaue their sentence in the night time.

The silent *Ariopagite*.

The *Venetians* like to the *Athenians*.

Of this Senate, and of many other, *Gulielmus Budens* hath very amply written, in his Annotations and first *Pandect*, and therefore I referre these matters to those Authours, from whom hee hath collected them. And yet, (vppon *Lucians* Word) he saith; *That the Ariopagite were wont to deliuer their Iudgement in the Night time, and in greatest silence, because they would not be surprized by the cunning of them, who (in the presence of Man) had most delight to talke:* For so might their Iudgements bee interrupted, while others listened to the curiosity of Oratours eloquence. And hence grew that which is vsed as a common Prouerbe; *The silent Ariopagite*; signifying thereby, that a Wise Man should likewise be silent. Nor was their silence without great reason, because thereby they did the more attentiuely listen to Offendours causes: And neuer would they disclose the secrets of iudgement, but write downe the sentence, because they would not swarue from their opinion, who had beene of greatest wisdome and years, but euery way to correspond with the same. The *Venetians* are (in this case) like to the *Athenians*; to wit, that their sentence must

neuer see light, or the secrets of their Iudgements, which doubtlesse is done with great discretion. For by this means neuer can their authority be impaired, while their opinion stands cleare from calumny, and not to bee wrested by other Magistrates, or rude capacity of the vulgar.

Next vnto the *Gracians*, it would be seene what the *Latines* haue written of the *Ariopogite*. *Valerius Maximus* writing of them, saith thus. *In the selfe-same Citty was the most sacred Ariopago Councell, who vsed to haue care of that which euery Athenian did, and vwith what recompences they ought to bee rewarded: That Men should liue honestly, and be duely remembered, that they were to yeelde an account of their behauiour. The same Senate ordained, that euery good Cittizens head should be adorned with a Crowne, and kept it as a continuall custome, because honour was the onely nutriment of vertue.* These thinges beeing found in autenticall Writings, it may be credited, that such as could not iudge well of those times; did suffer their Wittes to wander else-where at randome. But as it appeared then, so standes it cleare still from all contradiction; that they were extraordinarily iudicious, and meerey Diuine. For *Cicero*, a Man of singular iudgement, would needes compare this Senate rather to GOD, Governour of the whole World, then to the *Romaine* Senate. For (saith he) *To deny that this World is gouerned without prouidence, is as if a Man should say, that the Athenians were to be gouerned without the Councell of the Ariopagite.*

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Concerning that which *Pliny* saith, in the seauenth Booke of his *Naturall History*; to wit, *That the first cases of Capitall Iudgements, came from Ariopago*; (eyther a Man so named, or the reason whereof the Sect tooke Name) therein I can perceiue very small likelihood: because it appeareth by al the Greek Authours, that *Solon* was the Man that ordained such a Magistracy, and vsed some moderation (as is said) which the *Ephetti* formerly obserued not.

But it is very manifest, that *Draco* was before *Solon*, and ordayed such seuerer Lawes against Captiues & Bondslaves, that, for the smallest matter of Theft,

Valerius Maximus of the *Ariopagite*, in Lib. 9.

The honor of euery good Citizen.

The words of *Cicero*, of the *Ariopagite*.

Plin. in 2. Lib. *Hist. Nat.*

Draco was before *Solon*, and wrote his lawes not in Inke, but in blood.

Theft, each man was punished Capitally, whereon grew a vulgar and common saying; *That Draco wrote not his Lawes with Inke, but with blood of men.* But, if any one shall alledge, that by this *Ariopago*, *Pliny* would seem to mean *Athens*, or that people, it cannot be graced with the least glimpse of truth; because before the *Grecian* Empire, the state of the *Persians*, *Affyrians*, *Egyptians*, yea, & the *Sorians*, were ruined, who, without imposing penalties vpon Captiues; could not haue stode so long time, whereby it may appeare, that *Plinie* (in this point) speaketh not truely; which needs no wonderment, in regarde that himselfe being a Senatour, and much busied in the Negotiations of the Common-weale, very hardly could hee win time, to set downe the realty of his own Collections. Concerning the authority of this Senate, euery thing is perfected by very sufficient Authors: yet one Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Aristocratia*, doeth speake thereof in amplest manner, and thereto I referre the more curious Reader.

5 The Name of *Nomoteto*, or *Nomotheta*, comprehended many generations or kinds of Dignity, wherof I purpose to make some little Narration, before I proceed any further. I find (according to *Suidas*) that there were three *Nomoteti* among the *Athenians*; namely, *Eraco*, *Solon*, and *Aeschylus*, not the Famous Poet, but another born in *Athens*, and not made famous by any Authour. Moreouer, *Nomoteto*, or *Nomotheta*, signifieth a Law-Maker in any kinde whatsoever. And because the vocable or word, is answerable to the effect, the *Athenians* vnderstoode by *Nomoteto*, a thousand Cittizens congregated in a knot (as it were) together, who had absolute power, to cause the Lawes to be obserued, to ouer-see, change, and reforme them. These *Nomoteti* had authority to relate & discourse with the people, whether the lawes appointed, were pleasing to them, or no; and all questions were of no validity, if they were not first vnder-scribed by al the Magistrates of the *Nomoteti*. They vsed also to bee continually present, when Iudgement was giuen in grauest occasions: and if the actour or guilty person were not obedient to their sentence; hee had a pe-

cuniary punishment imposed presently on him. This is all the opinion of *Pollucius*. But *Budeus*, seconded by *Demosthenes*, sheweth another matter, speaking much more largely in this case, and in what manner those Lawes were woont to be propounded; and therefore, wee will deliuer his owne words. *Demosthenes* makes mention, that *Solon* (among other things) thus ordained; *That when any Law was to be proposed to the people, it should first bee rehearsed by the Law-maker himselfe. Afterward, it should be written in some notable place of the Citty, where greatest concourse and frequentation was daily. Then, a publicke Notary must read it in open Parliament, to the end, that if any thing were then distasted, it might by them bee amended: but if it were liked, it was then deliuered to the Nomoteti, who lastly should approue it; which beeing done, then it was appointed to be obserued.* Thus saith *Budeus*, whose opinion, albeit it is most aparant, yet is it confirmed by the wordes of *Macrobius*, with this addition. *Rutilius* (saith he) writeth, *That the Romans erected a Market place, wherein the Countrey people, for eight dayes together, might dispatch their affairs. But the ninth day, forsaking al other businesse, they should come to Rome, and there, in the Market place likewise, they must listen to the Lawes, because there they should be declared in the presence of all the people.*

6 The *Nomoteti*, were much different from the *Nomophilaci*, who had that name of keeping the Books of the lawes, because, in vaine hadde the *Nomoteti* approued the Lawes; if they should not be put in practise, obserued, and iudged accordingly, which was the especiall charge of these *Nomophilaci*. *Cicero* doth elegantly expresse their Office, in the 3. Booke of Lawes. *The Grecians* (saith he) *verie diligently, so soone as they had created the Nomophilaci, not only obserued learning, but the actions of men likewise, and registred them among their Lawes.* In a second degree of Dignity, were these *Nomophilaci*, who vsed to wear on their heads a Linnen white Coife, after such manner, as the Dukes of *Venice* nowe a dayes do. Such honour did Antiquitie giue to the Commonweale, & so much did men then studie to preserue Good Lawes, because it is all one to haue no Lawes; as (hauing many) not to liue there-

An obiection against *Pliny*.

The Dignitie of the *Nomoteti*, and signification of the name.

What the *Athenians* vnderstoode by the word *Nomoteto*.

Budeus ex Demost. Orat. 3.

Macrobius concerning the words of Rutilius.

Of the *Nomophilaci*, who had the written Bookes of lawes in their custody.

Cic. in lib. 3. de Leg.

The *Ariopagite* were carefull for the making & keeping of Lawes.

No Officers medled with one anothers businesse.

*The Magistracy of forty in Venice.

*The Magistracy in Venice, of ten.

The Order amongst the Turkes.

The Chancellor among the French.

thereafter. The *Ariopagite* (at all times) were carefull for the making of Lawes, and likewise to haue them kept, which was a charge of great sanctity. Not any matter whatsoever, would admit one Office to intermeddle with another, except extreame vrgency so required. Because, one side heard the causes capitall in Offenders of the meaner sort; others

afterward approved the sentence; others dealt in fiscall or penall occasions, and such like businesse. Neuertheless, all these partitions consisted of one & the same Senate, and were all members but of one body.

Our ancient predecessors, neither by long vse could grow so expert, or attain to such perfection, as to vnderstand (in what manner) one Magistrate must be proposed to diuersity of occurrences; but chose severall degrees of Officers, which now adaiies, one Senat is sufficient for alone. The criminall* *Quarantia*, or *Quarantana*, governing in Venice, is not much vnlike to that before reherfed, because they iudge of capitall delicts. But heere is the difference, that if any thing bee committed against the Commonwealth, against the Duke, against Religion or Nature (such as is the most abominable sinne of *Sodomy*) immediately that order of Magistracy, called, * *Il Capode dieci*, do giue a decree for due punishment.

Among the Turkes, two men are elected by the Iudges, and sent for the government of diuers Prouinces. These two are chosen from many other Learned, Discreet, and wisemen, and are named *Cadi-lescher*; to whom the Iudges are inforced to yeild a reason of their carriage in Iustice; and hauing misbehaued themselves, they are compelled to stand to their iudgement and sentence. If they Appeale, the Apealants are referred to the great Court, which they call *Diuano*. But when reason in the case so requires, both the one and other Senat shal iudge therof, one of four Bashaes being there as President, and the chiefeft men in authority also there present. This order of office, is answerable to that which (among the French) is onely done by the Chancellor, who may truly be tearmed the Lawes auenger. Because he compelleth all other Iudges to obserue the lawes, & iudge accordingly: but if they

do the contrary, he either makes the feel the Lawes penalty, or speakes with the great Counsell of *Fraunce*, who giueth them such reward, as is fitting for scelerous offenders, against the Magistrate.

7. After the *Ariopagite*, in dignitie, name and fame, a Counsel was elected of 500. men: of whome, such memorie liueth among the *Grecians*, that there was no Oration, or any cause whatsoever; but it caried a full tast of their commendation. This Counsell had power, to giue iudgement in Ciuill causes, and all actions that daily hapned betweene man and man. They were many times Lieutenants to the *Ariopagite*, and their number was the cause, that hardly any vices could be suffered. Now, in regard that so great a multitude of men, being assembled together all in one place, could yeild but slender execution of the charge committed to them: they deuided themselves into ten partitions, according to the number of the Tribes. Each severall number of fifty, had their dayes appointed for Iudgement and sitting, and had three and thirty daies assigned them; in which time, they were to dispatch their Office. This number of dayes ten times repeated, makes (according to the *Athenians* account) the Lunary yeare of three hundred and fifty dayes: But, by the reckoning of our Sunnes course, it exceedeth theirs more then fiteene dayes, and one Quadrant. Moreouer, by the ouer-abounding multitude of these fifties, election was made of ten, who were called Presidents, out of the which tenne, they chose seauen Weekly, and enery day, each man was a President, for expedition of needfull occasions; and enery Night he carried the Keyes of the Cittadell, to him that had been the day before President: but heereof we shal discourse more at large heereafter.

When this number of five hundred hadde finished their Offices, the Name changed, and then they were called *Pritani*, who, as many dooth affirme, had care of all kind of Corne; to receiue the Monies brought into the Exchequer; and to receiue pawnes or pledges of such as voluntarily offered them, beside other affaires of the like Nature. These *Pritani*, with the Monies gathred in *deposito* from the litigious; paid the Iudges and

The Counsell of 500. men, & wherein consisted their Authority.

The 500 men alred into ten diuisions.

The Athenians year compared with our account.

Pritani were Presidents of the Athenian Senate.

and the best deseruers in the Common-wealth. If they were called so by place, then were they to render a reason therefore; and such, of whome the State deserued well, they were both honoured and maintained beside. Cicero is witnes heereof, in the first of his Oratour, and that this was great honor to the Commonweale; where speaking of Socrates, these are his wordes; He was in Athens condemned for guilty, whose deceit or fraud appeared not to be capitall. The sentence coming to be giuen, the Iudge would demaund of the offender, what punishment he imagined that his bad behauiour had deserued, as hoping to haue the crime confessed from his owne mouth. Heereupon, Socrates being asked what hee thought him to deserue, answered; That he deserued to be honoured and rewarded with ample gifts; moreouer, to haue a publicke liuing giuen him among the Pritany, which honor (among the Grecians) was verie great: Thus speaketh Cicero.

These Officers vsed to examin Edicts, Decrees, and Lawes, and giue sentence in cases vnderstoode to the contrarie. Otherwise, without this care and prouidence, the people would easily haue bin drawne into suddaine reuolts, in regard that they oftentimes desired, yea, and approued such thinges as returned to their owne ruine, if the foresight of others, and especially of this Counsell, had not preuented them. First of all, by frequency of their office, they propounded all Edicts, which (as readily) were deliuered to the fifty men, in asmuch as a man should say; That whatsoeuer had bin by them approued, was in order to passe from them to the *Nomophilaci*, & they should cause them not onely to be published, but also to be obserued. Moreouer, that man was very precisely noted; who (for peculiar pleasing of the people) had procured anie Lawe to stand in force, and not first brought it to the place where it ought to be amended.

This order of this Ciuill Magistracie, was subiect to yearely change, and their especial charge, was, to curb the proud minded, and to haue care of the times of Warre, Peace, Truce, Entertainment of Ambassadors, and publication of Edicts. Their forme of writing was in this maner, according as the Ro-

maine Consulles obserued: *Policies the Prince, sitting Iudge of the Commonwealth; of the Pandion Tribe. Demosthenis Peato-neus made the Decree*; and the man thus named, was an *Archonta*, of whose Authority we shall speak in his meet place, as also of the Tribe heere named of these fifty men, who were deriued out of the five hundred Gouvernours of the Common-wealth. The *Grecians* made their account, according to the *Olimpiades*; the *Musulmans*, after *Mahomet*; we, from Christ; the Iewes, from the beginning of the World; and euery Nation beginneth with his originall.

8 Because euery day the number of Ciuill causes encreased, and the fifty men were not able to vndergo so great a burthen, therefore they elected (for their owne best helpe) foure and fortie Arbitrators, some by lot, and others by free election. These men, must haue past sixty yeares of age, and no way to be noted of any ignoble action, but reckoned of good and honest behauiour. They were constituted in a place, where the greater number of them might bee alway present, or readily called together, when contentions so required. And this was the manner of their Government. The Plaintiffe and Offender should make choise of these men, so many as him pleased: conditionally, that vpon their debating of the quarrel they were to finish it, or they to be punished, that wer disobedient to their sentence. Thus the party had double redresse, because, heere each cause was iudicially heard; whereas otherwile, the Apealant, going to the Ciuill Iudge, might haue had some delaying helpe in this cause. Such as were elected by Lot, were not so highly accounted of; not in regarde of their examinations, as because they might referre al matters to the Senates iudgements. The terme giuen to these men among the Ciuillians, was not so much Arbitrators, as Compromisers or Vmpiers in businessles. Only by such Monies as were to be laid down by the party, and adjudged to be paid, if he lost his cause. The *Grecians* in stead of Lots of Gold and Siluer, made vse of Beanes White and Blacke.

The *Zitteti*, who were as Inquisitors, did not much differ from the *Dieteti*, whose Office (according to *Iulius Pollucius*)

Cicero in Prim^o Orat. lxx. de Socrat.

The Authority of the Pritany in their Office.

Against such as made lawes to please common people.

Their forme and manner of writing.

The feuerall yearely accounts.

Of the Arbitrators.

What age the Arbitrators were to be of.

The manner of their Authority in hearing their causes.

Arbitrators called Compromisers.

Of the Zitteti and Dieteti.

caus) was, to search into the cause of matters, when they did not appear to be plaine and manifest, and then they referred the truth of them to the Senate. In which kind of Office, amongst the *French*, they do daily make Election of Commissaries: And (in scelerous causes) they are appointed by the Judges, be the matters Ciuill, or other Criminal. These Arbitrators wer made choise of as fit men for the place, if they hadde not committed any act of indignity, or had bin grieuously punished, or suffred shame in the company of others. All religious or holy matters, wer handled among them with great reuerence and sanctity. *Pollucius* writeth, that they could not heare any cause, whose worth exceeded the value of ten Drammaes. When any case was transferred from them to some other Iudge; they wrote their mind in a little Table, with what Constitution had first by them bin Decreed, as well for the Plaintiffe as the Offender: and at the beginning of his suite, they receiued a Drama of the Plaintiffe, which serued towards payment of other inferiour causes in that Court.

How they were elected.

Captaines of the Gallies, who were called *Trierarchi*.

Order obserued among the *Venetians*

9 Let vs now speake of the Captaines of the Gallies, who were known by the name of *Trierarchi*, not that I attribute any great Fame to their dignity; but because the *Athenians* (in their Nauall affaires) did oftentimes repose especiall trust in them. Their iust number is not agreed on by any Authors, because according as necessity required, so their number increased or diminished. Only thus much is certainly known, that commonly twelue men had the main charge imposed on them; who, in the time of peace, had the government of the *Arsenale*, where the Ships and Gallies were kept in store and reparation. In time of warre, they were obedient to these Captaines, with other Prefects or Commanders: as the *Venetians* doe yet obserue to this day; for they create one Generall of absolute power, in Nature of a *Tribunes* Authority, which holdeth only in those places where hee conducteth the Army, but in the City he hath no rule at all. These Tribunes likewise were put in trust, to make new Shippes and Gallies; when the old were past vse, as also to gouerne them in their proper

faculties and expences, by account yeilded vp to the State; whereof the cheefest Senatours had the care, who euer more did foresee, whether the Commonwealth did suffer losse or no, by charge of the Army, when other prouision could not elsewhere be made. Now to speake vprightly, this little belonged to the publicke Magistrate, and therefore was referred to a certaine number of Citizens; which custom (to this day) is obserued among the *Venetians*, necessity so requiring, because they pay by the *Artezans*. Not that themselues doo pay any thing, but that one or two trades, do pay the charges of one Gally, by which meanes they gather good store of Gold.

This kind of Office, waxing by little and little to decay, by the means of *Demosthenes*, grew to strength againe, hauing imposed a Law vpon such, as were to be elected to this charge, as is to be seene in diuers places; & among others, in an Oration of his, against *Aeschines*. Behold you men of Athens (saith he) what benefit I haue brought to the administration of your Commonwealth, when I perceyued your Nauall affayres to grow weake, & your Cittizens (exempted from paying Tribute) hauing paid but little mony, and such as had the meanest faculties to be (in a manner) oppressed with the burthen; and thereby your State pittifully to decline. Then made I a Law, that Cittizens should pay according to a due taxation, such as (in reason) was iudged conuenient, and so deliuered poore men from those iniuries, which they had indured by former oppression. And a little after, he speaketh more plainly. By the first Constitution of the 16. Law, they used to pay together the charges of one Gally, burding thereby, very litle (or nothing at all) such as were rich and able, but much oppressing poore Cittizens. But it is ordained by my Lawe, that the quality of euery person is to be reckoned: Whereby it appeared, that such as paid the tenth part for the expences of one Gally, might wholly satisfie the full charges of two. Whereupon ensued, that they would no longer be termed *Trierarchi*, but Contributors. The Oration of this our Author, is euen all one with that in the *Androtione*, where all this action is at large declared. Nor is there any diuersity at all in that which formerly hath bin related, except that the *Pritani* were woont to receiue

The care of the Chieftest Senatours.

Demosthenes restored this decaying Office.

Demost. in Orat. cont. *Aeschin.*

Demosthenes his further addition.

The Britani receyued a Crowne of Gold, for their nauall seruice

Cic. 3. act. cont. Verres.

Of eleuen me called Nomophilaci and Hiptrchi, as alio of their office.

The Prouost Marshallles in France.

The Night Captaines in Gallia, and the Venetian Prouinces.

The Gate called Decumana.

The words of Demosthenes.

to receiue a Crown of Gold, in reward of their vpright behaiour in the nauall businesse, which else by beeing ouer-much neglected, albeit euery such person were very diligent in all other Offices, yet this might haue bin despised, and quite ouerthrowne. The Latines called them *Trierarchi*, according to the Greeke word, as *Cicero* in his third action agaiust *Verres*, deliuereth Testimony thereof, in this manner; *Of which matter thou heardst in the first action*, *Charidenius Chio witnesse*, *hee being then Trierarchus*, and *Verres departing from Asia*, &c.

10. We read in *Pollucius*, that there were cleauen men called *Nomophilaci*, and *Hiparchi*, to wit; Presidents. *Tenne men* (saith he) *were seuerally elected by one at a time, out of each Tribe, which number was encreased by the Chancellour, who made the cleauenth man*. Their Office was, to conuince such Theeues as remained in prisons, and other malefactors beside. If they could not winne the truth out of them, they sent them to other Tribunnalles, where they were gladd to confesse their offences, and had their punishments accordingly appointed. Whereon they were tearmed Iudges of punishment, as at this day in France the Prouost Marshallles are called, who somewhat do resemble those men, that amongst the Turkes are named *Vainoda*. They can apprehend all manner of bad persons, and deliuer them into the hands of their nearest Iudges; but may impose no punishment vpon them. Such were the Wardens or Captaines of the Night, thoroughout all *Gallia*, and in the *Venetian* Prouinces, and (as I haue heard) among al their people. The place where the eleuen sat in iudgment, was called *Nomophilacion*, which place had a Doore behind it, tearmed *Xaronion*, out of which Doore, offenders were led vnto their punishment: euen as in the Field the *Decumana* Gate was vsed, whereby they sent forth seditious Soldiours and captiues to be corrected and chastised.

Demosthenes, maketh mention of them, saying; *A man beeing fledde after a breach of prison, hee would goe vnto a certaine Woman, called Zobia, where formerly hee hadde beene allowed Entertainment, who hyding him, would tarry the first day,*

when the neereſt person ſhould come to ſerch for him, and make it openly knowne by Proclamation, that hee ſought for a guiltie Offendour. By this may be diſcerned, that the Delict being ſodainely committed, they vsed to make as ſodaine enquire after the Malefactor to apprehend and take him.

10 Heereuppon, *Suidas* doth take good note of these *Nomophilaci*, to bee verie much different from the first of that name; because they compelled the Iudges to liue according to the Written Lawes; and these did but binde, as it were, the common people thereunto. We will alledge one place more of *Demosthenes* in *Timocrates*. *If any man* (saith hee) *were convicted of iniuring his Father, Mother, or for not hauing ended his charge in warre; or for abyding in any place, prohibited by the laws: the eleuen men hauing caused him to be apprehended, bound him, and committed him to Elieia* (being the name of a place whereof we are to speake no more) *where he was to be accused by whomeſoeuer would, according to the Law.*

11. Albeit these Presidents might well be ranked among the five hundred men; out of which number, they were vsually chosen: yet notwithstanding, because I haue followed the more part of their Magistrates, and they being all very honourable, I am the willinger to make perticular mention of them. Out of five hundred men, who were diuided into ten Tribes, fifty men were elected, and out of those fifty, ten men also chosen, among whom perticularly consisted the absolute summity of the Commonweal. But haply some man may demand of me, after what maner he was to be elected, whose Vertues made him most cleare and commendable. I answer, that it was very easily done, as may bee discerned by the Venetians, who do first of all Constitute the Electours, as by lot they are called; and afterward, they put the names of them called, into an *Vrne*, and then take them foorth by publicke suffrages. When the Election is thus made, ten men are then chosen forth of the residue, by Lot, with silent suffrage, and with Beanes. These matters beeing carried in publique appaunce, no man receyue the reward of Vertue, till Iudgement dooth passe of him accordingly. Now, out of these tenne men

Difference by Suidas in the Nomophilaci.

Demosthen. in Timocrat.

Often men, called Presidents, chosen out of the 500 men.

Example of the Venetians.

Seauen men, chosen out of ten, to be Presidents.

Nine Presidents chosen out of nine Tribes, when the Pritani called the Senate

Of the Epistati by Iseus against Elpagoras.

Epistato was an Ouer-seeer or Steward in any businesse.

Of the Poedro.

Demost. in Orat. cont. Timocrat.

men thus made choise of, seauen only may attaine to the Office of Presidents: and so is the lot cast among these tenne men, with such vpright and due obseruation, that the three remainants, can finde themselues no way offended. And because hee that sitteth in the cheefest place of Magistracy, was vsually called *Prefect* and *President*; al the rest did participate in honor of the same title. They were carefully and especially aduertised, that it was not lawfull for any man, to be twice in this Office, in one & the same yeare. When he sat in his seate of Magistracy, hee had by him the Keyes of the Castle, of the Exchequer, and Counsell of the Common-weale. At what time soeuer the *Pritani* called the Senate, they elected out of nine Tribes nine Presidents: but out of that Tribe called *Pritanensa*, whereof hee becing then the chiefe, they vsed not to cal any other.

Among these nine, they had power to choose the next chiefe successour, to whom the trust of publick benefit shold bee committed. In his hearing causes, there was diligent care hadde, that nothing should be left behinde, that either might instruct the cause it selfe, or make it more cleare to the Iudge.

Harpocratio speaketh the verie same of the *Epistati*, producing the saying of *Iseus* against *Elpagoras*. There were (saith he) in *Athens*, two *Epistati*: One in *Lottery*, elected by the body of the *Pritani*, & the other by the *Poedri*; of whose Office, *Aristotle* maketh declaration in his *Politiks* of the *Athenians*. Now to speak vulgarly, that man was called *Epistato*, who was authorized & admitted to any Negotiations, as *Hiperides* hath very well noted. Conuert wee now our speeches from the *Epistati*, to the *Poedri*. The man called *Poedro*, was as head or Duke of the Weale-polliticke. His Dignity was verie sufficient, and the full order thereof being comprehended by *Demosthenes*, in an Oration of his against *Timocrates*, I thought good to set downe the wordes of the Law by him induceth, which becometh in this manner. The eleuenth day of the first Moneth, after that the Crier or Proclaimer had made it openly knowne, the people went with suffrages to approoue the Law. The formost part of them that shoulde deliuer their liking, were they who had bin

present, when the saide Law had formerly bin allowed by the Counsell, and by the Senate. The second, were such as thought meet to speake against it. These men, according as the Law was balloted, gaue it assignment. And if it hapned, that any tooke exceptions against this Law, which formerly had past approbation; the *Pritani*, who then were in Office, were the last day of ballottation with the Senate about the matter, and the *Poedri* also might iudge in the same case. Afterward, they sat downe according to their dignity; first, they that deserud priority for Religion; secondly, they of the *Nomoteti*. Then they consulted, from whence the *Monies* should be collected, that was to bee deliuered to the *Nomoteti*, for their better attendance on the Common-weales affayres. These *Nomoteti* were of their Order, that wore sworne in *Elieia*. Then from *Elieia*, if the *Pritani* held not the Senat according to the Lawe prescribed, and if the *Poedri* governed not according to reason and equitie: eath one of the *Pritani* should be punished in a thousand *Drammaes*, which they consecrated to the Exchequer of *Pallas*; & the *Poedri* should giue foure hundered also to the same *Goddesse*, and the accuser of the preferred to the Office of the *Tesmoti*. Then he lookes, if any of the Magistracy are indebted to the publick estate; and the *Tesmoteti* conuincing them thereof, do forthwith commit them to prison. If they refuse to doe it, they are subiect to open note of infamie, and excluded out of the company of the *Ariopagiti*, as contemners of the Lawes Gouvernement. Before the Senate assemble together, to render their suffrages, hee that will propound any Law, writes it at the place of the *Eponimi*, to the end, that according to their number, the people may haue time from the *Nomoteti*, to make first due examination thereof. And he that desireth to introduce a new Law; not once onely, but euery day hee brings it to the *Eponimi*, untill such time as the Senate shall be assembled. The *Eponimi*, from the whole number of the *Athenians*, doe make election of five men, who haue the charge only to defend and maintain the Lawes. Hitherto wee haue spoken sufficiently of the Lawes. Then followeth the forme of theit Oath, discoursed by the same Author after this manner:

I will deliuer mine opinion, according to the Lawes of the Athenian people, and the five hundred men of the Senate. By any fauour,

Punishment inflicted on the Pritani & Poedri.

The peoples priuledge for exumining the Lawes.

The forme & order of their Oath.

hour, or helpe in me, Tyrants, or the Governement of a few, shall neuer be admitted in the Common-wealth. Neuer will I take part vvith him, that hath corrupted the people of Athens, or that shall intend it, or practise to compassse it. Neuer will I permit, that any New Tables shall be made, or any diuision of them already in credit; or diuision of the Atticke Fieldes, or of the houses. I will neuer reclaime any banished man, or him that is confined. I will graunt, that hee shall bee expulsed the Cittie, vvho shall denie to vse these Lawes, decreed in the Senat, and confirmed by the people of Athens. I will neuer permit nor suffer, that iniurie shall bee doone vnto any man. I will neuer constitute any Magistrate, to the end, that such a one, vvho hath not rendred an account of his passed Magistracie, may enter vpon some other Magisteriall office, eyther ouer men, or of such as by the Beanes of the Poedri (all vvhich were great dignities) are not lawfully elected. Neither will I permit, that any man (in one and the same yeare) shall be twice chosen Magistrate, or hold two Magisteriall offices in one yeare. I will not receiue any Bribes or rewardes, nor suffer that anie other shall do the same. I am thirtie yeares aged. I will heare the accuser and the accused, vvithout affection, and (vvithout difference of person) will pronouince condemnation, knowing (vvithout excuse) that the partie hath so deserued. I will sweare by Ioue, by Neptune, and by Ceres, vvho shall rinate both me, my Family, and my Children, if I do not iustly obserue all the fore-recited clauses. All this Demosthenes recordeth: Hauing now spoken sufficiently of the ten men, and their Office, let vs say somewhat of the Sufferages of the Comitij Subdiali.

12. *Iiaia* and *Iiasis*, were in Athens the greatest Tribunals, as *Harpocratio* saith, and there the publicke Iudges handled the causes both of the one side and other. They consisted of a thousand, or a thousand five hundred Cittizens, the very best men in all the City. Five hundred vsed to be in one place, a thousand in two iudgement places, and 1500. in three. *Iiaseste* was the name of the place, & *Iiasis* was the whole congregation in iudgment. *Lysias* vsed both these vocables to one signification. The interpretation (in the Oration against *Timocrates*) is in this manner: *Iiaia* is the place of the great Senate, and so are the mul-

itude of Iudges called, that there do yeeld a reason of their Office. Others would haue the place to bee called *Dio*, that is; beneath the aire, because the Grecians tearmeth the heauens *Dion*. *Pollucius* is of the same opinion, and saith, *Iiaia* was an assembly of five hundred Iudges; two, if a thousand; three, if a thousand five hundred. They vsed two kinds of Ballots in their voices or suffrages, one whol & sound, the other bored and empty. By these, they absoued and condemned, affirmed and gainfayed. They had a vessel like vnto a Tunnel, whereby their suffrage passed thorow two pipes; one of Wood, & the other of Brasse, vvith vvhich they approued and reprooued, according as we shall declare more amply, as time & place requireth. The interpretation heerof, in the Oration against *Timocrates*, is very diuers, because it is there saide, that insted of stone vessels, they vsed Beanes both white and blacke, for a kind of difference, as if one of the stone-vesselles were empty, and the other full; vvhereupon, this kind of electing Magistrates was tearmed, *By the Beane*. It is also sayd afterward, that *Pythagoras* commanded abstinence from Pease and Beanes, not in regard that they were Windie, and all things of like Nature; but rather, to signifye thereby, that hee vvhich will liue quietly, vvithout Ambition, and not bee opposed to the Baffulinges of Fortune, shoulde not trouble himselfe vvith Magistracy, nor seeke after Dignities, vvhich are as slippery, as Beanes are Windy:

13 One of the Tribes, were called *Apodecta*, that is; *Questores*, or treasurers, so many as made vp the number of tenne. These *Questores* were such, as now adayes wee tearme Collectors, or Gatherers of Rents and Customes. The Grecians and the Latines did commonly call them *Erastetes*, as wee vulgarly entitle our Collectours of Subsidies, or such like. The charge of these *Apodecta* stretched thus farre. Hauing receyued Letters from the State, (as like Election is made amongst the French, vvhen they will Collect anie sums of Money of the Prouinces, for some important businessse of the kings) they bound such as wer indebted to the Common-weal, that they should make payment according to like part of their

The order of their suffrages.

Demost. in Orat. cont. Timocrat.

The opinion of Pythagoras.

Of Questores, called Apodecta, Collectors or Gatherers of Rents; &c.

Comparison by the French

Against Plurality of Offices in one yeare.

The Goddess they swore by and severitie of the Oath.

Of the Comitij Subdiali, an assembly as in Parliament.

Lysias an excellent Orator of Athens. Demost. in Orat. cont. Timocrat.

Antigrapharius
the Controller
or keeper
of Accounts.

The Collecti-
ons of the Lo-
gists.

Against brab-
lers, and con-
tentious per-
sons in pay-
ments.

List. mund. Ari.

The subse-
quent Order
of Officers
following
these.

Brokers or re-
ceivers of ill
gotten goods.

Of the Lo-
gists, to wit,
Masters of the
accounts and
reckonings.

Arist. in Polit.
Athen.

faculties. All the while as these monies were receiving, the *Antigrapher* was still present, to wit; the Comptroller, who (naming the summes) did set all downe in a Journall or Day booke, and at the receipt, wrote downe each mans payment, whereof heereafter we shall speak more at large. The taxations which others (in reason) were to pay, were gathered by the *Logists*, and what remained behind to the *Questores*, came afterward to the *Logists*. The account being cast over, and some remnants remaining as vnpaid by any man; sodaine order was taken, that so soone as hee was able, the remainder should be paid. But, if it so chanced (as oftentimes in like cases it falls out) that any brabbling or strife ensued on these Collections: the quarreller was forthwith brought before the Magistrates, called the nine men, & promising there to pay their iudgement, he should be sworn faithfully to do it. Heer-in stood the difference of the *Apodecta*, from other Officers, they onely had power to receive, but not to compell any man thereto. This name or Title was much commended, as appeareth in the Booke of *Aristotles World*. According to these, the *Questores* of the Exchequer were ordained; the Captaines for the Wars; the Comptrollers for hunting. Then followed, the Receivers of gifts, and such as were like *Lombardes*, for supply of others necessities. The *Latines* termed them *Susceptores*, that is; *Receivers*. The like *Budeus* affirmeth, taking it from the Law-makers. But I imagine, that by *Receivers*, they meant and understood, such as entertained Theeves, and bad persons, who oftentimes were bound to pay (in the Kings name) to the Exchequer, matters of greater moment or sum, then any other beside; and yet no way to helpe or relieue the King, nor the publick benefit, but to moue and increase terrour in the people, vnder the Kings name.

14. *The Logists* (saith *Harpocratio*) were ten men, elected out of the Tribes, to whom, all such as had ended their Office of Magistracy (within thirty dayes of their authorities expiration) were to render an account of all such occasions, as they had then administration of in their charge. The *Grecians* named them *Logisti*, and *Logiziste*. *Aristotle*, in his *Politicks of the Athenians*,

agreeth with the same Author, adding: That they were different from the *Eutini*, who were to heare other kinds of accountes. The *Eutini* did sit with the *Nine men*, or *Nine Princes*, making seizure of all such benefits, as the Common-Wealth had bin defrauded of, after the finishing of their Magistracy. There were in Athens (saith *Pollucius*) two *Logists*; one, that delt in the affayres of the Senate; the other, that was out of the Senate: And yet they both were elected by the Senate, to the end, that they should over-see the whole administration of the Weale-publicke. I am perswaded, that insted of two, *Pollucius* vnderstood two sortes of *Logists*; in regard that other Authors haue Written, that there were many of them. And it is not possible, that they should be but two onely, because they were not able to heare so many causes: we may conceiue then, that he, speaking only of two, inferred thereby the two Presidents of that power.

This Office is in Fraunce in great respect, and belongeth to the businesse of the Exchequer; and that whereof wee speake in this place, is in *Paris* called the Chamber of accounts. Whereuppon, they who hold the chiefest dignitie, are termed Presidents; they of the second degree, are called Auditours; and they of the thirde, are stiled Clarke of the Accounts.

These *Logists* received the Bookes deliuerd them by the *Apodecta*, or *Questores*, which they read in presence of the Auditours, and of the Arithmeticians. They not only kept account of the Monies, but likewise of all other matters, that appertained vnto the Kinges Reuennue, setting all downe (according to the yeares multiplication) in ordinary Bookes, where they might bee soonest found, and Faith made of the payment, to annoyd all strife or dissention, when the Monies publicke came to the receipt, or any other occasion whatsoever. In *Venice*, there are three men appointed to these accounts: and the *Turkes* likewise haue such a Magistrate. They haue a *Baratemin*, Prefect or Governour of the expences, who (with foure other men) doth heare all the businesse belonging to the Treasury. It shall not varry much from our present purpose, to relate a little more of the *Logists*

Nine men
termed Prin-
ces.

Two kinds of
Logists in A-
thens.

An obiection
against *Pollu-
cius*.

How this Of-
fice is respec-
ted in France.

The Office of
Logists in A-
thens.

The order a-
mong the Ve-
netians and
Turkes.

Eschin. in Orat. cont. Demost. & Stesiphon.

The sacred Senate of the Ariopagite.

Logistes Office, as it is set downe in the Oration of *Æschines* against *Demosthenes* and *Stesiphon*:

First of all (saith hee) the Law commanded; that the most sacred senate of the Ariopagite, should be written by the Logists, and that they should not be exempted from yeelding vpppe their accountes vnto them. And there you desire (O Athenians) according to that written by your command, that the Logists should bee Patrones of the venerable senate.

Next, your will and pleasure is, that the five hundred men shall render them an account of their Magistracie: and so distrustfull was the State of them, that hadde not rendered an account of their businesse, that suddainely it must bee done. Nor might any such Offender, depart the Land, vntill the Goodes to him belonging, were subiected to their power. Nymore, none might consecrate any thing whatsoever vnto the Goddess, or bee manumised. In briefe, they might not haue any right or power of their owne faculties, for want of rendering their accountes; but still should stand in further Obligation to the Commonwealth.

But some one may Obiect; He that hath spent nothing for publique good, nor redeemed any man, was hee likewise to render a reason for his defailliance? I answer, no man could bee exempted, from yeelding vpppe an account vnto the Citty, for matters of omission, as well as of commission. A little after he addeth, Thou oughtest (O Demosthenes) to haue suffered the Common Proclaimer or Crier of the Logistes, according to the custome of the Countrey, to call for any that could accuse the partie: Such are the Words of *Æschines*: vndoubtedly, if this Law were in force among vs, it would reueale the Thefts of Collectors, the fraud of Magistrates, the Deceipts of Rent-Gatherers, the corruption among Iudges, their priuate Faouours, and publicke Oppressions; if admittance might bee graunted of all Testimonies; punnishing first false witnesses with the losse of their heades. How many (thinke you) are by such indirect meanes, euen torne in peeces, spoyled, and meerey robbed of their Goodes, that dare not make anie publique speech thereof; but bite in their Oppression with sorrowfull and greeued hartes, that no such place of Iustice is permitted nor allowed, where they

might freely accuse so many mischiefes and iniuries?

15 Those men, whom the Grecians tearmed *Antigraphi*, the Latines called *Custodie*. These were next in degree to them, of whom wee haue formerly discoursed, and Wrote downe the reckonings and Diuisions in a Iournall; as Men amongst vs in publicke managements vse to doo, especially in matters of money.

10 *Æschines* saith; At the first (O Athenians) the Antigrapharians were elected by suffrages, or voyces, and hee, at euerie meeting of the Pritaniij, should declare to the people what accountes were entred:

20 *Suidas* saith; That one Antigrapher was in the Senate, another in the publick administration; which apeareth to be credible, by such vse of the like, as (now adaiies) is made amongst vs. Because, in euey Court was a Notarie or Register, that Wrote downe all those thinges which the Iudges had pronouced. There was also another, who was *Custos* of the Common Expences and Receipts. But I cannot (saith *Suidas*) affirm, that there were three Notaries, as among the Romaines, who tearmed them *Secretaries*, that wrote the actions of the Senat, and preserved them.

30 The Grecians, would haue euerie Tribe to haue one, which should be very likely, for else, howe was it possible, that such a burthen of the Commonwealth, arising from the peoples often seditions, shold be comported by three Secretaries onely, considering, that the Iudges were so many, and so many severall Orders or degrees of them? *Æschines* addeth; That the Notaries wrote downe their Names in a Iournall, that had not formerly rendered an account (vnto the State) of the trust reposed in them, which likewise is Concordant to our instant Observation, in such as holde high and eminent places.

40 50 Many write; that there were ten men, appointed as Tribanes of the common people, or heads of the tribes, who (as *Pollucius* affirmeth) succeeded in the place of the *Nacraroni*, and were in euey tribe twelue parts, and were each man called *Nacrarius*, to whome likewise these *Demarchi* were appointed. The *Nacrarij* were obliged, to yeelde an Account to the Common-weale;

Custodie called by the Grecians *Antigraphi*

Eschin. in Orat. cont. Demost.

The words of *Suidas*.

Notaries among the Romaines called Secretaries.

A further addition of *Æschines*.

Of the *Questio. es*, called *Demarchi*, Rulers of the common people.

A further inference against Demosthenes.

A good wish, but neuer to be expected.

The Office of the *Nacrary*.

of their expences in the time of warre, for two Horffes, and one Shippe. Of these *Nacrary* there were an hundred and twenty, as many *Demarchi*, as many Shippes, and of horses two hundred and forty, when the warre so required, beside such as wer maintained from the publick Treasury. They had care for all such things as appertained to the nauy, whereby they were much molestuous to poore people, in regard, that they payed ratably for businesse of the Field, for Houses, for Marchandizes, and for the Arts they professed: and if they denied or refused to pay, they might amerce them to the very vttermost of the Debr. Now, because the *Demarchi* (with lesse offence to the people) might make Collection of them, they would Write of the Prouinces, and of the Atticke Fieldes, how many of them were barren, and how many fruitfull; how much each one possessed, and then gathered, according to the benefit and vse of his Trade. After they had thus commanded their Monies, the second office of the *Demarchi*, was, to set downe in a Iournall, all such yong people, to whom (in regard of their yeares) it was lawful to allow succession and Inheritance, which did redound to great commodity. If at any time there grew any question about the age of any one (which only fell into the Magistrates guist, and to his allowance) presently they ranne to the Iournall, wherein the birth of euery one was Writen, and so cleared all doubting. Another benefit likewise thereby insued, to wit; the continuall fit Election of yong men for the wars.

The Collections of the *Demarchi*.

The second Office of the *Demarchi*.

Quaestores or Governours called *Ephtimi*.

Their election was by nine principall men

17. There were ten *Ephtimi* or *Creosti*, redeemers of debts, iudiciall Hearers of such causes, & Maisters of compositions, to whom, because others wer constrained to yeild a reason of all such Occurrences, & the parties to set down euery thing vnder their owne hands, we cannot more aptly tearme them, then *Quaestores* of Accounts vnder Handwriting. These being elected by nine principall men, euen in the greatest calamity and businesse of the Countrey; they increased diuers Customes, Toll-Gatherings, and Fines to the people, & redeemed many debts; by means whereof, they were called *Creosti*, not because they should redeme, but in regard that

they had redeemed many. The sums of Mony numbred by these Men, were deliuered in account to the *Logists*. They dealt in the affayres of the inferior Magistrates, and disposed of all their Receipts, beside the constituted pensions of the publique Chamber. They had the charge of all Ambassages, euen to their conclusion. A Notary vsed to attend on them, who should acquaint them with the peoples names, and leauy their Tributes according to their power. And when any disturbaunce happened among them, for any penalties imposed; they would lead the Offenders to the Tribunall of the superiour Iudges; and likewise such as had not wherewithall to pay, according as *Isocrates* maketh mention in his *Trapezition*, towards the end. The Scriuener or Notary thus attending them, kept account of the Corne, which was contributed by euery one, because it was bestowed in the publick Granary. They that had the distribution of this Corne, were called, *Silometre*; they that kept it in store, *Sitophilaci*, and the place where it was kept, *Barophilachio*. They that had care to see it conuayed thoroughout all the City, *Sitoni*, or, *Maisters of the Sustenance*.

The Venetians, doo make especial vse of such Magistrates; for there are some, that take the charge of bringing Corne from all partes; and those men, are called most commonly by the people, *Puruayers*, or *Prouiders* of Graine. They haue power and Authority to see it safely kept, and to distribute it to two Magistrates appointed for Meale, who doth cause it to be sold in two places; Namely, at *Saint Markes*, and at the *Rialto*, called the *Store-Houses*, at much better rate then the Marchants will affoord. This is thus done, least the Couetousnesse of many should prey vpon the poore, and the Common-Wealth, and so to murder men by Famishment. Which thing, is so familiar and frequent in these our Dayes, that many times, for the thirst of Gold, and coueting after a greater price for Corne: we may see it rotten and spoild, and so much cast away, or powred downe the Riuer, as might haue fed an hundred thousand Men. Thus by the endeuor of these two men, they

The charge of the *Ephtimi* or *Creosti*.

Isocrat. in Trapezit.

The name of the Officers for Graine.

Order obserued among the Venetians for sale of their Corne.

Much Corne oftentimes spoild by greedinesse.

they haue still abundance of graine, nor are the *Venetians* carelesse of these Officers, albeit they are hemd in with the Sea: when the *Turkes* are as prouident euery way, although it be falsely giuen vs to vnderstand, that they are vnskilful in such matters of Magistracy. They haue their *Edili*, and *Gouernors* of Cities, whom they tearme *Sar Farin*, that is; the Cities Ruler: his especial charge is, that the people haue alwaies abundance of Barley, and of other Corne, at reasonable rate. In the Army also, the *Arpac Enim* takes care, that there bee good prouision of Barley for the Horses.

The *Romains* were so careful of their Corne affayres, and Husbandrie for Graine, that they brought it from the Riuer *Nilus* at publicke charge, and by that meanes conueyed such abundance of Graine into *Alexandria*, that at length they brought it in like plentie to *Rome*, maintaining still the Riuer at incredible expences. Moreouer, they made a Law, that if any one brake the bankes of *Nilus*, or any other bankes of such riuers as they vsed, he was punished very capitally. The Fields of *Bizantium* in *Africa*, *Campania*, *Sicilia*, and all other places whatsoeuer, that yeilded any plenty of Corne, was so highly by them respected, that they honoured all such parts with the name of Prouinces. Returne we now to the *Sitori*, who little differed from those notaries or Scriueners, that I mentioned with the *Sitori*, who were tearmed *Logographi*, or Writers of the accounts, because they serued in place of the *Epigraphi*.

18. Hauing saide some-what of young men in the Office of the *Demarchi*, whose names were registred in the Journall, we will heere proceed therein a little further. Before they could haue any power in Hereditarie occasions, for the space of two yeares together, they must visite all the neere Neighbouring Regions, as seeking to learne the exercise of Armes. And then, from the eighteenth yeare of their age (at which time they departed from the *Ephobie*) to the twentieth; they were tearmed *Peripoli*, that is, Circuiters, or Wanderers; and *Ephobie* by their age, to wit; youthhood, and *Ephodi*, by the voyages they had gone.

They were likewise called, *Choras Episcopi*, that is; Inquisitours of the Regions, not because they were in any such Magisteriall Office, but in regarde that they (seeking after strange occurrences) were skilfull in all places and wayes of the Regions.

Two yeares being past, as in reward of their trauaile, they had the Title bestowed on them of *Lisarchi*, because the *Grecians* said, *Lisarchi tu ligni*, left to the inheritance. The power of inheritance being graunted them, they tooke then this forme of Oath: *I will neuer become a shame to Armes. I will neuer forsake that Captaine, to vvhome I shall bee appointed in Seruice. For the honour of my Countrey, I will fight single, or against manie. I will neuer doe any damage vnto my Countrey. I will sayle to any Countrey or Region, whereto I shall bee appointed. I will condescend vnto the Equitie of the eternall Iudges. I will bee obedient to the Sacraments alreadie receyued. If any man shall disobey the Lawes, or seeke to Deface them, I will hinder him so much as lieth in me to do. Alone, or against many, I will be a reuenger of wrongs. I will alwaies honour the wise Gouernours of my Countrey.*

30 Six men were thus named, and to them, power was giuen (at all times, when the Great Counsell Assembled) to Elect thirty other men, as Co-adiutors, all which; with a Thred, dipt in Vermillion Colour, marked all such as were negligent in hearing the Lawes, or in coming vnto the Senate, and they were then seuerely punished. Whereuppon, there grew a Prouerbe on such as were in Office, more for fear of punishment, then loue to vertue, to wit; *Beware the halter dipt in red.* A generation of such men, is almost in euery City, who will neuer vndergo any Office, except the lawes do compell them.

19 There were nine principall Men, renowned in Athens, who could not be elected into that Office, if they had not first taken an Oath, that (both by father and Mother) they were Athenians begotten and borne, and well knowne to be so, by his Father, Grand-father, and great great Graund-father. They were likewise demaunded, if they were *Indigeni*, or hadderiued their originall from any other people: as the *Venetians* do obserue the like Course, to knowe

Choras Episcopi
Inquisitours of
the Regions.

The oath taken by the young men.

Six men, had power to elect thirtie other helpers.

A Prouerbe vsed by the Athenians.

Nine men, who were called *Archonti*.

Order for graine among the *Turkes*.

The care of the *Romains* for corn, conuaying it from farre to *Rome*.

Writers of Pleas, & suites in law.

Of the *Lisarchi*, *Peripoli*, and *Ephobie*, in their seuerall degrees.

In matter of Religion, how they wer questioned and sworne.

A second oath taken by the Archonti.

Captaine of the Nauall armie of Venice

Six Tefmoteti, onely named Archonti.

Of the Eponimo, and his office.

the Natiue Children of Noblemen. In matter of Religion, they were questioned, if God *Ioue* were to them penitral and tutelary, and *Apollo* their first Founder. In the course of their life spent already, they were demanded, if they had bin beneficiall to their Parents; if they had vnder taken Armes for their Countrey, and for the Altar; if they had achieved honour in their Countrey deservedly: All which being approoued, they were then admitted, but otherwise they might not. All these Questions were asked them by the *Ariopagiti*; and in the Porch of the Kings Pallace. This Oath being first taken, then this other followed. *That perpetually they should be obedient to the Lawes: That a man should neuer request any Statue of Golde, for the most beneficiall seruice hee could performe to his Countrey or Common-weale. That hee should not pursue the extremitie of Iustice, for any extraordinary benefit to himselfe.*

Having promised by Oath all these things, hee was brought from the Senate, into the *Acropolio*, a strong Tower belonging to the *Athenians*, where hee made fresh replication of all the former promises. There is no great dissimilitude heerein, from him that is elected Captaine for the Nauie, belonging to the Senate of *Venice*, who vulgarly is called a Prouider or Purueyer. Heere onely is the difference, that this man is thus appointed, and hath care of all the Nauall Affayres, as also of Corne: And the other, vseth to administer the power of the Lawe. When they are thus brought vnto the strong Forte or Tower, although they be all elected *Archonti*; yet fixe of them are termed *Tefmoteti*: One, *Archon Eponimo*; a second, King; and the thirde, Captaine of the Souldiours *Polimarcho*, of whome, we shall heereafter speake more perticularly.

20 The Feasts of *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, and *Diana*, were Celebrated by the *Eponimo*. Hee heard the Differences betweene Wife and Husband, Kindered and Kindered, and appointed punishment for such, as did iniurie each other by oddes, or excesse of aduantage. He had care of Orphanes, for whom hee made choyse of good and honest persons, to be as their Tutors, and to yeild

a reason of the Legittimate, from such as were made heyres by institution. The *Grecians* vsed to tearme such men, *Chiron Epitopi*, that is; Defenders of widdows: but in saying *Traorphanon Epitropus*, it signifieth Tutors of Orphanes, after they had regarded such Widdowes, as were left great with Childe at the Death of their Husbands. Their charge was, to bee respectiue of the *Posthumi*, Children borne after their Fathers decease, and that the Widdowes which were so deliuered, should bee cancelled out of the Iournall, and their Child-birth excused.

21 *Plinie* interprets him to bee a King, and chiefe Sacrificer; Whereby we may affirme, that the *Romaines* not only imitated the *Grecians* in their laws; but also deriued theit forme of government (in Common-weale affairs) from them. And as this King vsed, as it were, to administer all sacred thinges; so was this name of King the chiefest and most eminent in Authority. The first dignity of his office, was, to haue especiall care, that the Sacrifices should be offered to *Bacchus* and *Ceres*, according to accustomed vse, with the *Curatori* of the pastimes. In all their sports and delightes, the *Athenians* vsed to haue their Auditors, who not only (as I haue formerly noted) were Presidents of those sportes and feasts: but likewise out of their own properties, of meere liberality, and according to their faculties, would shape their expences, onely in regard of that name, to be chiefe in such occasions, & proposed the rewardes, partly of their own bounty, and partly of the publick. Concerning the charge of these Auditors, or *Coragi*, as the *Grecians* stiled the, and the priuiledges belonging to them. *Demosthenes* discourseth at large in one of his Orations, where, if any bee desirous of more ample satisfaction, he may be fully resolued. For those men appointed the Feasts, in what maner they should be doone, and on what charges they should consist.

Three Feasts were obserued among the *Athenians*, wherein vse was made of Lampes and Fires, (viz:) to *Minerua*, to *Vulcane*, and to *Prometheus*. *Suidas* sayeth, that *Istrus* left in his Writings; *That the Athenians at making the Feast of Vulcan, did then imagine Lampes*

Chiron Epitopi, and Traorphanon Epitropus.

Of the King, who was called Sacrificulus

The dignities of the Kinges Office.

Presidents of the Pastimes.

Demost. in Orat Athen. 4.

The Athenians three Feasts.

The Feast of Vulcan.

to

to be very conuenient . . In memory of which nouell inuention, they would neuer after sacrifice their pastimes to *Vulcan*, without the vse of many Lamps. Moreouer, because it added a great grace to the most prudent inuentresse of Arts, *Pallas*, and to *Prometheus*, first Fautor and Deuiser of driuers Artes among Men: Lampes were especiallie commaunded to be vsed in their Feasts, and that their Successours should follow their ordination. The Sacrifices being ended, they iudged such differences as happened among the Wrastlers and others Sporters. Afterwards, they brought in their criminall causes before the Ariopagiticall Senate, and the Offendour before the Tribunal, laying by his Crowne atchieued in the games, he fate down with the *Ariopagite*, and was the first to bee sentenced, according to the fault committed. Then, they heard the causes of Animaters and Imboldners, according as harms had happened on the common wayes; iniuries done to Houses, and such like transgressions, and sentence was deliuered as occasion required.

22 The third of these Princes, was the *Polimarcho*, which Title was declared by his Office, and whereto hee was by duty obliged. He was President at all thinges sacred to *Diana*, and *Mars* the God of Warre. Next to this, the *Polimarcho*, had charge of all the Combates fought in Lists, and for the Countrey. There was then a most excellent custome obserued in *Athens*, that all such as dyed in Warre for their Countries cause, their Names being enrouled in a Day-Book or *Iournall*; they were oftentimes celebrated with publique Feasts, and then their names were openly recited, as also their actions performed with glory and perpetuall honour. When young Men fought combats, that manner of fight was tearmed *Epitaphicon*; that is, belonging to a Graue or Sepulcher: whereto those young spirits went with enflamed affections, preferring the Weale-publique, before their priuate Welfare.

Moreouer, the *Polimarcho* tooke account of such verses and Canzones, as were made in commendation of the dead, and the assured truth of them: Then did he giue them to young Men,

and they should sing them at their publique pastimes. They alwaies presented to the Ariopagiticall Senate, such as in War had gon out of order, or (for feare of perrill) fled away, and there required condemnation against them. In breece, his Office was, to mannage all Military matters, and rurall businesse. Many haue written, that he also kept the Keyes of the City Gates in the night time, and had especial care of all the Ports Now, because he had the full charge of Military occasions, we will heere giue a little touch of the other Captaines of VVar.

23 Next to the *Polimarcho*, followed two *Hipparchi*, Maisters of the Horse, to whom not onely all the Horse-men were obedient, but the Army vniuersally: otherwise, they would seuerely chastise the vnruely, and such as made scorne of their commaund. They were heedfull also, that men should keepe their rancke, and no one depart from the Captaine (of whom hee had once made election) without lawfull cause, or his especial licence, on paine of his Head: That order might be obserued in food and rayment, and not immeasurably any way exceeded: That no iniuries should be done by them to the people; and other like matters, meete to be prohibited in Souldiers. These men kept in order the *Centurions*, the *Capi-di-dieci*, & the vnder Souldiers. There were beside in *Athens*, ten *Philarchi*; to wit, *Tribunes*, and Captaines of the Tribes.

24 The *Tesmoteti* vsed to elect the Magistrates of the Horse; beside, their charge was, to see that the Iudges shold obserue the conditions set downe in writing, and iudge according to the Lawes: As wee, instead of these men, haue our Attornies and Aduocates. Out of accustomed times, they might cause the Senate to assemble, and at their pleasure. How great the authority of these men was, & of what charge; the *Romaines* made sufficient demonstration, in that (among them) these Offices were allowed to the *Dictator*, *Consull*, *Prator*; yea, and the most important occasions of the *Tribunes*, as well Military, as concerning the Common people. They were also to declare to the people, those matters whereon the Senate had concluded. They were troublesome to such Magistrates, as had

The Feasts of *Pallas* and *Prometheus*.

An offender, though honored, yet first sentenced.

Of the *Polimarcho*, Tribune of the Souldiers, and his Offices.

An excellent custome in *Athens*.

Young mens combats were called *Sepulchraicis*.

Honor done to the dead.

Keyes of the City Gates kept in the night.

Of Militarie officers, called *Hipparchi*, Maisters of the Horse.

An order for food and garments among Souldiers.

Of the *Tesmoteti*, and their authority in seuerall affaires.

The Office of such men among the *Romaines*.

Fathers and defenders of the Lawes.

Of the Tribunals where causes were sentenced.

Judgement against Murders, exemplified by Antiquity and moderne occasions.

Demosthenes & Pausanias of one mind.

Harpocrat. in 1. Orat. de Demost.

had promulgated Lawes, which had not formerly been consented to by all; and vniuersally, they were Fathers and defenders of all the Lawes. Moreouer, it was their charge, to appoint punishment for false Witnesses, and to condemne the vniust Accuser; and yet to giue place to the Iudges, according to their honour.

25 Because our perfect intention may be the better vnderstood, I will recite the very words of Demosthenes, set downe in this manner. Diuers are the benefits among you (o Athenians) which nowhere else are to be found: among which, verily the most sublime and clearest, is, the Ariopagiticall Tribunall. Of whose praise, whoeuer would undertake to expresse the smallest part, he shall abound and exceede in such Copy of discourse, as nothing can be more euident: In regard, that both by ancient and Moderne Testimony, it hath beene very plentifully handled; yet notwithstanding, I will not forbear (for all that) to declare one thing recorded by Antiquity. It was the pleasure of the Gods, that in this place should be established iudgment of murder, and heere it is iudged, as it is framed. Neptune made Faith in this case, for his Sonne Alirrhothius against Mars. Twelue Gods did heere giue sentence, betweene Orestes and the Furies: but these are matters of Antiquity, let vs come to Moderne occasions. Such hath beene the reuerence helde and obserued to this Senate, and such the religious Faith; that no Tyrant in Oligarchy (which is the rule of a few potent persons) nor in Democracy (which exceedeth all other kindes of Government) euer durst be so bold, as to take iudgement for Murderers from this place, & appoint it any where else. Againe (which is a matter most maruailous) that neuer was there found any guilty person conuicted, or accuser that preuailed not, that deservedly appealed from their sentence. These are the wordes of Demosthenes; and Pausanias confirmeth the very same in his Atticks. First of all, on the right hand, was the Kinges Porch, wherein the King yearely vsed to sit in his greatest pompe. Harpocraton saith, in his first Oratton of Demosthenes, thus; There were three Kinges Porches. The first, of Ioue their deliuerer; The second, for the King, and continually vsed; The third, was adorned with variety of Figures.

Pausanias saith. The Field of Mars, was so named, because Mars was there condemned, for hauing slaine Alirrhothius; and where Orestes was adiudged, for murdering his Mosher. But he to escape the punishment, instituted an Altar to Pallas, which he called the Altar of Pallas Martia. Afterward he saith; There are other Tribunals in Athens, but not so famous: As the Trigon, so called of the triangular Figure; And the Paraniſta, so named, because it was in an obscure place of the Citty, and frequented but by few. But the cheefest of all, and where most plenty of persons might be assembled, was the Ilieia. The place where they sentenced Homicides, Poysoners, Parracides, and such like wickednesse, was called Palladium. In the Pritanio, the discoursed on ciuil causes; so saith Pausanias. But returning to Demosthenes, he saith; There was another Palladium, where all such were sentenced, as had committed Homicide against their will, or in defence of themselues, being injured. In this place, albeit the Parents and Kindred of the dead pursued the cause; yet notwithstanding, they should haue no censure in the affliction: but the matter being made knowne to the Senate, they sent the party to a place of security, vntill the Parents and Friendes ceased further molestation. Pollucius saith; That Troy being destroyed, the Palladium was transferred to Athens by the Greekes. But the Inhabitants of Phalera, (which port ioyned neere to the Pirea of Athens) taking them to be Enemies, threw them into the Sea. Acamath saith; That they were Grecians, who brought the simulacre of the Palladium, and called it THE VNKNOVNE ORACLE; because they being alike in yeares, familiars and friends, were thus dead, and not knowne. In which place, in memory of the accident, the Tribunall was made, and the sacred Palladium, where sentence was giuen for voluntary Murders, because the Falerians killed them, not willingly, but in defence of their Countrey. Demosthenes addeth a third Tribunal, which was called Delphinus; where Iudgement was giuen on them that denied not the Homicide, but proued that they had done it vpon good occasion. Pollucius sheweth, that it was made by Ægeus, and thereon named Apollo Delphinus, and Bellona Delphina. The first Iudgement pro-

The saying of Pausanias.

Other Tribunals in Athens.

Trigon. Paraniſta.

Ilieia.

The Palladium

Demost. in 1. Orat. ad Athen. A second Palladium.

The words of Pollucius concerning the Palladium.

The saying of Acamath.

The vnknovn Oracle.

A third Tribunal, called Delphinus.

Apollo Delphinus. Bellona Delphina.

pronounced in this place, was on *Theseus*, when he dedicated the spoiles of the Theeues to the Goddes, not denying that he had slaine *Pallantius*; but approving, that he did it to good intent, because he should not be hurtfull to the State of his Countrey, nor him.

The fourth Tribunall, according to *Demosthenes*, was in the *Pritanio*, where these kind of cases were handled (viz.) If a Man (passing along the way) were smitten eyther by a stone, a ball of Iron throwne at him, or any other sencelesse thing, & the hurt done without knowledge of him that was the caster: they did then argue coniecturally, by what Art or meanes they might best attaine to know the Offendour that acted the harme, or whether the party were the cause of his own iniury; either of which beeing made apparant by prooffe, condemnation passed answerable to the importance of the case. In the proceedings of this Tribunall, whereof the King was the Head, the Councillours and Friends also of the King sat with him there together, who, after inquisition made of all coniectures, if the Author of the harme could not bee agreed on: they vsed presently to rent and teare the Proesse in peeces, and cast it into the Fire, or into the Sea, as a signe of punishment due to it. The fifth Tribunall, was in a place, which they called, *The Well pit*, or *Grauell pit*; where, if a Man (after a Murder against his will done, & should commit another willingly) came to his answer; he was constrained to yeild a reason for the Fact. Then standing on a Ship (as a Man vnworthy, deprived and exiled from his Countrey) not held by any Anker, Cable, Mast, or Saile, hee was left to the mercy of his Fortune.

26 In their most sollemne Judgements, sixe *Paredri* vsually were present, binarily chosen by each one of the three *Archonti*; whom *Suidas* affirmeth, that they were sometime foure, according to *Aristotle* in his *Politickes*. It was very expedient, that these men should be altogether of blamelesse life, and thereof (before they might come among the other Iudges) they rendred a very seuer and strict account, before five hundred men *Pritani*, for the first time.

The second, was to the *Ariopagite*, e-

uery man obiecting against them, what soeuer they could alleadge, and deliue- ring it in accusation, to the *Comandadore*. The cause of so seuer inquisition, was, because they were to manage mat- ters of importance, and full of perill, wherein was great need of extraordinary fidelity: As, in deliueing the Iudges sentence, whereof, one word left out, changed, transported otherwise, or ad- ded vnto by the Notaries (who wrote very swiftly) might ouer-turne, or draw the sentence into a quite contrary sense, or (at least) make it very farre off from the Iudges meaning. They were there- fore set as Ouer-seers of the Notaries, to obserue all pointes and virgulers, in transcripts deliueired to the Iudges.

27 The *Clearkes* vsed to note downe, and send for them that were elected by the Colonies, and Inhabitants of the City, or of ancient possessions among the *Athenians*, or newly purchased, but not made habitable, and then to deuide the Bounds, Territories of the Coun- trey, and iurisdiction of each City, ac- cording to the lot of euery man, after they were vnable for further seruice. And heereon was the word *Clarke* for- med; to wit, to distribute to them the lot of their allowance. It was obserued as a custome among them, that such as were destitute of Goods and Houses, (which very quickly was knowne by di- ligence of the *Ariopagite*) and had sustai- ned such losse by imployment in the Warres: the Common Purffe allowed so much Mony as the iourney required, and then they were sent to the remotest Citties, naked or needing store of Inha- bitants, or else to some other conueni- ent parts adioyning, where the Coun- try maintained them, all the rest of their life time.

28 There were ten Dispensers, or Stewardes of the publique Treasurie, who (in presence of the Senators) from that Treasurie that was vsually kept in the *Palladium*; tooke so much as was necessary for publique vse: especially, for preseruing the Navy in good order, and all prouision for the Sea; for heereon, (as had beene many times obserued) depended the safety, not onely of *Athens*, but of all *Greece* beside. Of two Ships, of wonderfull greatnesse by publique Name, they had most especiall and pro- uident

A fourth Tri-
bunall, called
Pritanio.

The King and
his Councell.

A fifth Tribu-
nall, called
The well pit.

Of *Assessores*,
called *Paredri*.

Arist. in Polit.

Men yeilde a
strict and se-
uere account
of their liues.

The reason of
so strict seue-
rity.

Of *Clearkes*,
call'd *Capta* n^s
ouer the Co-
lonies.

A meeie al-
lowance for
maimed Sould-
diers in these
daies.

Guardians of
the publique
Exchequer
or Treasurie,
call'd *Talmari*.

* The Shippe that yearely went to Delos, to sacrifice to Apello.

Calachieria, Ephori Calachieria, Ephori Philacis.

Demost. Orat. 3. in Timocrat.

Opistodomo and Tamicon.

Demost in Phil. 3.

Hellinotamij, or Chamberlaines.

The King of Persia foyled by the Athenians.

uident care: The one of them was called * *Paralos*; and the other *Ammon*. Beside, the fore-named dispensations, they were wont (in returning to the Senate, with publique Supplications) to beare the Golden Image of *Pallas*, the Signals of victory, formerly giuen to their Captains, and other ornaments of sacred thinges: which I read, was onely done by them, whom the *Grecians* vsed to tearme *Calachieria*, *Ephori Calachieria*, *Ephori Philacis*, and such like. But *Harpocratyon* affirmeth, that the words are all of equall Dignity, and that the Men were so called, because they placed, preserved, carried abroad, and husbanded all such businesse.

The Interpreter of *Demosthenes* Oration against *Timocrates*, saith; that there was a place in the hinder part of the *Cittadell*, which they called *Acropolis*: and of that place they were named *Opistodomo*, and *Tamicon*, because all the Money of the Churches was there kept. Yet afterward it happened, that all the vsury Money was found wanting there, by meanes of the said *Guardians*: because they that were then *Tamij*, burned the Treasury, to the ende that their Theft might not appeare, nor their slender care bee discerned. *Demosthenes* in his third *Philippicke*, calleth them publique Preseruers, whom we vulgarly vse to tearme Treasurers of spare, or Treasurers onely; hee calleth them beside, *Moristi Tamia*.

29 In speaking of these *Tamij*, it puts me in mind of the *Hellinomy*, whose office was, to preserue and administer such Monies, as were collected from those partes of *Greece*, that were vnder the *Athenian* Empire. The like also might they doe of sacred thinges, and of all taxations and Tributes; they vsed also to gather and summe vp the profits of the Islands. The *Greeke* Authours, in rendring a reason for this Name, doe say; that after the King of *Persia* was vanquished by the *Athenians*, in a Warre vpon the Sea; they, to preserue their Empire the more diligently (because suddainely, well neere all the *Grecians* exalted their courages, after such calamity and miserable slaughter as they had long suffered) commaunded; that all in generall should pay Tribute, toward the great charges of that Nauall Warre, whereby the Counties com-

mon Enemy was happily foyled. Heereupon, the greater part of the expences was quickly collected, and therefore they were called *Hellinotamij*, as much to say, as Chamberlains of *Grecia*.

33 There were others, tearmed *Hellanodici*, who gathered such Monies, as were giuen in the name of sacred vic, and afterward consigned to the *Choragi*, for the charge of Sacrifices, as also the sports of the *Citty*. This was collected of the citizens & inhabitants of *Athens*.

31 The *Gineconomi*, were Men that deliberated on the Ornaments for Gentle-women, and afterward for all other women; to the end, that no one might weare any thing vnbeseeing her degree, but ech one be adorned according to her quality: imposing also a pecuniary penalty, on such as durst doe otherwise, and the infliction was as speedy, as they were ready to offend the Law by them appointed. There was also a Law for Women, prouided by a Son of the Emperor *Phillips*, by which Law, if any walked dishonestly, they were quicklie fined at a thousand *Drammaes*: *Pollucius* affirmeth, that afterward they fell to twenty.

The Signeury of *Venice*, in some passed yeares, perceiuing the intollerable expences laide out in Ornaments for women, and that thence arose and increased (beyond measure) the danger of their condition: ordained, that no Woman, were she of Noble blood, or a Cittizen, Maide, or Wife, should dare to be seene in publike, with a Garment of Silke; except on the day of marriage, and such as shold go to mariages, or solemne inuitations. For, before this restraint, many, of very meane quality, would equall themselues with a Queen in pomp. They appointed, ouer and beside this good Lawe, that they should weare no Chaines of Golde, adorned with Gems; no Carcanets, or Girdles: and the Magistrates then in office, compelled the to obseruation hereof, according to the Law in that case prouided. I doe not tell yee, how meere and necessary this Law was, because I know, that there are many, who ouer-abounding in a vaine custome, will lay on their backs, and on the Garments of their Wiues & Children; almost their own wealth; yea, of others beside, houses, dignities, or whatsoever (in this vaine humour)

Hellanodici.

Choragi.

Gineconomi, who were to order the apparrell for Women.

A Law for womens walking

The Venetians order for womens ornaments.

Meane persons equelled Queenes in pompe.

A common folly in these dayes.

a Man can procure from any place, or otherwise vsurpe.

It was the custome of these *Gineconomi*, to haue a care of Feasts & meetings, if they were aunswerable to the Lawes therefore appointed, and to note the number of the Guests: *Timocles* in his *Philodicaeste*, leaues it so written, adding withall. *Open* (saith he) *your doores, to the end we may be the better noted of you, & you of vs: then the Gineconomi passing along, do obserue who are the invited, and how many are in old or nouell fashions.* Moreouer, he addeth, that *Philochorus*, in the seauenth of his *Atticks*, saith; *The Gineconomi, with the Ariopagite, tooke obseruation of Mens company in euery house, likewise at Weddings, and at the Sacrifices; because there they vsed to excede in apparrell, diet and drinking.* *Athenaus* saith; *I cannot consent with Plato, concerning the number of invited Guests; because he will haue no more to be at a Wedding, but ten persons; five men, and as many Women.* But the one wrote of things that happened, and the other but imagined, as in like manner is all his Common-wealth.

32 Those men, who by some Authors are called *Inotti*; to wit, obseruers of Wine; *Plato* in his feigned Common-wealth, tearmeth them *Mnamonas*; I thinke, because they recorded the Lawes. For, as the *Gineconomi* (as wee haue already said) compelled the determination for Womens Ornaments, the number of guests, and the order of their Viands: so these other in like manner; imposed Lawes for Wine; that if any one dranke more then needed, beeing thereof conuicted, he should learne the better at another time to drinke lesse. But, how many times their Elders vsed to drinke, is not declared, neither doth it much import to speake it: because regard is more to be had of nature, then number. But in this case, if any one be desirous to know the vse of diuers people; let him read the tenne and eleauen Bookes of *Athenaus* his *Dinosophists*, where almost nothing else is discourfed. These *Inotti* among the *Athenians* (as *Eupolis* the Poet faithfully deliuereth in his *Polixena*) were neuer seene in company of the Souldiers, nor they with them. *O Citty, Citty, how delicate wouldst thou appeare, and how much better for thee; if thou wert still so prouident?* So spake

Athenaus. Out of which words *Eupolis* comprehended, that our elders vsed to elect their Souldiers of such sobriety, and so slender drinkers, as they needed no Ouer-seers for their Wine, how greatly soeuer their number encreased. The *Grecians* were such sollemne Drinkers, that there grew a Prouerbe of them, to wit; * *Pergracari*. Good prooue was hereof among the *Macedons*, *Thracians*, *Dacians*, *Misians*, and *Dalmatians*; yea, among the *Dutch* and *French*, for their Warres fell out vnluckily, when Wine and Women were ouer-much frequented, but neuer ensued any harme by mediocrity and abstinence; but returne we again to *Athenaus*. These *Inotti* (saith he) obserued what soeuer was done at banquets, and if they dranke alwaies equally. He was an inferiour Magistrate, saith *Pliny* the Rhetoritian, of the *Crocantidi* discipline. There were three in number, who were cald *Optalmi*; because when they gaue admonition, they did thereby awake the eyes of the minde, which (by too much Wine) were lost and vtterly dazeled before.

33 In *Athens* there were ten *Curatores*, or Prouiders, belonging to the Pallace, who appointed the prices of all thinges, that they might be brought, not according to the will of the Seller; but aunswerable to iust and honest valuation: regarding withall, that in stead of good thinges, bad might not bee past away. Moreouer, they had charge, that no Cittyzen should engrosse more Wine or Corne, then was conuenient for his vse. And all such Graine, as exceeded the Cittyes daily vse, should be conuayed to meet places, in the name publike, and there sold for iust price, although there were neuer so great dearth or scarcify.

34 They had Bishops also, to whom the care of the Prouinces affairs appertained, and beeing appointed as Arbitrators thorough all the Prouinces; they inquired after contentions; publike wrongs, and iniuries to iurisdctions. If any one went against their ordination; they gaue sentence against him, wherto he must be as obedient, as if it had beene giuen by the cheefest Magistrate. They were likewise called, *Aetatores*, *Guardians*; and *Prefects*, and of the *Greeks*, *Ephori*; which word *Cicero* vseth in the first

Of Feasts and meetings.

Timocles in *Philodicaest.*

Philoch. in *Attic.* sept.

Athenaus cont. *Plato.*

Inotti, ouer-seers of wine.

Conuiction of such as drinke more Wine then was necessary.

Athenaus in *Dinosophist.* Lib. 10. 11.

Eupolis in *Polixen.*

What election should be made of Souldiers.

* Riotous in drinking, eating &c.

Athenaus ubi sup.

Plin. Rector.

Optalmi, and their office.

Curatores or Purueyers of the Pallace, for the sale of victuals.

Of their Bishops, who were arbitrators in trites & contentions

Cicero. in Tusc. Quest. 1.

of his *Tusculane Questions*. A certaine *Lacedemonian* (saith he) whose name was not knowne, contemned Death in such manner, that (being condemned by the *Ephori*) as he was led to death; hee shewed a cheerefull and merry countenance. Whereupon, one of his Enemies said vnto him: *Doest thou despise the Law, &c.* The word was also vsed among the *Ciilians*. Cicero in another place, saith; *I am president in a businesse of no great disturbance, because Pompey wils, that I shall be Byshop of all Campania, &c.* For their diligence in more high speculations, Christians haue made the Name Ecclesiasticall, and giuen it to the chiefest members of the Chnrch.

Cicero. in Epist. ad Attic.

CHAP. V.

In which of all the Heauens, God is said to haue his abiding.

The Authors alteration to a contrary argument.



Or bearing awhile, to wade any further in description of those ancient Commonweales, and that variety of reading may yeild them more delectation; we will alter our present subiect to a higher straine, and speake of matter much more remarkable. Already haue wee (in the beginning of the first Book) discoursed of God, his Creation of the World, and other occasions of like Argument: In this place we intend to speake of the feuerall Heauens, and in which of them it is said that God hath his abiding. Before the Incarnation of our Lord Iesus Christ, and till he had taught, by that incomparable prayer, which we call the Lords Prayer, that his Father, and ours likewise, by his ineffable mercy, dwelt in the Heauens, and aboue them all: the Philosophers, as *Socrates, Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle, Democritus*, and others since then, learned Christian Diuines; as *Dionisius Ariopagita*, learned *Thomas Aquinas*, ingenious *Scotus*, & the latest in our time with *Tithelmanus*, haue all giuen vs assurance by their writings, that there are many Heauens, amounting to the number of eleauen. Now, in regard that diuers men, being slenderly acquainted with holy Histories, doe not know in which

God is to be sought in Heauen.

Philosophers and Diuines haue numbered nine Heauens.

of those Heauens God hath constituted his Throne (albeit he is euery where by his presence, Essence, and power) I will briefly speake thereof, to the end, that in their Prayers and Contemplations; they may seek after him with more loue and respect.

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The Philosophers deuided the Celestiall Region, as they did the Elementary, alleadging, that there are eleauen: of which, the first Heauen (beginning at the most inferiour) containeth but one Starre or Planet, which is the Moone, and seemeth very great to vs, because it is the neereft vnto vs. The second, is that called of *Mercury*; The third, of *Venus*; The fourth, of *Soll*; or the *Sunne*, which the expertest Mathematicians write, to exceede the whole Earth in greatnesse an hundred sixty fixe times. The fift, of *Mars*; The sixt, of *Iupiter*; The seauenth, of *Saturne*. All these seauen Heauens haue each of them but one Starre or Planet (as wee haue saide) bearing the Name of each, and they are called errant or wandering Starres, because they keepe not alwaies one scituation, neyther are equally distant one from another; but one while they draw neere; another while, are farre asunder; sometimes that goes before, which at another time comes after. At his eleuation, it will be neere to another, according as the Spheares turne themselues, violently or slowly. That it cannot bee any way likely, that these seauen Heauens (with their Planets) should be seene the one aboue the other, is manifestly to be prooued; because that sometimes the inferiour doe so hinder, that no sight can be had of the Superiour. As may be discerned almost euery yeare, in the Eclipse of the Sunne: for the Sunne Eclipsed by the Moone, looseth a great part of his light, the Moone being then directly opposite. Next to the Heauen of *Saturne*, and much aboue him, there is another, called the Firmament, all filled with Starres, not numberable to Men, and they are tearmed fixed, because they are seene euermore to keepe one order, and are constant in their scituation. That it is so, wee are assured by the Prophet *Dauid*, who saith; *What is he that can number the Stars of Heauen, or can call them by their names?*

The diuision of the Philosophers, concerning the Heauens according to the Planets.

Errant and wandring Stars or Planets.

The seauen Heauens cannot be seene aboue each other.

The Firmament heauen.

Psalme 147.

Above

The Christaline Heauen.

Aboue the Firmament, is the Heauen Christaline, or watry, which learned men are of the minde, that it was created by God aboue the other Heauens; to the end that it might mitigate the great heat, which the other Heauens acquired by their motion, and by the Stars being in them. Of this opinion was Ptolomy, Alphraganus, and others; yea, holy writ maketh mention thereof, where it is affirmed, that the Creatour said; *Let there be a Firmament in the midst of the Waters.* Then afterward followeth. *And the Firmament was in the midst of the Waters which was beneath.* And the Psalmist singeth in another place: *Praise God all ye Heauens, and ye waters that be aboue the Heauens.*

Gene. 1.

The mouing Heauen, and the office thereof.

Againe, more high then the Christaline or watry Heauen, is another Heauen, called the mouing Heauen, which hath no Stars, no more then the Christaline; but his office is, to turne it selfe (Spherically) from the East to the west, by the South, which he dooth in foure and twenty houres; and by his strength and great velocity, he maketh all the other subiacent Heauens for to turne about.

The eleuenth Heauen, cald Calum Empyrium.

Moreover, aboue all these fore-named ten Heauens, the recited Philosophers and Diuines, do tell vs, that there is yet another Heauen, exempt from all locall motion, & is before all that which can be called the World: filled with infinite intelligences, and most happy spirits, that were created all in one place, and thereto deputed for the glory of God. This Heauen, incomprehensible in greatnesse, and much more then all the other (as including them all within his center and concauity) is abounding in lights: wherefore the Grecians called it *Empyrium*; that is, fiery, or shining in great brightnesse. Not that it burneth like the Fire; but by similitude, because the fire yeildeth a splendour, and so is this Heauen illumined with a most glorious light: This is the Seat of God, as his Pallace, where he is said particularly to dwell; because that there his will is fulfilled, and the obedience of the Angels and blessed Spirits is perfect. Or else, in regard that there more particularly, he worketh, as S. Augustine saith in his fifty seauen Epistle to Dardanum: where al the blessed Spirits are present,

Why called Calum Empyrium.

August. in Epist 57 at Dardanum.

contemplating the face of God, the brightnesse whereof, our eies are not able to endure, no more then the Owle can the glorious Sunne, and there is no true or perfect light indeede; but that which proceedeth from him onely.

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There are some that doubt, what the action of this *Calum Empyrium* is, saying; it hath no power ouer the inferior Spheres, or bodies infinite, and that it was not created for the gouernment or disposition of natural lthings; but only for the Throne of God, and habitation of the Elect: holding it very vnfitting, that so precions a dwelling for GOD, should serue for corruptible Creatures, and for this bodily World. Others maintaine the contrary, that it is eternal, and that, by this Heauen, inferior matters haue the longer continuance, and are the better entertained in their due order.

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Moreover, although it should exceede all the other Heauens in height; yet are our Prayers carried thither. For Saint Paule saith, *That the briefest Prayer pierceth Heauen.* And the most faithful Euangelists haue written, that the Apostles and Disciples behelde Iesus Christ visibly ascend vp into Heauen. As much to say, as that hee passed thorow those ten Heauens; and attained vnto the eleuenth, where his Father abideth. Saint Paule also saith; *That hee was rapt up into the third Heauen.* S. Luke the Euangelist, and a Phisition, writeth; that blessed Stephen saw (a little before his death) al the Heauens opened to his bodily eyes, euen vnto *Calum Empyrium*, and it also, where the Diuine Maiesty raigned in Trinity.

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Diuers opinions of the action of this Calum Empyrium.

1 Cor. 10.

Marke 11.

2 Cor. 9.

Actes 7.

CHAP. VI.

Of the error committed by the ancient Mathematicians and Astrologers, yea, and such as haue continued to this day: in calling the Planets by diabolicall names; and attributing a Diuinity to them.

IN our precedent Chapter; discoursing of the Heauens, with their Starres and Planets; I call to minde, that auncient Mathematicians, and other

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other

The Heavens called by the Planets.

other of much matter continuance, imposed deuillish names on them; to wit, the Heauen and Planet of *Saturne*, of *Iupiter*, *Mars*, and so of the rest. Euery one knoweth, that Devils (in elder times) made themselues to bee adored vnder these Names. They committed yet a much greater errour, in giuing the people to vnderstand, that those Stars, Planets, or Celestiall Figures, had such power ouer inferiour Bodies: as that they were the onely cause, of all good or euill happening to vs in this World. For example. To the Planet named *Saturne*, they attributed sterility and mortality. To *Iupiter*, happy times, and the beginning of life. To *Mars*, the cause of all debates, garboiles and Warre. To *Soll*, Riches and Treasures. To *Venus*, loues and marriages. To *Mercury*, eloquence and knowledge. To *Luna*, the Empire and commaund ouer humide matters. And God (in all these thinges) was counted as nothing, but euen as the figure (o) filling vp an empty place.

The Planets said to be Deities by the power each of them had.

An obiection concerning the Moone.

Some Man (perhaps) will say vnto me, that apparantly by the Moone, according to the estate and quadrature of her Body; the Sea hath his fluxe and refluxe. That the braine and Marrowe in the Bones of Creatures (she beeing in her full) is much more replenished, then in her Quadrature or Waine. I aunswere, that the Moone is a Starre or Planet; yea, a body insensible, that is no way animate, neyther hath any power of her selfe, but onely what God hath imposed and permitted.

The Answer.

The Moone hath no more Deitie then the water.

Moreouer, that in her there is no Deity, no more then in the Water, which being very moyst of it selfe, washeth foule Cloathes, nourisheth Fishes, and yeildeth many other great commodities, and yet (for all this) is no Goddesse. But like as if a man should make a good fire in some publike place, in a very cold and frosty time, and many comming thither to warme themselues, feeling their chilnesse well asswaged; should they (for this kindnesse) giue thanks to the fire, or rather to him that made it, or caused it to be made?

All power onely dependeth in God.

Euens so it is of the Planets, for they haue no power at all, eyther to make vs Wise, Rich, Poore, Warriours, Ver-

tuous, Vicious, or what else: but all these depend on God onely, who hath made Man in his owne Image, and limited his good or euill, neyther to star or Planet. Now, by reason of this fond error in Mathematicians, I haue seene many Maidens, of good and honourable descent, who hauing been ouer curiously educated fell the sooner to folly, making ship-wracke of modesty, honesty, and all. I haue noted men likewise of as loose conuersation: yet both these Sexes, to couer their turpitude, haue not shamed to stand in defence of their lewdnesse, protesting it to be vnauoydable, in regard that Mathematicians had giuen them to vnderstand; that they were conceiued, and borne vnder such Planets, as had incited them to such euils, and therefore they could not (albeit they had neuer so much good will thereto) retire from committing such sin, but needs must still persist therein. Are not these faire Fruits of your Iudiciary Astrology? Let me boldly tell ye, that God, being wholly iust, hath (to your shame) prepared a Hell, to chastise such wickednesse in Men, as will haue good and euil to depend on the Planets power.

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But true Mathematicall Prædictiones indeed, are to be deriued from the word of God, according as wee are enstructed in the sacred Scriptures, saying; *Then doth he loue his people, when they haue obserued his Commaundements; yea, then shall they haue aboundance of Fruites, and the seasons shall beare themselues well in their qualities; whereon the health of men consisteth, and they shall liue in peace,* with many other blessings besides. But when men shall go away from his commaundements, all euils shall befall them; and this a most assured prædiction.

The Christian Church, not onely (at all times) held Iudiciary Astrology in detestation; but euen the *Ethniques* also: For vnder the Empires of *Augustus*, and of *Tyberius*, Mathematicians and Astrologers were banisht out of *Rome*. *S. Clement*, who redigested the constitutions of the Primitiue Church, writes: That they then prohibited and withstood, that no Enchanter or Astrologer should bee receiued into the Church. In the Councell of *Tolledo*, it is said;

A most wicked opinion of Mathematicians, which hath been the ruine of many men and Women.

From whence we must fetch our truest predictions.

Deut. 28.

Cornel. Tacitus. Tranquillus. Lib. 8. Cap. 38.

Concil. Tolletum
Cap. 4.

Astrology the
cause of Ido-
latri.

A Mathema-
tician excom-
municated by
S. Augustine.

The Mathe-
matician recan-
teth his
error, & was
receiued a-
gaine into the
Church.

What Mathe-
matickes are
to be allowed,
and not the
other.

Good vse
made of this
Astrology.

said; That if any Man thinke, that he ought
to beleue Astrology, or Mathematique in-
dicarie, let him be accursed; that is, ex-
communicated, and deliuered ouer to
the Deuils power. Wherein they
had great reason, because there is no-
thing in the World; that sooner indu-
ceth people to Idolatry, then Iudiciall
Astrology. For it subiecteth both
Body and Soule to Nature, which po-
wer likewise is giuen to the Planets, and
this hath bene the reason of their ado-
ration. And there hath bin found some
people, euen in our time, that did, and
doe the like.

Saint Augustine, Byshop of Hippo in
Africka, who liued in the yeare of Iesus
Christ 427. the Emperour Theodosius
then raigning, excommunicated a Ma-
thematitian, and caused him to be ex-
pulsed out of his Diocesse, because he
maintained, that a Mans owne proper
will made him not a Murderer, but the
Planet Mars. Also, that GOD made
not any Man iust; but Iupiter did it:
with many other such like opinions.
Afterward, this cunning Mathematician
(a Christian of a grosse Graine)
within some few yeares after, acknow-
ledged his error that he stood in, say-
ing; that Sathan had thereto seduced
him. And beeing better inspired by
God, forsaking all his idle opinions: he
penitently submitted himselfe, and was
receiued againe into the Church. The
day of his reception, and in his pre-
sence, the said Saint Augustine preached
a most learned and excellent Sermon;
whereto I referre the Reader; it is con-
tained in his Workes on the sixty one
Psalme.

I doe not heereby condemne those
Mathematiques, that containe in them
Arithmatique, Geomery, Cosmogra-
phy, & Astronomy; these latter meanes
containe their true integrity still, euen
as it was in the time of ABRAHAM,
before these Diabolicall names were
admitted; which one would very little
thinke, should win power, not onely
ouer Mens bodies, but likewise ouer
their Immortall Soules. This latter
Astrology, is very profitable for such
as sayle on the Seas, and (oftentimes)
for them that trauaile by Land thorow
desart places: heereby may be knowne
the Nature and course of the Windes;

for our better aduenturing in full car-
riere, or calme on the Sea. Also, when
is best season to Sow, Plant, Graft, fell
Woodes, gather Fruites, discerne the
times, and for many other good ef-
fects. But that which they tearme Iu-
diciall Astrology, for the wicked pre-
cepts thereto appertaining, hath at all
times bene hated by honest people;
yea, euen to this day. In so many Coun-
cels as haue bene holden, it hath ener-
more bene condemned, as the source
of too many heresies. The like was done
in the last at Trent, & among the estates
at Blois; as also not long since, vnder the
raigne of Charles the ninth.

That this iudiciary Astrology is al-
together a lyer, I will take a litle paines
to demonstrate; for it affirmeth, that if
any one be conceined or borne, while
such a Starre, or such a Planet raigneth:
he shall containe the Nature of that
Starre or Planet to him attributed.
Esau and Iacob were first conceined, and
then borne vnder one and the same Pla-
net, for they were Twinnes: yet when
they were borne, the last held the o-
ther by the heele; notwithstanding,
they were both of very different Na-
tures. For Esau was Martiall minded,
hairy, a great Hunter, disobedient both
to Father and Mother, cruell, and (in
breefe) of very bad disposition. Con-
trariwise, Iacob (no way sterne or hairy)
was a louer of peace; continuing in the
House, neuer studying how to range
thorough Forrests, to seaze on sauage
Beasts. He exercised labour, led a pa-
storall life; was obedient to his Pa-
rents, and vertuous: which (in the end)
begot him the blessing; and the inheri-
tance of his Father, and the other had
the curre. If I were so disposed, I could
alledge plenty of Histories. As of a
Lady that was a Bordelois, that, after
fue and twenty yeares past in marriage,
had two Daughters at a Birth. The
one, at meet years for a Husband (with
much dislike of her Parents) became a
religious Sister of the order of S. Clare.
The other kept a shop of sin in the open
Brothelry. These two Histories may
suffice. If it shall be obiected to me, that
Mathematicians and Astrologers fore-
tell of things, that are seene oftentimes
to take effect, by their Diaries or Alma-
nackes: I answer, that they in speaking

The counsels
condemned
Iudiciall A-
strology.

Probation of
the vanity of
Iudiciall Astro-
logy, by ex-
amples.

Of Iacob and
Esau, Gen. 25.

Of a Lady, a
Bordelois, that
had two
daughters.

The sleights
& subtilties of
Almanacke-
makers.

The contrariety in Almanacke makers

The Stars or Planets ought not to be called by the names of Devils.

How the Heavens may be named not offensively.

Idolatry yet committed in the Indies.

so much, & in so many severall natures, quite contrary one vnto another (as of Heat, Cold, Drought, Raine, Winds, calme times, Dearth, abundance of all things, Mortality, Health, that a great person shall be borne, or else one dye) it were vnpossible, but that some one of these must needs happen; albeit, their Prædictions fall out more by hazzard, then by Art. In like manner, if you will but conferre together the Almanackes of diuers Authours, you shall find no one of them to agree with another: Whereby may be easily conceiued; the vncertainty of this Iudiciall Astrology, which ought not henceforth to bee tollerated in any Christian Common-wealth.

Moreover, in imitation of Pope *Syluester*, first of that Name, who gouerned in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 318. the names of Idolles should be changed, and those of false Gods, attributed to Starres or Planets: as he did the dayes of the weeke. For the Sunday, which they called the day of *Soll*, or the Sunne; he would haue it to bee named the Lords day, & a day of rest to Christians. Munday, second day of the weeke, and so called in regard of the Moone, hee caused it to be called the second Holyday. And so consequently by numbers following, vnto Saturday, whereto he left the name, not for Indaising, but because the day was so cald by the mouth of God, and he willed that it should be strictly obserued in the auncient Iewish Law. We may well name the Heavens where the Planets are, without imposing any name of Idols on them: As the first Planet, second, third, and so to the number of seauen, or giue them some other conuenable names; which heereafter, would prooue a defence from falling into the ancient Paganisme, as our Moderne Astrologers would faine induce vs thereto.

The Histories of the *Indiaes* newly discovered, & those of the North parts, conquered by the *Moscowite*, do plainly shew vnto vs, that many people doe there (yet to this day) adore the Sunne, the Moone, and other of the Stars; yea, they are so addicted in deuotion to the, that it is a very difficult thing, to make them leaue this horrible Idolatry. How happy then are they, that haue true

knowledge of him, who created all those Heauens, Planets, and Stars, and place their whole hope of saluation in him? As for the Almanacks or Diaries of our Iudiciall Astrologers now adaies; they are not receiueable, But onely in this kinde, to tell vs the moouable Feastes, and others; as also the Ecclypses and Months.

CHAP. VII.

Of the cause why the great Christian Philosopher, and learned Doctor Origen, did dismember himselfe.



Here are many, not onely of these times, but of those wherein *ORIGEN* liued, (which was in the yeare of Grace, two hundred twenty five, vnder the Emperour *Alexander Seuerus*, *Maximinus*, and *Phillip*) that were hardly conceited, that *Origen*, in the floure of his age, being then about twenty five yeares old, should deprive himselfe of *Virga virilis*; not that he had in those parts any disease, which might require such extirpation. This Act was diuersly thought of, by the ancients and Pastours in the Primitiue Church, especially one *Demetrius*, who was then Byshoppe of *Alexandria* (esteemed a most learned and vertuous Man) he blamed him very highly. For (quoth he) *there is no expresse commaundement in holy Scripture, to mutelate or make any member imperfect. Albeit, in S. Matthew there is a passage, where Iesus Christ himselfe said: That some are chast of themselues, for the Kingdome of Heauen.* All our Orthodoxall Diuines do hold, that this ought to be vnderstood, how we should rent away and separate those euill affections and vices that are bred and borne with vs. So likewise it is to be vnderstood, concerning coueting after earthly goods: for ther is nothing more contrary to the saluation of the Soule, then to busie it selfe in gaining worldly riches and treasures.

As concerning carnall sinne, I am of the minde, that the young man had not the leysure to thinke thereon. For day and

The time whē as *Origen* liued *An. 225.*

Demetrius Byshop of *Alexandria*, reproued *Origen* for this deed.

The great & earnest zeale of the first Christians.

and night hee scarce had time to teach youth, were they Infants, Sons, daughters, Men and Women: not onely in the liberall Arts, wherein he was well skilled, but likewise in holy writ. And in the Primitive Church, people of all sexes and ages, made no difficulty at all, to be taught in the Schooles of Christian Doctors. Likewise, as I have read in *Eusebius*, the Ecclesiasticall Historian; he himselfe liued at that time, when *Origen* was so busied night and day, to instruct euery one that made offer of himselfe; which appeared to bee so labourious a paine, as euery man was much amazed thereat. He liued very austerely, for hee neuer dranke any Wine, neither fed on Flesh; but contented himselfe with a little Bread and few Fruits, as the onely meanes (in his owne opinion) to spoile his stomack. In like maner, he went bare foote, and bare leg'd, and had very hard lodging: during then the course of so strict a life; it can be no way likely, that hee gueldded himselfe; as feareing to bee tempted by the flesh. But I hold this cōiecture (with others) that he did it to auoid suspition, and to take away all calumny, that might be iudged of young Schollers loose liuing: For the *Paganes* in those times, perceiuing that the *Christians* (in regard of the rigorous Edicts made against them) met together in the night time, rather then in the day, and in close Caues, to heare such Prayers & Sermons, as their Christian Pastours made vnto them, dreading to bee discovered and grieuously punnished; falsely imposed on them, that they made no such assemblies, but onely that they might licentiously exercise all kindes of whoredome, and that their Pastors and Doctours, not onely abused the fairest Women, but euen Boyes also.

Then it is to be presumed, that *Origen* acted not this violence on himselfe, but onely to the end, that the more freely Maids, Women, and Boyes (that came to his Schoole to be instructed) might be cleare from blame, and himselfe also. Nor could he haue doone this, but by a magnanimity of courage, and great zeale in him, to aduance the Glory of God. In whose imitation, many, touched with the like zeale, did the like. As *Melitus*, a Man of heauenly minde and life; whose Bones remaine in the City

of *Sardis*, as the fore-named *Eusebius* sets downe in his History, the fifteenth Chapter. From this height of his youth, he aspired to Martidome, and had attained thereto, had it not beene for his desolate Mother (who was before widdowed of his Father, that was a wealthy Cittizen of *Alexandria*) and some of her Children, lately become Christians. For they being faithfully informed of the day, when *Origen* ment in the morning to yeild himselfe to the *Romaine Proconsull*, he that was Deputy, to proscribe and put to death, all such as made profession of Christian Religion: She entering into his Chamber in the night time; when her Son slept very soundly, tooke away all his Garments, which shee hid and lockt vp very carefully, and by no meanes would deliuer them to him the next day, nor diuers daies following. Which hindred him of his Martyrdome; being ashamed to be scene naked. In which time, the *Proconsull* hauing executed his commissions, and the liues of no more Christians remaining in his hands: he went to another City, named *Heliopolis*, there to continue the rest of his charge. So it may appeare, that these occasions passed by Gods great prouidence, and *Origen* was then not to suffer death, in regard of the wonderfull benefit, which afterward redounded to all Christendome. For by his knowledge and dexterity in teaching; hee conuerted a great number of people to become Christians. He was likewise Schoole-Maister to many worthy and famous persons, who daily laboured to be worthy of Martyrdome: Namely, a young Lady, called *Potamia*, issued of a very illustrious Family, who endured so much in her Martyrdome; that *Basildes* (beeing her Hang-man or Executioner) inflicted all torment and extreame of cruelty on her, before hee could cause her to dye: yet after her death, bethinking himselfe of the holy words vttered by her, during her torments, became a Christian and within few daies after, was himselfe likewise crowned with Martyrdome.

Origen, at the age of forty yeares, learned the Hebrew tongue, to the end, that (by his Commentaries) he might the better interpret the holy scriptures: And such was his ingenuity, that one

Euseb in Hist. Eccles. Cap. 15.

A notable stragem of a loving Mother.

Origen conuerted many to Christianity, by his doctrine and example of good life.

Origen had an extraordinary memory and gift in dictating.

Eusebius the Ecclesiasticall Historiographer liued in the daies of *Origen*.

The reason of *Origen*s mutilation.

The old Christians fearfull of calumnies.

A second reason for his mutilation.

named *Ambrose*, a Byshoppe, gaue him seauen Secretaries to write vnder him; all which hee wearied, beside Men and Women, that wrote from his mouth as he gaue instructions. It is found in writing, that he composed fve thousand Bookes: neuerthelesse, by laps of time, the greater part of them were vtterly lost, and among them remaining, some haue bin approued by Diuines, and the rest not. He quenched many Heresies by his great experience; namely, that of *Berillus*, who maintained, that the Son of God was not before the Virgine *Mary*, from which error hee conuerted him. He reduced to the Christian Faith, the King of *Arabia*, and the *Proconsull* of *Egypt*: His Learning and admired knowledge, was published in so many places, that *Porphyrius* keeping then a Schoole of Philosophy in *Scicily*, and esteemed to be the most learned Philosopher since *Aristotle*; admiring *Origen*s workes, became a Christian. The Mother of the Emperor *Seuerus*, of whom wee spake in our precedent Chapter, hauing read some of his Workes, was conuerted. She sent for him to come see her at *Rome*, which he did, & remained there for some time: where hee was found to bee much more learned, then Fame had spoken of him. There is nothing found written of his death; albeit I haue made diligent search in *Eusebius*, from whom I collected this instant relation; and that he was liuing at the age of threescore years; wherefore it is presumed that he dyed very old.

Now, hauing waded thus far in discourse, concerning the mutilation that *Origen* made of himselfe: I am the more willing to recite some Historiēs (happening in our time) of other persons; who on their own priuate motion, and for other endes, haue deprived themselves of those parts; contrary to the order of nature. About the yeare 4573: there was an aged Countrey-man, of a Village neere *Segur*, a Cittie in the higher parts of *Lymosine*, whose name I spare to speake of, This man being a Widdower, it was noysed of him (but falsely) that he had vnlawfull familiarity with his owne Sons Wife. Whereupon, some that were his Enemies, or rather more malicious then wise, laboured the matter to a Iustice: who commaunded

further certainty of information, that punnishment might be inflicted accordingly. The Country man being come to the City, to make his defence against this crime imposed on him, and dyning with his Aduocates *Clarke* in a common-Inne: found there a great company of young people, and other flouters, that in their drinking, spared not to deride and iest at the poore Countrey-man. After he had endured numberlesse bitter girds and tauntes, such as exceeded common patience to suffer; arising from the Table, and pretending to goe warme himselfe by the Fire; hauing sharpned his Knife on the Mantle-tree of the Chimney, which was of Freestone, he instantly therewith did cut off his secret Members. The Host that saw it, cryed out, and gaue great astonishment to all the rest there present: But, the Country man escaping thence, fled home to his owne House, which was more then halfe a league from the citty, bleeding extreemely all the way, and would haue no help of any Chirurgion, and yet he became recouered againe. In the doing of this Act, surely his intent was, either to auoid following suspicion of so foule a pollution; or, perhaps, in meere dispaire, seeing himselfe so scorned, as it was iustified.

A yong man of noblehouse, in the same Country, acted the like vpon himselfe, in affliction of spirit; because he could not haue carnall knowledge of a young widdowed Lady, only through his own disability. For he had long time pursued her, and she was as ready to accept (at three seuerall opportunities) as hee to offer. At last, taking his leaue of her, with some disgrace, that she should be so apt; and he so vnable: to be reuenged on his imperfect Plant, suddenly he slit it off, and would not admit any cure, but rather desired to dye, by the expence & effusion of his own blood. Yet at length he was perswaded to entertain remedy, because it was told him, that he stood in danger of his Soules destruction, and dying, he should be allowed no Christian bur'all; because it was an action of his owne wilfulnesse. The wound in short time after beeing cured, and the obloquy thereof remaining in fresh memory: he entred into a religious course of life, and continued afterward in good health for many yeares.

Marcus

Many Heresies ouerthrowne by the learning of *Origen*. The King of *Arabia* and *Proconsull* of *Egypt*, conuerted by *Origen*.

The Mother to the Emperor *Seuerus* conuerted.

Other persons of later times, that haue done the like to themselves.

A memorable History of an old man of *Lymosine*.

A strange boldnesse in a poore man.

Another History of a young Noble Gentleman.

Aduertisements giuen to the Gentleman.

Marcus Paulus Thenetus, and *Garcias d'Orta*, a Portugall Physitian, do deliuer for a certainty, that in *Bengala* (a Kingdome most potent at this day, seated on the Islands and mouth of the riuer *Ganges*, in the East *Indies*) the Moors inhabiting that place, do trauell vnto other firme lands, and the Neighboring Isles, to buy young Children, whose parents being poore and couetous of mony, do sell their sonnes, else these villaines will robbe and steale them thence, and then quite take away, not only *Virga*, but *Parastates* also. Such as escape death after this cutting, they educate them very delicately, and afterward sell them to the *Persians*, and other Mahumetistes, who buy them at a very deare rate, (to wit; three or foure hundred Ducats a piece) to serue as men of their Chambers, in a foule and vnlawfull acquaintance, and also, to haue the charge of their wiues.

The Turkes that dwell in *Europe* and *Asia*, do vse the very same castration on such young Boyes as they can seize on in the Christians Countries, & then make sale of them in maner forenamed. As is made manifest by the Historie of the Lord of *Villamont*, vnder his owne hand in Writing, hee hauing seen the same in the City of *Damas* in *Syria*, in the yeare, 1589. hee saith, that a *Bascha* Lieutenant to the King, hauing married his Daughter, and being desirous for to make some honest present to hir before she departed from him, bethought him selfe of a Russian Slaue that he then had; beautifull, comely, and aged about 18. yeares: him did hee purpose to geld (in full manner before recited) and then to preferre him to his daughter, as one fit to attend her in her Chamber. This deliberation comming vnto the Slaues vnderstanding, he concluded to shunne his Maisters intent, because it was a hazard of life, either in Child or man. And therefore, rather then thus to die, he resolved to kill the *Bascha* his Maister; before hee would endure so notorious an Infamy. And indeede, hee executed his determination; for, finding his Maister (the second day after his daughters marriage) somewhat ouer wearied with Dauncing, Iusting, and Curuetting his Horse, and his belly well stuffed with Wine and Delicates, finding him fast sleeping on his bed, without speaking a

word to any, he entered his Chamber; and with a most magnanimous Courage, gaue him many Woundes with a Knife in his throat. The *Bascha* awaking, cried to his people for succor: but the Slaue so expeditiously pursued his purpose, that the *Bascha* was dead, before any of his house could helpe him. Yet when they came, and entered the Chamber, seeing their Lord dead vpon the ground, and hee that did the deede there present, drawing forth their Cimetaries, and ouercome with extremity of fury, they hewed the slaue in more then an hundred pieces.

My conclusion then is, that all people whatsoever, as do vse such a wicked kind of Trafficke, in selling yong Children thus to be abused, are most Barbarous, vnworthy to be called men, and such also as serue their turn in this monstrous sin, because I hold it meere Treason against Nature. As for *Origen*, *Melitus*, and other Religious personnes, in acting such violence vpon themselues; I am of the mind of many Learned Diuines, that howsoeuer they did it on a sanctimonious intention; yet their zeal heerein deserued rather reprehension, then any rightfull commendation.

CHAP. VIII.

The checke and reproach, which Cublay, Emperour of the Tartars, gaue to the Iewes, Mahumetists and Pagans, mocking them to be Christians, when they had lost the battaile against him.



Finde Written in the *Tartarian* histories, that in the yeare, 1286. there raigned a most potent and wise Emperour ouer the *Tartars*, named *Cublay*, he that sent the great Captaine *Bajam*, to Conquer the great Prouince of *Maugi*, where was the admired Countrey of *Cinquennie*, which was rased by him, and all the Inhabitants slaine, for he killed thirty thousand Christians, against all right of warre, whereof I purpose to speake elsewhere. This *Cublay*, was a Pagan in Religion, worshipping the

The Authors Conclusion.

Zeale beyond discretion is no way commendable.

Cublay a powerfull and prudent Emperour.

The Religion of the Emperour Cublay.

A rtiferable thing, that trafficke thould be made of gned Boies

A most abhominable sin.

The practise of the Turkes in Asia and Europe.

Hist. Dom. de Villamont. Lib. 3. Cap. 5.

A History of a Russian Slaue.

A courageous resolution in a Slaue, for safety of him selfe

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the Sunne, Moone, and the Starres, ha-
uing (beside) certaine false Goddes, and
(amongest others) one named *Natagi*,
whom he beleued to haue power ouer
the fruits of the Earth, presented to him
by diuers figures and Images: and this
was the Faith and Religion which his
predecessors had left vnto him. He com-
manded from the greater *Armenia*, euen
to *Calicut*, a Kingdome in the Easterne
Indiaes, insomuch, as then he might say
of himselfe, that he was one of the grea-
test Lords of the world. He kept a verie
magnificent Court, and (the most part
of his time) in the goodly Citty of *Cam-
balue*, where he had a Pallace so great &
spacious (standing on a faire riuer side
running thorow the city) that he could
easily giue entertainment to a thousand
men. The City contained in circuite,
about eight Leagues, and there was no
day in the yeare, but there came thither
more then a thousand Waggones laden
with costly Cloaths of Silke. He hadde
ordinarily twelue thousand Knights
for his Guard, three thousand where-
of, guarded him three Dayes, and three
Nights together; then three thousand
other (in like manner) succeeded them,
and so (alternatiuely) the whole yeares
space: which manner of Guard, he kept
as well in the times of peace, as warre,
to declare his greatnesse, pompe, and
magnificence.

I will not speake of the sumptuous
and wonderfull furnishment made for
his Table, for it would be too long to
rehearse, and almost impossible to be
beleued. I will bee silent also, in his
Bounty and Liberality, which he dayly
gaue away, not at his Subiects expen-
ces, but out of his prouident sparinges:
without mollesting his Subiects by no-
uell Subsidies, or any that dwelt within
his Lands, of what Religion soeuer they
were; as the Turke hath at all times
dealt with the *Iewes* and Christians,
whom he suffers to liue in his Empire,
and to vse their owne Religions, but
there wanteth no strict or strange con-
ditions. Such as haue seene him, and
afterward set downe his behauiour, do
credibly affirme, that he neuer offen-
deth any man, except it be vnwittingly,
and his Lieutenants and Commissaries
do the very same. He loueth and sup-
porteth his Subiects, to his vttermost

power, and acknowledgeth any fauours
or benefits done vnto him. Both he
before, and now this other his Succes-
sor, haue had, and instantly hath in di-
uers of his Lands and Signiories, peo-
ple of sundry Religions; as Christians,
Nestorians, *Armenians*, *Abissines*, *Graci-
ans*, *Mahumeristes*, *Iewes*, and *Idolaters*:
yet haue they liued, and still do to this
day, in all freedom of Conscience, with-
out any further mollestation, then they
that obserue his owne Religion, per-
mitting them also to builde Temples,
wherein to exercise such Seruice as is
theirs to them most frequent.

This great Monarch, is not of the
minde of the *Mahumetan* Princes, who
comming to their State, begin the en-
trance of their Government, with Par-
ricides, Fratricides, and murder of all
them that may aspire to the Royalty. As
appeared by *Sultan Selim*, Emperour of
Constantinople, who after hee had slaine
his two elder Brothers, *Achmath*, and
Corcutus; caused his Father *Baiazeth* al-
so to be poysoned. And some few yeares
before his owne death, demanding of
his Sonnes, which was he that hoped
to raigne after him, because hee would
leau his empire to him; hee that durst
boldly shewe this willingnesse to the
State, so that it might be with his con-
sent, hee caused him presently to bee
strangled. But another of his Sons, na-
med *Sultan Solyman*, who raigned not
many yeares since, beeing admonished
heereof by his Mother, who was well
acquainted with the Emperours cruell
Nature: refused the dignity wholly, ter-
ming himselfe his slaue, and not his son;
who liuing after his fathers death, hard-
ly could bee induced to take the charge
on him, fearing that his cruell Father
might as yet be aliue.

Muly Mahamet, King of *Tunis*, slew
seauenteene of his Bretheren, when hee
came vnto the Crowne; and not long
after, ten or twelue of his nearest Kin-
dred. After his re-seating by the Em-
peror, for *Barbarossa* had quite expelled
him; his owne Son pulled out both his
eyes. These matters would be very pro-
lix in reounting, because there hath
not bin any *Mahumetan* Prince created,
without some bloodshed of his kinred.
What a contrary disposition was in this
Cublay? for he aduaced his brothers, ne-
phewes,

His great do-
minion.

The great
Citty of *Cam-
balue*.

Twelue thou-
sand Knights
were his
Guard.

His sumptu-
ous Diet, Hu-
manity, and
Liberality.

He giueth al-
lowance to all
manner of
Religions in
his Kingdoms.

The diffe-
rence between
Cublay, and
the *Mahome-
tan* Princes;

The brutish
cruelties of
Sultane Selim.

The cunning
of *Solyman*, by
his mothers
instruction.

The bloody
cruelty of *Mu-
ly Mahamet*
King of *Tunis*.

Cublay aduanced his Brothers, Nephewes, and Kindred, and was no way bloody.

phewes and alliance in consanguinitie, to the greatest Offices and dignities hee could deuise. For, to som he gaue kingdomes, made others Lieutenantes ouer his greatest and goodliest Prouinces; others chiefe Commaunders of his Armies: briefly, in all the best manner hee could bethink him, did he promote his blood, yet liued in all equity and content among his people; yea, he was of so extraordinary humanity, as hee was neuer willing to be seene in any battell, (after hee was created Emperour) but one: yet had hee bin in more then 12. before, so highly did he detest the death of men.

It happened, that a Nephew of his, named *Naiam*, growing ingratefull, and abusing the bounty of his Vnckle (for he was a young man, aged about thirtie yeates, proude, and ambitious) forgetting the Lawes of Nature, being constituted Governour of many Prouinces, where he hadde mighty possessions to maintaine a Royall estate; without any subiection to yeild an account of his actions; moued by boldnesse and presumption, leauied a powerfull Armie, against his Vnckle and soueraigne Lord the Emperour *Cublay*, and brought it into open field. Now, to the end, that he might the better assure himself of victory, and to contend with some equality of strength, he found the means to draw a Cosin of his to his faction, another Nephew to the said Emperour, who had conceived a deadly hatred against his Vnckle, in regarde of many reprehensions receiued from him, for diuers insolences committed by him, in the charge of affairs committed to his trust: which made this *Caydne* (for so was he called) the readier to ioyne with his Kinsman, with presence of himselfe in person, & the aid of sixty thousand men. Following thus their desseigns, they plotted together, to assemble their forces on a certaine plaine, for safer entrance into the Countrey, and speedier inuasion of the Emperour their Vnckle, before hee should apprehend the least surmise thereof. *Naiam* failed not then, with 40000. men, to be ready at the place appointed: but *Caydne*, vsing all diligence hee could deuise to keepe his promise, had not as yet his whol number of men so suddenly furnished.

The great ingratitude of *Naiam*, Nephew, to the Emperour *Cublay*.

Preparation for hot warre against the Emperour.

This enterprize was quickly discovered to the Emperour *Cublay*, and with what courage his Nephewes (in publick conspiracy) were thus in open armes against him: He being a wise Prince; and a very worthy Souldiour, was not negligent in opposing himself against their purpose: wherefore, he appointed store of men to keepe the wayes, bridges, and passages, to hinder those two Armies from ioyning together, and that his Nephewes might not bee acquainted with his intentions. Afterward, he called his men of Warre to the Field, which hee had secretly drawne from the nearest parts to *Cambalue*; where he euer kept his Court. Yet now he had much ado, so suddenly to procure these Souldiours together, because he had sent two great Armies into Countries farre off, for the Conquest of some other new Prouinces. This Army thus made ready, as best means would permit; & so short a respite afforded, went to meet the one Enemy, who was not (as yet) ioynd with *Cadne*, and they were charged so vnprovided, as they had not leisure to raunge their men in battell array; but the one part were slaine, & the rest put to flight: Some were taken prisoners, amongst whom was *Naiam*, who being brought before *Cublay*, they would haue slayne him in his presence; but he commaunded, that he should be wrapped vp in a great cloath of Silke, well bound about with Cords, to the end he might bee smothered therein, which was accordingly executed. But before hee would suffer this to be doone, hee caused the slaughter (then made of his Enemies) to cease, sending them free pardon; & immediately more then forty Ensigns were brought and laid at his feete; in which Ensignes, were the figures of Crosses, such as we see at this day among vs.

Heere is to be vnderstood, that the people thus offending with *Naiam*; wer almost all Christians, according to the *Nestorians*, *Armenians*, or *Absines*, and he himselfe would haue seemed to bee such; but in very deed, he rather appeared to be of no Religion at al. Heereupon; the Iews, Mahumetists, and Pagans being Conquerours vnder the pay of *Cublay*, began to shout, scoffe, & make a mockery, at some fiftene thousand Christians, disarmed and brought as prisoners

The Emperour vnderstood this conspiracy of his Nephewes, and prepareth to withstand them.

Cublay ouercommeth the Army of *Naiam*, who was taken Prisoner.

Naiam smothered to death in Silke, and his followers pardoned.

What *Naiams* followers were.

Christians mocked and scorned.

soners before him, expecting when hee would command them to be massacred. But quite contrary, beeing then mounted on a braue and gallant young Elephant, on whose backe his seate royall was most sumptuously carried, silence being made, and their mockeries appeafed: he commanded them all to troope about him, to hear what further he had to say vnto them, and then, in the open Field, he made this Oration.

The Oration of the Emperour

Cublay, to his Prisoners, and all other there presented.



His day I cannot deny, but that the victorie which I haue obtained ouer mine enemies, is by especial grace from my great GOD the Sunne, Moone, and the Starres, abiding in this glorious Vault of Heauen. To whom, I purpose to render thanks to morrow, euen in this open field of battaile, in making Oblation of good and worthy Sacrifices. Wherefore, let the Maisters of the field giue order, that the places be auoided of human bodies heer flaine, as also of the dead Beasts, and decent Altars purposely erected. As for the prisoners, beeing most part of them Christians, whom I behold despoiled of their Armes, shouted at, mocked, despised, and ieaisted at by the Iewes, Mahumetists, and others, vpbraiding them with their God Iesus Christ (who was sometime fastned to a crosse by the said Iewes) for not ayding and helping them to the victory, as wanting such power, because so many of their Ensignes are heere prostrated at my feet: From this present houre forward, I forbid all manner of persons, of what quality or Religion soeuer they be, to vse any more such derision of them, on paine to be deprived of their armes, and well whipped with Roddes at two seuerall times, yea, on the very greatest paine beside, that can be imagined. And so much the rather, because their God Iesus Christ is esteemed of vs, to be one of the verie greatest celestiall Deities, ful of al right,

Equity, and Iustice. For, hee knowing these Christians to make warre vniustly against vs, being our subiectes, that neuer gaue them occasion, but reuolted of themselues, and adhered with our enemies: therefore hath hee permitted, that I should win the day, albeit I haue heard him to be called the God of battailes. Ouer and beside this, I pardon al them, that haue followed my vnkinde Nephewes *Naiam* and *Cayduc*, as being meerely deceiued by them, in making them beleue, that they were leuiued for my seruice; and therefore I receiue them againe into my protection. Giuing further to vnderstand, that all such as haue any prisoners, they are not to offer the least harme whatsoever, but immediately to set them at liberty, deliuering them their armes, and all other Equipages to them belonging, on paine to passe thorow the daunger of the Army, euen he the proudest that shall make deniall. Our charge imposed on the Christians, is, to pray vnto their God for our prosperity, and to do vs nine moneths Seruice, by taking Wages of vs, in our instant Warre against the King of *Nixamora*; who denieth to pay vs our tribute and striues to equall himselfe with our Greatnesse.

In regard of this Edict, the Christians had gentle vsage, especially, of the Iewes, who persecuted the Christians more (where they got superiority) then any other whatsoever. Euery man may iudge by this worthy deede, that *Cublay* was a very generous & vertuous Prince, full of piety, in acknowledging, that his victorious battels, proceeded of God, and not of men. It was neuer heard, that *Alexander* the Great, who wonne no meane store of battailes, with an infinit number of goodly strong Citties; that euer he rendred thanks to God, or (at the least) vnto his own Gods, in whom he pretended to haue some confidence. Oftentimes he consulted with profane Priests and Oracles, to know if he should be Monarch of the whole vniuerse, and whether he were the Sonne of *Iupiter*, or no, with diuers other such like ydle vanities. At length, hee would needs make men to adore him; Nay, there are some do write, that he exacted it vpon compulsion, but he liued not long after these ambitious follies had so blinded his

Cublay his reuerent opinion of Christ.

Cublay pardoneth the Rebels that took part with his Nephewes.

Cublay enioyned the Christians, to pray to their God for him.

Cublay had so ne acknowledgement of God.

The follies & impieties of *Alexander* the Great.

Cublay attributeth his victory, to his great God the Sun.

Preparation for Sacrifices.

Cublay prohibiteth all mockes and scorning of the Christians.

his vnderstanding.

Iulius Caesar likewise, a famous Captaine, of admirable great spirit, & most expert in many singular sciences, yet he tooke this fond conceit of himselfe (seeing he had obtained the Roman Empire by Armes) that he had more in him the meer humanity, by his actions, perswading himself, that he was issued (in race) from the Gods, by meere alliance to *Venus*. Which being perceiued by diuers Princes, and many of the Commonweale also, coueting to please him in his ambitious arrogancy; they Dedicated Temples to him; yea, some Sacrificed vnto him. As yet at this day is to be discerned at *Sydon*, a City of *Phœnicia*, wher it is insculpt vpon the gate, *Diuo Iulio Casari dicatum*; Consecrated to *Iulius Caesar the God*. And on a Collome (which is placed on a little Mountaine, at the very mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, exposed on all sides to the violence of the Waues) containing eighteen foot in length, and eight and an halfe in Circumference, on the Bases of the Piller was Engrauen this Verse:

Caesar tantus erat, qd. nullus maior in orbē: that is, *Caesar* was so great, and of such power, as he might tearme himselfe the chiefe and most excellent of all Men in the world. It is very well knowne, that it was himselfe that caused this Inscription there to be engrauen. Yet (for all this) it was neuer knowne, that euer he acknowledged his victories for to come from God: for he reigned not long, & lesse then *Alexander*, because hee was murdred in the Senat house.

Charles, the fift Emperour of that Name, hauing won a great and memorable battaile against the Sectaries in *Germany*; and namely, against the *Saxon*, the foute and twenty day of Aprill, *Anno Dom. 1547.* would not proudly say, as *Iulius Caesar* did, when hee conquered *Pompey* the Great, and wrote these three words to the *Romain* Senate; *Veni, Vidi, Vici*. But *Charles*, full of true pietie, and well knowing, that victories descended from on high, said; *Veni, Vidi, & Dominus Deus meus vicit*, to wit; *I came, I saw, but it was God my Lord that Conquered*.

The History of the Emperor *Cublay*, may make som Christian Princes blushi with shame, who hauing warre against others of the same Law, Faith, and Re-

ligion, will not yet (in their victories) pardon their enemies, but put them all to the edge of the Sword. Neither will they acknowledge God to be Authour of their victories, but attribute all vnto their own strength and magnanimitie: wherein this blinded Prince (deprived of the true Knowledge of God, *Cublay* a Pagan, Emperour of the *Tartarians*) made it a great scruple to offend.

CHAP. IX.

From whence the name of Sarazins came at the first, and what people they haue continued, euen to this day.



have noted a verie great error, committed by *Sabellicus*, *Blondus*, the *Tyrian* Byshop, *Volaterranus*, and many other graue authors, who (in their workes) haue tearmed the Mahometists or Turkes, to bee Sarazins: for they neuer knew any such name, neither were at any time so caled, but only *Musulmans*, which is as much to say, as a people faithfull in their Law or Religion. Others, who thought their Iudgement to be much more pregnant, dared to say, that this name of *Sarrazin*, came of *Sarra*, the wife of *Abraham*, of whose race, the great Prophet *Mahomet* (inuentor and deuiser of their Religion and Lawes, held euen to this day by the Sarazins and Turkes) they affirme to bee descended. But this coniecture is not warrantable, because they rather coueted to be called *Agarians*, in regarde of *Agar*, Handmaid to *Sarra*; and Mother of *Ismael*: Or else *Ismaelites*; in iudging themselves to be yssued of the sayde *Ismael*, Bastard sonne to the fore-named *Abraham*.

But let vs leaue these false Etimologies, which neither carry, or can yeelde any true likely-hood, and come to the very Original of the name *Sarrazin*. The error grew from hence, that some short while before *Mahomet*, or *Muhamet* (as others terme him) arose, and began to extend himselfe as well towards *Suria*, as *Persia*: there liued in the rocky *Arabia* and

The vanities of *Iulius Caesar*, Emperour of *Rome*.

Temples dedicated to *Iulius Caesar*.

A Piller at the entrance of the *Euxine* Sea.

Caesar reigned not so long as *Alexander*.

The great modestie and humane of *Charles* the fift Emperour.

Christiā Princes noted some way blame worthy

A great error in many graue Authors.

What the word *Musulma* signifieth.

From whence the *Sarrazins* deriue their descent.

Sarrazins were a people dwelling in the deserts of Arabia and Idumea.

The Turkes go on pilgrimage.

Sarracenis, the name they give theslaves

Amian. Marce. in vita. Iul. Apost. lib. 14.

Antiquitie of the Sarrazin people.

The neighboring Countries to Arabia

and Idumea, certaine Arabes, who made their abode and dwelling (and yet do to this day) vnder little Tentes or enclosures, and had no other trade or maintenance for their liuing, but by Thefts & Robberies, which they daily exercisid vpon all passengers, were they Turkes, Christians, Pagans, or whatsoever. Of which Robbers and Theeues, the country could neuer be freed, neither yet can be to this day; as such doe faithfully affirm, who haue trauailed on pilgrimage to Mount Sinai, at Ierusalem. And the Turkes themselues do confes, that when deuotion drew them foorth on pilgrimage, to the City of Medina al Nabi, that is, the City of the Prophet, scituate in Arabia Fœlix, where the Sepulchre of Mahomet is; and when likewise they do yet passe through the very greatest solitudes and deserts (as many times the Christians doe:) They finde them to be peopled with these kinds of Theeues, as formerly hath been saide, who name themselues Sarracenis, not in regard of Religion or blood; but by an auncient appellation of the sayde people; of whome, Ptolomy maketh mention, and saith, that their liuing is in Idumea.

Amianus Marcellinus, in the History of Iulian the Apostate Emperour, makes a Description of them, and saith: Those places (more then two hundred yeares before the Originall of Mahomet, or of his Alchoran) were fully furnished with the Sarrazins; yea, so was Assyria afterward, euen so farre as the Cataractes of Nylus, or the Kingdome of Prester Iohn, where they vsed the same courses, violences, and Thefts, vpon Merchants & Inhabitants of the neighboring Countries, according as the Arabes or Alarbes do at this day. Whereuppon, because that their chiefe habitation was in the Deserts and Mountaines, which are in Arabia, and the adiacent quarters or Countries, as Chaldea, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Suria, and Egipt, when the Arabes arose with their new Religion, and had frequented the foresaid Regions: The nearer Countries supposed, that these people were those former Sarrazins, by ignorance of their Language, as also by the rashnes of some writers, who liued then in Suria, & since that time in Spain, pretending to haue good knowledge of

those people, and therefore continually then called them Sarrazins.

Moreouer, to confirme that vain appellation, those Interpreters in Spaine, who (by commandement of S. Bernard) were appointed to interpret the Alchoran; in euery place where they founde the vocable, Mulfulman (which is as much to say in the Arabian tongue, as Peaceable and faithfull towards God) they translated the same Sarracenis, or Sarrazins. This Mulfulman then is the word, whereby all (that belceue in the Alchoran) will be called: whither they be Arabes, Syrians, Persians, Tartares, Turkes, or Moores. Whosoever then, woulde enter into any peaceable and Friendly Conference with them (albeit, none do hate their name more then the Turkes) must call them Mulfulmans, as we doe our selues Christians, or faithfull people. So are they all named, by the Author of the Ismael, or Ismaeliticke race, & by their Bastard Prophet. After our manner, & in respect of religion, they terme a man Mulfulman, and a woman Mulfulmina, or Mulfulminet; albeit, some say Musim, by a corrupt pronounciation, as we may conceiue by our selues, who do vse to call those disfigured Wanderers, that walke among vs with deformed faces, and long ill-fauoured lockes, vsing all subtle Thefts, Pilferies, and Legier du maines they can deuise; wee Nick-name to be Sarrazins, Egiptians, or Gypsies.

I thus conclude then, that when Historians Write, that the Sarrazins inuaded and made vse of Rhodes; Next, of Thrace, then of Italy, Spaine, and other Countries: it is to be vnderstood of the Orientall people & Affricans, that were of the Mahometane Religion; because they vsed the selfesame Cruelties, thefts and Robberies, as the Sarrazins of rocky Arabia did. And to speake truly, all Europe would (at this instant) haue bin haunted with those people, if they had not bin formerly expelled and spoyled. It remaineth yet fresh in memory, that the Great Grand-father to Phillip King of Spaine (not long since deceased) named Ferdinand, expelled them out of the Kingdome of Granacla, with their King called Melen; and he bestowed six whole yeares together in stout warres, onely for soyling them. And then the Dominion, which the Sarrazins and Moores

Error in translation of the Alchoran.

Mulfulman, a general name for them that belceue in the Alchoran.

Sarrazins will be called Mulfulmans.

Our Sarazins or Gypsies.

What people are vnderstood & ment by the Sarrazins.

At what time the Sarrazins were expelled out of Spain, by king Ferdinand.

Moores held in *Spain*, had finall Conclusion. After which time, those faithlesse *Mahumetists*, durst neuer presume any more vpon *Spain*, where they had held the kingdom of *Granado*, for the space of 800. yeares.

Before the sayd *Ferdinand*, King *Alphon- sus*, in the yeare of our Lord, 1233. slew in diuers places, aboue 200000. of the, euen when they helde strong Castles, Forts, and Cities in *Spain*, all which he forced them to forsake, and since then, they haue bin vtterly ruined. *Henric* the Emperor made another great massacre of them in *Italy*, in the yeare of Christ, 1010. expelling them wholly out of that Country. Among the *Sarrazins*, there were not onely generous persons, but likewise some men of great learning, as *Auicen*, *Mesius*, *Isaac*, *Mansbr*, *Auerroes*, and many others.

Now, as all things haue their vicissitude and alteration by courses; so, after that the *Sarrazins* had raigned in *Affrica*, and partly in *Europe*, about the space of 800. yeares, there came a people from diuers parts of *Scythia* (which at this day we call *Turkes*) who in lesse then 200. yeares, ouercame in armes those people called *Sarrazins*, with many other christians beside, not onely in *Asia*, but also in *Europe* and *Affrica*. And albeit, those *Turks* were of the same religion; to wit, *Mahumetists*: yet did they not abstaine from vexing and troubling them vvith War, euen as they did the Christians. For in the yeare, 1012. they tooke *Ierusalem*, and all *Iudea*: but the *Sarrazins* of *Egypt* recouered them againe, and held them for 300. yeares after. Neuerthelesse, they were yet againe expelled thence, in the yeare, 1517. by the *Turks*; the *Sarrazins* loosing then, not only *Palestine*, and the Holy-land; but likewise *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, and the very same Country of *Idumea*; whereas the *Sarrazins* had their Originall; and are there subiect to the *Turks* now at this instant. For *Campson* (their King) lost the day against *Selim*, Emperour of the *Turkes*, and *Tomombeus* his successour, beeing next chosen their King in his place: but he was taken, and (afterward) most ignominiously strangled in the *Gravnd-Cayre*, the very principall City of *Egypt*. Where we may behold the end of the *Sarrazins*; not any part of them now re-

mayning, except a few in the place forenamed, who continue in base seruility to the *Turkes*.

This brieft discourse, may giue vs to vnderstand, that *Sarrazins* were not at all such as are called *Mahumetists*: but they that hadde their beginning in the Countries of *Idumea*; and the Desert of rocky *Arabia*, with all those that (being ioyned with them) commaunded vnder them in diuers Countries, bringing other Nations likewise in subiection to them by Armes, vntil such time, as they wer exterminated by the people, whose countries they vniustly vsurped by war, & also at length, by the *Turks*, although they be of the same religion. For war is maintayned among them, onely for desire of souerainty and ambition: which is not so commendable among vs that are Christians; or that we should be sick of such a bad disease.

Sarrazins began onely in *Idumea*, and none now remaining but only there.

CHAP. X.

Of the Title or name of Seruant, slaue, Bond-slaues, and such like. Their Original, and how they were vsed in elder times, and are at this present.



Orasmuch as in our time, we haue so great speech of the ouer-abounding multitude of captiues or Slaues, which the *Turks* & *Moores* lead away out of Christian Countries, wherof the *French* seem to haue no feeling at all; because such a case concernes not them, in regard of their good policy & order, by their most Christian King's care, & his counsel: yet notwithstanding such occasiō may heerafter happen; that if euer God should suffer his *Mahometan* enemy to preuail so far, as he hath done else-where; they would then acknowledge by most wofull experience, what the condition of captiues & Bondslaues is, wherof I purpose to discourse in this Chapter. And to begin at the ancientnesse of slaues or Bondmen, it would be somewhat hard to assure; at what time they first began to be so called and vsed. because we find in the sacred scriptures; that *Abraham* had no other seruants but

French insensible of such afflictions as Bond-men feele.

N

Slaues;

A great slaughter of the *Sarrazins* in *Spain* by King *Alphon- sus*.

Another massacre of them in *Italy*, by the Emperor *Henric*.

The *Turkes* ouercame the *Sarrazins* in lesse then 200 yeares.

The *Sarrazins* lost *Ierusalem*, and all *Iudea* to the *Turkes*.

Campson King of the *Sarrazins* toiled by *Selim*.

Tomombeus, last King of the *Sarrazins* strangled.

Abraham had no Seruants but Slaues male and female.

The Originall of Slaues.

The Etymologie of Seruant.

The quality and condition of a Slaue.

How the word Captiue or Slaue is to be vnderstood

Ius Gentium.

Fourseuerall waies wherby a man may become a slaue

Slaues, as well male as female, & (with- all) had a great number of them. Wher- by may bee presumed, that (long time before) there was such a seruile condi- tion: for, according to the supputation of Carion, the Germaine Cosmographer, A- braham lived in the yeare of the World, 2047. Their Originall then (vndoubted- ly) proceeded of wars, wherin the victor vsurped al right of domination ouer the vanquished.

The Romans called a Slaue or Captiue *Seruum*, as we in our Language entitle a Seruant, because he that was taken in the wars, was kept and guarded. And then, if he was not put to his ransome, (according as hee pleased, into whose power he was fahn, or else, if he bought him) he remaind as his slaue or seruant, and he might smite, beate, and kill him. Moreouer, he could not possesse any thing, that was in his Maisters charge & keeping, albeit he wer extracted by race Royall, noble, or ignoble. For the word Slaue, Seruant, or Captiue, it is to bee vnderstood, not onely of such as are taken in Land-battels, or Nauall skirmi- shes, encounters, surprizal of Citties, Townes, or like places; but likewise, al those that can bee, and are seized on in the enemies Countrey, although they be Infants sucking at the breast, or of greater yeares; Women with Childe, and the fruit in their wombes, alwayes were, and yet are to this day, subiect to seruitude. This is thus doone by the Law of Nations, and al Nations in for- mer times vsed the same, and so is it stil in vse, except it be in case of one and the same Religion.

One might be made a Slaue (as yet we see in all the East, & in *Affrica, Spain, Italy, Poland, Moscouia, Germany*, and in other Prouinces obserued, except in warring against people of one religion) foure manner of wayes. The first, was by War; the second, when he was the Son of a woman slaue; the third, when any man sold him, to participate in the price of his vendition, which oft times is done in a desperate manner, not ha- uing any meanes of liuing, or when a man will foolishly expose his own free- dome to bondage. There are too many at this day so hot of Nature, as, if they could, they would do the like; witnesse such, as leaue themselues neither lands,

goods, nor Kindred. The fourth man- ner, was by crime and offence, when a man had not where-withall to satisfie the party offended; then he was sold, if the crime committed, required such a punishment.

It is a question, but (indeede) mine owne, whether it bee better to make a prisoner (taken in Warre) a slaue, or to kil him, according to the custom of Na- tions? I answer, that it seemeth more humain and ciuill, to take a prisoner (in war) in condition of a slaue; then to kill him, although it be in a mans power to do it, and without any impunity. For, by the Law of God & Nature, it is for- bidden to kil, but not to be made a slaue; because it appeareth that *Moses* permit- ted it. In like manner, it is the proprietie of a Wise or discreet man, to rule and gouerne his slaue or Bondman humain- ly; albeit it were much better for some, to be slaine outright at the very instant, then to fall into some mens handes, and liue in their subiection. The paines and torments which they suffer, & must do, God best knoweth how long, wee pur- pose to speake of heereafter. For, heere I would demaund another Question, to wit; whether it be beneficiall to a com- monwealth, to haue Slaues, or not?

How dangerous it is to a Common- weal or Kingdom, to haue a great num- ber of slaues, especially, if they can compasse the meanes to league & com- bine themselues: may be read in the *Romaine Histories*, much more then euer they dreamt of, and to the maine hazard of their whole estate. For they could not be hindred, but that they arose tho- roughout all *Italy*, to the number of threescore thousand, and vnder the con- duct of one *Spartacus*, they vanquished the *Romans* in three fought battels. It is most certain, that there was then in the field: ten slaues for one free-man. *Silla* made an Ediēt, that euery slaue that did bring the head of his Maister, should be enfranchised, to wit; of euery such man as had followed the part of *Caius Mari- us*, against him; which very many did. Now, it is not to be doubted, but that how many slaues soeuer wer in the bat- taile; as many enemies at home had they in their families. At such time as the persecutions began to grow hot against the Christians in the Primitiue church, there

A question de manded, and discreetly an- swered.

God and Na- ture forbid- deth to kill.

Another que- stion.

What danger it is to haue a great multi- tude of Slaues

Spartacus, a Sword-player in Rome.

Sillaes Ediēt for Slaues a- gainst their Maisters.

So many sla- ues, so many enemies.

In the primi- tiue Church.

there was no Maister that durst become a Christian, except with the hazzard of his life, for hee must either enfranchise his slaues, or else they wold accuse him.

The power of the Sarrazins in *Arabia*, tooke first Originall, when as a Captain named *Homar*, Lieutenant to *Mahomet*, had promised Liberty to such Slaues as would follow him. Heereon he drew so great a number to him; as (in few years) they made them-selues Lordes of the East. For the word [*Libertie*,] and fame of the Conquestes made by the Slaues, enflamed the mindes of all them in *Europe*, and raysed them vppe in Armes. First of all in *Spain*, in the yeare, 781. Afterward, in the Kingdome of *France*, in the times of *Charlemaigne*, and *Lewes* the *Pittifull*, as may be gathered by the Edicts then made, against the Conspiracies of Slaues. Then *Lotharius*, the Sonne of *Lewes*, after he hadde lost two Battailles which he waged against his Bretheren, re-called the Slaues to his ayde, and they (soone after) began to pursue their Maisters; in the yeare, eight hundred fifty two: which fierce fire, suddenly kindled in *Germanie*; also, where the Slaues entering into Armes, shooke the estate both of the Citties & Princes; yea, the King of the *Allemaignes* was faine to assemble all his forces, to break the *Gordian* knot of this strange combination.

I remember the History of a *Roman* Senator, who was in very great perrill of his life, by beeing accused by one of his Slaues, before the Emperour *Tyberius*, to wit; that the Image of *Tyberius*, which was engrauen on a Ring that the Senatour wore in his finger, had touched the Urinall as hee was making water; and this was taken for an Offence of High-treason, such was the extreame Tyranny and light beleefe of the Emperour *Tyberius*.

In like manner, there haue bin many of later times, that murdered their Maisters, and committed other monstrous villanies, as not long since a slaue *Moore* did, in the Isle of *Maiorica*. This damned Villaine, hauing beene beaten by his Maister, for some notorious Offence, watching his opportunity for reuenge, first violated the honour of his Mittris, then threw two of hir children forth at the Castle window, wherein he

made vse of this aduantage, locking the doors fast against his Maister, who stood without, and beheld this wofull spectacle. At last, he made his Maister to cut off his owne Nose, to saue the youngest child that yet remained aliue: For, the slaue had sworn, that if he would cut off his nose, he would not hurt the Infant. No sooner had the Maister acted this cruelty on himselfe, but the perfidious slaue *Moore*, cutting the childes throat, threw it down to the other, & then cast himselfe headlong after, in a villanous brauery. I could aledge infinit other examples, if I were so minded; but in regard of breuity, I wil entreat the Reader to rest satisfied with these.

Behold then what a danger it is, to be serued with slaues, and how a multitude of them, haue salne out to be the ruine of Countries; & as it is not good to haue many, so is it very behoouefull, to see that no wher they exceed the free. Wherefore it is very conuenient to manumise them, or els to vse them gently, to beget rather loue then hatred of the, not vrging them to desperat actions vnbeseming their duty; training them vp rather in mechanicall exercises (as was ordayned by *Licurgus* & *Numa Pompilius*) then in any sturdy or robust busines, besitting Armes. And in truth, the greater part of such Bondmen or slaues, wer then instructed in Mechanick Atts; for some of them were Shoo makers, Taylers, Carpenters, Smiths, Cloathiers, Ship-wrights, Masons, Gold-Smiths, Ioiners, & such like honest trades. They were also imployed by straungers, because they should return the gain which they made by their labor, to their Maisters. And that it should be so, *Cato* the *Censor*, who was so conscientious, and had about him 200. slaues, hee contented him-selue with the profites that (by them) came to him, and the Reuenues of a small Countrey Farme which he had; and that he sold to them backe againe, at an easie price, when hee beheld them to decline by age, because by their paine and endeour he at first purchast it.

Crassius, one of the richest *Roman* Citizens that euer was before or after him, had ordinarily five hundred very profitable Slaues, of diuers employments, beside such as he kept in his house. They

From whence proceeded the first power of the Sarrazins

Al *Europe* wofully tormented by slaues, in many places.

A *Roman* Senator accused by his Slaue, before cruell *Tiberius*.

The Historic of a slaue *Moore*, in the Isle of *Maiorica*.

A multitude of slaues is very dangerous.

Licurgus, and *Numa Pompilius*, gaue Orders for slaues

How wise *Cato* the *Censor* imployed his slaues.

Example of rich *Crassius*, the *Romaine* Citizen.

Vnuauewable benefit made by Slaves in the Turkes dominions.

The vsage of the Parthians to their slaves

Florus in Ep. 74

The handling of slaves in diuers partes, and among the Romains.

The Noble courage of a Celticke slave.

enriched their Maister (within very few yeares) only by their gaines : for great account (in times past) was made of such a settled estate, and it was helde the very best assurance of inheritance, that a man could then leaue to his heires. And in these dayes, such as are vnder the Turkes Dominion, do vse the very same kind of benefiting, for he that hath foure or fve Slaves, strong, healthful, and lusty; attaineth to great riches by them. Beside, many are much better serued by them, then by their mercenary seruants; that leaue them at their owne pleasure, when these other dare not do so.

The Parthians vsed not to intreat their slaves vngently, but accounted of them as their owne Children; yet notwithstanding, they were prohibited from infranchising them. They multiplied in such aboundant manner, as, in all their Army, there was found but foure hundred and fifty free men. Florus saith, that the Romans did set at liberty eight thousand Slaves, whom they caused to bear Armes, in regard of the great losse they had receiued in the battell at Cannas, against Hannibal, and they did great seruice to the Commonwealth. Comming now to our instant daies, to speak what maner of vsage they indure; I am silent, and must dumbly let slip the execrable Villanies (without all dread of punishment) inflicted on them, of whatsoever sex they be: only I will discourse of other matters belonging to them, and according as my instant subiect grants me leaue.

So soone as such a one was falne into his enemies hand, be it of which side it should so happen; if he might not be rendred back vpon exchange, or put to his ransom, or be bought again as a captiue: then was the prisoners head presently shauen, and after marked with a hot iron on the arme, but more commonly in the forehead. If he wer of stature, he was then set to keep horses, work in the fields, Till the grounds; but very badly clothed, euen as the poor toiling slaves are in the gallies. Many times they haue bin employed in very vnclean Offices, as to empty Priuies, & to hold the vrinall. Witnes a Celt (that is, one born in Gaul) whom his new Maister set to holde the stoole wherein he auoided his Excrements, which made him say; I will make

thee look on me whom thou hast bought, in much better maner. So getting vp to the house top, threw himselfe downe, and there died, affecting rather any kinde of death, then to do such vilanous seruices. Maisters euermore had the life & death of their slaves in their power, albeit Tyberius would not permit it; but rather suffred slaves to bring their Maisters to the iudgement bar, for their hard vsage, & he that killed his slave, was accounted as a murderer. The like ordained Nero, Adrian, & others; but it was neuer obserued, or (at least) it lasted but a while.

They were beaten (in those times) as oft as their Maisters pleased, & because they would not do it themselues, they had certain houses out of the city, wher men were purposely appointed and waged, to torment and beat the with hard knotted cords, knagged stauces, or certaine Bodkins, wherewith they would pierce into their bodies, euen in such places as wer most sensible; & this must be done as oft as the Maister commanded, standing by, beside good store of other torments. These men had for each slave they thus tortured, a certain sum of mony, euen as Hangmen haue; and either they did it in their Maisters presence, or some that were (by them) appointed to see it done. Many of them had their lips and Nostrils slit vppe, if they appeared to be short winded, euen as now adayes we deale with Horsses. The Emperour Adrian, a very humane Prince, who gouerned in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 120. returning one day from the fields, chanced to passe by the place where these cruelties were exercised; and buying all them that were thus to be tormented, bestowed their Liberty instantly on them.

If it hapned that a Master was slain in his house, about som quarrell, or otherwise, and by whomsoever, all his slaves were presently put to death. As it came to passe, by reason of a murder committed on the person of the great Prouost of Rome; when question was made, of putting al his slaves to death, according (saith Tacitus) to the ancient Custome. The vulgar people, who wer (the more part of them) enfranchised men, began to be moued, because it was wel inough knowne who was the murtherer; and yet notwithstanding, foure hundered innocents

The life and death of a slave in his Maisters power. The Edict of Tyberius.

Diuers Torments daily deuised for slaves, & cruelly executed on them.

Men had wages to torment slaves.

The great humanity of the Emperour Adrian.

Titus Livi. Lib. 4. Cap. 9.

An inhumain custom of the Romaines.

Cornel. Tacit. lib 7. cap. 10.

innocents should therefore suffer death. The matter being debated in the Senat, it was there concluded, that the custom must be kept; and thereupon, all the Slaues were put to death. I spare to speak of the murder of slaues, who were constrained to kill one another at *Arènes*, and then their Bodies were exposed to Beasts: all being done to delight the people, and for a custome in contempt of death.

The Emperor *Adrian*, of whom we haue already spoken, being in some choller, threwe an engrauen Iron at one of his Slaues, which Iron (vnhappily) hee had then in his hand; the slaue (not hearing what his Lord had commaunded him) by misfortune hadde this his eye smitten out. The Emperour calling the Slaue to him, said; He was infinitely sorry for the losse of his eye, and therefore desired him, to ask whatsoeuer he wold in recompence, and it should be granted him. The Slaue made answer, *I can demand nothing of such worth, or thou grant it, that can equall the value of the eye I haue lost.* Other Maisters neuer shewed such humanity in Nature, but rather were of much steerner cruelty: As *Flaminius* the Senatour, who caused one of his best slaues to bee slaine, without any other cause, but to please his Ingle boy (which he kept for *Sodomy*) who saide, that hee neuer saw a man slaine. At the sledge of *Jerusalem*, in one day, there was slaine twenty thousand Iewish slaues, because a Soldiour had espied Golde in the intrailles of a Jew, who had bin killed before, by the passage of a Sworde quite thorough his body. Hee aduertising his Companions heereof, the Roman Soldiers, they did forthwith cut the throats of all their Slaues that were Iewes, and searched into their Bowelles and Intestines, to see if there they could finde any Gold.

Augustus Caesar, banquetting one day with *Asinius Pollio*, his very great friend, a yong Slaue that waited on the Table, chaunced to breake a Glasse, whereof *Pollio* hauing notice, commaunded him presently to be cast into a Pond, where he kept certaine *Murenes* (which are Fishes of two or three cubits long, vvith very sharpe Teeth) to bee deuoured by those Fishes. The poore Slaue, threwe himselfe at the feet of *Augustus*, to en-

treat, not to saue his life, for hee confessed that he had deserued death, in breaking a Glasse that his Maister so esteemed: but only, that he would chaunge the torment to some other. *Augustus* would not so much as moue *Pollio* therein: Whereupon, the Slaue was thrown into the Pond, and miserably torne in pieces, as *Seneca* affirmeth. The *Lacedemonians* beholding their Slaues to multiply in great numbers; made a leauy among them of three thousand men, the very ablest that could be found, and pretending to release their bondage, in one night they were all slaine, without any knowledge what was become of them.

The *Grecians*, *Spaniards*, and *Allemaignes*, vsed the same manner of behaviour to their Slaues, as the *Romans* did. *Iulius Caesar* declareth, that the *Gaules* would Sacrifice their slaues, and throw a great number of them into the Fire, when the Bodies of their deceased Maisters were to be burnt. The *Allemaignes* exceeding these Cruelties, if it hapned that their slaues, either by sicknes, wearinesse, or famishment, could not follow them in their iournies; they would cut off their Feet, & so leaue them staruing to death. We wil heere end this Chapter, least wee should tire the Reader with length, and barbarous Cruelties. Now we will speake of Slaues among the *Turkes*, and what is become of the ancient race of slaues; also, how long it is since the *Mahometans* and *Christians* had no Slaues.

CHAP. XI.

Of Slaues made by the Turkes and Mahometanes. Also, how the race of the ancient Christian Slaues became lost.



Mahomet, first Inuenter and Father of the Alchoran religion, to attract people enow to his cursed sect (which he planted by armes) ordained, that not any *Mulsulman*, or such as made profession of Religion, should be a slaue, though he were taken in war, or otherwise, which hath bin seriously obserued, from the year, 742. to this present.

The murder of slaues at *Arènes*.

Another act of humanity in the Emperour *Adrian*.

Plutarc. in vit. Flamib.

Ioseph in lib. de Bel. Iudaic.

Seneca. Lib. 34 Asinius Pollio, kild his slaue for breaking a Glasse.

The inhumanity of the *Lacedemonians*.

Grecians, *Spaniards*, and *Allemaignes*.

The *Allemains* cruelty.

Mahometans nor *Christians* made no slaues among them.

Preachers in
the Christian
Church.

sent. Yet this was not kept by the Christians, who hauing Warre one against another, vsed their captiues and slaues, according as the *ROMANS* did. But the Pastors in the Christian Church preached so zealously, & so successfully, that they perswaded them (in example and imitation of the Sarazins and Mahometans) that they would make no slaues on eyther side, being al of one religion. We haue already spoken sufficiently, what fauor the slaues found among the Romaines, let vs now cast an eye, & note how the Turkes do handle vs, if it were our hard fortune to fal (in the like case) among them.

The vsage of
christian slaues
in diuers Na-
tions.

It is most certaine, that all Christians who happen to bee slaues to the *Turke*, *Persian*, *Tartare*, *Jew*, *Moore*, or *Arabe*, as wel in the East, as in other places, aswel by right of war, as otherwise; bee they sucking children, Boyes, youths, men, old, or young, women or maids: they take the like authority ouer them, as on their beasts. Nay more, there are some people following the warres, that make no other benefit or traffick, but onely of Christian slaues; for they make triple commodity of their mony, because soldiers hastily sel them at indiffrent rates; then afterward, they make sale of them in Countries and Citties, where they know that they are very highly desired and sought after. A yong man of 18. or 20. yeares of Age, is now adaies sold for 25. Ducats. A young Infant, aged three or foure years, at five Ducats, Women and Maids are not sold so cheape. And before they buy them, they are oftentimes seene stark naked, to obserue whether they haue any imperfection on their bodies. Afterward, they look in their monthes, to see whether they haue good Teeth, & of what age they are. Finally, they are very dilligent and carefull in obseruing their Countenances; for, they that make Trafficke of Slaues, are commonly verie skilfull in Physiognomie.

Some follow
wars, only to
buy christians

The prizes of
Christians
sold as slaues.

The labour &
dieting of
their slaues, &
how they goe
apparrelled.

For the most part, men are destenied (as it were) to delue in the erth, after such order as they are commanded, and with Instruments accordingly. Daily are they fed with course, and scarce holsom Bred, & but litle therof neither, so much as they think wil content nature, and no other drink haue they then Water. For

clothing, they haue commonly Linnen breeches, a Doublet or Jacket of course cloath, of a blew or redde colour; their legs and feete bare; they lie on the hard ground, and somtimes in ditches, dragging a heauy Ladder after each one, lest desperately they shoulde kill their Masters, or set their houses on fire. They are beaten & tormented at all inoments of time, euen when the toy tickles the Masters head, iustly or vniustly, commonly with a stiffe rounde Cudgell, sparing no place of the body. Their Heades are shaued, and all other parts where anie haire groweth, which is obserued euery second month. There are some that allow them to learne occupations, & let them forth at daily hire, to serue as best they can be imployed, either in helping Masons, Carpenters, & such like labors.

As for female slaues, they serue for all busineses that they please to vse them in. Oftentimes (if they like them) they make them their Concubines, & when they grow weary of them, they eyther sell them away to others, or suffer them to attend the household affaires, & wait on their Mistresses. Heer is to be noted, that they are not compeld to alter their Religion, except they bee so bold, as to enter into their *Mosquees* or temples, or vse any wordes contemptibly of their *Alchoran*, or wound any of their Mahometan Religion: then, such an offender must be put to death, or else be forced to become of their Religion. And although they be Circumcised, and *Mulsulmans*, yet are they not therefore released; but perhappes they shall bee the gentlier vsed. For this cause, if Christians, warring against the Turkes, happen in their fights (either by land or Sea) to surprize any of these Christian renegadoes, they vse them vilely, knowing that (except they pleased) they wer not constrained to change their religion. And the better to know such, they serch their secret members; and finding the sign of their abiuration; they are handled like turkish slaues, & the oftner bastonaded. If a Christian or Jew liuing among the, shall haue carnal knowledg of a woman Turk; he must either die, or change his religion. In some places, he is sold in the open Market for the Princes profite, if he haue not bin circumcised. Heere I might telye, that some haue hapned on kinde

How they are
daily imploy-
ed and vsed.

How they
deal with wo-
men slaues.

For what cau-
ses they force
Christian Sla-
ues to alter
their religion,
or die.

Of Christian
Renegadoes.

Punishment
for whordom,
in Christians
or Lewes.

A way how
Slaues com-
passed their
liberty, before
a Iudge.

kind & humain Maisters, who haue vsed
thē like their own children, & I my selfe
haue seene some so fortunate; but it fals
out very rarely. *Bellonius* saith, that a
Slaue in Turkey, might cite his Maister
before the Iudge, to tell him for how
long time he should serue him, or else,
what summe of Money he would ac-
cept for his ransome. And the Slaue
making a lawfull Act of the Iudges or-
dination; the Authour affirmeth, that
he hath seene some (by this meanes) to
gaine their freedome. This is to be vn-
derstood, among the Burgesses in Cit-
ties, or Field-labourers: But such as fall
into the handes of Pyrats, or of great &
powerfull Lordes, they very hardly at-
taine to liberty.

The guelding
of young chil-
dren.

Furthermore, this is very certaine;
that young Male Children, either Sons
to their Slaues, or taken in Warre; they
cut off both *Virga* and the Testicles; by
which kinde of incision, very many dye:
But such as haue the fortune to escape;
they sell them at an hundred, or two
hundred Ducates price. Because, when
they grow greater, and come to apt
yeares; the charge of their Wiues are
committed to such Men. For *Turkes*
of good and able meanes, doe keepe di-
uers Wiues: some two, others three,
foure, or fiue commonly, according to
their degree and condition. But the
Prince hath many times in sundry *Sar-
railes*, three or foure hundred Women;
and giues them in marriage to his Offi-
cers, as hee waxeth weary or gluted
with them;

Turkes haue
many Wiues.

A Slaue that practiseth flight and es-
cape (a thing very hard to bee effected,
because the Guardes of the Sea-ports,
Riuers, and else where, are alwaies very
watchfull and circumspect.) If hee be
found to haue no lawfull passe-porte,
then is hee stayed; and brought backe
to his Maister, paying the Wine, that
is, a certaine summe of Money: but af-
terward hee is very cruelly handled.
A Gentleman of *Gascoigne*, returning
out of these countries but a while since,
assured me faithfully, that he saw in *Sy-
ria* two Spaniard Slaues, empaled or
broached on stakes aliue and speaking:
because, that beeing Slaues, they vsed
their endeuour to escape away. Others
also (for the same cause) were hanged
vp by the feet, and beaten on the belley

Two Slaues
spitted on
stakes, for of-
fering to es-
cape.

with many blowes of a Bastonnado.
Some yet (more fortunately) haue ad-
uentured, by conference of sixe or seau-
en Slaues together, that (by diuing in-
to the Sea, or some neere adioyning Ri-
uer) could closely keep themselues hid
all the day time, and afterward tranaile
(with no mean hast) all the night. Then
comming to some great Riuers vpon
the Frontiers, haue made meanes to
breake downe some branches of Trees,
and making thereof a floatage to carry
them; bequeathed themselues to the
Waters mercy in their passage, some
swimming and drawing it one while,
till being faint and well-neere spent, the
other haue relieued them, and by this
meanes some haue been known to saue
themselves.

In what man-
ner some
slaues haue
escaped.

The *Tartars*, after their Slaues haue
serued them seauen yeares, they do en-
franchise them; provided, that they de-
part out of the Countrey. The *Jewes* are
prohibited, to detaine any Christian for
a Slaue, dwelling on the Confines, or
in the Countries subiect to Christian
Princes or Common-weales: but such
they may take, inhabiting in the *Turkes*
Territories; or others of the Mahome-
tane Religion; if they bee none of the
Turkes Slaues, and so knowne to be in
their Countrey. The *Jewes* yet herein
are more wicked then the *Mahometans*,
who compell no Man at any time to al-
ter his Religion; yet they doe it. And
albeit they haue done so, they remaine
(neuerthelesse) as Slaues with them stil.
Our Christians now adaiies perceiuing,
that (in imitation of the *Jewes*) the
Turkes and *Mahometans* will not enfran-
chise their Slaues, although they sub-
mit to their Religion: the very same
course keepe they, and to speake truth,
the most part doe it not, because they
finde thereby not any iot of better v-
sage.

How the *Tar-
tars* release
their Slaues.

Change of re-
ligion admits
no enfran-
chisement in
any Countrey.

Christians
imitate the
Jewes in their
Captiues.

This is the reason; that the *Hungari-
ans*, *Transiluanians*, *Polonians*, *Bohemians*,
Germanes, *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Danes*, and
other people in these daies, doe not en-
franchise their Slaues, for their alterati-
on of Religion. *France* onely carrieth
this priuiledge, that any Slaue treading
on that ground, is forth-with enfran-
chised; as it was sentenced by an an-
cient Arrest of the Court, against an Am-
bassadour. *Bodin* writes, that he saw at
Tholossa,

Any Slaue,
comming in-
to *France*, is
forth-with
franchised.

A Shippe of Slaues Moores brought to Burdeaux.

Thioffa, a Geneway Gentle-man, who was there compelled to enfranchise a Slaue, which he had bought in Spaine. It happened, not many yeares since, that there arriued at Burdeaux (by Sea) a Ship laden with Moores-Slaues, of both Sexes, which a Marchant-Stranger had brought thither, in hope there to make good sale of them. Knowledge heereof being brought to the Lordes then in Parliament, they forth-with dismissed them, and gaue them free liberty. So they went to get dwelling, some in one place, some in another, wher they could finde best meanes of entertainment: And this (in mine opinion) proceeded from most equitable conscience.

What became of the Slaues in elder times

Now let vs see what became of the Slaues in former times, that were among our ancient Christians, and how the race of them became lost; in regard that their Children, and all such as descended of them, were alwaies of seruite condition, if they were not enfranchised by good will of their Maisters. It is to be vnderstood, that (by little and little) Europe ranked it selfe to the Christian Religion, and that the Bishoppes and Fathers in the Church, ordinarily Preached wholly Charity, perswading them (for saluation of their own soules) not to euill-entreat their Slaues, but rather to giue them liberty & enfranchisement: considering, that all Christians (euen by Baptisme) were freed from seruitude, and were their Brethren in our Lord Iesus Christ. By which, and such like holy remonstrances (continued for some length of time) the people began to lend attention thereto; and (by slow steppes or degrees) as well in respect of brotherly loue, as (peradventure) feare of reuolt, which the Slaues then might make, as in former times they had done; they granted them freedome, but let vs note how.

All Christians freed from seruitude by Baptisme.

The manner of enfranchising those Slaues, and vpon what conditions to their Patrones.

They vsed in those daies, to let their Slaues haue the tillage & husbandry of their Lands, and they matching in marriage with Women of their owne condition, gaue them speciall charge, to giue their Patrones (yearely) diuers kinds of Graine; as Oates, Wheat, Ric, Mony, and Poultry: beside all which, they were taxable for the foure accustomed times, for their Patrones or Lords prouision then, euen as if they were

their Prisoners taken in Warre. If the Patrones chanced to mary their daughters; If they vnderooke any voyage beyond the Seas, against the Sarrazins; If they tooke the order of Knighthood, &c. then were these Seruants tyed to sundry kinds of seruices to their Lords. Moreouer, many were charged by their Leases and Couenants, to goe trauaile personally for their Lordes, when they should haue warning thereof, at certain daies limitation. Some found them Wine at their owne expences, and brought it home to their Houses with their Beasts. Some mowed their Meddowes; cleansed the Ditches of their Castles; twisted their spinning; and furnished them with so much Wood, (in part, or wholly) as they should burn for necessary vse. Nor could they alienate the Landes and Inheritances giuen them, but onely by consent of their Patrones: To whom, whatsoever they acquired or purchased out of their Iurisdiccions, or in the same; wholly returned, in case they had no Children: and both they and their Childrens children, were strictly bound to all these conditions. They ought not to leape, dance, or vse any kind of publique reioycing, during the whole yeare, wherein their Patron or his Wife deceased. In brieft, there were many seruitudes willingly accepted by the, some more, some lesse, whereto they yood bound. But the Patron had no power to smite, kill, or molest his Vassaile: for, if he fulfilled not the duties imposed, then should he bring him to open Iustice.

What was to be done at the Seruants own charges, &c.

Patrones had no authority to beat or kill their seruants

For such as went away from their Lords.

Lawes for some kinde of Seruants.

And albeit, one of this seruite condition, should depart, and dwell for euer out of his Lords land: yet notwithstanding, both he and his held, and still should hold the same estate of seruitude; if he did not compound by Money, or compasse (by speciall grace of his Lord) that he might be enfranchised. In many places, if the Seruant (in iudgement) did cut his Girdle, he quitted all his goods, as well present, as to come, or pretended euer to haue & possesse in his country. If then he went and dwelt in a place free, and not subiect to villanage; he was at liberty, and whatsoever he attained vnto afterward; he might dispose of to whom he pleased, not hauing any Children of his owne. Likewise, if

Concerning one free, or Noble.

a man of free or noble condition, either bought, or happened to haue adiudged him any goods in a Land of seruile quality; he was not therby made a Seruant: but if he chanced to dye without Children, the goods which he possessed in that Land, came to the Lorde and Patrone, but not any goods which he had else-where. In some places it is obserued, as an inuiolable Law, that he which remaineth (a yeare and a day) in a Land of seruile condition, and keepeth not Fire continually, without going out or extinguishing: although he be a Freeman, yet he shall there be in the like nature of the other Inhabitants, and hold what he hath by villainage.

Freedome by fire kept a yeare and a day.

The Lord of Roche-blanch, his pretence.

The Lord of *Roche-blanch* in *Gascoigne*, pretended to haue, not only the right of Mort-maine ouer his Subiects; but also that they were bound to til his grounds, manure his Vines, mow his Meddowes, reape and thrash his Corne, builde his Houses, pay his ransome, and stood taxable to the four vsuall Ember-weeks in the kingdom for his prouision: Likewise, that he might bring them backe with Halters about their Necks, if they departed his Countrey without his Licence. This last point (how euer the other stood in force) was cut off by Act of Parliament at *Tholossa*; as being prejudiciall to the right of liberty, and favoring of seruitude, which can take no place in that Kingdome. It seemes that the Monkes (who came very neere this kind of condition) did, and do little differ from such enthralled people: for they can haue nothing properly their owne, but are subiect to their superiours, and all rigours. But herein they differ from the other, that they haue spontaneally made themselues seruants for life time onely, in hope to enioy (after death) eternall liberty. It was prohibited by auncient Lawes, that Abbots, Priours, and Guardians of Conuents, should receiue any into Religion of seruile quality, without the Licence of their Patrones.

Monkes are almost meere Slaues.

The enfranchisements done by charitable Princes.

Many Princes long since, and in our times also, haue enfranchised them of their Countries, deliuering them out of villanage and seruitude, euen in meer Charity, or with Mony: And yet without any prejudice to the rights of Gen-

tlemen, that held their Lands and Signeuries in such Nature. As for example, *Lewes Hutin*, King of *France*, who freed so many as offered themselues to him, with the price of Money, that serued to furnish his Warres. The like did *Humbert*, Prince of *Daulphinie*, in the yeare 1245. *Henry* the second King of *France*, by his Letters Patents, enfranchised them of *Bourbonnois*, in the yeare 1549. imposing a small taxation on them, annually payable. And in his imitation, *Emanuel philibert*, Duke of *Sauoy*, in the yeare 1569. did as much, by perswasion of his deuout and most vertuous Wife and Princeesse, Sister to the fore-named King *Henry*.

Lewes Hutin k. of *France* and others.

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I do not infer, that all Prouinces were subiect to these seruitudes, yet there haue bene diuers in *France*; as part of *la Marche*, *Champaigne*, *Auuergne*, *Forest*, *Bourbonnois*, *Lyonnois*, *Bourgongne*, and others, whereof I may be ignorant. But the lower *Allemaignes* haue thereto bin more subiect, then any other that I know, euen as also *Allemaigne* it selfe. I would therefore aduise, that if any one happen (who is of an vnknowne place) to seeke coniunction in marriage: they would be careful first of his extraction, least it fall out with them, as I haue seen in *Paris*, by an Aduocate of *Lyonnois*, a man of great meanes (attained vnto only by his knowledge) who being married to a woman of an illustrious house, yet he dying without Children: the Patrone came and required lawfull succession, and it was adiudged him by the Court. I could produce diuers Histories to the like effect, but I let them sleep in silence, fearing to be too redious.

Diuers part in *France* subiect to such seruitude.

Great danger in marriages, without careful prevention.

Now a-daies, well neer all Christendome, begins afresh to make vse of Slaues, except in *France*, and some other few places. But such as are desirous to vnderstand more of their estate: let the read the Bookes of the *Romaine* Lawes, and there they shall finde sufficient discourse; as also plenty of the like matter. And because there is no vse made of the in *France*, they are not read of in their Vniuersities: for the reading of such argument, began to cease a little before *Bartholus* wrote, concerning the Law of right, who liued in the yeare 1350.

The Bookes of the *Romaine* Lawes.

CHAP. XII.

Of the subuersion of the most potent Empire of the Chaldæans, and of their admirable Citty of Babylon.

Nothing was more famous in old time, nor more celebrated by all Historiographers, then the riches and magnificence of the Chaldean Empire; which, besides the Oriental Countries (from India to Æthiopia) included, al Ægypt, Affricke, and Spaine. In which respect, Daniell the Prophet said to Nabucadnezzer, who was King thereof: *Tu es Rex Regum, & potestas tua in terminis vniuersæ terræ. Thou art King of Kings, and thy power extends it selfe to the bounds of the whole earth.* Besides that, the wealth, strength, and beauty of Babylon (the Imperiall Seate of the Chaldean Kings) was such; as it giueth sufficient testimony of the Empires great power. For the wals were 50. cubits thick, and 200. cubits high. The Citty was (soure square) 15. miles from one corner to another; and sixty miles in compasse. Infomuch, that Aristotle affirmeth, that whē it was taken, those which dwelt in the furthest part of the Citty, did not heare of it in three daies. It had an hundred Gates, with the thresholds & posts of Brasse; great number of Marble temples, and golden Images: whole streets shining and glittering with Gold and precious stones. And among other Temples, there was one of Belus, four square, containing two Stades euery way, which was a quarter of a mile in length, and a mile in compasse. In the midst whereof there was a Tower, which (as weil in breadth, as in heighth) contained a Stade; that is to say, halfe a quarter of a mile: vpon the which were raised eight other Towers, one aboue another, with easie staires to ascend vp to the top, where there was a Chappell with a sumptuous Bed, and a Table of Gold. Finally, such wonderfull things are written by graue Authors, of Artificiall Mountaines, Orchards, and Gardens (called *Horti pensiles*) hanging Gardens, and such other things, that they

The magnificence and riches of the Chaldean Empire. Tertul aduer. Iudeos. Metasthenes in rebus Iudicis. Lib. 4.

Dan. 2.

The Wealth, Beauty, and Strength of the Citty of Babilon.

Solinus cap. 60. Plin. Lib. 6. Cap. 26. Diodor. Sicul. Lib. 3. Strabo. Lib. 16. Hierom. Lib. 5. in Esay. Cap. 14. Arist. Lib. 3. Politic.

Herodot. Lib. 2.

Bosius apud Iosephum. Diodor. Sicul. Lib. 3.

sceme incredible.

Hereby we may gather, how admirable was the wealth of the Kings of Babylon, and how great the power of their Monarchy; whereof the destruction was prophesied by Esay, 200. yeares before it hapned, who said in the person of God. *Ecce, ego suscitabo super eos Medos, &c. Behold, I will raise against them the Medians: and Babylon, which is so glorious amongst all other Kingdoms, and so notable and famous in the pride of the Chaldæans, shall be ouerthrowne.* In like manner, Jeremy the Prophet (aboue sixty yeares before it was taken) said: *Suscitauit Dominus, &c. The Lord hath raised vp the spirit of the King of the Medians against Babylon, and his meaning is to destroy it.* Also Daniell the Prophet, interpreting to Balthazar King of Babylon, the words, *Mana, Thekel, Phares* (which were written miraculously before him, as hee was banqueting with his Nobility) fore-tolde the very day before it was taken, that God had giuen his Kingdom to the Medes & Persians. All which was accomplished the night following, when Darius K. of Media and Persia (whom Xenophon cald *Ciaces*) besiedging Babylon, tooke it on a sudden, with the help of his Nephew Cyrus the Persian, in the time of a great Feast, when the King, Nobility, & and people (contemning their enemies, in ouer-weening their owne strength) attended only to banquets & sports, as both Xenophon and Herodotus do testifie. They doe also declare the meanes how they tooke it, agreeing to the Prædictions of the Prophets: To wit, by a Stratagem of Cyrus, who caused certain ditches to be opened, to draw away the riuer Euphrates which passed through the Town; whereby the Channell was left dry, and the souldiers entring suddenly, surprised it without resistance.

Of this drawing away the Riuer, Jeremy prophesied plainly, saying; *Desertum faciam mare eius, & siccabo venâ eius. I will make her Sea (that is to say, her famous Riuer Euphrates) desert, and I will dry vp the vaine or Channell thereof.* And againe. *Vada præoccupato sunt, &c. Her Fords or Waters, are preoccupied or intercepted.* And againe. *Siccitas super aquas eius. Her Waters shall become dry.*

Thus began the execution of Gods wrath vpon Babylon, and on the Empire of

The destruction of Babylon prophesied 200. yeares before it hapned.

Esay. Cap. 13.

Ierem. Cap. 50.

Dan. Cap. 5.

Zenoph Lib. 7. How the prophesie of the destruction of Babylon was accomplished by the testimony of prophane Authors. Zenoph. lib. 7. Herodot. lib. 2.

Ierem. Cap. 15.

of the *Chaldæans*, which was then translated to the *Medians* and *Persians*, according to the Prædictions of the Prophets: which Prædictions (neuertheless) were not fulfilled all at once, but in proesse of time. For the Prophets fore-told not onely the surprize of the City, but also the vtter desolation thereof, and of the whole Countrey of *Babylon*. *Murus ille Babilonis latissimus*, (saith *Jeremy*) *suffosione suffodietur*, &c. That exceeding broad wall of *Babylon*, shall bee undermined, and digged up, and the high and magnificiall Gates thereof, shall be burnt. And againe in another place, speaking to the *Babylonians*, hee saith; *Confusa est mater vestra*, &c. Your mother (meaning *Babylon*) is wholly confounded, and made euen with the ground, &c. And all those which shall passe by it, shall be amazed, and shall hisse at it, in respect of the plagues that shall fall vpon it. Also *Esay* prophesied, that it should become a Wildernesse, saying; *Non habitabitur vsq; in finem, nec ponet ibi tentoria Arabs, nec pastores requiescent, sed requiescent ibi bestia*, &c. It shall not be inhabited to the end, nor the *Arabian* (who driues his cattell from place to place, to seek feeding for them) shall not pitch his Tentes there, nor so much as Shepheards shall remaine there, but it shall be a receptacle for wilde beasts.

All this (I say) was woefully accomplished afterward, for *Darius* the Sonne of *Histaspis* the *Persian*, tooke *Babylon* againe the second time, about forty years after the first surprize, by occasion of the *Babylonians* rebellion, and then he rased the strong and stately wals thereof. And though the City was left standing; yet it fell (by little and little) to desolation. Especially after the building of *Seleucia* by *Seleucus Nicanor*, and of *Ctesiphonte* by the Kinges of the *Parthians*: from which time forward it grew to be dispeopled. In so much, that in the time of *Adrian* the Emperour, there was nothing left of *Babylon* but a poore Wall, which serued in *Saint Ieromes* time (as hee witnesseth) for an enclosure for all kinds of wild Beasts, that were reserued and kept there, for recreation of the Kinges of that Countrey, when they came to hunt in those parts. And those which haue trauailed lately that way, affirme; that all that part where *Babylon*

stood, is so full of Lyons and sauage Beasts, yea, and of murthering Theetes, and Robbers; that passengers are faine to haue Guards of Souldiers for their safety. Which I also note by the way, as an accomplishment of the Prophesie of *Jeremy*, who said. *Habitabunt ibi dracones, cum fatuis sicarijs*; Dragons or Beasts of the Desert, with wicked Murderers, shall dwell there.

Lastly, it is certainly reported by others which haue been there, that there is not there-about any Towne or Village (for *Bagadat*, which is now called *New Babylon*, is a daies iourney from the place where the olde stood) nor so much as a Tree or greene Hearbe in all that Territory: but that all is (as the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold.) *Deserta & arenes*, Desert and dry. Which may be wondered at; considering the admirable fertility thereof in times past, for (as *Plinie* saith) it was the most fruitfull Countrey of all the East. And *Herodotus* affirmeth, that the ground yeilded ordinarily two hundred for one, and some yeares three hundred. And he forbearth (as he saith) to recount other particulers thereof, because the same would seeme incredible, to such as had neuer seene it.

But for as much as the Prophets doe all specifie the particular causes; that is to say, the finnes whereby the *Babylonians* and *Chaldæans* incurred the wrath of Almighty God, and deserued so great a punishment: I will lay them downe in the Prophets owne words. *Esay* speaking of *Babylon* in the person of God, said. *Quiescere faciam superbiam infidelium, & arrogantiam fortium humiliabo*. I will make the pride of the miscreants or Infidels to cease, and I will humiliate the arrogancy of the strong. And in another place, the same Prophet speaking to *Babylon*, of the calamities that should fall vpon her, said. *Vniuersa venerunt super te*, &c. All thy miseries fell vpon thee for the multitude of thy Witch-crafts, and for the hardness of the hearts of thy Enchaunters, &c. Stand forth with the multitude of thy Witchcrafts, wherein thou hast laboured, euen from thine Infancy, and see whether they can profit thee any thing. Thy Astrologers, and those which were wont to contemplate the Starres, and to tell thee things to come: let them now come forth, and saue thee

Ierem. Cap. 51.

Idem. Cap. 50.

Esay. Cap. 13.

Herodot. Lib. 3. Justin. Lib. 1.

Plin. cap. 6. Lib. 26.

Hierom. Lib. 5. in Esay. Cap. 13. in fine.

The great desolation of that place, where *Babylon* stood.

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Ierem. Cap. 10.

Bagadat, now called *New Babylon*, adares iourney distant from where the olde stood.

Bozins de ruinis gent. & regno. Not a greene hearbe or Tree in the territory of old *Babylon*.

Plin. nat. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 26. Herod. Lib. 2.

The admirable fertility of the Countrey of *Babylon* in times past.

Esay Cap. 13. The particular causes why God destroyed *Babylon*.

The pride of the *Babylonians*.

Witch-crafts. *Esay Cap. 47. Ibid.*

Superstitious Astrology.

thee if they can. Behold, they are all made like straw or stubble, the fire hath burnt the, every one hath erred in his way, and none can save thee.

Jerem. Cap. 51. The crueltie of the Babylonians towards the people of God, & their Temple. Jerem. Cap. 50.

Also *Jeremy* comforteth the *Jewes* in their captiuitie, saying in the person of *God*: *Reddam Babiloni, &c. I will render to Babylon, and to all the people of Chaldaea, all the euill and hurt they haue done in Syon.* And againe, *The Foundations of Babylon are fallen, the wals are destroyed; for it is the reuenge of our Lord, and the reuenge of his Temple.*

Dan. Cap. 5. Idolatry, and the prophanation of holy vessels.

Lastly, *Daniell* expounding to *Balthasar* (the last King thereof) the inscription written on the Wall, by the hand which appeared as he was banqueting with his Nobility: signified vnto him, that *God* had giuen his Kingdome to the *Medes* and *Persians*, as well for his pride and Idolatry; as also, because (in that banquet) he *Prophaned the holy vessels of the Temple*, which *Nabuchadnezzar* his Grand-father had brought from *Ierusalem*, when he led the *Jewes* into captiuitie. So that the mighty and potent finnes for which *God* did ouerthrow so great an Empire, were, *Pride, Witchcraft, the superstitious use of Astrologie, cruelty towards the people of God, destruction of his Temple in Hierusalem, and the prophanation of holy vessels dedicated to Gods seruice.* Whereby we may see, how heinous those finnes were in the sight of *God*, and how grieuous the penalty of sinne is. Lastly, how true it is which *S. Jerome* saith, speaking of that mightie Empires subuersion: *All humane power is but dust and ashes, when the wrath of God striketh for sinne.* Thus much concerning the destruction of *Babylon*, and Translation of the *Chaldean* Empire to the *Medians*: Next I thinke it most conuenient for me, to relate the destruction of *Ierusalem*, and wofull calamities of the *Jewes* euer since.

Hierom. lib. 5. in Esay. Cap. 14. All humane power but dust & ashes, when God striketh for sinne.

CHAP. XLII.

Of the destruction of *Ierusalem*, and wofull calamities of the *Jewes* euer since.

Esay. cap. 10. & 23. Jerem. Cap. 19.

I omit (for breuities sake) the Prophecies of *Esay* and *Jeremy*, and will ouelie

speake of two other: the one of *Daniel*, and the other of our *Sauour* himselfe. *Daniel* writing after the first destruction of *Hierusalem* by *Nabuchadnezzar*, during the *Jewes* captiuitie in *Babylon*, and hauing prophesied of the re-edification of the Temple, saith further in these wordes: *Et post sexaginta duas hebdomadas, occidetur Christus, &c. After threescore and two weekes* (that is to say, 490. yeares, counting the weekes by yeares, and not by daies; to wit, seauen yeares to euery weeke) *Christ, or the Messias shall be killed, and the people which shall not be his people, and the Cittie and Sanctuary shall be destroyed, by a people that shall come with their Captaine, and the end of it shall be destruction, and after the end of the war, shall follow the determined desolation.*

Daniels prophesie of Ierusalem destruction.

Dan. Cap. 7.

This was the prophesie of *Daniell*, of *Ierusalem*s destruction, and the cause thereof, about 500. yeares before it happened: which our *Sauour* himselfe told more particularly, who (a little before his passion) going downe to *Hierusalem* from the *Mount Oliuet* (whence he had the full view and prospect of the *Cittie*) wept for compassion hee had of the misery that was to fall vpon it, saying; *Veniens dies inte, &c. The daies shall come in thee Hierusalem, that thy Enemies shall enuiron thee round about, and shall straiten thee on enery side, and shal not leaue in thee one stone vpon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.* And againe (afterwards) he said to his *Disciples*. *When ye shall see Ierusalem besieged with an Army: then know, that the desolation thereof is at hand. Then those which are in Iudea, let them fly to the Mountaines, and those that are in the midst of it, let them depart; and those which are in the Countries adioyning, let them not enter inso it: For that these are the daies of reuenge, to the end that al those things which haue bin written thereof, may be fulfilled. Woe be to Women with child, and to Nurses in those daies; for there shal be great misery vpon the earth, & wrath vpon the people: and they shall fall in the face of the Sword, and shall bee carried captiues into all Nations, and Ierusalem shal be troden under the feet of the Gentiles.*

Our Sauours prophesie of Ierusalem destruction.

Luke. Cap. 19

Luke. Cap. 21 Math. Cap. 24 Mark. Cap. 13

And afterward againe, when the women of *Ierusalem* bewayled and lamented him, when he went to his Passion, he said to them. *Weepe not for me (o yee Daughters of Ierusalem) but for your selues and*

Luke. Cap. 23

and your Children. For loe, the daies shall come, when they shall say; Happy are the barren, and the wombs that haue not borne children, and the paps that haue not giuen suck. Then they shall begin to say to the mountains, fall vpon vs; and to hills, couer vs, &c. Thus said our Sauior, which I haue set down the more particularly; to the end, we may consider, how the euent corresponded to his Prophecie, by the Testimony of prophane Authors; especially of famous *Iosephus* the Jew, who was an eye-witnesse, and partaker of the common calamity of his Country, though (being blinded no lesse then the rest) he had not the grace to acknowledge the true cause thereof.

Although there passed almost sortie yeares, before the siege of *Ierusalem* after our Sauiors death: yet Almighty God began much sooner, to execute his iust iudgements vpon the *Iewes*, in most euident and rigorous manner; not only in *Ierusalem* & *Iudea*, but also in al other parts where they dwelled. It seeming conuenient to his Iustice, that as they were assembled in *Ierusalem* at his passion, and all consenting to his condemnation; so they should pay the penaltrie thereof in all parts wheresoeuer they liued. And therefore, within 7. or 8. yeares after our Sauior suffered, there were infinite numbers of them slaughtered in all the Citties of *Syria*, *Egipt*, and other countries by conspiracies of the people against them. As in *Scelentia* 50000. In *Damascus* 18000. In *Casarea* 20000. In *Scithopolis* 13000. In *Ascalon* 2500. In *Alexandria* 50000. Beside 10000: more in other Citties of *Egipt*; and 5000. in *Ioppa*. Within a few yeares after, *Claudius* the Emp. banished al the *Iewes* out of *Rome*, by a publike Edict, and out of all the Country of *Iudea*. Besides, the City of *Hierusalem* was miserably infected with Theues, Robbers, Murderers; Magicians, false Prophets, and seditious persons, prophaning the very Temple with bloud: insomuch, that 20000: were killed, and the most of them stifled in a tumult in *Hierusalem*; at a Feast of Easter (as we call theit *Pascha*.) Al which *Iosephus* recounteth, as the preamble to their ruine. Besides, their Governours did vse such tyranny vpon them, vnder the Emperours *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*: that very many of them were for-

ced to abandon their Countrey, and the rest to rebell. Which brought vpon the Armies of the *Romaines*; first vnder *Cestius*, Governour of *Syria*, who burned, spoyled, and ransacked all *Palestine*, and besiedged *Ierusalem* it selfe. Afterward, *Vespasian* destroyed all the Country, and great numbers of the people with Fire and Sword: whiles also (in the meane time) they were miserably afflicted with Famine and Ciuill Wars, by reason of three potent seuerall factions, which arose amongst them; first, in the Provinces abroad, and after in the City of *Ierusalem*; where the seditious slue great numbers of their Aduersaries, euen in the Temple it selfe, and committed such horrible sacriledges, & other abominable mischiefes therin, that *Iosephus* saith thereof. *Non recusabo dicere &c. I wil not forbear to say that, which sorrow forceth me to vtter. I verily thinke, that if the Romaines had not come when they did, against those most wicked men of my Nation, either the earth wold haue opened & swallowed the Citry, or another Deluge wold haue drowned it; or thunder-bolts and fire from Heauen wold haue destroyed and consumed it.*

Thus saith *Iosephus*, and this was the state of the *Iewes*, when *Vespasian* (being chosen Emperour of the *Romaines*) left the charge and prosecution of the warre against them, to his Sonne *Titus*: who (presently after) planted his siege before the City of *Hierusalem*, while the *Iewes* (according to their yearely custome) were assembled there out of all parts, to celebrate their Feast of *Pascha*. Which time was ordained by the special prouidence of God, that the time of their punishment, might answer to the time of their offence (for that they had put our Sauior to death at their *Paschall* Feast.) And partly, to the end, that the reuenge might be the more compleat on the whol Nation, by reason of the infinit number of them that were assembled there, for celebration of the Feast; euen from all parts of *Iudea*; and the Countries adioyning: The Towne being besiedged, was (within few daies) enuironed by the *Romaines*, according to our Sauiors prophecie; not onely with a Trench, but also with a wall; in such sort; that no liuing creature could issue out any way: By means whereof, and of the great multitude of people within the Town, there

Idem. ibid. lib. 3. Cap. 2. 3. 4.

Idem. ibid. Lib. 6. cap. 2.

Ioseph. de bel. Iudaic. Lib. 6. Cap. 16.

Ierusalem besiedged by Gods especial prouidence; at a Feast of Easter.

How our Sauiors prophecie was fulfilled. Luke 19.

The siege of *Ierusalem* 40. yeares after our Sauiors passion.

The wonderful punnishments of God vpon the *Iews* many yeares before the siege of *Ierusalem*.

Ioseph. lib. 2. de bello Iudaico. cap. 11. et in 41. Idem. de bel. Iudaic. Lib. 2. cap. 19. 20 et Lib. 7. Cap. 28. Sueton. in Claudio. Ann. 51.

Ioseph. Lib. 10. de Antiqu. cap. 6 & de bel. Iudaic. Lib. 2. Cap. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. Idem. Lib. 20. de Antiquit. cap. 7.

Idem. lib. 2. de bello Iudaic.

Ioseph. de bel. Iud. lib. 6. Cap. 13. et Lib. 7. ca. 7. 8. The extreame famine in besieged Ierusalem.

Luke. Cap. 23

The extreame misery of the Iewves besieged.

Ioseph. Lib. 6. cap. 12.

Luke. Cap. 23

Ioseph. de bel. Iud. lib. 6. ca. 13

Ioseph. de bel. Iud. lib. 6. Cap. 14.

Esay. Cap. 19.

Ioseph. de bel. Iud. lib. 6. cap. 14.

grew (within a while) such extreame of famine: that they were forced to eat, not onely Horles, Asses, Dogs, Rats, & Mice, & the Leather that couered their Shields and Bucklers; but also the very dung out of the Stables, yea, and a Noble woman was known to eate her own child that suckt vpon her breast; wherein was fulfilled the Prophecie of our Sauiour, when he said: *Beate steriles, &c. Happy are the barren, and the bellies which haue not brought forth Children, &c.*

But to proccede, in the meane time, the besieged were no lesse infested with cruell sedition, and war amongst themselves; then with famine, & the assaults of their enemies abroad. Insomuch, that they filled the Citty and Temple with their own blood, and such as were taken by the Romans, were (by the commaund of Titus) crucified before the wals of the Citty, to the number of 500. euery day, vntill at length (as Iosephus reporteth) there wanted both Crosses for the Bodies, and place for the Crosses: so that, their clamorous sentence of *Crucifige*, (giuen against our Sauiour Christ) was iustly executed vpon themselves.

Also, great numbers of them, who (being forced with Famine) sought to saue their lines, by yeilding themselves to their enemies: were (neuertheless) killed by the Syrian and Arabian Souldiers, and their Bowels ript vp, in hope to find Gold therein; vpon a report, or at least a conceit, that the Iewves did swallow their Gold, to conuay it out of the Citty by that meanes. And such was the misery within the City, by Famine, Pestilence, and cruelty of the factions one against another; that (as Iosephus reporteth) all the sinkes, void places, and retreats; yea; the very streets were full of dead bodies, which were continually cast out from the Houses, and trodden vpon like Dust and Dirt. Wherein the Prophecie of Esay was fulfilled, who said; *Facta sunt morticina, &c. Their Carkasses, became like Dirt or Dung in the midst of the Streetes.* And although it was ordained at the first, that the dead Bodies should bee buried at the Citties publike charge, to remedy the contagion, which daily increased by the Pestilent fauour of them: yet the number grew within a while to be so great, that there was no place to bury them; inso-

much, that the liuing were forced to cast the dead ouer the Wals, into the Ditch of the Towne, and in so great numbers, that Titus the Romaine Generall seeing it, and noting the filth and corruption that issued out of their Woundes and Plague-sores, most loathsome to behold, exclaiming, said: *That it was some extraordinary punishment of God vpon them for their sinnes; and not any effect of his sledge.*

Finally, after five months sledge, the Temple and City were burned, and the Wals rased, excepting one little peece thereof, which was left for some shelter and defence for the Souldiours, who were to remain in those parts: besides, some pieces of three Towers, which Titus commaunded should be left, for a Monument and remembrance of his sledge. Whereas al the rest of the Citty was destroyed (as Iosephus saith) that it seemed neuer to haue beene inhabited: Which our Sauiour signified, when he said; *Et prosternent, &c. And they shall lay thee flat vpon the ground, and one stone shall not be left vpon another in thee.* To conclude, the number of those which were slaine, and dyed during the sledge, was (as Iosephus reporteth) a Million and an hundred thousand, and of the Captiues 97000. whereof Iosephus himselfe was one: And of those, some were condemned to the publike works; others (of the stronger and handsomer sort) carried in triumph; and such as were vnder the age of 17. yeares, were sold for little or nothing. And those which remained in the Countrey, were loaden with such grieuous impositions and tributes, that they liued in continuall misery.

Thus much concerning the destruction of Ierusalem, whereof (I thinke) the like hath not bin read or heard in all Antiquity. But what was the Iustice of God satisfied, & his wrath towards the Iewves appeased with this? No, for (as the Prophet Esay said, when he prophesied of the lamentable destruction of the Citty:) *In omnibus his non est auersus furor eius, sed adhuc manus eius extenta. His wrath was not auerted from them with all this, but his hand is still out-stretched to punish them.*

This may evidently appeare, by the wonderfull calamities which fell vpon them after, not only in Iudaa, but also in all

Ierusalem taken and destroyed, after five months sledge.

Ioseph. Lib. 7. Cap. 10.

Luke 19.

Ioseph. Lib. 7. Cap. 17. The number of Iewves that dyed & were slaine, and of the Captiues.

The continuance of Gods punishments vpon the Iewves, euer since the destruction of Ierusalem.

Esay. Cap. 5.

Anno. 116. & 117.

Euseb. in Chron. 18. an. Traiani.

Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 2. et in Chron.

Infinite numbers of Jewes slain in diuers parts of the World, in the times of the Emperours Traiane and Adrian.

Dion in Hadriano.

Hierom. in Zachariam. Cap. 21. Anno. 137.

Euseb. Ecclesi. Hist. lib. 4. ca. 6. Jewes forbidden by Edict to behold their owne Country a far off.

Iulius Capitolin. in Anton. Anno. 141.

The affliction of the Jewes vnder An. Pius, Mar. Aurel. and Seuerus. Am. Mar. Lib. 22. Anno. 173.

Spartian. in Seuerus. Baron. Anno. 199.

all other places where they were dispersed: As first (in the next age) in the time of Traiane the Emperour, within lesse then fifty yeares after the subuersion of Ierusalem; Infinita eorum millia, &c. (saith Eusebius) Infinite thousands of them were killed, for their rebellions in Ægypt, Mesopotamia, and the Island of Cyprus. For in Alexandria in Egypt, where they liued in great multitude, all of them were put to the Sword. In Macedonia, they were vtterly extinguished. And in Cyprus they were all eyther killed, or banished; and a Law made, that it should be death for any Jew to tarry there, though he were driuen thither by Tempest against his wil. And a few yeares after, Iulius Seuerus being called out of Brittany by the Emperour Adrian (to repress a rebellion of the Jewes) destroyed almost al the countrey.

For, as Dion writeth, he dismanteld fifty strong Forts, razed or burnt 965. Townes and Villages, and killed aboue 50000. Jewes in battaile, besides that, an infinite number of others either died by fire, famine, and pestilence, or were sold for Slaues. And such (saith S. Hierom) as could not be sold, Were translated into Ægypt, or else perished by ship-wracke, famine, or by the sword of the Gentiles. And the Emperour hauing (lately before) redified the Citty of Ierusalem, and called it (after his owne Name) Ælia Adria, commaunded by publike Edict: that no Jew should (euer after) enter into the Territory or iurisdiction thereof, nor so neere vnto it, that hee might behold it from any high place. Shortly after Adrians time, they were also miserably afflicted by the Emperour Antonius Pius, for another rebellion; and after him again, by Marcus Aurelius, who being wearied with their continuall tumults (as saith Ammianus Marcellinus) exclaimed against them, saying; That they were worse then the Marcomani, Quadi, and Sarmates, whom he held to be the most beastly of all barbarous Nations: And again, some yeares after they were subdued and destroyed by the Emp. Seuerus, who triumphed for his great victory against them, and renewed the decrees of Adrian, for their exclusion from the sight of their Country, by means whereof, they were counted no better then Vagabonds.

And therefore Tertullian (who wrote in the same time) said of them thus. *Dispersi, palabundi cœli et soli sui extorres, vagantur per orbem sine homine, sine Deo rege. They wander about the world, dispersed, scattred, & banished from their natue soyle and ayre, hauing neither God nor Man for their King: Quibus nec aduenarum iure, terram patriam salutare conceditur: Who may not so much as (in guest-wise) salute or see their owne Countrey.* Thus said Tertullian, and so odious & hatefull became they afterward to all men; that they were tearmed *Fœtentes Iudæi*, Filthy and stinking Jewes, as appeareth in Amianus Marcellinus, a Pagane Historiographer.

Whereof some also yeild a particuler reason, manifesting Gods malediction vpon them; to wit, That all Jewes haue a filthy and lothsome sauor continually, euer since their dispersion; and that they perswade themselues, that the same cannot be cured, but with drinking the blood of Christians. For which cause, they haue killed many children at diuers times, and in diuers * Countries. And particularly in Trent, in the yeare of our Lord 1475. at what time they miserably crucified a young Child of 20. monthes old, called Simon; and the Jewes being taken for the fact, confessed, that one of the causes that mooued them thereto, was to drinke his blood, for remedy of their stinking disease: as writeth Iohannes Mathias Tiberinus, a Learned Philitian, who liued in Trent at the same time. But to returne to the former ages, from whence I haue a little digressed. After the time of the Emperour Seuerus, they rebelled also against Constantine the Great; for the which, great numbers of them had their eares cut off, and were (by the Emperors commandement) dispersed throughout all Countries, with that and other marks of Infamy, for generall shame and reproach of al the Nation. And not many yeares after, there were many thousands of them slaine in Iudea, without respect of young or old: And three or foure of their chiefe Cities; and very many of their Townes, were burnt in the time of Constantius, Son to Constantine the Great, for another rebellion.

And heere I cannot but note by the way (for further manifestation of Gods wrath towards them) that although the

Tertul. cont. Iudeos Cap. 11. et Apologet. ca. 21.

The Paynims called the Jewes, *Fœtentes Iudæi*, stinking Jewes. Am. Marcel. Lib. 22.

The reason of the stinke that the Jewes haue, and the remedy which they haue sometimes vsed for the same.

* See Mat. Paris and I. Capgrane, of the death of S. Hugh a childe, crucified at Lincoln. Anno. 1175. and another at Norwich. An. 1146.

Surius 24. Marty. 10. Mar. Ep ad Senat. pop. Britann.

Chrysf. Orat. 2. aduers. Iudeos circa. An. 313. The misery of the Jewes in the time of Constantine the Great, & Constantius his Sonne.

Hier. in Chron. Anno. 352. Sozomen. Libi 4. Cap 6.

The fauour done to the Iewes by Iulian the Apostata, turned to their confuſion.

Emperour *Iulian* the *Apostata*, who ſucceeded *Constantius*, fauored the ſo much for the ſhort time of his raigne (which was but 20. months) that he gaue them leaue, not only to returne to *Ieruſalem* to inhabite there; but alſo to re-edicifie their Temple, yet it rather turned to their confuſion, then to their contentment and commodity. For firſt, as concerning the re-edicification of their Temple, when they had made collections of great ſums of Money (whereto, as well Women as Men moſt zealouſly contributed ſo much, as they were any way able, with intention to make it more beautifull then euer it was:) they loſt both their labour & charges, being forced (by three prodigious accidents) to ſurceaſe the worke after they had begun it.

The re-edicification of the Temple in *Ieruſalem* miraculoſly hindered.

For when all things neceſſarie for the building were provided, the foundation laid vpon the ground-workes of the old Temple, the wals riſing apace, the *Iewes* triumphing, and inſulting againſt our Sauour *Chriſt* and the *Chriſtians* (who were much diſmaied, in reſpect of the cleare prophesies of *Daniell*, fore-telling the perpetual deſolation of the temple:) It pleaſed Almighty God, that firſt an Earth-quake diſſolued the Foundation, and ouerthrew the wal that was begun; and then a fire from Heauen conſumed as well the Tooles and Inſtruments of the Work-men, as alſo the Timber and other matters prepared for the building; yea, and burnt very many of the *Iewes* themſelues. Laſtly, for their further confuſion, and that it might be manifeſt vnto them, from whence all this proceeded: there appeared a Croſſe in the ayre, and the apparrell of all thoſe which were preſent, was miraculoſly marked with Croſſes, which could neuer after be waſhed out, nor taken away by any meanes; where-with the *Iewes* were ſo confounded, that they deſiſted from their work, and many of them became *Chriſtians*. This Story is written by *Ruffinus*, *Socrates*, *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, and *S. Chriſoſtome*, who ſaith; *Huius rei nos omnes teſtes ſumus, noſtra enim at ite ante annos viginti hec acciderunt. We are all witneſſes of this matter, for it hapned in this our age, litle more then 20. years ago.* Loe then how little the fauour of earthly Kings and Princes auaieth, when the

Anno. 363.

Ruffin. Lib. 1. Cap. 37. Socr. lib. 3. cap. 17. Greg. Nazian. Orat. 2. in Iulianum. Chriſt. Orat. 2. aduer. Iudeos.

heauenly King diſfaouereth and puniſheth for ſinne. And alſo how true it is which the royal Prophet ſaith; *Niſi Dominus edificauerit domum, &c. Except the Lord builde the houſe, they labour in vaine who build it.* And now as concerning the aboad of the *Iewes* at *Hieruſalem* afterwards, it is euident, that they remained not long there: but that within a while after *Iulians* death (who dyed preſentlie after this chanced;) they were not onely expelled thence, but alſo forbidden againe to enter into the City. For we read, that within 20. yeares after, in the time of the Emperors *Theodoſius* & *Valentinian*, their cuſtome was to purchaſe licence for Money (yearely) to goe thither, to bewaile the ſubuerſion of their Temple, in the aniuersary day thereof: as witneſſeth *S. Ierom*, who liued many years in thoſe parts, and wrote there (at the ſame time) his learned Commentaries vpon the leſſer Prophets. Wherein hee notably deſcribeth the miſerable eſtate, as well of the whole Countrey, as of the *Iewes* themſelues, which therefore I thought good to ſet down in his owne words.

As for the deſtruction (ſaith he) of the ſtrong Cirties, which were wont to be in *Iudea*; I thinke it may better bee iudged by the eye, then by the eare; better by ſight, then by report. And I eſpecially, who am now in this Prouince, cannot but ſee it, and approue thoſe things which haue bene written of it: For we ſee now ſcant any litle Monument of the old ruines, in ſome of the greateſt Citties which flouriſhed in times paſt. In *Silo*, where the Tabernacle and Arke of the Teſtament of our Lord was; the very Foundations of the Altar ſcant appeare. *Gabaa*, that great City of *Saul*, is pulled downe to the very ground. *Rama* and *Bethoron*, and the other famous Citties, built by *ſalomon*; are now little villages. And a litle after. And at this preſent day, the perfidious and Traiterous *Iewes*, are forbidden to enter into *Ieruſalem*; except it bee to weepe, and bewaile the ſubuerſion of their Temple, for the which alſo they are enforced to pay Money. So that, as in times paſt, they bought the bloud of *Chriſt*: ſo now they are faine to buy their owne teares, and cannot bee ſuffered ſo much as to weepe of free coſt. You might ſee, in

Circa An. 389.

The *Iewes* purchaſed licence for mony, to goe to *Ieruſalem* to bewaile the ſubuerſion of their Temple, in the time of *Theodoſius*.

Ierom. in Sophoniam. Cap. 1. Saint *Ierome* an eye-witneſſe of the deſolation of *Iudea*, and miſery of the *Iewes*.

As the *Iewes* bought the bloud of *Chriſt*, ſo they were faine afterward to buy their owne teares,

in the day that *Ierusalem* was taken and destroyed by the *Romaines* (that wofull people) old Women at Deaths doore, and old Men loaden no lesse with rags, then yeares, came flocking thither, bearing the Testimony of Gods wrath in their very Bodies and Habits. And a little after; A wofull multitude of miserable people (whom yet no Man pittie) assemble themselues there, to lament the ruine of their Temple. And while they haue yet their Cheekes bedewed with Teares, and their naked Armes stretched vppe to Heauen; and their Hairespred about their eares: the pittilesse Souldier asketh them some reward, to suffer them to weepe a little longer. And can any Man (who shall see this) doubt, but that this is the day of their tribulation, and the time of their Anguish, Calamity, and misery, whereof the Prophet speaketh? Thus saith Saint *Hierom*, of the Infelicity of the Iewes, and their exclusion from *Ierusalem*, in the time of *Theodosius*.

Furthermore, Saint *Chrysostome* writing some yeares after, in the time of the Emperours *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, affirmed, that the Iews hauing lost their Liberty and Country; *Were contemptible and ridiculous to all men throughout the World, from the East to the West, and to the very extremitie and further-most boundes of the Earth.* Their misery also (in those times) appeareth by two Lawes of *Honorius* the Emperour; the one against them, and the other in fauour of them. By the first he ordained, *That no Iewe should haue any kinde of Honour or Office in the Common-wealth, and that such as already had any, should bee deprived thereof.* The other Law made in fauour of them; was; *To repressse the fury of the people against them in all parts,* because for foure yeares together, before that Law was made; their Sinagogues were burnt, & they themselues despightfully and cruelly handled euery where; which the Emperor restrained by a publike Edict, least (otherwise) they should be vtterly extinguished.

And who is able to recount all the plagues and calamities, which since that time haue fallen vpon the euery where? And how they haue bin oppressed, spoiled, banished, and massacred, wheresoeuer they haue liued? In *France* 50000.

of them were forced to be baptizd, or to fly the Countrey, in the yeare of our Lorde 614. In *Spaine*, a conspiracy of theirs being detected, in the yeare 694. all their goods were confiscate, themselves made Slaues, and their Children (vnder the age of seauen yeares) taken from them and Christned. In the yeare 1009. it being discouered and published, that certaine Iewes in *France* had intelligence (by Letters) with the Prince of *Babylon*, and had procured the subuersion of a famous Church in *Ierusalē*, wher the Sepulcher of our Sauior was said to be; there was such a general hatred conceiued against them throughout Christendome, that they were tormented & slaine in all places where they dwelled; some hanged, some burned, others put to the Sword: besides, very many; that (to auoide torments) killed themselues. Also in the year 1348. infinite numbers of them were massacred in *Spain*, *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, vpon a report, that they had poysoned the Wells in al those Countries, and caused a great mortality of people, which dyed at the same time. And in the yeare 1492. all Iewes were expelled out of *Spaine*, to the number of 124000. Families, of whom there died 2000. of the plague; as they were removing, and the like rigour was vsed against them in *Portugall* some few years after.

Also in *England*; in the time of *K. Richard* the first, great numbers of them that then dwelled in *Lincolne* and *Yorke*, were slaine (as well women as men) in a tumult of the people. And vnder King *John*, they were miserably oppressed with taxes and impositions, and such of them as wold not pay what was demanded of them; were cruelly tormented; vntill they gaue satisfaction. Amongst others, it is writen of one of them, that seauen of his teeth were pulled out, one after another, before he would graunt to pay a Taxe of ten thousand Markes; which he was content at last to pay, to saue the rest. Lastly, vnder King *Edward* the first, they were all banished out of *England* by Act of Parliament.

And at this present time, experience sheweth, that wheresoeuer they yet dwell among Christians; they liue in al contempt and subiection, being (as it were) slaues to them whom they most hate.

Aimonnius & append. ad Greg Turo. An. 614. Hispa. An. 614

Ioan. I. 1. 2. Chron. Hist. An. 694. Gaber. Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Baro An. 1009 Nauic. in Anno. 1348. Pet. Mex. de vit. Imp. in Cato

Chrysost. Orat. 2 cont. Iud. eos. Circa. An. 397.

The misery of the Iewes in the times of *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*.

rod. Theod. lib. 24. An. 428.

The calamities of the Iewes in all Christian Countries, since the year of our Lord, 600.

The misery of the Iewes in *England*, while they liued there. *Polid. in Ric. 2. Idem. in Ioan.*

Math Paris. Hist. in Ioan.

Polid. in Ed. 1.

Iewes at this present euery where contemned and oppressed, as well among Turkes & Moores, as among Christians.

hate. And so odious is the race & name of them in most Christian Countries, that it is counted Infamy to be descended of them, or to marry with them, although they become Christians. In so much, that in *Spaine* and *Portugall*, where there are great numbers of baptized *Iewes* (whom they call *Christianos nuevos*, *New Christians*) no man is capable (of them) of any Knighthood, or yet (in some places) of any dignity Ecclesiasticall or Temporall; if he be any way descended of them, which is speciallie enquired of, by expresse Commissions sent forth for that purpose. Neither is this their oppression or seruitude onely amongst Christians; but also among *Turkes & Moores*, as graue Authours do testifie, and those which trauaile their Countries, do finde by experience.

Finally, we may adde hereto another plague (surpassing all the rest) which God hath laid vpon them, for the consummation of their infelicity & misery: I meane their blindnesse and hardnesse of hart, which is not only of it selfe *magna damnatio*, *A great damnation* (as *S. Augustine* calleth it, but also doth exclude them from all remedy, so long as it continueth. This the Prophet *Esay* signified when he said. *Excæca cor populi huius, &c. Make blind the harts of this people, & agrauate their cares, and shut vp their eyes, least peradventure they may see with their eyes, and heare with their cares, and vnderstand with their harts, and be conuerted, and I moued to heale them.* Also the royal Prophet *Dauid*, to the same purpose. *Obscurentur (saith he) oculi eorum, &c. Let their eyes (o Lord) be obscured, that they may not see, and lay a perpetuall load or burthen vpon their backs.* And the same was also signified, or rather prophesied by *Moyse*, when hee threatned the people of the *Iewes*; saying: *Percutiet te Dominus amentia, &c. The Lord will strike thee with madnesse; blindnesse, and fury of mind, that thou mayst go groping in the mid-day, as the blinde man gropes in the darke, and mayest not direct thy waies, but alwaies sustaine shame and reproach, and bee oppressed with violence, and not haue any man to deliuer thee.*

Thus said *Moyse*, threatning the children of *Israel* (in case they should forsake the Lord their God) but prophetically describing the inuincible blindnesse and

miserable state, wherein the whole Nation of the *Iewes* should liue after our Sauours passion, vntill the end of the Worlde: at what time the Lord hath promised to haue mercy on them. And therefore the Apostle saide; that the blindnes of the whole nation of the *Iewes* ingenerall should continue: *Donec plenitudo gentium intraret: vntill the fulnesse of the Gentiles should enter*; that is to say, vntill all Nations should be conuerted: *Et sic omnis Israel saluus ferit; And so all Israell should be saued.* And to the same purpose the Psalmist saith: *Conuertentur ad vesperam: They shall be conuerted towards the Euening*; that is to say, towards the end of the world.

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Now then, all this being considered, and in their dispersion throughout all Countries for 1500. yeares space, they haue euer conserued vntill this day their Name and Nation: we cannot but acknowledge with *S. Augustine*, that Almighty God hath (of his prouidence & iust iudgment) signed and marked them like *Caine*, that they may neuer bee extinguished, but remaine alwaies a distinct people from all other, to bear and endure the deserued scourge of his wrath, and to serue not onely for a manifest example of his iustice, but also for an euident testimony against themselves and all Infidels, of the omnipotent Diuinity of our Sauour *Iesus Christ*, whom they crucified; and of the verity of our Christian Religion, which they impugne.

This *S. Augustine* well considered, who expounding this Verse of the Psalme; *Ne occideris eos, nequando obliuiscantur populi mei: saith*, that it may well bee vnderstood as the words of our Sauior to his Father, concerning the *Iewes*, as though he should say; *Istos inimicos meos qui me occiderunt, noli tu occidere, maneat Gens Iudeorum. These my Enemies (o Father) who haue killed me, doe not thou kill, but let the Nation of the Iewes remain.* Whereof also he yeildeth two reasons; the one, that they remaining in continuall affliction, may be a Testimony to the World, as well of their owne sinne and great ingratitude to Almighty God; as also of his Iustice in punishing the same. The other reason is, *Quia necessarij sunt credentibus gentibus: Because they are necessary for the Gentiles* which

The blindnes of the Iewes, & their hardnesse of heart, their greatest plague.

Aug Psal. 9.

Esay. Cap. 6:

Psalme 58.

Deut. Cap. 9.

The Iewes shall be conuerted in the end of the World. Rom. Cap. 11.

Psalme 58.

Aug in Psa. 58.

Gene. 4. The causes why God hath ordained, that the Iewes shall still remaine a distinct people from all other, notwithstanding their generall dispersion.

Psalme 58.

Aug. in Psal. 58

August. Ibid.

which beleue. And why? Onely (saith he) to the end, that (as the Psalmist saith:) Almighty God may shew vnto vs his mercy in our very enemies, that is to say; That by their obstinacie and reprobation, we may see his mercy towards vs in our vocation. Besides that, They serue vs also (saith he in another place) for Porters, to beare and carrie after vs the Lawe and the Prophets, in testimony of the Doctrine of our Christian Catholick Church.

In which respect, S. Bernard saith notably. *Non sunt persequendi Iudai, no sunt trucidandi, nec effugandi, quidem, &c.* The Iewes are not to be persecuted, they are not to be killed, no nor to be chased from amongst vs. And then giuing the reason therof, he saith, *Viui quidem apices nobis sunt, &c.* They are liuely Letters, representing vnto vs the passion of our Lorde; for they are dispersed into all Countries, to the end, that while they pay the penalty of their horrible crime, they may be witnesses of our redemption. Besides that (saith he) if they were quite extinguished, how should the promise of their reduction and conuersion to the latter end of the world be fulfilled? Thus reasoneth S. Bernard, which I haue thought good to note by the way, to satisfie the scruple of some in these daies, who are scandalized to see the Iewes suffered to liue at Rome, and other Christian countries, not considering (as it seemeth) the perticuler prouidence of God therein, who so ordaineth it for their greter punishment, his owne greater glory, and the manifestation of his loue towards vs, the Confirmation of our Christian Religion; yea, and for the saluation of some of them, whom it pleaseth him to call to the Christian faith. While (neverthelesse) their whole Nation ingenerall, beareth the heavy burthen of their owne malediction, which they gaue against themselves, when as they cried, *Sanguis eius super nos, & super filios nostros: His blood light vpon vs, and on our children.*

Thus much concerning the Justice of God vpon the people of the Iewes for their sinne; which sin, as it was the greatest that euer was committed: so also it hath had, and still hath, the greatest and most rigorous punishment, that euer was laide vpon any Nation or Country; and is so euident, that it cannot be denied.

August. Lib. 121. cont. Faust.

Bern. ad Episc. cler. et popu. spir. Epist. 322.

The Iewes ought not to be expelled from among Christians, and why.

Why the Iews are suffered to liue in Christian Citties.

Math. Cap. 27.

CHAP. XIII.

Of a crafty and subtile Physitian, who attained to be super-intendent in the affayres of France, and gouerned or ouerswayed King Lewes the eleuenth, who was accounted the best aduised, and most ingenious Prince in his time.



That hath bin said, and the same opinion (for the more part) stil continueth, that Lewes eleuenth of that name, and King of France, was the ablest and best aduised Prince, that either was before him, or hath bin since. In regard that at his entrance, he found the whole Kingdom in combustion; his Subiects, cheefest Citties, and Lords of greatest power coniuered against him: yet did he so dexteriously pacifie them all, & afterward, set such diuision among them; that he became sole Commander, retired Guyenne to him, which was his Brothers portion, who dyed soon after; not without some suspicion of the Kinges acquaintance in the act. Hee found the meanes to accord himselfe with the King of England, hauing preuailed with some of his Counsell, and made a present to him of a great quantity of good wines: albeit the said King had crost the Sea, to ioine his power with the Duke of Bourgongn (a heauy enemy to Lewes) and war fiercelly on France. Afterward, he dealt so discretly with the saide Duke, who was then busied in foyling the Suitsers, Lorraines, and the leagued Countries, that he compassed absolute peace. And because the power of the Duke continued very suspicious to the King; closely and vnder-hand, he maintained warre among the Subiects, against their duke: so that in the end, after the losse of some battailes, the Duke was slaine, and the Dutchy of Bourgongne seized on, which euer since hath remained to the Kinges of France.

Moreouer, he did so cautelously flye off from familiarity with some persons, whom he knew to be but badly affected towards him; that diuers of them were put

The troubles in France at King Lewes his entrance.

A brieve summary of the actions of King Lewes the 11.

Dangerous confederates auoyded.

put to death, vpon certaine crimes layd to their charge, according as hee dealt with his Constable, the Earle of *S. Paul*, and the Duke of *Nemours*. He called not the States vnto any new imposition of Taxes, according to the ancient custom of the Kingdom. He encreased (beyond reason) the imposed Taxes which hee found at his entrance, and disposed of al according to his owne fantasie, holding it as a certaine rule; *That hee who knew not how to dissemble, knew not how to raign.* In brieft, from his very Infancy, it was iudged, that he would proue a very dangerous Prince; especially, when not hauing attained to the age of 15. years, he arose against his father, whereon he was enforced to flye to the D. of *Bourgoigne*. Which when his father vnderstood, he sent to the saide Duke, aduising him to foster vp the Fox, that one day wold eat vp all his Pullen. And to speake truly, so long as he liued, hee imitated the behaiour of that subtle Beast. At length, he was smoked, and made to die, as vsually we put to death such old Foxes as wee hit on: after hee had run thorough bad courses enow, and how it hapened whereof we are now to discourse.

It is to bee obserued, that this King, because hee was ambitious, desirous of reuenge, & very suspitious, hauing discontented the most honorable & cheefest persons in his kingdom; became very curious in finding meanes of imposing new Subsidies vpon his people, for exercise of his own prodigalities, & compassing plots, how he might giue vnto such as deserued not, but euen on pleasure, & beyond reason. It came to passe, that among these diuersities of curiosities, the health of his body begā to alter in a very dangerous manner: for he was not only sicke in body, but in spirit likewise. So that it was found most true in him, which *Galen* said; *Manners do alway follow the temperature of the body.*

To proceed then, this King, in regard of the fore-named causes, became verie melancholy, that formerly had bin very facetious, affecting such as laboured any way to procure laughter. Hee began to be fearful of death, superstitiously enclined, & meruailous suspitious that something was intended against his State. Heer-upon, refusing visitation, he commāded his son *Charls* (who after was the

8.K. of that name) to be closely shut vp, and made strong Iron bars & doores to the house where he lodged. Moreouer, he ordained extraordinary Guardes, to watch night and day about his Court, being vnwilling to speake with any one. Hee would weare the richest and most sumptuous Garments that hee could deuise, albeit hee neuer went out of his Chamber: whereas, when he was yong & healthful in body and mind, he went but meanly apparrelled. Were not these apparant signs, of a man depriued of his best senses, & of that disease which Physitians do terme Melancholly?

There was a Physitian, which had bin entertained by the King, some short while before this extremity befell him, named *M. Iaques Cottier*, who had attained to that degree of profession; not so much in regard of his knowledge, as by the fauour of the Duke of *Sauoy*, who had bin his meanes of aduancement to the King. This man, perceiuing *Lewes* begin to bee weakely disposed in his vnderstanding (as hath bin already declared) hauing also serued in former times with some ordinary Physitians, finding the King one day alone, and al his vsual Physitians absent from him (happily about their practique affayres) himselfe soly attending, and none else neere: he tooke aduantage of this opportunity, in manner following. The King apprehending dayly more and more, a dreadfull perswasion of Death, which (indeed) is a matter most irkesome and terrible to Rich and mighty men, especially such a King as this, who was the most famous and Potent Christian Prince in his time; began to question with this Physitian, as desirous to know if hee could in this case cure him? The Physitian assured him, that hee could and woulde, provided that he wold repose such confidence in him, and he alone to haue the dealing with him, for better effecting the busines. Moreouer he alledged, that his other Physitians came farre short in knowledge of his naturall disposition, whereof he made serious and exact obseruation; for that from the first hour of entertainment into his Maesties seruice, he applied his whol study & practise to vnderstand his natural inclinatio, whereof the other had no care at al, but disposed most of their seruiceable attendance

An vnworthy saying of a King.

Strange fantasies and humours in a King.

Galen. Lib. 9.

Signes of melancholy and alienation from sound vnderstanding.

As many bold and ouerweening Empericks doe in these daies.

Death is euer most dreadful and terrible to rich and mighty men.

The subtilty of a Sicopbant.

dance, only to enrich and benefit themselves withall, hee entreated the King not to reueale this secret information, proceeding onely from intire dutie and affection. And that he himselfe would still bee diligent about his person, searching and reading the most learned authors in Phisicke, to deriue from them an vndoubted remedy for his Disease. Heereto he added, that the more hee sought into the quality of that passion, the more it appeared doubtful and difficult to be cured, because it had formerly hazarded his life very often, but only was still frustrated by his carefull preuentions. And so much the greater he alledged his daunger, in regard, that his other Physitians had applied such Purgatiues vnto him, with other strong and violent Medicaments; which if hee had not very secretly and (vnknowne to them) corrected, the king had died long ago. In brieft, he then perswaded and ouer-ruled the King, euen as himselfe pleased, for no man could haue access to impeach him; yea, he so farre preuailed by this insinuation, as (from thence forward) especiall charge was giuen, that no man shoulde enter the Kinges Chamber, except *Cottier* gaue his consent thereto, by which meanes, he assured himselfe of sole-gouerning his Royall person.

Nowe, for a stronger fortification of this credite already wonne with the King, hee drew in likewise one *Maister Oliuer* a Barber, who was a *Dane* by birth, vtterly vnlearned, and yet serued as a Councillor about the King, as diuers others in like manner did, that were as vnworthy as both these men: and whatsoever *Cottier* saide, *Maister Oliuer* the *Dane* stoutly confirmed it, as iustified by the probable Rules of Art. The ordinary Apothecary belonging vnto the King, was drawne into contempt and disgrace, and so were all his other Physitians, as men not worthy to hold such place; but either vtterly ignorant, or playing vppon too much aduantage. These courses were heedfully obserued by two other Physitians, the one named *M. Draconis de Beaucaire*, Professor and Chancellor of the Vniuersitie of *Montpelier*; the other, was a *Scot* by birth, and had (not long before) bin taken in the battaile at *Nancy*, where the Duke of

Bourgongne was slain, and then was this man entertained into the Kings seruice, by the fame and good report spread euery where of him, for Learning, Honesty, and Merit, to be about a King. It will well appeare by this Historie, how easily Princes are induced to beleue false reports, and to reiect men of merit for base intruders.

The King grew into such extremitie of Melancholy, that as in those times yong *Lyons* being brought him out of *Africa* (by his owne expresse charge) to play and disporte withall; he would not indure to haue a sight of them. And one day (about the rest) his passion was so violent, that the humour tooke him, to dismisse an attending seruant of his Chamber, because hee had warmed his *Prisane* before he dranke it, and saide in Choller; that not onely he did it to beare his life, but all his household Officers were likewise consenting vnto it. Whereupon, *M. Jaques Cottier*, being then present, saide vnto him; I know very well Sir, that you comprehend mee in this suspition among the rest: but be you well assured, that after I am departed from you, you cannot liue the space of eight daies, and make account to find it most true. The King was so terrified with these words, that from thence forward, he not onely wholly committed his person to *Cottiers* disposition; but likewise all his Kingdome, and whatsoever else thereto belonged, so that his Physitian (as then) commanded al alone. He refused also to see his Queene, Children, and dearest Friends, because hee was possessed, that they Conspired against his life, and desired nothing more then his Death: in which vaine surmise, hee was not a little soothed by his Physitian.

It hapned afterward, that *Messire Girard de Viennes* of *Bourgongn*, being Marshall *de Rieux*, came to see the King, and could gain no entrance into his Chamber, but by permission of *Cottier*: which hauing yet at length obtained, the King (Child-like) complained to the said Marshall, of the great rigour vsed towards him by *M. Jaques*, as well in restraint of his drinke, as meat; and that hee would not permit him any recreation. Moreouer he told him, that the Virgin *Marie* had appeared to him diuers times, and

The King falleth into a violent melancholly.

The insolent boldnesse of *Cottier* to the King.

A wonderfull perswasion in a King.

The Kings complaint to the Marshall; of *M. Jaques Cottier*.

S. Claud

Lying and deceitfull speeches, to win himselfe the greater credite.

A Flatterer seldome wants his Companion.

Cottier keepeth all other Physitians and Apothecaries from the king.

S. Claud likewise, with diuers other such like fantastick conceits.

Cottier gets pardon for two murders committed by one man.

Vpon a day, a *Champernois* Gentleman, named *Cortenay* (who had committed two feueral murders) cam to the Court to get his pardon, which he obtained at the request of *Cottier* the Kings Physitian. But when it cam to the Lord Chancellor, that this grace should be confirmed by the great Seale: hee made refusal thereof, as being granted against all right and equity. Intelligence heereof being brought to the King, he presently called for his Seales, and gaue the Custody of them to *Cottier* the Physitian, sending the Lord Chancellor home to his owne house, with enow disgraces, and reprochful speeches. Thus was the King wholly gouerned, and his Kingdomes affayres, by Maister *Oliver* the Dane, a Barber, who represented the Constable; *Cottier* a Physitian, Lorde Chancellor; and a mender of stockings, who was made Admirall.

A strange forgetfulnesse in a King.

An infamous gouernment.

Cottier his complaint to the King, concerning his new Office.

It happened afterward, that for the space of some ten or twelue dayes, this new made Chancellor receiued no Monies at all, by meanes of the Seales hee had in charge; whereof he complained to the King, alledging, that the extremity of this disease, wold not admit the least absence from his royall person, to attend the benefit due to his new office, and whereas now hee gained nothing, he had opportunity to apply his owne practise, his commodity wold be equal with the best, only by his visitations & consultations amongst sickely persons, whereof hee had no such cause to complain, till this restraint of attending the King only; and whereof hee entreated him to take notice, as also of his great deseruings.

An vnbecoming prodigality in a K.

The King, who was intirely perswaded, that his life depended onely vpon the Physitians care & cunning; fearing also, least his former Allegations might cause him to forsake him, commanded the Treasurer of his Exchequer, to deliuer him foure & fifty thousand Crowns to content him; and more hee should haue had, if more had then remained in the Coffers. Moreouer, hee caused the King to make his Nephew Byshop of *Amiens*, and to bestow on his other Kindred and Allies, such gifts and great estates as himselfe pleased. For indeed,

such was the Kinges infirmity both in bodie and minde, as *Cottier* might doe what hee listed, and none durst contradict him.

As for Maister *Oliver* the Barber, the King sent him into *Flanders*, with large Commissions, and a powerfull Armie against the Daughter vnto the Duke of *Bourgongne*, but being able to performe there no matter of moment, hee returned backe againe to the King, who reioysed not a little to haue him neare about him. At length, the Kinges bodie became so dried vp, wasted, and consumed, that he appeared rather to be an Anatomy, then a man, only thorough the ignorance of this Physitian, as was well obserued by men of greater experience. For, a Melancholy body ought to be humected; and moderately heated, as well with Aliments as Medicaments. And albeit he continually desired to drinke Wine, and feed on a boyled Capon, which were very conuenient for his health: yet would *Cottier* by no meanes permit it, but made vse of a more hurtfull and dangerous diet.

M. *Oliver* the Barber sent into *Flanders*.

The Kinges extremitie was caused by his Physitians ignorance.

Now, as thus his bodye wasted in apparant view, so his Spirites became depraued, and strangely altered. For, hee tooke a sudden conceit, that his bodye stunke extreemly, and that hee felt nothing but very vnfauoury smels; which indeed he did not, but in meere opinion onely. And though all the standers by, yea, the Physitian himselfe affirmed the contrary, yet could he not (by any meanes) be dissuaded from this strong conceit, but daily desired a remedy for this supposed disease. Insomuch, as they were compelled to burn very odoriferous perfumes, and to giue him cordiall Powders of violent sauer: but his chiefeft delight was in receyuing perfumes, which both bred and brought him vnto daily sownings & Convulsions; whereby appeared, that these thinges happened by Diuine permission, rather then any indiscretion in them that applyed them.

A strange perfwasion in Melancholy.

Sweet cordial powders and strong perfumes applyed vpon no iust occasion.

These alterations were obserued and known to many, and among others, the Lord *De l' Auardin*, who (at what perill soeuer it cost him) would needs see the King, and said to *Cottier* the Physitian, that the King ought to bee put in mind of his Confessour or Ghostly Father,

An excellent inuention of the Lord *de l' Auardin*, to speake with the King.

ther, and very requisite was it, that hee should receive the blessed Sacrament, because it could not be otherwise, but his ending was very neere. The Physitian replied, that this matter was as well knowne to him, as to any other; and that no meane danger depended on very speech thereof, because for the space of halfe a yeare before, his Maiesty had bin continually fearefull of death; and now, if any man should but name death in his hearing, meer terror of the word would bereave him of life. Notwithstanding all which speeches, the Lorde *De l' Auardin* (having got entrance into the Chamber) said aloud to the King; That if he would be quit of this sickness, he must daily prepare himselfe to Confession, and receive the blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist: in regard, that his Father, being aged above an hundred yeares, and very sickely, recovered his health by that meanes onely. The King being indifferently perswaded, gave his consent: provided, that it might be doone by a Religious man, named *Phillip*, well entred into yeares, of good life, and had the fame to be verie Learned, being a Monke in the Abbey of *S. Martine*; which reuerend man, having admission to the King, advised him in the course of confession, to craue pardon of God for so many murders, *Bontefoux* and rauages, as in his former daies hee had committed, perswading him, that (to his vttermost power) he should make recompence and satisfaction. Among other matters, he alledged, that the people of the *Franché Comté*, who much complained, that albeit they were (almost all of them) brought vnder his obedience; yet notwithstanding, his men of war stil committed the most detestable insolences on them; that could be denied. He told him also, that if God had spoken it (with his own mouth) to his good servant *Dauid*, that hee would neuer dwell in a goodly Temple, which he purposed to build, because he had bin too prodigall in the expence of Mens blood by his wars, and ouer exceeded in his hostile actions; euen so it was to be feared, that he wold withdraw his grace from the blessed Sacrament, instantly to be administered, and he might hazard the receipt of his owne damnation, except he caused his Warriours to cease from

A cunning shift in *Cottier*, but not pre-ayling.

The king yeildeth to haue a Confessour come to him.

Pious aduertisements in a Confessor to a King.

their cruelties. He further advised him, to reduce the taxations of the kingdom to such estate as hee found them at his entrance; for his people were ouer-extreamely impouerished, and the greater part of them dyed by meere indigence.

The King made answer, that howsoeuer he repented the rauagements & spoils by him performed in the County of *Bourgongne*; hee was very hartily sorry, that all the Lands belonging vnto the late Duke of *Bourgongne*, was not brought into the same condition. As for the Subsidies and Taxations by him imposed vpon his people; so soone as he recovered health, he would discharge them, and no other answer could be had from him. Notwithstanding al which obstinacy, the Religious father performed his duty, deliuered him the blessed Sacrament, and left him to the further disposition of God. Soone after, they offered him meat to eat, which he could not receive, because he said, that he felt a foule stinking faubour ascending out of his body vp into his braine: wherefore, he commanded plenty of perfumes about him; whereof it seemed he could neuer receive sufficient, but euen in that manner surrendered vp his soule. So, shortly after, it grew to be a Proverb in *France*, That the King was smokt to death like an old Fox. Yet notwithstanding all these fantastick humors, he bethoght himselfe (some few yeares before) of his buriall, & gaue order to be interred in a Church (which was founded by himselfe) called, *Nostre Dame a Clery*, where he appointed diuers Cannons to pray for him.

Having thus discoursed the death of King *Lewes*, we may not forget Maister *Oliuer* the Dane, Barber; terming himselfe a Counsellor vnto King *Lewes* the eleuenth, no, nor *M. Jaques Cottier* the Physitian, and Chancellour. It hath been a long and common received saying; That of a good Life, ensueth a good Death, and of a bad life, as badde a Conclusion, which will be found most true, in the end of our fore-named *M. Oliuer*. For, you must first vnderstand, that King *Lewes* the eleuenth, extraordinarily doing in affection vnto this Barber: bestowed on him the Captaine-shippe of *Chasteau de Loches*, which was, and yet

The Kinges answer to his Confessor.

The Confessor departeth from the King

The manner of the kings death.

Of *M. Oliuer*, the Dane, Barber, and *M. Jaques Cottier* Physitian.

The Kinges great bountie to the Barber

is to this present a most goodly estate; also, the gouernment of *S. Quintins* in *Picardy*; and from a meane Gentleman of his Chamber, aduanced him to many worthy Seigneuries. Infomuch, that being possessed of such large liuings & reuennues, and his courses not to bee controlled, hee plunged himselfe in all kinds of Voluptuousnesse, and euen as boldly after the Kinges death, as in his life time.

A History of a yong Gentleman of France.

It fortun'd, that a young Gentleman had committed some offence, of what moment I do not well remember, but the Prouost of the Kings household had him in charge as a prisoner. The Wife to this yong Gentleman wel knowing, that if her Husbands case came to strict examination of Law, it would endanger his life, laboured with earnest sollicitings from one to another, whom she supposed to hold best credit and fauour with King *Charles*, eight of that Name, and Sonne vnto the King deceased. At length she remembered the *Dane*, whom she thought to hold like esteem as when King *Lewes* liued (because hee was still much followed, richly accoutred, and entred the Kinges Chamber when himselfe pleased) to him wholly she addressed her suite, entreating him to bee the meanes of her Husbands deliuerance. This *Oliuer*, perceyuing the sollicitresse to be faire, young, and of comely personage, promised to free her Husbande from prison; provided, that hee might haue familiar knowledge of her, as Lovers in secret Dalliance vse to doe; whereto the poore Gentlewoman (seeing no other meanes of mercy) after infinit and potent Denials, was wonne to condescend.

The dishonest request of *M. Oliuer* the barber.

*M. Oliuer*s perswasions to the Prouost.

Hereupon, to keepe promise with the Gentlewoman, *M. Oliuer* went vnto the Prouost, and entreated him to stand in the Gentlemans iustification: which by no meanes he would do. Then hee desired him to winke at his breach or escape out of prison: but much lesse wold he listen to any such perswasion, albeit he promised to stand betweene him and all perill. At length, *M. Oliuer* seeing himselfe so neglected, and his suit denied, reproached the Prouost with great ingratitude, because he had placed him in that Office, and won him many guifts and graces from the deceased King; be-

side, when the King was once so incensed against him, as it stood vpon his no meane detriment, he appeased the matter, and wrought his peace. These, and other such like vrgent speeches, preuailed at length so with the Prouost, that he returned this answer. If *M. Oliuer* could aduise the meanes whereby the Gentleman might euade, and he sustain no perill when his prisoner should be cald for, he would gladly yeild thereto: whereto *M. Oliuer* thus replied. The safest and surest meanes for his riddance, & to auoid al further dangerous questioning on his own behalfe, is to strangle the prisoner in the Gaole, and then hurle his bodye into the Riuer. In this manner (quoth he) the party offended shall bee both auenged and satisfied, the Wife to the dead man not iniured, because hir husband stood not (as yet) in law condemned, and matters thus passing, al parties would be pleased.

The case thus fully concluded on betweene them, the *Dane* inuites the Gentlewoman that very instant Night to his lodging, to satisfie his lewde and libidinous Lust; which she (poor soul) accordingly did, being by him most assuredly perswaded, that the next Morning shee should see her husband at Liberty. But she (alas) was too much deceyued; for, while *M. Oliuer* entertained her in his bed, the Varlet of his Chamber, named *Daniell*, and another, called *Oyac*, a mender of Stockings by his first professio (whom I do imagine to be the very same man, that *Sessell* sayd to bee Admiral to King *Lewes*) went & strangled the woful Gentleman in the Prouosts Prison, and afterwards threw him into the Riuer of *Seine*, as if hee had wilfully leapt out of his Lodging Window, and coueted rather to be drowned, then to answer his accusation. The body floating vpon the water, as hauing no Capacity of sinking, by reason that life was first depriued, was by Sailers & Watermen haled vp on Lande, to lye there on the banke al the day insuing, where it was soone visited by multitudes of people, and easily knowne of euery beholder. The Gentlewoman arising from the Barbar in the morning early, fearfull to be noted, and no way doubting of hir Husbands freedome so dearly bought with her dishonor, heard as she passed along,

The Prouosts answer to *M. Oliuer*.

A Diuellish meanes for a prisoners deliuerance.

The cruel and bloody treacherie of the *Dane*.

The Gentleman murthered in prison, and cast into the Riuer.

along, that such an imprisoned Gentleman was dead, and lay vpon the banke of the Riuer. With heauy heart she hying thither, too soon found the truth of those heauie and sorrowfull tydings, throwing her selfe downe vpon the dead bodie, made most lamentable and pittifull complaints, cursing (in aboundance of tears, and wringing her handes) the *Dane* that had so falsely deceiued her, and robbed her of her cheefest Honour, vnder promise of her Husbandes most safe deliuerance.

The Lamentations of this faire weeping Gentlewoman, procured such compassion in the by-standers, that Iustice was soone acquainted with so foule an offence; and *M. Oliuer* being immediately apprehended, and confronted with the wofull Gentlewoman face to face, vvas forthwith (notwithstanding all his stoute denialles) condemned to the Racke and Tortures. Being vnable to endure the torment, he confessed the fact, relying so much vpon the Kinges fauour, and his owne proude Authority, that they durst not sentence him with death. But heerein the Deceiuer found himselfe Deceyued; for, being generally hated, because he hadde so highly abused the deceased Kinges trust reposed in him, and the whole State, beside the addition of this monstrous inhumanitie, he was adiudged to bee hanged, and strangled to Death. In which sentence, his man *Daniell* bare him companie, beside large amends out of his Liuing, to the wo-hearted Widow. As for *Oyac* the Hose-mender, he was not hanged, because it was sufficiently approoued, that he was not present in the prison, when *Daniell* alone strangled the Gentleman, but onely holpe afterward to throwe the dead bodie into the Riuer; wherefore he had his eares cut off, and then was banished out of the Kingdome.

Now, concerning Maister *Iaques Cottier* the Physitian, who was retired home vnto his owne House, enriched with fīue and twentie thousand Florins of Reuenues which he had gotten, partly by Offenders Confiscations, whereof the dead King had made him possessour; as also, by the large summes of Money so lately giuen him out of the Exchequer. It was justified by re-edition of the Treasurers

accounts of the saide Exchequer, that he had receiued in readie moneyes, aboue fourescore and eightene thousand Crownes, besides other great giiftes by seuerall parcelles. Heereupon, he was pursued to make restitution; because those giifts were immense, and exceeding reason.

At length, the King being much hindered in his intended Voyage for *Naples*, onely thorough great want of money, Maister *Iaques Cottier*, voluntarily gaue his Maiesty (vnder the faigned Title of borrowing) the summe of fiftie thousand Crownes, and so all further enquire after his Wealth and possessions ceased.

This Historie may instruct such men as are high in the fauour of Kinges and Princes, and taste of their bountie in verie gracious manner, when Lordes and others of farre more merit, passe vnraged; not to abuse their Royall Liberalities, or become thereby more proud and vicious. But rather, to obserue a mediocrity in all their outwarde actions, knowing and considering the instabilitie that waiteth on this worldes best occasions.

CHAP. XV.

That Princes, and other persons of great degree, who stand in feare of impoysoning, ought not giue ouer-much confidence to Essayes or Tasts made of their meats and drinkes, neiher to the wearing of precious stones, or Annelets.



Holde it not amisse, to discourse somewhat concerning those Ceremonies, vsed in the Essayes & Tastings before Princes; and other eminent persons both in Church and Commonweale; who do carrie a degree of respect aboue other men; and yet notwithstanding all those deuises, are not a iotte the more assured thereby. For example sake, the Maister Cooke, who more Ciuilly is tearmed; the Esquire of the
P Kit-

The great sorrow of the wronged Gentlewoman on hir Husbands dead body.

M. Oliuer the Barber apprehended, and condemned to tortures.

M. Oliuer, and his companio *Daniell* hanged

The sentence of *Oyac* the Hose-mender

Of *M. Iaques Cottier* the Physitian, his wealth and reuennues.

M. Iaques Cottier, gaue the King 50000. Crownes.

The vse to be made of this History.

Example of the Maister Cooke in his seruice to the Table.

Kitchin, hauing readily prepared al those Dishes on his Kitchen Table, that are to bee presented before the Prince; with a Morfell of Bread, he passeth ouer all those Dishes, dipping it also into the Broaths, Sawces, and all other Viands to bee fed on; then eateth he the said piece of bread, to the end, that all suspition of poyson may be auoided. Againe, those seuerall seruices are set on the Princes Table (and before him). he that placeth or ordereth those dishes, performeth as much as the Maister Cooke formerly did. Whereby it is presumed, that the Prince may feede with the safer security. But I am not of the minde, that these essayes or tastings haue any certaine assurance, because those essayers or Tasters doo receiue so small a triall, that albeit the meats should be impoysoned, yet it cannot hurt them; or (at the most) so little, as with very slender remedy, they may be deliuered from any danger.

A worldly way to make Princes wise.

The Authors reason for his doubt.

A Taster cannot bee easily poysoned.

Preseruatiues against poyson such as haue bin tried.

Many Monarchs & Kings haue bin poysoned, notwithstanding all care for preuention.

Moreover, he that had so diuellish an intent, as to commit an acte so detestable, that partie could not be easily poysoned, by meanes of forced Flesh or Fish, which most commonly is the seruice to great mens Tables. There is much matter (in this case) of important admonishment, to wit; that such treacherous Tasters or Essayers, may formerly haue receiued some precious Antidote, to preuent the poysons perill vnto himselfe; or filled his stomacke with fat and Oyle Meates; or drinke some quantity of Milke; or fed on very fat Tripes; or Lettice well prepared with Oyle, without Salt or Vineger. Nay, it may bee, that hauing receiued some pretty quantitie of poyson, and kept it by such meanes in his stomacke, hee will cast it vp againe, without any hurt or danger, and there is nothing more certaine then this. I say beside, that Cup-tasters and Butlers may do the like; in tasting their wines, or other drinks.

Heere some one may obiect vnto me, that there is great apparance of truth in my Wordes; and that manie Monarchs and Kings, notwithstanding their Essayers, Tasters, and other vigilant care to preuent such Villainy, haue been impoysoned, and dyed cruelly; as *Alexander the Great*, *Drusus*, *Clandius Cesar*, *Charls* first of that Name, King of *Fraunce*, *John* King of *England*, and diuers other. Also,

that these Essayes, Tastings, and other such like Ceremonies, are nothing else but markes of Soueraignty and principality; and such vesselles of Golde and Siluer may bee made, at such time as the mettals are melted, that may haue such Antidotes mingled therewith, quite contrary to all poysons whatsoever. Moreover, hauing vesselles in this order prepared, they will preferue whosoever shall be impoysoned, if they feede on their viands out of them only, and receiue their drink out of none other; Nay, I my selfe beheld a Physitian, mounted vp to such a degree of folly, as hee would needes vrgen an absolute perswasion of all these things; to *Catharine de Medicis*, late Queene of *France*, albeit they are most absurd, and voide of all reason; for Golde-Smithes themselues do maintaine the impossibility of them. I referre the iudgement heerof, to such as are best experienced in naturall things, because nothing whatsoever can be mingled among Gold and Siluer; but mettals only.

I haue heard some to discourse of preseruatiues against poysons, in the presence of King *Charles* the ninth; and Queene *Catharine* his Mother; and they haue iustified very constantly, to defend any Man or woman from impoysoning; by wearing a Ring on his or her Finger, that should haue a Toad-stone placed so in it, as it might touch the flesh of the Finger; and such was the excellent Vertue thereof, as the party should feele it to burne his Flesh, if any poyson were presented to him.

Others haue affirmed, that there are certaine Carracters to be worne, hanging about ones necke, or engrauen in a ring, whose naturall property, expelleth al manner of poysons. They alledged *Albertus Magnus*, that hee saith in his Treatise of Images, that if any man caused to be engrauen in some precious stone, the Image of the Hearbe called *Draggon-Wort*, with all his Spots, Markes, and Starres, and doe but carry the stone about him, it is most singular against all Venoms. *Pedro de Albano*, was also produced, to set downe in his Writings that hee found in a certaine Booke, whereof in elder times, the Kings of *Persia* made especiall account, that whosoever procured to be engrauen in a Hematist, a man kneeling, circkled rounde about with a Ser-

Diuers strange and impossible obiections

Nothing but mettals can bee mingled with Gold or Siluer.

A Ring with a Toad-stone in it.

Carracters worne about the necke, or in a Ring.

The Hearbe *Draggon-wort*

The Stone called a Hematist.

Serpent, holding the head thereof in his right hand, and the taile in his left; then setting that Stone in a Ring of fine Gold, and wearing it dayly, it would preferue and keepe him from all manner of poysons.

In my poore opinion, if this Image should haue so rare a Vertue, as no where else was euer heard of, it were verie requisite, that the engraving must be done vnder the Constellation of some Plannet, whose influence shoulde infuse the propriety in the Sculpture. It was further added in the discourse, that the Agate or Iacinth, Orientall Saphire, Emeraulde, and the Stone which is called *Draconitis*, because it is saide to be found within the Head of a Draggon, and many other Stones beside, haue the selfe-same qualities.

As for my selfe, to deliuer readily my iudgement in this case, I thinke there is no great assuraunce to bee reposed in such carriages, because I neuer beheld so much as one experiment, whereto anie Faith or Credit might be giuen. And yet very neere all these fore-named things, haue bene experimented on diuers persons, condemned to death for diuers offences, on whom no effect at all could be wrought. And yet it may bee, that by subtilizing (very cunningly) an Emerald, Iacinth, Agate, or Saphire, and putting it into a Cup of Wine, or Cordiall water, the party offended with some poison may finde ease and helpe, because such stones do naturally strengthen the heart. But that wearing or carriage of them only, can quaille the malignity of any poison, I will neuer beleue (as some verie fondly do, vntill I may my selfe beholde some great and notable experiment thereof.

Not long after our fore-named discourse, there came vnto the said Kinges Court, an impudent bold-fact Fellow, a *Champenois*, aged about thirtie yeares, (whom I spare to name, because hee was extract of Vertuous Lignage, both by Father and Mother, to whom the louers of Learning are not a litle obliged, though he degenerated too far:) This man gaue solemne assurance, that hee had (about some yeare since past) trauailed thorowe diuers famous Citties of *Germany*, and frequented companies of diuers opinions, especially in Religion; among whom

he heard it credibly reported, that they of the pretended reformed Religion in *France*, sought means to poison the king, his Brethren, & their Mother the Queen. Whereupon, he shaped his course out of *Germany*, into *Italy*, and thence into *Spaine*, only to find such occasions as best might assure and preferue their liues. At last, comming to *Lisbone*, the Metropolitan Cittie in the Kingdome of *portugal*, with verie great Labour, and at a deare Value, he bought a Stone, called *Pazar*, or *Bazar*, which had bene found in the brest or stomacke of a sauage Beast, like to one of the wilde Goats liuing in diuers places of *india*: adding withall, that hee had made diuers experiments of the like Stone, as well on Beasts, as Moores, and others of the Mahometan religion. Then with plentie of Oathes, hee assured their Royall Maiesties, that the partie whome hee bought it of, was a Captaine belonging vnto the Spanish Seas; and shewing the Stone, it was presently deliuered to the Physitians belonging to the King and Queene, for their aduise and counsel in the matter: shee being a very Wise Princeesse, and well enstructed, hardlie could shee be drawne to doe any thing rashly.

Counsell was giuen to the Queene, to make triall of the Stones Vertue, vpon criminall prisoners, such as had deserued Death, and extraordinary punishment. Whereupon, the Prouost belonging vnto the Household, was sent for; and being questioned, whether he had anie Offender in his prisons worthy of death, he answered; that he had a bold Theef, condemned for robbing the Kinges Receyvers of monies, and remained at his Maiestie mercie. Also he hadde another, a Cooke by his profession, who had robbed his Maister of great store of plate, & both these, without order to the contrary, were to suffer death the next Morning.

It was concluded; that poison should be giuen to both these condemned men, as much to the one, as to the other; and the *Pazar* or *Bazar* stone, being beaten to powder, a quantity thereof should be giuen to the one prisoner, and none at all to the other; to make a perfect prooffe of the Stones Vertue; which stone, I my selfe handled, and was as bigge as a common Almond. But hee that recieued the powder

A stone found in the brest of a Wild Beast, called a *Bazar* or *Pazar*.

Aduise giuen for trial of the stones vertue.

Experiment made on two condemned persons.

False properties attributed to diuers precious stones.

Experience giueth the best assurance in such doubtful matters.

Precious stones naturally do comfort the heart.

A Historie of a bold and impudent lycer.

No Vertue found to be in the Pazar, or Bazar stone,

The reason of the impostures lye.

Aduertisemēt to Princes, & other great persons.

der of the saide stone, according to the proportion appointed by the *Champenois*, notwithstanding hee was holpen thereby, as much as could bee possibly deuised, yet he died as well as the other prisoner, both of them enduring much more heauy, great, and grieuous Torments, then they should haue done by the punnishments prepared for them. Which when the king & the Queen his Mother perceiued, they threw the rest of the Stone into the fire, and sharply rebuked the *Champenois* for his impudent lying. By this meanes, the imposture was frustrated of his intent, which was, to obtaine the guift of a thousand Crownes, beside the first Abby or Priory that fell vacant, or already was falne. The man was not long since known to be liuing in very miserable condition, lame in his limbes, aged aboue threescore, and generally scorned of euerie one that knew or heard of his apparant folly.

By this discourse, Princes and others of high quality may learne, not to be ouer-confident in such men, as giue the aduise and meanes to preferue themselves from poysons; wherof no sound experience hath beene made, but bequeaths them still to dayly dangers. For which reason, wee will declare in our succeeding Chapter, how, and in what manner they may be preserued and defended against poysons. Also, why poysons are vted to Princes, and men of high Authority, to bereaue them of their Liues, rather then by Armes or Weapons.

CHAP. XVI.

Why the liues of Princes are more attempted by poysons, then by Armes. And by what meanes they may preferue & helpe themselves, if they doubt or finde themselves to be impoysoned.



Rdinarily, such as pretend the death of Princes, Princesses, & of other illustrious persons by poysons, they do it in that kind, because openly murdering a Prince, expo-

seth the parties life to ineuitable death; and neuer hath any one bin seene (or at the least very rarely) to escape, because he must needes be surprized by the Archers or Guardes, that continually attendeth the person Royall. Wherefore, such as dare contriue so wicked an action, are commonly men of highest rank or note, and (oftentimes) of their owne blood, either aspyring to their estate & dignities, or in reuenge of some receyued iniury; wherein no reason being able to rule them, fury and violent rage transportes them vnto this detestable meanes.

Now, to auoid and prevent all occasions of such dreadfull attemptes, a Prince ought not to vsurp on any estate appertaining to another. For this is an especiall reason, to leade both himselfe and his to daily danger. Hee ought also religiously to keepe himselfe in the state of grace, by frequent and deuout Prayers vnto Almighty God; to Loue his Subiects; to doo nothing against the Lawes of Nature, and to be Nobly Liberrall to such as are about him, & haue the hourelly care of his person. Moreover, they that attend on the health of any Prince or Princessse, as Physitians and their Adiuncts; they ought to vse their stomacks to Gargarismes and Castings, at least once euerie month, in the Morning. For, ouer and beside that it much auayleth against poysons, which at their first Working will thereby bee expelled presently, so is it one of the most soueraigne remedies and securities that can be deuised. To purge the stomacke, is likewise aduantageable against the Stone, Dropsie, Goute, &c. And two or three dayes he must vse to take Treacle, or *Mithridatum*, fasting. Some do highly commend the Confection of Iacinth; and by frequent vse of these things, very rarely shall the bodie be preferued them poyson.

But if it happen, that a Prince haue vndoubtedly receyued poyson, suddenly let him bee made to vomit by voluntary Drinkes, if Nature bee not easily therto inclined; or let him drink a good quantity of Lukewarme milke, and if Butter bee well mingled there among the cure is much the sooner compassed. After very strong vomiting, & so much as he is able to indure, with the receipt of some

The Reasons alledged why the attempt is by poyson.

How best to auoide all dangerous attemptes against a Princes life.

Purging the stomack is very much attai-ling.

When poyson is assuredly receiued, what are the best remedies

some Glifters: he must vse onely Treacle, Mithridate, or the Confection of Iacynth, wherein there must bee no tardy delay.

For dressing meats.

Moreouer, those Kitchen Vesselles for Cookery, wherein his Meates and Broaths are to be drest, ought daily and houely to be kept couered, to prevent the fall of any Venomous Creatures thereinto, as Stellions, Phalanges, Lizards, Scorpions, Serpents, & Spiders, who ordinarily make their aboad about Chimnies. *Nicholas* hath set downe in his Writings, that all the Monkes in a Conuent at *Florence*, dyed, by hauing eaten Pottage and Meate sodden in a Pot, whereinto (from the toppe of the Chimney by chaunce) a dead Spyder fell.

A strange History.

What Sauces are to be thinned by colour.

Besides, no Sauces are to be presented to Princes, especialy if they be thick, or in colour Greene, Red, or White; because very daungerous Poysons may be commixed in those Colours, they being also much like to them: These things diligently obserued, it shall be a very difficult matter, to bereaue any Princes life by Poyson. Now let vs see in our ensuing Chapter, if poysons may be giuen any other way, then in meates or drinckes.

CHAP. XVII.

That a man may bee impoysoned by Pomanders of sweete smell, Fumes, of Torches, Tapers, Candles; by Letters, Garments, and other such like things.



IN our former Chapters, we haue discoursed how poyson may be administr'd in Meats and Drinkes, to the preiudice of life. Now we are to suruay, whether the like Treacherie may be accomplished by sweet smelling Pomanders, Fume, or smoake of Torches, Candles; or by reading Letters, wearing Gloues, Shirts, and other Garments.

Many haue held Opinion, that the kissing of Princes Garmentes, before they be put vpon their persons, and ge-

nerally all things presented vnto them, as Letters, Hand-kerchiefes, or whatsoever else, is done to no other end, but onely for Ceremony, Respect, and Honour, in duty and reuerence to their Greatnesse and Excellency. But, I am able to affirme the contrary, because it was at first inuented; and done, expressly to assure them from being Impoysoned, by such things as should be presented vnto them. And whosoever will read the Greeke Authours, shall finde that Wickednesse to be most auncient; especially we finde, that the *Caribes* (inhabiting the New World) haue long vsed it.

Why all things deliuered to Princes, are first kissed.

Strange manner of Impoysonings.

Experience of diuers kinds of dangers by sitting vnder Trees.

Of an impoysoned Pomander, presented to the Prince of Conde.

And to approoue my words, I will alledge some examples well knowne to our selues and that such things are to be done, it hath bin, and yet may be noted, that whosoever sleepeeth or sitteth any long while vnder the shadow of a Walnut Tree in Summer, shall forthwith be offended with a grieuous Head-ach. And such as take the Coole Ayre vnder the Yew Tree, will be in dreadfull peril. I my selfe haue obserued diuers inconueniences happening thereby; not only to Men and Women, but to Beasts likewise. Do we not (almost) daily behold, that the smoake of a Tallow Candle, the light being suddainly extinct, is very dangerous to Women with child, causing the Head-ach in extremest maner, and brought one (whom I very well know) to the falling sicknesse?

A Friend of mine, commonly called the *Fat man*, a *Piccarde* by Nation, and Chirurgion to the late *Lewes* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Conde*, who hauing handled and carried about him a sweet Pomander, for the space of siue or six Houres; which Pomander, an *Italian* Perfumer presented to the said Prince, & presently was deliuered to the sayd Chirurgions keeping, who soone after, fell into Sownings, Castings, Torments in the Braine, Convulsions, and afterwards, into most grieuous and miserable languishing. Yet two Moneths after, by the diligent cate and assistance of a *Piemontois* Physitian, who belongeth to my Lord the Constable at this instant, and then called *Marshall d'Anville*, hee was recovered. Also, the Seruant to the Apothecarie, called *Gonier*, dwelling in *Paris*, despising the Friendly

An Apothecaries Seruant
poisoned by
the same Po-
mander.

The vaper of
a Char-coale
fire venomous
except iron
be put into it.

A man poysoned
by smelling
to a Gilly
floure.

Smell of the
Sea-Hare ve-
ry dangerous.

A man impoi-
soned by an
implaister of
Cantharides.

aduise giuen him by the saide Chirur-
gion, for carrying the same Pommander
in his Pocket, the space of halfe a Day,
dyed within lesse then eight dayes af-
ter.

At *Lymoges*, in the beginning of the
Leagues turbulent emotion, *Monsieur de
Vantadour* being com to *Lymoges*, to take
order (as sworn Lieutenant to the king)
that the Towne might bee maintayned
for his Maiesties seruice, and hauing (by
example of Iustice) giuen terror to som
Offenders; a Soldiour of som account,
shutting himselfe into a Cabinet, least
otherwise hee should bee discovered; by
the vapor of a very small Char-cole fire,
died in lesse then twelue houres, and
could by no meanes be recouered. The
fume and smoake of impoysoned Tor-
ches and Candles, are not they much
more able to procure the death of anie
person?

It is not long since, a *Lombard* gaue
an impoysoned Gilly-floure, vnto one
whose death he desired, albeit hee dis-
sembled his inward treachery verie cun-
ningly, and (in outward shew) with ex-
traordinary friendship; but by smelling
to the said Floure, the party suddenly
fell downe dead. The smell or saueur
of a Sea-Hare, is so pernicious, as not
only it troubleth the sense, sight, and
procureth casting; but likewise, if a man
continue in the same, sent but for some
few houres, it causeth death without
any recouery, as I my selfe haue seene
by experience.

These few written and recorded hi-
stories, of taking away life by impoy-
soned Odours and Vapours, may serue as
sufficient for our instruction; let vs com-
now to those other kindes, which (by
touching onely) do as much, or rather
farre worse. About some two yeares
since, I beheld the death of a yong man,
aged scarcely twenty yeares, who suffer-
ed the application of a great Emplay-
ster (made of the flies called *Cantharides*)
to his cheek, whereon he had a great red
blemish, which hee brought with him
into the world at his birth, and appeared
to him as no meane deformity; extrea-
mity of paine would not permit him to
indure the plaister hardly foure houres,
but he was dead before the next Mor-
ning. And yet, as euery one well know-
eth, the *Cantharides* are one of the wea-

kest Venoms.

I also, sawe the death of a Gardiner,
who, by pruning and cleansing his trees,
the Egges of Catterpillers happened to
fall on his face, and venomed it beyond
recouery. Now, albeit this may seeme
somwhat rare, that a mans death should
be caused by so small a matter: yet it is
most certaine, that both these Histo-
ries, and such as follow after, doo eu-
dently declare, that by nothing but the
very touch onely of some impoysoned
thing, death ensueth without any Re-
medy.

Galen declareth, that a man in the
City of *Bythinia*, scituate in the kingdom
of *Thrace*, caused the death of diuers men
by an Hearb, compassing the means that
it might but sticke vpon their skinne
only. And that the first knowledge or
experience which he had thereof; was,
by buying the Liuer of an Hogge in the
Market, and returning from the City to
his Country house, he had occasion by
the way to do the Office of nature, lay-
ing the Liuer (in meane while) on the
ground, on diuers hearbes. As he tooke
vp the Liuer again, he perceiued blood
to yssue foorth in great aboundance;
whereby he iudged, that it proceeded
from some Vertue in one of the hearbs,
that stil cleaued fast to the Liuer: he fur-
ther conceiued, that if the same Hearbe
were applyed to men or Beasts; their
death wold easily be thereby procured,
which he accordingly performd on such
as himselfe pleased. But his wicked and
bloody practise being known, at length
he was apprehended and broght before
the Minister of Iustice, where, without
sufferance of many torments, he confes-
sed the whol matter, and what plenty of
that herb grew in that place only, which
he sware he neuer had reuealed to any
person. When the Magistrate had heard
his whole Confession, he condemned
him to Death, and presently caused his
eyes to be blindfolded: to the end, that
as he was led on the way vnto the place
whereas his Execution was appointed,
he should not teach or instruct any o-
ther, in so horrid and damnable a pra-
ctise.

Many men and women haue great-
ly indangered their bodies, by Itches,
Scabs, and such like filthinesse, onely by
lying in vncleane sheets, or wearing the
Gar-

Egges of Cat-
terpillers ve-
ry dangerous.

A strange Hi-
story alledged
by *Galen* of
poysoning by
the touch of
an Hearbe.

A great dis-
cretion in the
Magistrate to
auoid further
danger.

Danger by sleeping in vncleane linnen, or wearing garments

Garments of corrupted persons: The *Neapolitane* disease is very easily so-taken in *Italy*, but rarely in *France*. Good Histories doe assure vs, that *Hercules* died with extreame torments, being impoysoned by a shirt which his wife had sent him.

Monsieur de Montagnac, Lord of *Trenchillon*, who accompanied *Mesire Francois de Noailles*, Bishop of *Dax*, Ambassadour into the East, deliuered vnto mee for an vndoubted truth, that a Turke in the City of *Patara* in *Lycia*, caused the death of a *Wallachian*, in this manner. The Turke very desirous of the *Wallachians* death, which yet he dissembled artificially, sought all vnsuspected meanes how to compasse it: & his reason was, because the *Wallachian* would not take his oath, that the *Turke* (being a *Patavian* Souldiour) was one of the first that mounted on the breach of a smal town, (but very strong) which the *Turkes* had besiedged and taken in *Hungarie*. For, such as can approue in *Turky*, that they haue performed any Generous Act; are recompenced with diuers Ducates, ouer and aboue their ordinary pay, and are likewise aduanced to the first vacant degrees. The *Turke* at last presented the *Wallachian* with a faire paire of red Buskins, which he accepting as a Signall of kindnesse, did presently put them on his Legges; or had not worn them aboue two houres, but a great heate and rednesse appeared on his Legges, which he himselfe (as yet) perceiued not. Hauing put off his Buskins, the rednesse conuerted into pushes, blaines, and blisters; which quickly running ouer his whole body, he dyed within twelue houres, exclaiming on the *Patavian*, who was fled away.

As concerning a common report, that the Saddles of Horses may be impoysoned, the Raines of their Bridles, the stirrups, and Scabberds and Sheathes of Swordes, thereby to impoyson such as sit, handle, or weare them: the *Turkes* that inhabite the higher *Missa*, are saide to be skilfull Maisters in such exercises; yet I make some difficulty of giuing credit hereto, because I neuer beheld any such accident to happen. Neuertheless, many men of sound credit, who haue trauailed the East, and the adioyning parts; do faithfully maintaine the

A Turke poysoned a *Wallachian* by a pair of Buskins.

Of impoysoning Saddles, Reines of Bridles, Stirrups, and Sheathes of Swords, &c

truth thereof. But if there be nothing more certaine, then that a body may be impoysoned, euen to death, by a paire of Gloues, if but drawne vpon the hands, and by a Handkerchiefe, if the face be wiped therewith; Then let mee tell you for a truth, that a great Lady of *France* (some few yeares past) had both these wicked presents, onely for the couetousnesse of the great wealth she enioyed, and the strange manner of her death was bemoaned by many.

Seeing then, that the death of Princes and great persons may thus be compassed: I would aduise them that hold so high dignities, and liue among bad people; who make no conscience of vsing all kinds of wickednesse; to carry Powders about them, and other compositions, such as skilfull Physicians can well instruct them in, which may defend the Braine, the Lungs, and Heart, preserving both them and the other inward parts of the body, with receiuing often Treacle, Methridate, and such like vertuous things. As for Saddles, Reines of Bridles, and Scabberds of Weapons: danger in them may be auoyded, by seeing them well cleansed, chafed, and rubbed, with faire Linnen Cloathes before a mans face. And for Handkerchiefes, Gloues, and Letters, they ought to be well heated by good fires, and carried abroad into the ayre, before they be read or vsed, as the like is to be done in things of like qualitie.

Danger by Gloues and Handkerchiefes.

Necessary aduise to prevent such perils, and by what meanes.

CHAP. XVIII.

That all Venims or Poysons, haue not the power to kill the heart, but that diuers of them (by a certaine hidden or manifest property) doe rather worke against one certaine part of the body, then against another.

Diuers doe hold opinion, that all Venimes or Poysons, do containe operation alike, and all of them tend to no other end, but to kill the hart, which is the onely fountaine of life. But this coniecture hath deceived

All poysons do not containe alike power in working.

A familiar
proposition.

deceiued many, for the greater part of Poysons, haue an obscure or apparant property, to viciate or destroy rather one part then another. Because there are some that will infect the braine; others the mouth; others the Lights or Lungs; others the Liuer; others, the Melt, or Spleene; others, the Reines; others the Bladder; and others, the seuerall ioynts of the Body, &c. Concerning the meanest or most common kinds, whereof others haue saide somewhat before my self, I would discourse a little; and so much the rather, because what is handled in this Chapter, I wold iustifie for truth; and therefore we will beginne with a venomous simple, that woundeth and offendeth the Braine very greatly.

The danger
of Hemlocke,
or Hoalocke.

Hemlock, or Homlock, called in Latine *Cicuta*, an Hearb vulgarly knowne, by an apparant property, doth more offend the Braine, then any other part of the Body: insomuch, that they who haue tasted thereof, haue felt an instant wheeling giddinesse, or torment in the head, and sometimes meerey haue run mad. I haue seene two men, who thinking they did eate Parsley, were deceiued with Hemlock (for these two Plants haue a very neere resemblance) the one dyed soone after; and the other (while he liued) could neuer recouer his health, and this hath been noted in many more. The *Athenians* vsed to giue the Iuyce of Hemlock, to such honorable persons in their citty, as were condemned to death by sentence of the Iudge. In *Tuscanie* groweth a great quantity thereof, and if their Asses happen to feede thereon, they fall downe in such a profound sleepe, as they seeme rather to be dead then astonied. Many poore Countrey people were hereby much abused in former times, who little dreamt on any such strange alteration, or the cause thereof: for verily, imagining their Asses to be starke dead, and hauing more then halfe sleyed their skins, the beasts recouered, to the great amazement of their Maisters, but much delight of the Beholders. Hereby may be easily obserued, that Hemlock is altogether contrary to the Braine.

How the *Athenians* vsed the iuyce of Hemlock.

The people of *Tuscany* much abused by Hemlocke.

Crow-foot causeth men to dye laughing.

There is another Simple, cald Crow-foot; in French *Batrachion*, or *Passe-floure*; in Greek and in Latine *Apium ri-*

sus, which if it be put into the mouth, it with-draweth the Iawes in such maner, as if it procured continuall laughter, & in laughing manner it causeth death. That which groweth in *Sardignia*, is not altogether so violent: yet, if it be applyed to the Flesh, as sometimes it is to the Arteries of the Armes against a Feauer Quartaine, it cauterizeth and burneth the Flesh.

The scent or smell of the Sea-Hare, and his Flesh dryed in Powder and taken, it greatly iniureth the voyce, and woundeth the Lights in such manner, that such as haue receiued thereof but three times, and in very small quantity, haue bin brought to an exulceration of the Lungs, and incurable consumption of the body. This was verified on a Chanter or Quirister, in the Chappell of King *Charles* the ninth, in the yeare 1566. by another man of the same quality, who beeing desirous to preferre a Kins-man of his into the other Mans place, he being in gracious respect with the King, gaue him some of this Powder, wheron grew an Vlcer in his lungs, his voyce vtterly spoyled, and he (in short while after) dyed. Here you are to vnderstand, that Chaunters vse sometimes to bacchanalize among themselves; especially, when they receiue any extraordinary benefits or rewardes of Princes, or other great Lords in the Courts, for Mornings or Euenings salutations with their Musique and voyces: then, for preservation of their voyces, they mingle diuers wholesome spices, compounded with Sugar among their Wines, to send them downe with the greater delectation. By which vn-suspected meanes, the Chanter could the more easily poyson his Enemy; whereof at last he dyed, hauing voyded (by extreimity of a Cough) a mighty Impostumation, which this dangerous Powder had bred within him. Neuerthelesse, the Fact was disclosed, and the Prouost of the Household directing his Procelle against the Chanter, he was (by sentence of the Iudge) hanged and strangled, and his body after burned.

The Poyson that is prepared of the Caterpillers, or litle red hairy Wormes bred in the tops of Pine-trees, and of the venomous blacke Fly, called a *Long-leg*, or *Wag-legge*; so frets and vlcerates the

The powder of the Sea-Hare, consumeth the Lights and Lungs: witnessed by story of a Singing man, or Quirister.

Good fellowship among Chanters, as well as others

A iust and deserued punishment.

A poyson that hurts the stomacke.

ulcerates the stomacke and bowels (but no other part of the body beside:) that whosoever receiveth it, will dye thereof in very short while remediless.

Concerning those Venoms that destroy the Liuer, there are some store of them; onely it shall content me to advertise the Reader, and remember him of the History alleadged in the precedent Chapter, of the Countrey-man of *Bithynia*, and how by the meanes of one onely Hearbe, which spoyled the Liuer he then carryed, he wrought the death of many people. And some of the Simplists of these our instant times, haue found out that dangerous Hearb; and yet, imitating the wisdom of their learned Maister *Galen*, they dare not make it openly knowne. They can likewise (for the same purpose) make Poysons of Minerals, and of diuers other Creatures in these daies, which neuer were knowne to our Elders; and they will take away life in very short time.

Against the Reines, Bladder, and genitive parts, I need speake of none but the *Cantharides*, whereof if any quantity be taken, or more then the skilfull Phisition shall prescribe by writing, without question death ensueth. As I myselfe saw happen to a young Gentlewoman, waiting in the Chamber of a Lady in *Guyenne*, to whom a wanton young Gallant (being amorous of her beauty and perfections) found meanes to make her receiue the weight of three drams of the Powder of *Cantharides*, mingled among certaine greene Hearbes, made Sallet-wise; onely to induce her to his voluptuous desires: and this he did by the Councell of a poore, needy, and wicked Apothecary, who (for three Crownes) sold him the said Powder of *Cantharides*. The Gentlewoman, within three houres after, fell into strange alterations: as a most violent heat, and exulceration of the Reines and Bladder, being desirous euery moment to auoid Vrine, with extreame stings and prickings, whereof in the end she dyed: And her body being opened after her death; the Reines, Matrixe, and Bladder, were found very blacke, dyed, and excoriated. Not onely the *Cantharides* being drunk, or otherwise inwardly receiued, are most pernicious, but likewise if they be outwardly applyed, as I

my selfe can witness, by that which happened to a Curtizane at *Paris*. She being offended because she was of a browne complexion, went to a certaine *Mountebancke*, to buy some meanes of fayrer beauty: He applyed a Cataplasme or emplayster, both to her Face and Neck, which was well compounded with the *Cantharides*, and this she must weare for the space of twelue houres; but within three daies after she died. There was likewise then present with me, one named *Monsieur Greaume*, a learned Phisition, who causing her body to be opened, her Reines, Matrixe, and Bladder (but no part else) were found to be Gangrened, and most filthily smelling.

There are also diuers kinds of Pulse or Graine (which I will forbear to speake of) whereof if any frequent vse be made; such debility will be found in the ioynts of the body, as in the Legs, Feete, Flanckes, Armes, and such like Members; that hardly can any ease be had for the paine. A Learned Phisition shewed me a Simple, with credible assurance, that if the weight of a Crowne were taken thereof; it would take away the benefit of sight within foure houres after. He shewed me also the root of another Simple, the powder wherof procured deafenesse.

Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but as there are Medicaments, which both purge and comfort certaine parts of a mans body: euen so there are diuers Venoms and Poysons; which assaile and molest one part more then another, as I thinke I haue sufficiently shewne. Witnessse *Agaricke*, that purgeth the braine particularly; and Muske likewise, which (in a small quantity) glads and comforts it: *Aloes* and *Myrabolans*, doe purge the stomack; *Cinamon* and *Spicknard* do make it well againe. *Succory* and *Rheubarbe* wil purge the Liuer; *Ceterach* and *Cappier* the Melt or Spleene; *Terebinthina* and cold Seeds, the Reines and Bladder: for al which, there are as many, or more kind of comforts: In like manner, there are Hearbs, Plants, Minerals, Animals, that both offend and help diuers parts of the body. Hauing (in mine opinion) discoursed sufficiently on this Argument, I thinke it not amisse (in our ensuing Chapter) to remooue their error; who do conceit, that Impoysoners can

Another History of a Curtizane.

Danger by diuers kindes of Pulse.

Simples that take away both sight and hearing

Diuers hurts, and as many helps witnessed by examples.

Hearbes, Plants, and Minerals, both hurtfull and helpfull.

Of poysons that destroy the Liuer.

The cunning of Simplists in these daies.

For the reins, Bladder, and genitive parts

A History of a deceived Gentlewoman.

Hurt by ignorant Apothecaries.

can worke so cunningly, on such bodies as they are willing to destroy: to make them languish, & liue so many months, weeks, daies, houres, or yeares, as they please to limit or appoint.

CHAP. XIX.

To know if an Impoisoner can so arteficially accommodate his poysons, that he may limit the houre, day, weeke, month, and yeare, in which time his intention shall cause the person to languish, & afterward die, by him poysoned.



Heophrastus is of the mind, that a man may so prepare *Aconitum*, or other poysons in such manner, as he may thereby cause another bo-

dy to languish or die, according as himselfe pleaseth. He saith beside, that such as keepe poyson within them for any long time, shall dye with much paine, for it followeth on necessity, that the body will become dry and crumpled: whereas contrariwise, they that containe them but a short while, doe dye much more easily.

The vniuersality of Physitians haue concluded, that albeit some poysons are found to be more quicke and suddaine then others are or can be: yet notwithstanding, the one or others power, it is impossible to iudge assuredlie on what day shall be the period of their operation, in procuring the death of any one, as some haue supposed. For if we admit, that poysons are more sudden in somebodies, then in others: it proceedeth not from the naturall propriety of those poysons; but is caused by the greater or lesser resistance in nature, in the persons that bee impoisoned.

Hereupon it hath bin noted by experience, that in giuing one and the same poysons, and in iust equality of weight, to diuers condemned persons: one hath dyed within an houre, another in lesse then a quarter; and a third hath continued for foure and twenty houres; yea, in some man, nothing at all hath appeared, such hath bene the

strength of Nature. This may be daily discerned in Laxatiue Medicines, for deliuering one and the same Medicine, (and in like quantity) to diuers diseased persons: in some it is found to be of facile motion; in others, of very tardy operation. To some, the Medicine dooth a little seruice; to others, a great deale; and to others nothing at all. It will purge some without grieffe or pain; in others, the same Medicine will cause a thousand languishes: and yet notwithstanding, all this proceedeth but from the diuersitie of temperature in Men, which cannot be so exactly noted, as to determine certainly, at what time naturall heat shall withstand or resist the poyson.

But let vs put the case, that there were an Impoisoner so subtile and ingenious, as (by experience and science) he could easily vnderstand the carriage of the vitall faculties in diuers and sundry persons, and that he could coniecture, how long he should liue to whom hee gaue the poyson: yet notwithstanding all this, it is impossible for him to know resolutely, which, shall bee the death-day of the party impoisoned by him. For it is not possible, that any Physitition or Philosopher (except it bee diuinely reuealed to him) should calculate so farre as the vtmost point, how much ther is in euery peticular body, both of Radicall humour, and of naturall heate: considering, that the principall qualities of our Bodies, do not alwaies continue in one condition. And hence it proceedth, that wee finde our selues to be more strong, or else more feeble, at one time then another: whereto wee may likewise adde, that internall causes doe alter and change our temperatures ordinarilie. Counter-poysons also, being giuing to such as are impoisoned, although they cannot surmount the malignity of the poyson; yet notwithstanding, they wil prolong the patients life. And therefore I hold it as a very great folly in any one to thinke, that hee can weigh and iudge of our inward faculties, euen as iustly as if he weighed Saffron.

It ought also further to be noted, that although the resistance happeneth, (for the most part) according as the Nature of the party Impoisoned is

The opinion of Theophrastus

The opinion of Physitians, concerning the times of operation in poysons.

One poyson giuen to diuers, for tryall thereof.

A similitude drawne from Medicines purgatiue, & comiortatiue.

A notable example well worth the obseruation.

Our bodies are not at all times in one estate.

Counterpoysons, if not help, yet they will prolong life.

is weake or strong : yet neuertheless, it proceedeth likewise hence, that some men haue their arteries (through which some poysons passe, to penetrate so far as the heart) much greater and grosser then other men haue. For when a Poyson findeth the Conduits large & wide, not only doth it passe the more suddenly, but likewise it goes on and enters euen to the heart, by meanes of the ayre continually entring, that peerceth thorough the flabels of the heart, or other parts, where the poyson (by his hidden or manifest quality) seeketh to hurt. Which neuer happeneth in such persons, as haue a coole heart, and their vitall Spirits strengthlesse; because their Arteries are very narrow.

Hereupon ensueth the saying of Galen, that Hemlocke is mortall to men, and nutritiue to Stares or Starlings: for those Birds haue their Arteries so strait, that it is not possible for the venome in the Hemlocke, to penetrate so farre as the hart. And to approue my wordes, I will relate an History, of one named *Seigneur Valentine*, who was held to bee the naturall Sonne of Pope *Alexander* the sixt: & the same is alledged by *Mathi-olus*, who heard it reported credibly, by diuers men in his time. This Man, being desirous to poyson certain Cardinals at a banquet; without thinking thereon, poysoned himself also, with his Father, & diuers other friends: some wherof dyed within few daies after; others, some months after; others, some yeares; and yet himselfe escaped; by the help of certaine Antidotes which he tooke, and other remedies. He experimented the same poyson, by giuing it to diuers Mules and Mulets, which he could easily kill, according to the working of their naturall heat. The reasons then before alleadged, and this History may serue to perswade the Reader, that the vulgar opinion is not auailable; holding obstinately, that the Impoysoner can certainly determine the houre of a mans death, which is apparantly false.

Those people in the Prouince of *Cumana*, scituate in the West *Indiæ*; doe make a poyson which killeth the heart suddainely, eyther by the smell thereof; or touch: it is compounded of the blood of diuers Serpents; Gum made of a certaine Hearb, and a strange kinde

of Apples, all commixed together, with the Heads of some Ants, that are full of venome. In composition of this vile Drugge, they shut vp an old Woman in a Chamber, giuing her all the seuerall substances, and such Wood as must boyle all the Simples together. This decoction continueth two or three daies and nights on the Fire, before it can be brought to perfection: and the old woman dyeth with the stincke and venomous fume issuing from the seething. If she dye, they then highly praise and commend the poyson; but if she scape without death, then they cast it away, and punish the woman very grieuouly. This poyson is said to be the very same, which is vsed by the *Caribes*, and against which, the *Spaniards* could neuer finde any remedy; being wounded by the impoysoned Arrowes and Darts, shot and cast at them by those *Caribes*.

I could haue proceeded further in this discourse of poysons, to the pleasing, or rather dislike of the Reader, because the subiect is some-what odious: but the cause procuring me to what hath beene deliuered, was, to aduise such as are constituted (in these our daies) in places of eminency and dignity, to haue an especiall regard of themselues, because ambition both hath beene, and yet is so great in some persons; as very few Princes haue not beene endangered by poyson. And if that way hath not preuailed, to make their liues subiect to their mallice; then Pistols haue beene employed, and impoysoned Knives: As on the most Christian King *Henry* the third, who was slaine in that manner at *Saint Clou*: Then on King *Henry* the fourth, whose memory will endure to the Worlds end, for a famous King and peerelesse Souldier: and who bare the markes of such villainous attempts all his life time, euen in his royall face, and could not preuent his death thereby.

I am also to be excused, in not setting downe the names of many poysons, & passing vnder silence the power of such as are very dangerous; because I held it no part of my duty, in regard that *Galen* himselfe refused to name them. *Nicander*, and (after him) *Dioscorides*, haue set downe the names of many poysons in their workes, and deliuered certaine signes, whereby to know what poysons are

Prooffe made of the poysons power.

Poyson vsed by the *Caribes*.

The Authors reason, for discourfing on poysons.

Kings slaine with impoysoned Knives.

Galen, *Nicander*, and *Dioscorides*.

why Hemlock is deadly to men, & good for Starlings.

Diosco. lib. 5. cap. 1.
A History of a notorious impoysoner.

A poyson inuented by the of *Cumana* in *India*.

are to be dealt withall, and remedies also incident to them. But let me tell ye, that those perrilous matters whereof they haue made so publique euidence, are so grosse, and of such easinesse to be defended, as (in very truth) they doe not deserue to be set downe in writing. For such as are made vse of in these our times, they haue much more pernicious effects, and sooner can ridde the world of many persons, then any of the other (by vse then made of them) had power to do.

Our nouell
poysons more
dangerous
then them of
old.

CHAP. XX.

What manner of people they were, that had the Title of Gymnosophistes.



Or better vnderstanding, what is meant by the word *Gymnosophista*, to such as are little experienced in the Greeke tongue, I direct mine intent, giuing them to know, that the Word is composed of two vocables; to wit, *Gymnos*, which is as much to say, as *Naked*; and *Sophista*, that is, *Wise*; euen as if you would say *Naked.wise*, for (in very truth) they went continually naked. *Pliny* and *Cicero* haue discoursed of them, and (after them) *Saint Augustine*. These Philosophers dwelt about Mount *Caucasus*, neere vnto the Riuer *Ganges*; where they went naked, as yet (to this day) the most part of the Inhabitants of that Countrey doe. They vsed to make Vowes, to liue in Deserts, some in Forrests: not during life, but for a certaine number of yeares, walking in contemplation of Celestiall thinges, and of Morall Philosophy. They would neuer enter into any Townes or Citties, neither married, but liued austerely, alwaies looking stedfastly on the Sunne, euen in the greatest heate of the day; standing vsually vppon one foot, in the very hottest and scorching sand or dust. Beeing wearied with long standing in that manner, they would stand as long vpon the other, and sildome stand on both feet together; this they wold likewise do in the extremest cold of winter.

Gymnosophista,
Nakedly wise.
Pliny. Cicero. S.
August.

Mount *Caucasus*
neere *Ganges*.

Vowes of the
Gymnosophists.

Their Life,
Cuitome, and
Behaiour.

They fed on nothing but Fruits and roots, which alwaies (in meere charity) was brought to them: for rather then to aske or require food, they would famish themselues to death. They vsed to lye in the coole shade vnder Trees, or else in the vast, wide, open fielde. Persons of great honorr, and multitudes of other people beside, vsed to goe see them, and brought their Children with them, to be enstructed by them; because it was reputed in euery opinion, that they were men of great sanctity, and excelled all other in knowledge. In breefe, all their Doctrine was to know God, shunne Vices, and (about all other) ambition. They invred their bodies to endure all kinds of afflictions, were it to bee burned aliuie: for many of them would cast themselues into a fire, if they had attained vnto the age of fifty yeares, or there about. There was no small number of them, but very many, and they accepted into their society children descended of the best houses. Whereof *Cicero* being certified, he maruailed not a little, that among so barbarous a Nation, and where they made no vse of letters: there should bee found so many Learned Philosophers, chaste, sober; adorned with many vertues, and accustomed to suffer all iniuries, as well of the Ayre, as in other externall matters.

Strabo writeth, that there were two kindes of *Gymnosophistes*; one of them dwelling in Deserts and Forrests, cloathing themselues with leaues and barks of trees, liuing bashfully and soberly, neuer dinking any Wine; and these Men were tearmed *Hermanes*. The other sort frequented Kings Courts, Citties, and assemblies of people, and they were called *Brachmanes*: who held opinion, that the day of death, was the birth-day of vertuous Soules; which opinion appeared to be truly Christian.

Alexander the great, hauing traailed farre in the *Indiaes*, heard report of these *Gymnosophistes*, and caused some of them to be brought before him: of whom he was sharply reprooued, because hee beeing but a Mortall Man, hauing but one mouth to feede, and one Kingdome, more then sufficient for his Gouerning; that yet he tooke such paines, and oftentimes fell into great dangers, to raunge, trouble, and conquer all the East

Their man-
ner of feeding
and lodging.

Children
brought to be
instructed by
them.

Their Doc-
trine and suf-
ferance.

Cicero his rea-
son of amaze-
ment at the
Gymnosophists.

Strabo affirms
two sortes of
Gymnosophists.

Hermanes.

Brachmanes.

Alexander the
great, repro-
ued by the
Gymnosophists.

East and the *Indiaes*, which neuer any way had offended him. He seeing himselfe so toucht to the quicke by these naked Philosophers, for his limitless ambition; refused to passe on any further, but returned backe to *Babylon*, to liue thence forward quiet and peaceably, purposing neuer after to trouble any person.

Alexander taxed, represseth his ambition.

Aristobulus, who accompanied *Alexander* in all his voyages and Conquests, writeth, that two of those *Gymnosophistes* followed him, in his returning from the *Indiaes* to *Babilon*, both of them being continually naked, without any Garment on them. He that seemed the eldest or more auncient of them, would lye groueling on his face vpon the ground, euen in the powerfillest warmth of the Sunne, or heat of Summer, much molested with Wasps and other stinging Flyes; yet would he not stirre, or once make offer to driue them away. He that was the younger man, he would stand continually vpon one foote, holding a Log of Wood in one of his handes, containing the length of three cubits; and ordinarily would hee stand in this manner, as well before *Alexander*, as out of his company. Some while after, the elder man left this austerity, and began to liue more delicately; for which, being reprehended, hee answered, That he had liued (in his former manner) the space of sixe and thirty yeares, according to the vow he had made to God, to hold that rule of *Gymnosophistæ* for such length of time: which being now expired, he might returne to liue in the same sort as other Men did. The younger man being named *Cabanus*, hauing followed the Court and Army of *Alexander*, so farre as *Persia*, he made a goodly fire in an open assembly, and hauing annointed al his body ouer with Lard or Grease; he threw himselfe into the midst of the Fire, with a smiling, iocund, and cheerefull countenance, according to the custome of the *Brachmanes*, and so burned himselfe into Ashes.

Two Gymnosophists followed Alexander to Babylon.

One of the Gymnosophists reproued, & his answer.

The Gymnosophist burneth himselfe.

The abyding of the Gymnosophists.

The Mountaines called *Caucasus*; where these *Gymnosophistes* doe inhabite; are not they which touch *Scythia* in *Asia*; but those that confine on the mouths of the great *Indian* riuer *Ganges*,

where the Inhabitants are blacke, going all naked, except some small couerture for their parts of shame: they are great Idolaters, euen to this day; of friendlie conuersation, not nice or daintie, and they are often deceiued by Marchants-Strangers. None of those other *Gymnosophistes* are found in these partes, but there are certaine Priests and Women, who do (very nere) hold the same manner of behauiour, as the ancient *Brachmans* did, for they burne themselves when they become aged. If any man among them happen to dye otherwise, all his Wiues (for there they haue many) doe contend among themselves, which of them loued him best, and the case must be pleaded (for tryall) before a Iudge, Each of them is an Atturney in her owne cause, and she that is found to be of greatest affection, and hath done most accepted seruices to the dead in his life time; shee onely hath the renowne in Iudgement, and she shall haue the honor to be burned aliue, with the dead body of her Husband.

As for my selfe, I alwaies conceited, that those *Gymnosophistes* were religious persons, who believed the immortality of the Soule, and sequestred themselves from mens societies; because they would not be touched with worldly desires; thinking to do all things acceptable to God, and enstruct others how to liue vertuously. And in so much, as they willingly threw themselves into deaths power, before nature had runne her full course; it seemed to mee that they did it, to auoyd further offending God by their sinnes. There are found some Men among vs, euen in these daies; that sequester themselves from sight of other Men; exhorting vs to all charity & vertue, to haue daily remembrance of death, and to prepare all our thoughts to God: they are said also, to liue as (if not more) chastly and austerely, as the other did: but as I am not able to speak this of mine owne absolute knowledge; so will I not condemne any one thereto enclined, that doth it not on a superstitious kind of zeale, or to be held of greater sanctity then others, therefore I refer iudgement herein; to him to whom it iustly belongeth.

Priests and Women that dye in fires.

The prooue of womens loue to their Husbands.

The Authors opinion of the Gymnosophists.

Some religious persons resembling the Gymnosophistes.

CHAP. XXI.

¶ Against the opinion of such men, as doe thinke, that the Septentrionall Countries, which bee vnder the North Climate, are vnfruitfull and inhabitable.



Here were many of our fore-Fathers, who helde opinion, that vnder *Zona Torrida*, no Man can haue any dwelling, in regard of the extreame heate there continuing: but they were therein much deceiued, for it hath bene found by Navigations of the *Spaniards*, *Portuagals*, and others, within some hundreds of passed yeares, that very many ciuill people doe inhabite there, and great store of Victuals for nourishment, dooth also there abound.

Contrariwise, some likewise haue thought, that the two *Zones* which bee imagined to holde the two extremities of the Worlde, are (by their violent colds) not habitable; because they are farre remote from the *Zodiaque* and *Eclipticke*, which is another imagined Line, and through which the Sunne maketh his course. Heerein also they haue bene greatly beguiled; for vnder the two *Zones*, the Land is couered with Men, Beastes, Hearbs and Trees: the inclemency of the Ayre, or of the cold Heauens doth there no hurt at all. Nothing but the Earth it selfe, which is found in some partes barren and vnfruitfull, makes them not to bee inhabited by men: as in the Desert and Sandy *Arabia*, whence yet you may passe into diuers Countries, carrying Victualles with ye. So is it likewise to be imagined of many other Desets, which are in many other parts of the World.

I haue alleadged these fore-named matters, because many yet doe holde, that the Septentrionall Countries are infertile; as *Moscovia*, *Tartaria*, *Scithia*, *Getia*, *Prutania*, *Denmarcke*, *Suetia*, *Norway*, *Finland*, and others; whereof it would aske some time to make recitall,

which are all Neighbours, or vnder the North; in regard, there it is cold the greater part of the yeare, and at all times subiect to Snowes and sharpe Frostes; as also Fogges and Mistes are there very frequent, and the Ayre commonly cloudy. Wherein they are also much deceiued, for in all those Provinces, there are neyther Fieldes, Vallies, Mountaines, Hillockes, nor the Banckes of Riuers, but you shall see them couered with goodly Hearbes, Grasse, and Plants, faire spreading, and in fruitfull manner, as also plentie of Men and Beasts. Now, because coldnesse is vnprofitable to Generation; therefore many haue held these Countries to be very desert and empty of all thinges.

First of all, there is great plenty of Horses, fat, high-fed, and very good, so that when they goe in any expedition, their Troopes doe ordinarily consist of threescore or fourescore thousand horses. The Men also are very nimble and ready, so that if they had the vse of Armes among them; as of the Harquebush, Petronils, and other Artillerie, accordingly as wee haue: they would quickly ouer-runne *Europe*, or the *Persian*. That it can be no otherwise, we haue had good experience in our times, when they haue giuen assistance to the Turkes, in much greater number then I haue spoken off. Of Oxen, Kine, Sheep, Goats, Swine, and other Beasts for Housholde seruice, the Countries are (well-neere) ouer-burthened, and wonderfully well fed: abounding also in White-meates, which are their verie chiefest sustenance. So that, if those Countries were so barren, as most Historiographers, and some Cosmographers (that neuer dreamt on these things) haue written: wold beastes there multiply in such plenty, and thriue in such extraordinary manner?

As for the Women, they are so fruitfull, as commonly they bring two children at a burden, oftentimes three, and foure at-sometimes; whereof let no doubt or scruple be made. For I haue seene many, and frequented long with people of those partes (both of Honour and Learning) who haue confirmed the truth heereof vnto mee. All the Men of Warre heretofore, of the *Gothes*,

Signes of fertility and plenty.

Great abundance of men and beastes.

Lacke of knowledge in Artillery.

The error of Historians & Cosmographers.

The fruitfulness of the Women.

Zona Torrida.

Habitable land vnder *Torrida Zone.*

The *Zodiaque* and *Ecliptick* line.

The Earth it selfe vnfruitfull.

Lands vnder the North populous and fertile.

Countries vnder the north.

The North hath yeilded very potent Armies.

Gothes, Vandales, Scythians, Hunnes, Normanes, and others; beeing in number aboue foure or five hundred thousand Men, and the Army of Tamberlain (who liued in the yeare 1390.) that consisted ordinarily of a Million of Men; were of no other people or Countries, but such as inhabited vnder the North. They are Men of Spirit, Learned, and preferue Annales among them, euen as we doe in our Nations: Some of them are Christians, after the Gracians manner; others, Mahumatists, and others Idolators.

The plenty of Furres which those Countries yeild.

These people were Furres, euen from sole of the foote (as wee vse to say) to the Crowne of the head: And whence can such prouision of Furres be made, but by the foecundity of their Landes? For they doe not onely cloath themselues, but they likewise furnish Fraunce, England, Italy, Germany, Spaine, Flanders, Greece, and other Prouinces; yea, with the very richest and fayrest: as Ermines, Sables, Martines, White Wolues, Foxes, and diuers others.

Great store of Venison.

Shall I speake of the great plentie of Venison, and exceeding in fatnesse, daily taken by them? As Harts, Hinds, Kiddes, Wilde-Boares, Hares, &c. very easilie and familiarly hunted among them. Likewise; Fowles of all kinds, as well haunting the Mountaines, as liuing on Plaines, and in Waters. All which Viandes are at such cheape rate, as, for halfe an ounce of Silver, which valueth twentie French Solz, or two Shillings of our English Money, a man may haue a Redde Deere, or a Wilde Boare; and a Hare for the fift part of a dramme of Silver, hardly valuing a Penie. I set not down the Names of their Monies, because the Scythians, of whom I speake more then others, and dwell direct vnder the North, haue no vse at all of Money: but both buy and sell all thinges for the weighe of Gold or Silver; Duckes, Mallards, Plouers, wilde-Geese, Ganes, Ringdoues, Pewets, Partridges, Quails, Blacke-Birds, &c.

The cheapnesse of victuals.

in a manner for nothing, they are so easily taken; by reason of their great abundance. The people lead a Pastoral kinde of life, and haue no other dwelling then vnder Tentes, and in the open Fieldes, without any repining

The Scythians haue no vse of Money.

Store of wilde Fowles.

Their maner of life and dwelling.

thereat, and yet they sleepe there verie soundly. This Countrey whereof I speake, containeth more then sixe hundred Leagues, which pliny, ptolomy, and Pomponius Mela, doe hold to be almost desert, and from an hundred Miles, to another hundred, hardly is any Towne or Village to be seene.

Pliny, Ptolomy, Pomponius Mela.

10

Their Seas are fertile, and abounding in Fishes of all kindes, for there they are greater, and much better nourished, then in any other Seas; witnesse the Whales, Coddies, Lings, &c. that doe come all (well-neere) from these Regions. And if any Whales be taken in the Spanish Seas, as I haue seene some, but very sildome; they are much lesse then the other, nothing so fat, nor in such store and plenty. Let vs proceede yet a little further. If these Countries were so vnsuitfull and inhabitable, as they are said to be; would Bees and Hony be in such abundance there as they are? For there is scarcelic any Tree, where those little Labourers doe not builde their Hives: especiallie if they can meete with any hollow Tree, wherein I haue heard it credibly reported, that Men haue diuers times sunke

The North-Sea greatly abounding in Fish.

20

up to the shoulders in Hony. Whence comes such store of Waxe, as the Germanes send into Fraunce, and other places of Christendome, but onely out of those Countries? For although there be some store in France, yet is there not any such plenty or encrease, as would furnish Paris for one month onely. In breefe, their Trees are full of Honny, Waxe, and Fruits: beside, I haue been certainly assured, that the leanes in their least Groues and Thickets, haue well neer equalled your common Colewortes. The whole Land is euen covered (as it were) with extraordinary odoriferous Hearbs; especially young Mariorame, which is held there to bee so precious, as if we can get thereof; wee compound it with the Powder of Violets, and vse it as a restorative.

Great abundance of wax, Hony and Fruits.

30

Now, according to the opinion of all the very greatest Naturalists, coldnes is not aduantageable to generation and production; eyther in Beastes or Plantes; because we perceiue, that (in Winter) Beasts haue no familiarity together, and all Plantes become as if they

Hearbes of sweet saour.

50

Q 2 M 10 were

The opinion of the Naturalists, concerning generation and production.

A reason of fertility in the North Countries.

Mont D'or and Domme in Auvergne.

Few Townes or Villages in those Countries.

The reason why these people liue in Tents, & not in Townes.

were dead, or despoyled of their goodly leaues: which needs must be the reason of no such fecundity in these cold and freezing Countries; and yet there may be in those Climates, some humor intermingled with the earth (beyond the ordinary nature of other partes) which is the only Argument of such fertilitie. For the Butter-flies, Bees, and other common Flies, doe not feare any cold there; but are much greater and grosser then they be heere. Oftentimes, the very least or cold Frostes heere with vs, quite kills our Bees and Flies; but the very greatest coldes there, and (as one saith) when mighty ysickles couer al the Rocks; yet euen then doe they produce generation. Men are far more healthful there then we be heere; they feed more then we do, & digest their meat better, because (indeede) they are much more laborious. I haue obserued in *Auuergne*, that on the highest Mountaines there, (which are those called *Mont D'or*, and *Domme*) where the Snowes neuer stirre for nine months together: that yet neuertheless, they are very fertile, & yeild the greater quantity of grasse & hearbs; of better tast, and bigger and fairer, then the plaines do with all their temperate ayres. Beastes likewise doe much better fatten there, then commonly we see in other places.

Heere it may be objected to me, that the reason why Cosmographers and Geographers haue set down no Towns or Villages, on the plaines of those Countries; as namely, in *Scythia* and *Tartaria*; was, because there are either very few, or none at all. And so much the rather, in regard that the people dwelling vnder Tents, are still vnsetled and ambulatory; as seeking after new pasturages, when they haue made their feeding (any time) in one place. The people make no auouchable testimony hereof, but rather, that the reason why they dwell in Tentes, and in the open fields; is, because they will not be shut vp within Walls; to the end, that they may the sooner approach their enemies, when they Warre vpon them; as also for their apter courses, out-rides, and surprisals, for they are of very Warlike disposition. For other occasions, they haue all thinges sufficiently for sustentation of Mens liues, without neede of

any thing brought from other places: except it be wines and Spiceries, which (of necessity) must needs there be verie scarce, and they haue little neede of.

I conclude then, that when any man shall fall in contemplation of the countries fruitfulness vnder the North, and also of their Seas; hee must not thinke, that coldnesse is the cause thereof, for it bringeth rather discommodity, then any good benefite. But let him propound to himselfe, as I haue formerlie saide; that the reason proceedeth of some good and fat humiditie, remaining in the Groundes of those Countries, and whereof we haue none such heere.

The Authors Conclusion.

CHAP. XXII.

A Paradoxe, approouing, that the meaneſt and simplest place of Birth or descent; maketh a Man to be truly most Noble.



That Noblenesse of Bodie and Heart (which our Elders euermore obserued for the minde) being both combined together, are the very fayrest partes to be wished in any Man; I make no more doubt thereof, then I do of truth it selfe. For, let there bee neuer so great a number of them, whom we tearme Gentle-men, Lords, mightie *Magnificoes*, or others whatsoeuer; yet, except they bee enriched with these vertues ioyntly: I reckon them not within the compasse of true Nobilitie. And I dare oppose my selfe directlie against any Man, who (in the peeuishnesse of his owne Spirit) shall aduenture to maintaine, that descent from a great House, without other Title then the bare name onely; is sufficient to make eyther a Nobleman, or Gentleman.

Admit the case, that (as some hold) Vertue auayleth but little, which (neuertheless) they shall finde to bee most false: yet the Vnnoble-borne person hath this aduantage, and the obscurity of the place (whence he is deriued) giueth him this power and Prerogatiue:

Nobility of body and mind.

The compasse of true Nobility.

Vertue of little or no account, yet free for all to vse.

to

to take delight (without any preiudice) in all those kindes of sportfull pleasures grounded on Vertue, which can bee in present vse. As, to vnder take strange enterprises, though appearing difficult and full of daunger; which hee may safely doe, without any to reprove him therefore, or cast a blush in his countenance: succeeding as well, as if he could say to himselfe, heere wanteth nothing now, but Nobility by Race, & Antiquity of Kinred.

I dare say beside, that a poore Man honestly borne, and of good Spirit, standes free from the rough severitie of troublesome Tutors, froward indiscrete Pedants, reckonieg himselfe in the number of them, who are truelie borne free and at liberty, and voyde of those distastes, which obscureth the splendor of famous Lignages. Hee findes not himselfe subiect to such diversitie of fashions in Garments, which wee behold to alter and change day by day; ostentimes making both minde and body answerable to those fantasticke and idle-headed Habites. Nor is hee bound (for preserving the honour of his House) to keepe a great Traine, or a surfeiting Table. Hee holds it no disgrace or shame, to walke on foote in his Countrey, without his quarrelling Rapyer, or other Weapons. If Fortune smile not, but overtaketh him with worldly and ordinary mishaps: he rather accounteth it credit for him, to vndergoe another mans honest service, then fall into misery, or hazzard his future hopes, with any blemish and staine of Obloquy. All which things they dare not doe, that cyther remember in themselves, or any other of their Race, the eminent place of their Birth and Off-spring: but, overweening themselves destyned to the same Fortunes; doe (ostentimes) endure and fall into the greater mischies; because the smoake of their famous Houses, laies diuers charges on them; inferiour to their Nobility and excellence, and beeing slipt or false in their first aduventure, they can neuer afterward (without great difficulty) rise againe.

The Man not Noble borne, is verie wary, before he fall into worse then his Originall Fortune, and makes his Indu-

stry his best pillars and vnder-proppes: by which commendable meanes, making Vertue his course, and pursuing the golden degrees of Wisedome, his name attaineth to be more illustrated & famous, then it can easily bee obscured by any sinister accident. Then, addiecting himselfe to Letters, and the liberall Sciences, or else to follow Military Discipline; he bestowes therein such labour and diligence, that by meere right and Iustice of Merit: first hee beares away the special benefit thereof; next, the luster and splendour of it waites on him continually; and the same (due to so high deseruing) cannot bee taken from him, by any Commaunder, Lorde, or Maister, to whom (for bare Name of Gentry) it may be thought more fitly to appertaine.

Example of Warlike actions hath beene noted, in *Bayarde*, *Manleurier*, *Malherbe*, and other valiant French Captaines; as also in *Castruccio Castagne*, *Picine*, *Carmaygnole*; and *Ioannine in Italy*; all which men (though descended of meane and humble Parentage) ther renowne did sufficiently manifest, that in them remained the onelie Vertue of high attemptes. The like may be saide concerning Learning, and the Sciences, if wee remember *Henrie the eight*, King of England, who is said to Write diuers worthy Bookes in Latine: which (neuerthelessse) were reported to be done by *Sir Thomas Moore*, who was his Lord Chancellour, a man that liued in great reputation, for singular Wisedome and Authority; yet descended but from meane place and Parentage, and (in regard of Blood, or House) might bee termed Vn-noble. Learning neuer secketh after eminent places, or mightie and Magnificent Houses, where sloth and negligence is much better friended, then all industrious dilligence or labour in actions of Vertue can attaine vnto. In approbation of this *Maxime*, we can produce; that Nobility of House maketh not the Philosopher, Poet, or Oratour; but studious paines and trauaile bestowed in either of them; these are the things that makes a Man both Noble, and immortal to posterity.

Socrates was Sonne to a Caruer or Worker in Marble: yet see what an excel-

Learning, the liberall sciences and Military discipline

Example of diuers French and Italian Captaines.

Sir Tho. Moore of England.

Learning coueteth no pride or pomp

Noble parentage maketh not a Philosopher, Poet; or Oratour.

Socrates Son to a Caruer in stone.

The benefit of poore, yet honest birth.

Fantasticall garmets, that make as foolish minds.

Service to good men is no disgrace.

Great minds are the cause of their owne grosse ruine.

Industry the stept to greatest fortunes.

Euripides poorly borne. *Demosthenes* of vncertaine Parents.

Virgilla Labourers Son. *Horace* a Trumpeters Sonne.

Of Moderne Men, who become wanton Writers, &c.

True Gentility came from men of mean quality.

Tarquinius Priscus, *Seruius Tullius*.

Septimius Seuerus, *Agathocles* King of Sicillie.

Aelius Pertinax, *Venadius Bassus*.

Inuented Titles to make men Noble or Gentle.

excellent pollither of the minde, he became a beater downe of bad and broken conditions, more hard then euer was the Iasper or Adamant. The auncient Tragicke Poet *Euripides*, came of very poore and abieft Parents. *Demosthenes*, the honour of Greeke eloquence, was not onely of meane place, but beside, of vncertain Parentage. *Virgill*, the famous Latine Poet, was begotten by a poore *Mantuan* labourer. And *Horace*, the incomparable *Lyrick*, was Sonne to a Trumpeter in the Warres. For Men Moderne, find but one onely that wrote in Philosophy, Poesie, Rhetoricke, or any other Science, who could renoune himselfe (at any time) by the Ancestors of his House. Ye may very well note to the contrary, if (out of a Noble or magnificent House) ye finde but one that giues himselfe to study, he is commonly tearmed a lasciuious wanton Pamphleter, a cunning Satyrift, a Rayler, or Brabler; and I pray ye, how is his house ennobled by him, when Vertue thus forsakes him, and lends him not her assistance.

If we shall neede to passe any further in this discourse; I dare vndertake to shew ye, that true Gentility (indeede) came at first from Men of meane condition, and many of them are yet (to this day) renowned by good Historians. Nay, more; that great Princes and Lordes haue receiued their Originall from poore Cottages, and simple Houses. For example, *Tarquinius Priscus*, was Sonne to a Marchant of a strange Countrey. *Seruius Tullius*, was begotten on a Woman-Slaue. *Septimius Seuerus*, came of very base degree. *Agathocles*, King of Sicillie, tooke it for no shame, to garnish his Pallace and richest Cup-boordes with earthen Vessels, in memory that hee was but a Potters Sonne.

Aelius Pertinax, was (at first) but a simple Seller of Wood. And *Venadius Bassus* came of maruellous poore Parents. If it bee so then, that among such great personages, the more part are found to bee deriued from poore and meane places: What reason haue so many men now-adaies, to search out such expresse inuented lyes, by counterfeit and Heteroclitie Titles, to tearme themselues Noble and Gentle;

meerely to purchase credit by supposed Preheminance of great Linage? And then, what a turmoyle and trouble doth it procure, when a silly Antiquary or Chronicler (or some other idle writer) eyther through want of discretion, or otherwise, sets not downe in his poore Pamphlet, all the Titles and qualities of such an vp-start Gallant?

10 It would cause an especiall content in minde to mee, if (by my paines) I could procure a cessation of this ouer-vaine and foolish humour, this heate of desire to be tearmed Noble or Gentle: were it but in such onely, as neuer knew what Armes meant, nor could euer expresse or approoue, one vertuous Act in any of their Predecessours. Surely, mee thinkes it is a very strange course obserued in the Kingdome of *Naples*, that euery base Groome in the Countrey, must (at euery Word) be tearmed *Signior*: And in the superscription to some sloenly Slaue, hee must haue the Title of *Don* such a one, which agrees euen as handsomely, as to call a filthy Slut in the Kitchin, *Madama Lucretia*, or *Signiora Pampiluna*. Oh intollerable absurditie? the like folly in no age (heeretofore) euer heard of. So, in Francke, euery Peazant and Lacky must bee called *Sir*, or *Monsieur*: then which, no greater stile can be giuen to the King, or his Brother, or the greatest Lord in Grace about him. In *Burgundy*, *Flaunders*, and *Henault*, a verie Lacky-Boy following the Campe, will make Armes for himselfe, after his owne minde and fashion, with Mantle, Helme, and Crest, after the *Saxon* guise, wherewith many Hostlers doots are famously dawbed. In *Brittaine*, ye haue not one, but his Father was a Lord at least. In *Scotland*: they all extract of the blood Royall: And in *Aniou* (as in *Wales*) they are all Gentle-men. And this is most certaine, that there are very fewe places to be found in the World, but (in them) some Seedes of this miserable ambition is disperfed. Scarcely is there any City, Village, Towne, or Borough; but shakes hand in this folly, euen for friendship sake.

I let passe the goodly City of *Venice*, wherin euery simple trafficker in Sugers, Cloths, Spices, &c. must be stiled a Gentleman at the least, or *Messieur Magnifico*.

If

The Titles of Gentry in the Kingdome of *Naples*.

In *Franck*.

In *Burgundy*, *Flaunders*, and *Henault*.

In *Brittaine*.

In *Scotland*.

In *Wales*.

All the world is set vpon Gentry.

The City of *Venice*.

If he be but a Sexton, and looke to the Church goods, presently hee must be intitled, Most Reuerend Sir, Most Religious, yea, and Most Blessed too, if it might bee admitted. Consider (seeing such dishonor don to true noblenes & Gentility) if it can bee endured with any patience? Would ye imagine, that these ambitious blastes haue past the Alpes; euen into *Friseland*; *Saxony*, and high *Germany*? I can assure ye, hauing bin in those partes, about important affaires, wherein then I had some imployment, that so soone as I perceiued this horrible misery; Oh Deuill (quoth I) how largely hast thou euer wher shot forth thy pernicious venom? Couldst thou not keepe within thy Natiue bounds, but thou must climbe ouer those admirable Mountaines, and places almost vnaccessable, to enflame mens minds with this thy hellish fury? I found in that Country; howe some would ride post to the Chambers Imperiall, only to buy the title of Gentility; and afterward, make vaunt of their Nobility; some, by two; others, by three; and others, by four feueral linages, curtalling the true names of their owne right Auincestors; to make their claime by a contrary way, the more likely. Some boasted of their discent from the *Tuscans*; some from the *Romans*; some from the eldest *Allemaignes*, and some were naturally bred of the race of *Achilles Mirmidons*. There was one, who for the Ensigne and Emblazure of his Nobilitie, in my conceit, had a very apte Coate of Arms giuen him, to wit; A Green-goose necke, in a Field Geules; couered with a Crest double staged, enriched with Mantle and Feathers; myraculously washed after the *Tartarian* manner, with other deuises of faire stranger fashion. Who soeuer had sworne to me, that among so great a number of rough and sterne people, there should be found one sparke of such peeuish ambition; I would neuer haue beleueed him. Because I was (euer before) giuen to vnderstand, that this folly dwelt onely in the Kingdome of *Naples* and *Spain*. But for ought I can perceiue, it hath euer where taken so deepe roote, that it hath receiued no smal hope in short time to haue an vniuersall flourishing.

I remember I haue read, that the Father of *Euripides*, expressing some outward ioy, because on a sudden he was en-

nobled, receiued from his Sonne these words; *Good Father* (quoth he) *doe not reioyce so much at this matter, for the Prince hath but giuen yee a thing, which anie man else may haue for his money.* For Nobilitie nowe hath no other foundation then on Riches, and hee that hath store thereof, hath power likewise to be made a Nobleman. This was it which moued good *Socrates* to say; *Only Vertue maketh vs noble and excellent.* For it auayleth nothing, to glory or renoune our selues by this or that family, if without Vertue wee thinke or perswade our selues to be Noble.

To this purpose, *Cicero* who deserved that famous name, to be alway called *Pater Patrie*, the Father of his natiue Countrey *Rome*, being reprehended by *Salust* in his inuectiues, that he knew him not to be descended of Noble race; but rather came from a place vterly vnknowne to Noblemen, he returued him this answer; *My Linage beginneth in the name of Cicero, but the race and name of Salust, will end in Salust.* *Plato* also maintaind, that seruants were descended of Noble bloode, if their Parents were Louers of Vertue, & they therein did follow their steps. And contrariwise, that all Princes and Lords were issued at first, from people of base and meane condition, and thence might deriue the antiquity of their race.

This was to quallify the pride of some insolent persons liuing in his time; who made no account of any thing; but of their goods and treasure; imagining, that Gentility in olde time, dropt from Heaven, like the fall of *Manna* to *Aponillus Calaber*, or *Briancon*. But the ancient Noblemen, were made by their Vertue & courage, which they woorthily manifested, both in manly fighting, and dying for the honor of their Country, committing no other action beside, that might bee blotted with the detection of villainie or reproach. Such as go that indirect way, and labor to get the name of Gentility, by actions apparantly lowe and dishonorable; them I may properly tearme to be Gentle-villaines, in regard that their long coveted Nobility, by such depraung behauiour, can giue it selfe no other Name; then the iust guerdon to such notable iniquitie.

The Egyptians, from whome came the Originall of all faire and honest disciplines, did hold opinion; that all persons

in

Folly in persons appertaining vnto the Church.

Frize-land, Saxony, and high Germany.

Great paines taken for Gentility, and strating vp to Nobility.

Boast made of mens descent.

A fit Coate of Armes for a Foole.

The Kingdom of Naples and Spaine.

The Father of Euripides, & his Sons words to him.

Nobilitie grounded on riches.

The saying of Socrates.

The answer of Cicero, to the repecthen-sion giuen him by Salust.

The saying of Plato, concerning Seruants and Princes.

Gentility to fall from heauen.

True Nobility indeed.

Gentle-Villaines.

The opinion of the ancient Egyptian; concerning Nobility.

in this world are Noble in quality, each one beeing composed of selfe-same matter, and framed by one onely builder or Worke-man, by whome their soules are infused into their bodies; being capeable (euen from their birth) of one selfe-same power and vertue. But they allowed afterward, that according to the disposition of each body, they which receyued the greatest portion of Vertue, had likewise greater preheminence aboue others; and so (for difference sake) were therefore called either Noble or Gentle. Vertue then is the truest Nobility; and Greatnesse of house, or antiquity of Lignage, are matters meerely of nothing. For, a poore Countrey-man, borne in *Arpinum*, hath bin as well called Emperour, and Father of his Countrey, as any *Iulius* or *Augustus Caesar*, descended of most auncient Houses.

Vertue is the truest Nobilitie.

CHAP. XXIII.

A pleasant Allegoricall description of Charon, called the Ferry-man of Hell.

S*E**N**E**C**A* in his Tragedie of *Hercules Fureus*, introduceth *Theseus*, who recounteth to *Amphitrio*, the strange sights he had seen in Hell. And he describeth *Charon*, according as *Virgil* doth, in the sixth Booke of *Aeneides*; and as *Polygnotus* painted him in a Table which hee made for the Temple of *Apollo*, as *Pausanias* recordeth. *Boccace* being desirous to interpret the figure of *Charon*, deliuereth his mind in this manner; By *Charon*, we are to vnderstand the signification of Time, who is saide to be Son of *Erebus*, and of *Night*. *Erebus* may be taken for the secret counsell and spirit of God, by whome, both Time and all things else were created, and Night was

Theseus his return from hel.

How *Boccace* describeth the figure of *Charon*.

the Mother of *Charon*. For before Time was, there was not, as yet any light at all; but it was made in darknesse, and out of darknesse it first appeared. *Charon* was afterward commaunded into hell, because they that are in Heauen, haue no neede of Time, as we mortals haue, that inhabit this lower part of the world; fro whence, if we cast vp our eyes to them, we may (by good right) account out selues to bee in Hell. *Charon* carrieth and re-carrieth mortals, from one side of the Riuer vnto the other; wherby we may gather, that when we are borne, Time in like manner leads and guides vs on toward death, causing vs to passe the Riuer *Acheron*, which is as much to say, as without ioy or comfort, in which kind of course, slideth away our fraile liues, full of many and infinite miseries.

No neede of Time in Heauen.

What is ment by the Riuer *Acheron*.

Time looseth no strength by yeares.

The frail garment of our bodies.

Charon is old, and yet notwithstanding strong, hardy, and couragious; signifying thereby, that Time looseth no strength by multiplicity of yeares. His Garments are blacke and sullied, as shewing, that while we are slaues and subiects to Time, wee make no care or account of any thing else but the worlde, and occasions belonging to the world, which are vile, fowl, & much deformed, in comparison of them appertaining to heauen, and whereon we ought to set the very height of al our loue and desire. But the fraile Garment of our mortall body, which we continually cary about vs, doth in such sort couer the light of reason, that as led blind-fold, we walke through the hell of this world, guided onely by common sense, and a million of inordinate appetites. Wherefore, there needs no great meruaile, if we bee dayly enuironed with multitudes of euils which present themselues as readily, as soules descend into the hell of this our worlde, and take vp their lodging in our mortall bodies. In which manner also, may the speeches of *Virgil* bee interpreted, describing the wicked carried into Hell, in the sixth Booke of his *Aeneidos*.

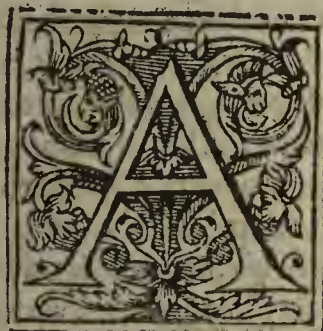
The end of the Second Booke.



The Third Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of Old Rome, in her Primitive Nature and condition: Of her first Religion, Lawes, Magistrates, Ciuill Pollicies, &c.



mongest all the Goddess, which the ancient Religion of Rome first exalted, it was Pan Lyceus, called by many, Faunus and Sylvanus; to whom, with the

Lupercalles, they did the honour of Sacrifice, as is affirmed by many ancient writers. They say, that such kinde of sacrifices were first brought to Rome by King Euan-der that fled from Arcadia, who came to that place, where afterward was built the Fort of Rome. Shepherds, who held this God as their Head and Commaunder, vsed to perfourme their Sacrifices starke naked to him, with their faces covered, and a certaine Girdle in their hands; but this kind of naked sacrificing is not punctually known, in regard that our ancients haue written diuersly thereof. Some say, that he being their God, and naked; declared thereby, that he was more apt and ready with al diligence in their assistance; and therefore required, to haue his Ministers naked in like manner. Some others affirmed, that the Arcadians, the very an-

cientest Inhabitants of Greece, who at the beginning, remained like wilde Beasts, in Woodes and Thickets of trees: After, they became reduced to a more Ciuill kind of life, would haue their God to bee honoured in the former manner, onelie in respect of their owne greater memory.

Many others haue VVritten, that Iole the Mistris of Hercules, was seene by this Faunus, and lasciuiously affected by him. The Old God, hauing from an hie rocke espied this beautifull aspect, became pleased beyond all patient sufferance; concluding with himselfe, to follow her whither soeuer she went. Shee, on the other side, hauing no notice of him or his intent, went along with her husband thorough the woods, seeking a place where to sleep in safety. In meane while, the night being at hand, she, according as she had formerly vsed to doe, tooke the hairy Lyons skin from Hercules, and spreading it about hir shoulders, tooke also his Club; then walking some distance from her husband, she laid her selfe downe to rest; for they were to Sacrifice to Bacchus, and therefore they ought to sleepe assunder. Sylvanus, burning in wanton heate beyond al measure, and perswading himselfe, that now was the aptest time to effect his amorous purpose, silently made stealth vnto the place where she lay; and putting forth his hand softly, felt the Lyons skin. Seeing thereat somewhat amazed, and thinking hee had mistaken her lodging, as whistly he withdrew thence, and went to the place where Hercules slept. His hand being there likewise his Taster, & finding more smoothnesse then he felt before; softly hee lifted vp the cloathes, and putting his hand still

The History of Faunus, and faire Iole.

Iole putteth on her the Lyons skin.

The Lyons skin deceiueth Faunus.

Pan the first God honored in Rome.

Who brought the first Sacrifices to Rome.

The reason of their Sacrificing naked, alledged diuers wayes.

on,

on, scarcely could he well feele the roughnesse of *Hercules* his body, but hee began to wake, and extended his hands to feele who troubled him. *Sylvanus* offered to escape, but feare and darke night barring sight of his passage, hee began to make a noise, whereat likewise the Lady awaked; and lighting her Lampes, *Hercules* could plainly perceiue who it was that hadde made this ydle attempt. If *Faunus* (seeing his folly thus discovered) were ashamed or no, the effect it selfe can best witness. Confounded both with grief & disgrace, he fled thence into the remoter Woods, and ordained, that in the Sacrifices offered to him, no Garments should be worne by the Sacrificers, because by them hee had bin so deceiued.

Faunus would fly, but cannot

The ordination of *Faunus*, in regard of his owne disgrace.

How the reason of Naked Sacrificing, is attributed to *Romulus*.

The continuance of this naked sacrificing, to *Cæsars* time.

Of the *Lupercal* sacrifices, and why so called.

The Nursing of *Romulus* & *Remus*.

Notwithstanding, some doe assigne the especiall cause heeteof to *Romulus*, & say, that hee celsbrating the like Sacrifice all naked, in regard of the Suns extreame heate, heard by certaine of his Newes-Bringers, that diuers theeues (in the time while he was thus busied) had stoln away a heard of his Cattle. Whereupon, euen naked as he then was, he swiftly pursued, and taking the Theeues, in perpetual memory of this worthy deed, he would haue all his sacrificing Priests, to exercise their office naked. But let the custome arise of what cause soeuer, it is most manifest, that it so continued to the time of *C. Iulius*. For it is recorded, that *Cæsar* beeing Dictator, at the spectacle of the like sacrifice, *M. Anthony* (who was one of the Sacrificers, and afterwarde of the *Triumueri*) comming running, would haue crowned *Cæsars* head with a wreath of Lawrel, wherein there was a Royall Crowne; but *Cæsar* not accepting thereof, because all the people frowned thereat, he went and crowned his Statue therewith. Afterward concerning the name of the *Lupercalls*, and wherfore Sacrifices were in that kind called; there are many reasons founde. Some say, they were called *Lupercalia*, because by inuocating on the name of *Pan*; Woolues were frighted away from the folds of Cattle. Some tearmed the Temple wherein that God was honoured, *Lupercale*; whereon saith *Virgil*.

And the *Lupercal* under the frozen Cliffe. They shewe also, and are perswaded, that because the Wolfe was there found, which gaue suck to *Romulus* and *Rhemus*; thereupon it was called *Lupercale*. There

wants not some also, who say, that it was so fir-named, after a Mountaine in *Arcadia*, called *Liceus*, where that kind of Religion is yet in account; for the *Arcadians* do call that Beast *Licon*, which we in Latine terme *Lupus*, a Wolfe. The especial deuotion vsed to this God, and the priests dedicated to him, was, as is found written; because women that could haue no conception or easy deliuey in childbirth, or prosper in constitution of their bodies, vsed to go to the *Luperci*, who were the Priests of *Pan*; and as they were more or lesse, beaten with a little rod, dipt in the blood of a young Goate, by the Priestes; euen so they conceiued, and were deliuered also of their Children. The solemnity done to this God, was celebrated the 18. day of Ianuary, as *Ouid* declareth in his Bookes to *Faustus*.

1. In the same time that *Euander* raigned, it is saide, that *Hercules* hauing flaine *Gerion*, brought along with him a heard of Oxen and Kine, of meruailous goodnesse; and hauing found neere the Riuer of *Tiber*, a place that liked him well for their feeding, made his stay there, and being weary with trauieling, did eate and drinke a little to sustaine nature; and afterward laide him downe to rest. *Cacus*, a Neat-heard of those parts, one that liued by others losses, seeing the seemly appearance of the Cattle, was very desirous to steale them: yet fearing least the owner should take notice of his theft (albeit now was the time of night) he took the verie fairest of them, and drawing them backward by the tailes, conueyed them in that manner into his Caue. At breake of day, *Hercules* awaked, and numbering his cattle as he was wont to do, not only discerned the Theft, but also the backward footing of the Beasts; whereby he coniectured no otherwise, but that they had wandered, and came forth of the caue again. Yet meruailing how the other should be gone, he concluded to inquire no further, but to depart with the rest; and driuing them thence with his wand, it happened, that the Beasts themselues missing the others gon, as naturally desiring their company, began to Low or bellow, which the enclosed Cattle in the Caue hearing, answered them againe in the same language. *Hercules* immediately knew the noyse of his Oxen and Kine, and ran presently to the Caue, wher *Cacus* comming to with-

The deuotions to this God, and his Priestes, and wherfore.

Of *Potitius* & *Pinarius*, priests of *Hercules*.

The Historie of *Hercules* and *Cacus* the Theefe.

Hercules deceiued by *Cacus*.

Cacus his theft discovered by the Beastes themselues.

stand his entrance, by resisting him manfully hand to hand, was there slain vnder the weight of his Club.

The Parents and Kindred of the partie slaine, with all the other Heardsmen together, immagining that this iniurie was not to bee endured, called *Hercules*, as a stranger, in iudgement before King *Euander*, who not long before, was fled thither from *Peloponessus*, and gouerned in these parts, rather by authority, then any right of Seigneury, yet was hee a man very venerable, for inuention of Letters among rude people; and much more venerable, by Diuinity of his Mother *Carmenta*, who before the comming of *Sibilla* into *Italy*, was honoured of the people as a Prophetesse. *Euander* hauing heard the case, and well noted the habit and stature of *Hercules*, which appeared to bee beyond ordinary manner, he demanded his Birth, Parentage, and Condition; but no sooner heard he his Name, Father, & Countrey, but presently he entered into these speeches; *O Hercules, thou Sonne of Ioue, highly art thou welcome, my Mother presaged thy future being, telling mee, that thou shouldst encrease the number of Gods in Heauen; and that in this place an Altare should be dedicated to thee, which altar should be honored by the richest people in the world, observing thy custome.*

Hercules vpon these wordes, gaue his hand to *Euander*, in sign of peace, answering him that he vnderstood the Angury, and woulde himselfe see the Diuine will executed; whereupon, he built and dedicated an Altar, and selecting fourth the best and fairest of his Oxen, they were giuen to be celebrated in Sacrifice, to *Potitius* and *Pinarius*; men of a family in those times, most honorable and famous. It fortun'd, that the *Potitij* (as *Liuius* declareth) were much more ready then the other, to the solemnity: whereupon, the inwards or intrails of the Beasts, were assigned to them. And the *Pinarij* coming so tardy, and finding them burnt, the rest of the Sacrifice was appointed to them; and thence-forward it was ordained; that while the generation of the *Pinarij* continued, the Beasts inwards should neuer be giuen to them on the solemn day. The *Potitij*, entrusted by *Euander*, were presidents for many years at the like sacrifices; and till this charge was imposed on publicke seruantes, there wanted not of this

solemne family of the *Potitij*. Which was occasioned by *Appius Claudius*, an enemy to this family; and therefore it was imagined, that in iust reuenge and displeasure of the Gods, he was smitten blind.

2. I finde vnder good Authoritie, that the Brethren *Arnales*, were especiall Counsellors to the *Romans*, for preservation of their Corne fields, and that they might produce plenty of graine. I find also, that the first inuenter of this Religion, was *Romulus* the Father and first builder of *Rome*. For *Accalaurentia*, the Nurse to *Romulus*, being a strumpet, gaining greatly by that base profession, and becoming rich beyond measure; of two Sons which she had, one of them dying, by way of adoption she made *Romulus* her owne son; instead of the dead childe; and when she her self died, she made the people of *Rome* heires to all her wealth. The people meruailing at so great a liberality; and desirous to make a liuing memorie of their Kings Parentage; they gaue order, that the womans name should be registred in their yearely Kalender; and the children descending of her Kindred, to bee called Brethren *Arnales*, of *Serendo*, which is a Latine word, signifying to sowe; and of *Arui*, that is, Fields; so forming their appellation, and at what time the authoritie of this Brethrens Priest-hood flourished. It is also recorded, that there were but twelue of them in number; and whē they receiued their order of Priest-hood, their heads were crowned with wreaths of ears of Corne, and a Bend or Stole of the like put about their neckes.

3. About the very same time; the knowledge or Religion of Angurie or Soothsaying, was brought to *Rome* out of *Tuscany*, where the people were verie excellent in that Science. It is saide, that a certaine man, whose Name by antiquitie of time, is not remembred, as *Naso* writeth, being banished thence; conducted as I think by hope and perswasion of safe Sanctuary, came vnto *Rome*. I am of the mind, that *Romulus* and *Remus*, in contending to impose a name on the City, vsed the same kind of Angurie; for *M. Tullius Cicero* writeth in those Bookes, which hee entituled of Diuination, that *Romulus* was very expert, and especially skilled in the science of Diuination. *Numa*, who afterward succeeded *Romulus* in the kingdom, ordained, that this science should be obserued

Hercules charged with the death of *Cacus*

Carmenta, Mother to King *Euander*, a Prophetesse.

Euander his words to *Hercules*.

Hercules his answer to *Euander*.

The *Potitij*, and *Pinarij*.

The *Potitij* instructed by *K. Euander*.

Of the Brethren called *Arnales*, who were Priestes of *Bacchus* and *Ceres*.

Accalaurentia, the Nurse to *Romulus*.

The first Naming of the *Arnales*.

Of the *Angures*, diuiners or Soothsayers in *Rome*, and of their Originall.

M. Tul. Cicero, in lib. de Diuina.

A perpetuall Priest-hood of *Angures*.

serued in a perpetuall Priesthood. I think, that in writing the custome which was kept in Diuination or augury, one example may be sufficient, because thereby may easily be comprehended euery other manner; therefore, out of all obseruations of ancient writers that euer I could see, this was the custome.

The custome obserued by Diuiners and Sooth-sayers in their Diuination.

The Diuiner or Sooth-sayer, who was to fore-tell what should ensue, ascended 10 vp on some Fort or Castle, or some other place of best discouery, where hee sat downe vpon a stone, turning his face into the South, leaning on the left side, and holding a crooked Wand in his Hande, commonly called the *Augures Staffe*. Hauiug thence well noted the City, and the fields round about, praying to the Gods they would design the Regions from the East to the West, and collocate the right hand partes from the South, to those on the left hand in the North; then silently, determining the signe, which his eie from farre should bring to sight, holding the wand in his left hande, hee would set the right hand on his head, of whom he was to augurize, saying; *O Father Ioue, if it be lawful that this Numa Pompilius, whose head I lay my hand on, should be K. of Rome; giue a cleare signe thereof manifestly, euen there where I haue confined the place.* Then naming what signe Ioue should send, it was forthwith sent, and *Numa* vnderstood to be King; whereon he descended vnto the Temple, which should be called after the designed Region from Heauen, by the little wand. This forme of Angury, as elsewhere I haue said, may serue for all other of the like Nature.

The words of Angury.

Many men of great Authority, joined hand in this science, crediting the famous skill of *Accius Nauus* the Sooth-sayer. *Tarquinius Priscus*, being desirous (beyond the forme of auncient order) to alter many things, and make addition of as many, without Diuination. *Accius Nauus*, a Noble Augure of those times, said; that those thinges appointed by *Priscus*, were not good, because they had not bin augurized before. The King grew offended thereat, and scorning both him and his Art, said; Now Sooth-sayer, vse thine Augury, and see if thou canst (with al thy skill) accomplish a thing which I haue instantly conceited. *Accius* hauiug conferred with the experience of other Augures, made answere, that the Kinges con-

Accius Nauus, an Augure of great fame, who in the presence of *Tarquin*, did cut a Whetstone in sunder with a Razor.

ceit was possible to be performed: whereupon *Priscus* presently replied; I haue already considered with my selfe, and say, that with this Razor thou canst not cutte this whetstone through the middest. Call now thy wits together, and vse the inspiration of all thy Birds, to try if possibly it may be done. It is affirmed, that *Nauus* instantly (without any delay) did cut the whetstone through the midst with the razor. In memory whereof, a Statue was afterward erected, containing *Accius Nauus* in liuely forme, with his head couered, a Razor in the one hand, and a whetstone in the other; and in a faire table of Marble, was the whole argument engrauen to perpetuity.

A Statue erected to *Accius Nauus*.

The authority and credit of these Diuiners so encreased; and the Priest-hood of the Augures (as *Liuius* declareth, and *Cicero* in his Books of Diuination) as not any thing was enterprized for future successe, either within doores or abroad, but first it passed the triall of Angury: and to this science and order of Priesthood, the most Noble men of the City, and the very cheefest Cittizens were wholly enclined. *Tiberius Gracchus*, the Father of *Tiberius*, & of *C.* in an assembly of the people, obtained to haue Consulles placed according to his owne minde. The *Tuscan* Augures saide, that hauiug consulted with their Diuination, they founde this creation of Consulles not to bee good: for which, they were reprooued as fools and ignorant men. But *Gracchus* beeing gone to his owne Prouince, could then write backe to the Senate, that the *Tuscans* said true, and were no fooles, in saying; that the present Consulles were by him most badly created, because they were elected in a Tabernacle without the walles of the City, contrary to custome and order by all their elders obserued; and therefore, they shoulde renounce them for Consulles.

Plin. lib. 9. Cicero in lib. de Diuinal.

Tiberius Gracchus obtaining the Consulship for whom he pleased.

Now, as this order encreased both in authority and reuerence, so did they likewise in number, insomuch, that a Colledge was erected for Augures & Sooth-sayers. At first, they were only created of three Tribes, to wit; the *Rhamenses*, *Tatienses*, and *Luceres*, and obtained together, that they might chaunge their number, and changing into vnequal number. According to this obseruation, they began to create foure orders, contrarie to the

A Colledge erected for Diuiners.

Rhamenses. Tatienses. Luceres.

the Common people grewe desirous of this honour, both in the Senate, and in all other places. Therefore, by meanes of the Tribunes, they compassed, that as they were partakers in all other matters, so in like manner they might exercise the Augures Priesthood. After many Seditious and garboyles, they obtained, that with foure Noblemen; five *Plebeians* might bee ioyned. And this was doone, when *M. Valerius*, and *Quintus Apuleius* were Consuls.

Numa Pompilius King of Rome, was the first that instituted the *Flamini Dialis*, because in former times, the King himselfe did exercise the Office both of King and Priest, without any difference at all, as manifestly is to be seene in *Virgill*, both of *Priamus*, and of *Aeneas*. *Anius* the King (as the same Poet doth likewise witness) was King of men, and Priest of *Phabus*. The like hath bin obserued of their Successors; as of *C. Caesar*, of *D. Augustus*, & of many other Princes, who had (as wee may plainly see) the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, the chiefe Priest. Wherefore, *Numa* considering, that there might bee (in time to come) more Kinges like vnto *Romulus*, who (after his manner) would leaue all care of Religion, and rather attend to matters of Armes; he ordained 4. Priests, by him called *Flamines*, who continually were to waite on the Diuine seruice; and them he dedicated to diuers of the Gods. One *Flamine* to *Ioue*, and hee was called *Dialis*: Two to Mars, and one to *Quirinus*. They were called *Flamini Diali*, *Flamines* belonging to *Iupiter* (as *Varro* saith) because their heades were couered with Vailes, and bound rounde about with a Fillet of Wooll, whereby they hadde the name of *Flamine*; and *Dialis* was interpreted of *Dion*, which is, helping the Goddesses.

All the other *Flamines* had Titles of those Gods, to whose seruice they were appointed. It was ordained, that those Priests or *Flamini Dialis*, should wear very honourable Garments, and sit in those Iuory seats, which (in those times) were onely graunted vnto the chiefe Magistrates.

These men onely, were allowed to weare white Chaplets or Bonnets, because they were higher in dignity then the other; or else in regard of their sacrificing to *Ioue*, it seemed more proper to haue them ve-

sted in White. In all other occasions whatsoeuer, by their pontificall priuiledge, and iurisdiction, many other especiall prerogatiues were graunted to them, which *Julus Gellius*, in his Commentaries, of the Attick nights, hath left at large described. In honour of their Religion, they rode on horseback. It was not lawfull for them to sweare, nor to carry the Fire for their Sacrifice, but in hallowed places. If any man entered into his Church gilt, hee ought to be presently vngirt, and drawie forth againe by the haire of the head. They vsed not to wear any knot backward, or behinde them. If the Malefactor which was brought to be whipt, fell vpon his knees at his feet whom he had offended, it was held as a sinne if he suffered him to be whipt. He that was no Free-man, ought not to cut the haire of the *Dialis*. It was not lawfull for them to speake of, or touch a Goate, raw flesh, Iuy, or Beans. They might gather no clusters of Grapes, but on the top of the Vine. The feet of the bed wherein any one of them slept, ought to be besmeared with a certaine blew kind of Morter, and no other then himselfe might (lawfully) sleepe in that bed. The pairinges of the Naailes, and cuttings of the haire belonging to the *Dialis*, were buried in the earth vnder Flintes or pebbles; and euery day was (to them) a Festiuall. It was against their Religious Order, for any of them to be bare-headed in the open aire, and none of the *Flamines* or priests ought to go vncouered. They might meddle with no Flower or Dow, wherewith any Leauen was mingled: Neither ought any one of them, either put off or on, any shirt or Linnen Garment, but in some priuat and couert place; because he must not be naked vnder Heauen, or in the sight of *Ioue*. At dinner time no man might sit, but onely the sacrificing king. The *Flamines* marriage might be (by no meanes) separated, vntill death. They neuer entred into any place where any dead bodies were: *Marcus Varro*, in those Bookes which he entituled the Originall of the Latine tongue, saith; That in ancient time, they had as many *Flamines*, as they honoured Gods; as the *Dialis*, *Martialis*, *Quirinalis*, *Vulcanalis*, *Furualis*, *Falagris*, and many others of different manner in authoritie, and as we tearme Bishops, Arch-bishops, Cardinals, Patriarkes, and Metropolitanes.

The common people affected to be Augures.

Flamini Dialis, an Order of Priests inuented by *Numa Pompilius*, King of Rome.

Numa ordained foure *Flamines* at the first.

The surname of *Romulus*.

The habit and honour of the *Flamini Dialis*, with diuers other of their dignities and priuiledges.

Aul. Gel. in Comment. Att. Noct.

Their orders and Ceremonies in their Religious Offices, and also in their common behaviour.

Marc. Varro in lib. de Orig. ling. Lat.

So had they among them *Flamines*, *Pro-*
toflamines, and *Archflamines*, who held
sundry kinds of degrees in Offices.

The beginning of *Vestall* honour
(euen as of all other things) was found
out by *Numa Pompilius*, although the
Originall thereof be so auncient, that
from the *Troyans* (*Aeneas* beeing their
chiefe) it was transferred to the *Albanes*,
as *Virgill* hath very well recorded: To
the Goddesse *Vesta* (by some learned
Terra, the Earth, and Mother of the
Goddesse) they vied (in perpetuall me-
mory) to consecrate an eternall Fire,
which they committed to the care and
heedfull obseruation of many elect Vir-
gines; Daughters, to the chiefeſt Sena-
tors: thorough whose neglect or care-
lesnesse; if the sacred Fire happened to
goe out, or to be quenched; they were
(with certaine Roddes) beaten by the
chiefe-Priest; according as *Valerius* hath
left written, of *C. Licinius Crassus* the
High-Priest, who did beate them, that
vsed not diligence in preserving the fire:
It was ordained, that she who was con-
demned of vnchastnesse, and had had
the carnall knowledge of a Man, should
be buried aliue.

Labeo Antistius writeth, that it was
not lawfull to accept into the Societic
of the *Vestall* Virgins, any vnder the
yeares of fixe, or aboue the age of ten;
beside, that she must be the Child both
of one Father and Mother: without a-
ny imperfection in speech, sight, hear-
ing, or any other impediment of body.
None might be admitted to be a *Vestall*,
except her Parents (one, or both of
them) had beene of ability to keep Ser-
uants, and stood clear from hauing vsed
any bad or infamous quality. It is fur-
ther said, that such a one might be excu-
sed from the vow of Vestality, as had
a Sister elected into the same Order; or
tha ther Father were a *Flamine*, *Au-*
gure; or of the ten men that made the
Sacrifices; or of the *Epulones* sect, or of
other like Offices. The Spouse to the
chiefe Priest, and the Daughter of the
sacrificing King, had the same vacancie
from such Sacrifices: And, as *Capito*
hath writte, no Election could be made
of any mans Daughter, that had not his
dwelling in *Italie*, and yet his Daughter
might be excused, if he had three Sons
beside.

The Vestall
Virgines in-
vented by
Numa Pompili-
us.

An eternall
fire consecra-
ted to *Vesta*,
and commit-
ted to the
charge of ma-
ny Virgines,
Senatours
daughters.

A feuer Law
againſt vn-
chastnesse.

Labeo Antistius
ſo called of
his great lips.

Who were
excused from
the Vestall
Vow.

* That furni-
shed feasts for
Jupiter, and
the other
Gods.

Capito transla-
red the *Epito-*
mie of *Linie*
and *Eutropius*,
into Greeke.

Next vnto the precedent decrees,
many times it hath beene ordained by
the Prætors Edict, that the *Flamines Di-*
alis, nor the Vestall Virgines should be
compelled to swear: But the Prætors
words might serue in this manner. I
command within my iurisdiction, by the
publique Proclaimer, that neither Vestall
Virgines, nor the *Flamines Dialis*, shall be
enforced to take an oath. In election of the
Vestall Virgines, these were especiall
obseruations. It was ordained by the
Papian law, that at pleasure of the chiefe
Priest, twenty Virgins should be elected
by the people, out of which number
they were chosen by lots. The same law
saith, that by Antiquity, many other
thinges grew into forgetfulnesse. In e-
lection of Virgines, it was sufficient
enough, that any man being borne of
honest place, might go to the supream
Priest, and offer his Daughter to the
Priest-hood, she being able to vndertake
such an authority: the obseruation of
Religion referued, because the Senate
only had power of the Law *Papia*. And
then the custome was, that those Vir-
gines were taken by the chiefe Priest, as
if they had been surprised by the enemy,
and the wordes vsed by him in the acti-
on, were these. If by the chiefeſt Law it
hath beene allowed, that the Vestal Nunne
or She-Priest, should offer these Sacrifices,
which I am commaunded by the people of
Rome, and by the Fathers: then (to that
end) doe I take thee, *o Amata*. They vsed
to tearme euery Virgine *Amata*, as wit-
nessing thereby, that the first Nunne ta-
ken to that Office by *Numa Pompilius*,
was called by the name of *Amata*. Shee
being thus taken, and led to the Castle
or Fort of *Vesta*; presently, without en-
franchising, or alteration of degree, she
is freed out of her Fathers power, and
obtaineth authority, to make her Will
& Testament. I finde in the *Commen-*
taries of *Lateranus*, which he wrote vp-
on the twelue Tables of the Lawes, it is
thus written. The Vestall Virgine is heire
to no man or Woman, that dyed without Te-
stament, neither can any one be heire to her,
dying intestate: but her goods or possessions
are to be publicly bestowed.

6. Among all other Sacraments
or Misteries ordained by *Numa*, and of
posterity helde in reuerence, it was that
obserued by the *Romans*, to wit; the vow
made

Vestall virgins
not enforced
to swear.

Order in ele-
cting the Ve-
stall Virgines.

The wordes
vsed to the
Vestall Nun,
and reason of
the name
then giuen.

Lateranus a
Nobleman of
Rome, of who
Lateranensis
tooke name.

Of the *Salij*, or Priests of *Mars*, that danced in Armor.

An addition of 12. more to this Order.

Mamurius, a famous Smith and engraver in the time of *Numa Pompilius*.

The request made by *Mamurius* to *Numa*.

Of the Colledge of Bishops, and of the chiefe Bishop.

A chiefe Bishop appointed by *Numa*.

made to *Marti Gradivus*. There were xii. men elected into this Order, who were called *Salij*, of Leaping or dancing, which they vsed in their sacrifices. To these men *Tullus Hostilius* added twelue more, when the *Romans*, conducting their men of war against the *Fidenates*; the Albans (vnder colour of treachery) rebeld against them; and would not fight, *Metius Suffetius* being their Captaine. For these men was appointed a very honourable kind of Vesture, with a Breast-plate of Steele. And they might weare Celestiall armor, which they called a Target or Shield, wherewith they leaped and danced through the Citie, singing Verses along as they went; & it was appointed, that at the end of euerie Verse, they should name *Mamurius*. It is said, that (in those times) this *Mamurius*, was a very notable Smith; and a Target being fahn from heauen, while *Numa Pompilius* and the Senate were sacrificing, it was committed vnto the saide *Mamurius*, that (by his Art) he should make many other, resembling that which fel from heauen. Which he hauing performed in very excellent maner, *Numa* commanded him to request whatsoever himselfe would make choise of, and it should be granted him. Whereupon, the ingenious workman, not moued with greedy desire of mony, but glory, requested that his name might bee mentioned by the *Salij*, at the ending of all their Verses and Daunces; which (as *Linie* affirmeth) was orderly obserued in all their assemblies, and in their Sacrifices for long time after. The number in this Priesthoode increased in such manner, that a Colledge was builte for them; and afterward, a chiefe Magistrate was appointed ouer them in the Colledge.

It is very manifest (according to *Linie*) that Bishops (like as all the other Priesthoods) had their Originall by *Numa Pompilius*; and (for long time together) were created by no other persons, then the Senators. They were at the first but foure in number, but afterward, when the Common people (by meanes of the Tribunes) obtained part in all the greatest honours; they wold likewise participat in the priesthood, and with euerie other most Sacred power. It was then concluded, that foure other Bishops should bee created of the vulgar people, in the Consulship of *Marcus Valerius*, and *Quintus Apuleius*. To all

these there was appointed one Heade or Chiefe by *Numa*, and he was then called *Pontifex Maximus*, the Chiefe Bishop. He in his owne person, both noted and wrote downe euerie thing, that appertayned to Diuine worship or reuerence; as best knowing what sacrifice, what day, & also what time best fitted for the ceremonies. Hee also had the care from whence such Monies should be collected, as were expedient for the charge of diuine occasions: as (in like manner) all other sacred things; either publicke or priuate, were subiect to the Holy priestes allowaunce. Whensoever any dissention happened about sacred Misteries or Religion; the people did helpe (both with their care and counsell) in his assistance.

Numa Pompilius, Author and Founder of this priesthood, conceiued this to be the best course, to auoide perturbation in all things, contempt of religious persons; and Diuine seruices; in which regard, he inioyned very especiall care to be had by such men. It is further said, that the chiefe Priest had a table, wherein to know the Eclipses of the Sunne and Moone; as also a reason for all the featiuall dayes in the yeare, as monthly they happened. *Varro* writeth, that *Q. Mutius Scauola*, was wont to say, that of the words *Potare* and *Fare*, the title of *Pontifex* was compounded. But they would not so admit it, because they thought that *Pontifex* rather was deriued of *Ponte* and *Facio*, because (by them) was first made the bridge called *Ponte Sublitio*, and many times after very well repaired.

I do not find, that the Priests called *Fecialis*, were among the *Romains*, before *Tullus Hostilius* raigned. Nevertheless, as I do not maintaine, that *Tullus* was the first inuenter of them; so do I not also deny, but that *Numa* (the most Religious King of them all) might be the Originall of them. But be it howsoever, the first mention made of their name (according to *Linie*) was, when *M. Valerius* was *Fecialis*, *Tullus Hostilius* raigned. It was the Office of the *Fecialis*, to stand as president, when publicke faith was made by the people. Also, it was adiudged to be an vniust warre, except it were first denounced and made knowne by the *Fecialis*. When end or conclusion likewise was made of the warre, he constituted peace vnder solemne faith, which was tearmed

and what his Office was to do.

The people assisted the chiefe Bishop

M. Varro, concerning the word Bishop in the Originall.

Of the Priests called *Fecialis*, who were as Heraldes or Officers of Arms for war or peace.

The Office & quality of the *Fecialis*.

The wordes of Liuius, concerning the Feccialis of peace or warre.

Ceremonies betweene the King and the Feccialis.

The wordes of the Feccialis in presence of the King and State.

Of the Feccialis

The denunciation of war, by the Feccialis.

Fœdera, by the testimony of Varro: but by Ennius it is called Fidera, as induced by reason of making Faith, and therefore hee conceiueth, that Feccialis was formed of fides, and facere. The manner of offending or breaking (by the Feccialis) a league of peace, was such, as (in Liuius opinion) none can be found more ancient. The Feccialis (saith he) demaunded thus of King Tullus. O King, dost thou commaund, that I shall confirme or breake peace with the Paterpatrus, or king of Heraulds belonging to the Albane people? The King commaunding it to bee done; the Feccialis saith: Allow mee then (o King) the herbage that I must carry with me. The King commaunded him to take the very best: whereupon he taketh the choicest Hearbs out of the Herbage Castle, and againe thus proceedeth. Dost thou (o King) make me Messenger for thee, thy Kingdome, the people, and the Romaine Senate? The King replieth, that he doth. Then the peace being made, after many vttered wordes, concerning the Lawes on both sides, he beginneth againe with a loud voyce, saying; Heare me, o Ioue; Heare me, o Paterpatrus of the Albane people; Heare me, o you people, called Albanes; Heare mee from the beginning to the end: if I haue recited those thinges contained in the Tables, and vnder seale, without fraude, or any deceit, and according as they ought rightly to be vnderstood. The people of Rome will not bee the first breakers of so good Lawes; but if through lacke of good Councill in publike, by fraude or deceit they sinne in such sort: Then doe thou (o Ioue) that very day smite the Romaine people, as I doe this Swine; yea, so much the more violently strike them, as thou art much more potent and powerfull. The words are no sooner spoken; but presently hee throwes a stone at a Swine; appointed there for the purpose; & then streweth the Hearbs vpon the ground. The selfesame forme and speeches is obserued on the contrary side by their Priest, and then by his Dictator: and thus is peace fully agreed on.

But when warre is denounced by the Feccialis, then this is the manner. The Feccialis carrieth a Speare or Lance, headed with Iron, and halfe burnt with fire, and streweth Hearbes also all the way, euen to the Confines of them, against whom he is to menace warre. There, in

presence of three men of good yeares; he openly declarerh; That so farre hee came strewing signes of peace, till hee found, that the people of Priscus Latinus, and the Men of Priscus Latinus, had dealt against the people and Senate of Rome, and had greatly offended them: wherefore, the people of Rome purposed to make Warre on Priscus Latinus. In which iust cause (saith he) I, and the people of Rome, doe denounce war against Priscus Latinus; and against the Latine people. When he hath so said, he throws the Lance (so far as he can) vpon their ground, to the end it may be seene, that the warre is iustly vndertaken.

9 There is no difference (according to Liuius) betweene the Paterpatrus and the Feccialis; yet notwithstanding, diuers haue comprehended; that there was and is some dissimilitude: wherefore, I am the more willing to discourse separately, both of the one and other; and how the State then stood in eyther condition, it shall not seeme much from our purpose, if I deliuer what I haue obserued. The vse of the Paterpatrus declarerh, that he was at the same time as the Feccialis was: because when the Feccialis went to breake peace, he needeth both the help and authority of the Paterpatrus. They vsed equall assistance to Patrare, that is; to commaund the Oath, in place where peace was to be concluded on. Marcus Valerius being the first Feccialis, Spurius Fusius was created the first Paterpatrus, in the first warre that Tullius Hostilius made against the Prisci Latini, hauing his bare head circled with a wreath, made of the Hearbe called Veruein. The other Office, that is, to demaund any thing whatsoever; was giuen to Ancus Martius, according to the custome of the Æquicoli, a very auncient people, and the auncient manner of their behauiour, was thus. The Paterpatrus, and an Ambassador with him, went to the Confines of them, of whom the demaund was to bee made, his head beeing couered with a Silken Vaile, and there he vsed these wordes. Heare me, o Ioue; Heare me, o you confines, of what people soeuer they be; And heare, o you Deities, honesty and plaine trash. I am the publike Messenger of the people of Rome, and I come piously and iustly with this Ambassador; therefore giue faith to his words

The Priesthood of the Paterpatrus, or K. of Armes

The authority of the Paterpatrus and the Feccialis, and their equall assistance.

* A people very auncient, neer to the Sabines.

The words of the Paterpatrus.

words and mine. Then doe they manifest the summe of their demaund, and call Ioue as Witnesse thereof, proceeding thus. *If I demaund for the people of Rome, or for my selfe, any thing of these Men that they possesse: deale with me so, that I may neuer participate in the ioyes of my Country.* Hauing thus spoken, they passe on vpon the Confines, deliuering the same speeches to the first Man they meete withall. So entring the Citty Gates, and going on to the Pallace, there they declare (more at large) the full intention. And if that bee not giuen them, which they made demaund of, within the space of three and thirty daies; the time is no sooner expired, but Warre is denounced, in this manner. *Heare me, o Ioue, Iuno, and thou Quirinus: Heare me also all you Gods Celestiall, Terrestriall, and Infernall. I make knowne before you all, that this people (and then he nameth them) are vniust, and will not pay that which is reasonable. Wherefore, wee will take Counsell (with our Countrey and our Elders) in these matters, and wee will duellie examine all meanes, that best may helpe vs, to regaine our own rights and dues.*

So, returning back to Rome, to take further Councell in this case, foorthwith the King, the Dictator, the Consull, and all other that belong to the Senate, assemble together, and the matter is debated, in what respect the *Paterpatrus*, which (in behalfe of the Romain people) denounced Warre against the *Prisci Latini*, and the demaund made; wherein, no saying, doing, or repaying being made on the contrary part, according as they ought to haue saide, done, or paied; *Make answer* (saith he to him, that first is to speake his opinion) *what is your mind herein?* Then he standing vp, saith. *I iudge, that these things are to be recovered by battaile, or otherwise by single Combate (body to body of two men) piously and honestly performed.* Euery man deliuering his iudgement in order, and the greater part iumping with this resolution; the sentence then is determinately pronounced. Thus, consent must first conclude the warre, and then the *Fecialis* throwes his Launce vpon the enemies Confines, according as wee haue before declared.

10 The King of the Sacraments, who

is also called the Sacrificer, had his first beginning, in the time of the first Consuls, *Iunius Brutus*, and *Marcus Valerius*. The occasion of this inuention, was the expulsion of the kings, because they (without any difference) vsed to execute the Priests Office. Whereupon, the people, after they were thus excluded, thought it very strange, that there was no sacrificing, and that ouer-much reputation was taken from Religion, by sending thus their Kinges away: They therefore created a Priest, and because he should be of no lesse authority then a King; they called him King of the Sacraments. Notwithstanding, they would haue him to be vnder the cheefe Bishops iurisdiction; least, being at his owne liberty, the expelled Kings might returne, or be called backe againe. But what his office was, is not at this present to be found.

11 The *Gaules* dedicated al Antiquity to *Berecynthia*, Mother of the Gods: which Religion, as many other beside; came to *Rome* from *Phrygia*, at such time as these Verses were found (by way of answer) in the *Sybils* Bookes.

30 *Rome, farre hence is thy Mother, I command That thou go seeke for her, and if she come: Welcome her with a chaste vntainted hand.*

The Fathers and Philosophers, hauing long considered on these wordes, and being vnable (by any sufficient meanes) to finde out what Mother was intended hereby, and also from whence she was to come: they sent to be resolved by *Apolloes* Oracle, from whence the Messengers returned with this answer. *Take with ye the mother of the Goddess, who you shal finde in a hill.* Hereupon Ambassadors were sent into Asia, where they had commaund to seeke for her, and hauing found the Simulachre or Image of the Goddess, to bring it thence with them to *Rome*. But *Attalus* King of Asia, denying the *Romaines* (after they had found the Image) the carriage of it thence, and they preparing theselues to depart without it: it is said, that a voice was heard from the Goddess, saying: *I am desirous, to go to Rome, as to the habi-tacle of al the Goddesses.* *Attalus* being amazed at this Miracie, gaue consent to the Ambassadors for her carriage thence,

R 3 where-

Their proceeding in their demand.

Their manner of proclayming warre.

The assembly of the King & State in councell, for further deliberation in the business.

The King of the Sacraments, or the Sacrificer.

The creation of the King of the Sacraments.

The Translation of the Image of the Mother of the Gods.

The Sibilles verses.

The answer of the Oracle.

A voice heard in the Image before King Attalus.

The Ship sinketh in Tyber, by waight of the Image.

Claudia a Vestall Virgin, approued her Chastity miraculously.

The words of Claudia before all the people on her Knees.

Scipio Nasica did cause a Temple to be erected to Cybele, and priestes for her seruice.

The Historie of the Nymph Sagarida, and her louer.

whereupon she was brought (by Sea) to Rome, & many of the people going forth to meet her, singing Verses, and making much ioy: it fortun'd, that by the great waight of the Statue, the ship sunk in the Riuer of Tyber; which caused the people to labour by all meanes, both with ropes, Cables, and other helpes of strength, to get it vp againe, but all proued to no purpose: There was then present among the throngs of Roman people, a Vestall Virgin, named *Claudia Quinta*, a Lady of incomparable beauty, who wearing more costly and sumptuous Garmentes then some thought conuenient for her degree, was suspected to be imodest and vnchast. This goodly young Virgin, knowing the peoples idle suspicion, and puritie of her owne soule, fel on her knees by the riuers side, and (as it should seeme) by that part of the Ship where the feete of the Goddesse lay, and holding a loose Girdle in her hand, which she had fastned vnto the Cable of the ship, vttered these speeches: *Before them that haue accused me of immodesty, I beseech thee (O Sacred Goddesse) that by thy testimony my fault may be iudged: to the end, that beeing condemned by thee, I may by death suffer deserued punishment. But if thou approue me to be innocent of such foule shame, let this my chaste hand be thy guide, to raise and conduct thee hence.* Hauiing thus spoken, and rising from off her knees, by her Girdle she easily drewe the Ship along, and (to the no little maruail of the people) guided the Goddesse into the City.

Scipio Nasica was only thought worthy to receiue the Image, and touch it with his hand. And to him it was committed, that he should cause a magnificent Temple to be built to the Goddesse, & Priestes dedicated to her seruice; who according to the ancient Custom of the Goddesse, ought to be guelded. The reason of this institution is said to be thus: *Cybele*, which also was the name of this *Berecynthia*, loued a young youth in *Phrygia*, and gaue him charge not to breake chastity. But he being enamored on a Nymph, named *Sagarida*, slept with her one Night vnder a Tree, which was dedicated to the Goddesse. *Cybele* comming thither, and cutting downe the tree, killed the Nimphe; which the youth percciuing, fled in hast to the nearest Mountain; & there, meerly confounded with grieffe and shame for

so foule a fault committed, hee did quite cut off the wanton instrument wherby he had so highly offended. Vpon this occasion, the Goddesse (in memory of this act) commanded that all such men as sacrificed to her, should bee guelded. It is further said, that the name of the *Gaules* or *Galli*, was deriued from a riuer in *Phrygia*, which was neare to a Temple of this Goddesse. And I find written, that whosoever entred into that Riuer, or drank of the water, it forthwith caused them to run mad.

12. There were two men belonging to the Sacraments, or sanctified mysteries, whose charge and Office was, to read the sacred Bookes, the verses of *Sibilla*; and likewise, to interpret the deeds of the *Roman* people. Next, they were as Presidents at the sacred Ceremonies, which vsually were made to *Apollo*. And at all times when any Monster was born, or any prodigy happened, fore-telling the ensuing of some great accident, entering into their beds, before the Tabernacle of the Goddes, they would appease them with Sacrifices and praier, that their displeasure might some whither else be turned from them.

Furthermore, by their Decree and order, all Sacrifices (for times of prosperity) were solemnly determined and appointed. I find no other mention made of this Priesthoods Order, vntill such time as a Temple was Dedicated to *Castor*, by the Sonne of *Posthumus* the second Dictator, who was then one of the two men: for his Father being Dictator in the Latine war, made a solempne Vow to performe such a Temple.

These two men, being long time created in this order of Priest-hood, and the Common people coueting in like maner to create the Consuls among themselves, and so to meddle in all matters, they being no way else to be appeased, obtained at length, that on the same day as these two men were to be created, they might also create ten other men; five of the nobility, and five of the Comminalty. Heerupon, of two men they grew to be ten in number; and likewise to haue the name of the Ten men.

13. By that which may be coniectured and comprehended, it appeareth that seuen men, tearmed *Epuloni*, were included in a kiude of Priest-Hoode.

And

Gallus a Riuer in *Phrygia*, the water wherof made men mad

Of two men appertaining to the Sacraments.

Sacrifices for times of prosperity.

A Temple dedicated to *Castor*.

The creation of tenne men more.

Of seuen men called *Epuloni*, and of their Originall.

And so much the rather it is to be presumed, because in discoursing the vacancy of Vestall Virgines, it is saide, *That the Sonnes of the Augures; of the ten sacred men; of the Flamines; and of the seauen men, called Epuloni, deserued, and had their lawfull excuses admitted.* Whereby I gather, that among the other Priest-hoodes, this of the seauen men was included. Yet I know not how this matter should so fall out; because I can finde nothing (concerning them) worthy of faith and authority: wherefore I am the lesse forward, in affirming what office was committed to this Order. Neuerthelesse, I must needs say, that *Pliny* reciting an Oration of one that stood in some feare of his Auditors, saith; *In the midst stood the Consul, and next, the seauen men, tearmed Epuloni.* And euen to this present day, there is to be scene engrauen on a smooth Piramide in Rome, this inscription. *Opera finita, &c. The worke ended the CXXX. day, by the Testament of Caius Cornelius, Tribune of the people, and seauen men of the Epuloni.*

Hauiug determined with my selfe, to intreat of all other Magistrates, not appertaining to Religion: we are then to consider, that some Magistrates were called Greater, and some Lesser, and what the lesser were, may breesely be declared, because *Aulus Gellius* writeth at large on this Argument, taking his instructions frō the books of *M. Messala* the *Augure*, & these are his words. *The authority of the Noblemen is divided in two parts. The greater is of Prætors, of Consuls, and of Censors, and yet neuerthelesse, there is not one kinde of iurisdiction or power among them: because the Censors are no Colleagues with the Prætors and Consuls, but the Prætors are Colleagues with the Consuls, and therefore the Prætors and Consuls haue not the power of the Censors, and the Consuls trouble not the Prætors and Censors. But the Censors among themselves, the Prætors and Consuls also among themselves, obtaine and enioy alike authority. The Prætor, as it were a Colleague with the Consull, cannot (in reason) vse the same power, as belongeth to the Consull, and to the Prætor; as wee haue learned from our betters, and as hath beene obserued before these times.* And it is manifest in the thirteenth Commentary

of *C. Tuditanus*, that the Prætor hath the lesser, and the Consull the greater authority: whereupon meere reason directeth, that the lesser cannot vse the power of the greater, nor the greater, the priuiledge of the lesser Magistrate. We in these times, creating a Prætor for the Prætors; haue followed the authority vsed of old, though wee haue not searched into the like power: for Censors, Consuls, and Prætors, cannot iustly deale in one & the same scrutiny. The rest of the Magistrates haue lesser authority, and therefore these other are called the Greater, and they, the Lesser Magistrates; the Greater are made according to the *Centuriate leges*, Lawes made by the whole assembly; and the Lesser, among the Tribunes priuiledges, but yet much more iustly, when it is done according to the *Laws Curiate*, Lawes made by the same assembly.

By all these words of *Messala* (saith he) may easily be gathered, what the lesser Magistrates were, and vpon what occasion they were so called. Hee saith also, that the Prætor was Colleague of the Consuls, because they were created by one absolute power. And he granteth them to haue the greater authority, because their scrutinie or search was more firme, and better ratified then the other: The Consull may reduce all the other Magistrates scrutinies, and their conference or Parlement: the Prætor had not the like priuiledge at all times, or equall reducing. The lesser Magistrates could not reduce any thing from the Consul, or to any other Magistrate: In an equall action, he that is first called of them, and first obserueth the search; he goeth directly to his charge: because hee may not moue the people twice, neyther can he carry one to any other, if hee will haue conference, and deale with the people; although many Magistrates together may admit conference. By these words of *Messala*, is euidentlie discerned, that it is one thing to worke with the people; and another, to deale by speech or conference. Because, to deale with the people, is to request some thing, which their suffrages either commaundeth or denyeth: But to haue speech and conference; is simply to speake to the people, without any roagation or intercession.

14 There is no man doubteth, that the order of the Senatours did not receiue

C. Tuditanus in 13. Comment.

Centuriate leges, and Tribunitiy.

A collection vpon the words of Messala.

The Consuls power.

Of working the people by speech and conference, or other wise.

The wordes of *Pliny*, concerning the seauen men.

Of other Magistrates not appertaining to Religion.

Aul. Gcl. ex. lib. de M. Messala Aug.

Prætors, Consuls, Censors, and of their seuerall authorities.

The Original
of the Sena-
tors.

receiv'd Originall from *Romulus*. Hee was the first founder and builder of the City, and considering with himself, that it was sufficiently fortified with able youth, as also with others of competent strength; he conceiv'd also, that it was not the least important matter, if it had like helpe, or much better ability of Counsell (elected to the number of an hundred) of the chiefest Fathers and Citizens then to be found; who (for their honour) might be called Fathers; and (for their yeares) Senators; according to the saying of *Caius*, that those (amongst the *Lacedemonians*) were called *Senes*, that were men of years, and ought to haue the place of Magistracie.

The order among the *Lacedemonians*.

Tullus Hostilius increaseth the Senators number.

Afterward, such as were born or sprung from these first Fathers, were named *Patricij*. *Tullus Hostilius* made the number of them much more perfect, hauing vanquished *Alba*, and brought the *Albanes* thence to *Rome*. Hee then entertained among the Senators, the *Tulli*, the *Servilij*, the *Quinti*, the *Gregani*, and the *Clodi*. But the Kings being expulsed, the Consull *Brutus*, perceiuing the Senat to be empty of honest persons, appointed, that those men who were cheefest in the Order of Knight-hood, should be made Senatours, and beare the name of *Patres Conscripti*, Enrolled Fathers. Whereupon, from hence the Nomination of Conscribed Fathers, receiued Originall; and because he spake it, it had full approbation, and ioyned with the other Fathers.

Brutus the Consull altereth the Senate.

Patres conscripti.

The absolute authority of the Senate.

Tarquinius Superbus.

Three Degrees of Senators.

Patricij,
Conscripti.

These Senators had such absolute authority, that they administr'd the maine importancy of all matters in the Commonwealth; in such sort, that neither the King, the Consuls, the Dictators, nor any other Magistrate dealt in any thing, vntill it hadde first passed Counsell in the Senate. For *Tarquinius Superbus*, hauing (beside the Senates authority) doone many things according to his owne will; was called Tirant, and (last of all) lost his state. I finde that there were three degrees or orders of Senatours, because some were called *Pedarij*, others *Patricij*, and some others *Conscripti*. The *Patricij* were they that descended (by Birth) of those hundred, elected at first by *Romulus*. The *Conscripti* wer such, as, by decree of the Consulles, the King and the Censours, were brought into the Senate. But I finde the

Pedarij to be so called for diuers reasons. Some say, that though they were in the Senate, they might not bee allowed to speake their minds, but only to giue their consent to the rest, and (with their feete) to expresse the same, by making some little noise, whereon the Latine sentence of them was, *Ibant pedibus in sententias*, and therefore to be tearmed *Pedarij*. Others Write, that many of the Senators being great Magistrates, came to the Senate in their Horse-litters or Coaches. Others, (hauing no Office of Magistracy) came after them on foot; and thereupon were called *Pedarij*. *Marcus Varro* saith, That there were some Knights, who hauing bene employed by the greater Magistrates, and not (as yet) elected by the Censors in the Senat: They might not deliuer their opinion in the Senate, or giue any sentence. Onely it was lawful for them to be present with the rest in the Senate, and yeelde consent vnto that which was agreed on by their elders.

Pedarij, and the reason why so called by sundry opinions.

The saying of *Marcus Varro*, concerning the *Pedarij*.

Concerning the Consulles order in the Senate, all that I haue read, doe consent in this manner. It was the vse at first, that he (who by the Censors) was appointed chiefe in the Senate, should begin to speake his opinion; and other-whiles they graunted such as were elected Consulles leaue to begin. *Cicero*, in the book which he intitled the *Elder Cato*, of *Old age*, writeth; That they used to giue their preeminence to him of greatest yeares. Whereupon, he that was the most aged, hee began to speake his minde, and giue the sentence. Neuerthelesse, it is saide, that (by custome) it was introduced, that he who was desired thereto by the Consul, might be the first to speake. And yet it was not lawfull for him to intreate any man, that either was, or had not bin Consul. I finde recorded vpon this custome, that *Caius Julius Caesar*, in the Consulship which he held with *M. Bibulus*, made entreatie (out of common forme or vse) to three seueral men, (to wit;) *M. Crassus*, *Cneius Pompeius* and *Marcus Cato*. Afterward, *Marcus Crassus*, (as straining courtesie) began to entreat *Cneius ompeius*, because his daughter was his Wife: but preuailing with *M. Cato*, hee accepted the charge, but spake so loude, and continued so long in his Oration, as all the time was welneere spent, that the Senate obserued in their arguing. *Caesar* perceiuing that hee grew to no conclusion, but held on still; commanded

The Consuls degree in the Senate.

Cicero in lib. de *Senectute*.

Julius Caesar, Consul with *M. Bibulus*.

Caesar committed M. Cato to prison.

Of the assembly of the Senate, a Booke written by M. Varro.

The feuerall Offices nominated in the Senate.

The Praefect of Latium.

M. Varro, and Atticus Capito.

* An act of the Senate
* A Law of the people.

The place for the Senates assembly.

manded him to be carried thence to prison. Cato obeying, and being led on the way towards the prison; the Senate rose and followed after him; whereat Caesar being enuiously moued, staid, and commanded to let him go.

Concerning the congregating and assembly of the Senat, M. Varro at the intreaty of Pompey, wrote a Booke when he was the first time designed Consull with M. Crassus: and it was conceiued that he who (till that time) had bin so long in the Warres, would (in that respect) make the better obseruation of customs, and other ciuill occasions. In like manner he wrote a Letter to Opimius, wherein he saith, that the fore-named Booke was lost in the age of Varro. In which letter (saith Aulus Gellius) Varro wrote many things of the same argument; and there was set downe, what they were, that might cause the Senate to be assembled; as also to nominate the Dictator, the Consul, the Prator, the Tribune of the people; the Interrex, the Praefect for the City; and that no other had authority beside, to congregate the Senate. Some adde (ouer and beyond the ordained authority) the Tribune militaris, or Tribune for the warres, who was first Vice-consull. The ten men who had then the Consuls power: the two men, created on especiall occasion, to order the Common-wealth: and that those men were of power to assemble the Senate. As for the Praefect of the City Latium, none do sufficiently proue, if hee might assemble the Senate, because (they say) he was no Senator, neither might speake his minde in the Senat. Yet M. Varro, and Atticus Capito do both affirme, that the Praefect of Rome City, had authority to Assemble them, as the Tribune of the people (before Law made to the contrary) had the like prerogatiue.

Their prohibition also are written of, Namely, that such men had authoritie to prohibit and gainsay, who had power ouer him that was to be prohibited, or wer greater in credit: which power they receiued either from the * Senatusconsultum, or the * Plebiscitum, or some other Decree from the purpose. But concerning the place where the Senate ought to assemble, or to request Senatusconsulti; it was flatly forbidden to be any where; that had not bin first ordained by the Augures and (by them) called a Temple. Where-

upon, when they met first together in the Court Hostilia, in Pompeia, and afterward in Iulia, they being all prophane places; the Augures gaue order, that they should be made Temples, to the end, that (according to precedent custome) in them their deliberations might bee consulted on. Now, for meeete time of the enates Assembly, if it were before Sunne-rising or Sun-setting, it appeared vterly vnprofitable. Wherefore, the Censor gaue direction, for the time most fit and conuenient.

What yeares the Senators were to be of, is very apparant, and that youths had likewise leaue to be in the Senate House: but P. pyrius Praetextatus occasioned the absence of all youths afterward, as Valerius Maximus hath recorded. And then, it was ordained, that no person vnder the age of siue and twenty yeares, should be admitted entrance, as we read in Plutarch in the life of Pompey the Great. The like is comprized in the Romans Ciuill Lawes, whence likewise we receiued these instructions.

Varro also recordeth, that hee who was to be admitted into the Senat, should first be a Saerificer, and an Augure: and that his first speeches in the Senate, ought rather to be of Diuine causes, then anie humain matters. Moreouer he saith, that deliberations there, were in two kinds, by disputation; or (if the case were doubtful) by generall opinion: such order they obserued likewise, in conferring on Monies, pawnes, and punishment of them that appeared not (on summons) while the Senate sat. As for them that appertained to Senatorie Families, it was decreed, that vnder the appellation of any Senate person, they comprehended the Wife also, and that those children which were giuen in adoption, before the Father was admitted into the Senat, should also be Senators. They obserued also, that whosoener was of the patrician order, though the same were by adoption the son of a common Plebeian, yet he should continue a Patrician still: which law (in mine opinion) was scarcely obserued truly in those times; considering, that P. Clodius (being a Patrician borne) and coueting the Magistrates power of the Tribunitis, to make vse thereof against the faction of Cicero, gaue himselfe by adoption to a common man.

Hostilia, Pompeia, and Iulia.

The time of the Senates meeeting.

The age of the Senators.

Plutarch, in vit. Pomp. Magnus.

Of admittance into the Senate, and order of their deliberations.

For the Senats Families.

Of the Patrician order, yet not approoued in P. Clodius.

The

Concerning the daughters of Senators.

The Daughters of Senators, if any of them were giuen (openly) as wiues to Senatory Men; they were not comprehended vnder the name of honorable Women. And the Sonne of a Senator, being made free by his Father, as in the ciuil right of reason: lost the name of submission, and yet retained still the Senatory dignity.

Of the Posthumi or Post-nati in the Sons of Senators.

The Posthumi, who were borne after the death of their Fathers, were yet neuerthelesse, called Senatory men. But he that was conceiued, and borne, after that his Father had been remoued from the Senate: both Proculeus and Pegasus doe say, that he was not the Sonne of a Senator. But if before his Fathers remouueall, his Sonne was conceiued; meer paternal respect cleared him from any preiudice, and hee was esteemed to be Senatory. But if before his conception, his Father had lost the Senatory Dignity, and then dying, his Sonne fell into the power of his Grand-Father, (being then a Senator) so that he might seeme as not to be borne of a Senator: ye was he (notwithstanding) to beheld as Senatory. A Woman, being married at first to a Senator, and afterward matching with a Man of meaner condition; lost her Title among the Honourable Women. In regard whereof, many of them made intercession to the Princes, that although they were married to men of humble condition; yet that they might still retaine their Senatorie Dignity. And it is said, that D. Augustus did afford such grace to Iulian Aemilia, being his Cozin. The Law Iulia, of restitution, prohibited Senatours, such as were remoued from their Order (albeit they changed not State, but dwelt still in the City) yet could they giue no sentence, or bee Witnesses in any case whatsoeuer.

A Senatours falling into his Grand-fathers power, after his own fathers death, Of Womens marriages.

The law Iulia, of restitution.

Tribunes of the light horse men, ordered in three Centuries by Romulus.

Ramnesi, Tatij, and Luceri.

15 I find, that Romulus was the first that ordained the Tribunes of light or nimble Horse-men, when hee selected three Centuries of Horse; whereof he made vse in all businessses appertaining to the Commonwealth, and gaue them these Titles: Of the Ramnesi; of the Tatij; and of the Luceri. The Ramnesi were named of Romulus; the Tatij, of Tatius: but the Luceri, the reason of that name was not knowne, as Linie remembreth, and nameth them all in this manner.

Three Tribunes he appointed to those Centuries, as Heades and Commaunders, and those three were chosen forth of three Tribes. It is said, that the Horse in number were three hundred, in regard that the Curie (being thirty) might haue to each one ten Horse. And the reason why he would haue them called swift or light Horse, was; because they should be alwaies in speedy readinesse, whensoever the Common-weales affaires so required. There be some, who affirme, that they were called Celer, or swift Horse, after the name of a Man called Celer, who was the first (ordained by Romulus) chiefe or Commaunder of those Centuries, according as Ouid affirmeth.

16 The Originall of the Quaestores creation, is very ancient, and they were ordained (some thinke) before all the other Magistrates. Gratian, in his Booke bearing the name of Times, hath written, that Romulus and Numa had two Quaestores, who were not by them created, but by the care and scrutiny of the people. But if (as it is not certaine lie noted) that Romulus had Quaestores; it is manifest, that Tullus Hostilius the K. created some. It is said, that they were called Quaestores, because their duty was to gather the publike Monies, and they had the charge also of the publike treasury. Gratian further saith, that they vsed to read in the Senate, such Letters as were sent from this or that Man, and that they were named (by the Prince) Candidati. I find beside, that sometimes these Quaestores examined Malefactors, and gaue them tortures. Whereupon, Varro wil haue it, that of Quaestionarius, an Inquisitour, or Giuer of the Strappado, the name of Quaestor was imposed on them. They vsed to create the Quaestores, as wel from among the common people, as the Patritians, euen as all other Magistrates; which authority, because it was giuen to the meaner sort, had neither any admonition or prohibition. And as those priuate men were to be called in question by the Prator; so is it likewise said, that (at the beginning) they had authority to speake their opinion in the Senate. And because the Consuls could not sentence any Romaine Cittizen to death, without commission from the people; therefore it was ordained

* The Tribes, Wardes, or Precincts of the Romaine people.

Quid in lib. de Fast.

Of the Quaestores.

Grat. in Lib. de Temp.

Why called Quaestores.

Quaestor Acriarius.

Candidati. Examination of malefactors. Quaestionarius.

Quaestores created among the Plebeians.

No Romaine Cittizen iudged to death, without commission from the people.

dained to the people, that certaine *Quæstores* should have authority in Capitall occasions, and they were called *Quæstores* of Homicides or Murderers, whereof mention is made in the Lawes of the xii. Tables.

17. *Romulus* being dead, and the Fathers bethinking themselves in what manner they might then best govern the Common-wealth, and who should seeme worthy to succeed *Romulus*; as also, what course therein were best to be obserued, that the people (who were as without a Head) might enter into no such disorder, as (thereby) to draw war from neighbors, vpon a City without a guide: they congregated themselves seriously together, and concluded (after mature consultation) to make choise of an hundred fathers which should be diuided into ten bandes or Squadrons, ten for each compeny, & out of each company to elect one man; and he (with the other ten) should haue the charge of the other ninety. Out of these also, they made Election of one man, who should assume the place of a King; which dignity of his, was to last but five dayes, and the five dayes beeing ended, another was chosen; and so went it thorough them al, each man by his five daies, vntill a whole yeare was expired in this kind of gouerning.

But this Empery or rule appearing hurtfull, and the people complaining, that (for one King) they had now an hundred; the fathers likewise perceiuing what stirres might arise in challenging the sole Gouernment, they deuised what meanes might best rid them of so waighty a burthen, and throwing the same clog vpon the people, determined with them, that no Iurisdiction or power should remain to any future King, but only vnto such a man as they should make choise of. They further resolved, that he should be King, whom the people commanded to be elected as King, with this condition: That he should be said to be truly a king, if the Fathers gaue him their full Confirmation. The *Inter-Rex*, or five daies king, called a Parliament, and said to the people, as followeth: *O you Quirites, create you a King, that may bee good, iust, and happy. If you create such a one, as may worthily be said to second Romulus; the Fathers will therein gladly ioyne with yee.* With these conditions, they created him who should

haue the generall gouernment. But in the time of vacancy, and when there was no King, he that had the chiefe power of the hundred, was called the *Inter-Rex*. It happened afterward, that wanting a King, and the Consuls being absent from *Rome*, as men imployed in the Common-weales waightiest affaires; and thereby to be excused by their absence; they could not find a man to generall liking. And therefore, being frustrated of a full and lawfull creation, the gouernment was referred to the *Inter-Rex*, by whose meanes they created their following Consuls.

18. There were two chiefe or capitall men, created in great authority, but if wee would vnderstand the Originall of these two especial men, we must then begin with the time of King *Tullus Hostilius*. He warring vpon the *Albanes*, had already conducted his army into an apte place; and *Metius Suffetius*, Captaine of the *Albanes*, came to haue conference with the King of the *Romaines*. Hauing long debated about the conditions of peace, it was finally concluded in this manner. There were then in the *Albane* army, three worthy Brethren, who were tearmed the *Curiatij*, & these three Gallants must fight (body to bodye) with three other *Romain* Brethren, called the *Horatij*. The resolution being past, without anie alteration, the day of battaile was determined, and the order to be obserued in their fight.

Hauing tried their manhood valiantly a long time together; at length the three *Curiatij* (who were all fore wounded) happened to kill two of the *Horatij*. The thirde man seeing his Brethren slaine, and himselfe (as yet) sprightly and vntoucht, began to consider, that to defend his life against the *Curiatij*, ther was now no need of any lost time, or to stand still in a season so perrilous; and therefore he began to run about the Lists. He of the *Curiatij*; that was in weakest estate, immagining, that the death of his brethren had amazed his senses, and therefore sought the best meanes how hee might escape; pursued him very speedily. But *Horatius* turning suddenly backe vpon him, manfully slew him: and the second making hast to succour his Brother, beeing ouer-feeble for the performance, was likewise slaine; and euen so sped the thirde, who needed not many strokes to dispatch him.

Conclusion for the Kings creation.

The gouernment of the *Inter-Rex*.

Of two especial and Capitall men.

The memorable & famous History of the three Brethren of *Alba*, & other three of *Rome*.

A stratageme to preuent 3. potent enemies.

The Magistrate of *Inter Regnum*. or the Kinges decease.

The election of an hundred Fathers.

A King elected for 5. dayes standing.

An hundred Kings in stead of one.

Election of a King referred to the people.

*The people of *Rome*, so called of *Quirinus*.

Hauing

Horatius triumpheth after his worthy victory.

The Sister of Horatius was wife to one of the Curiatij, & killed by her own Brother.

The King created two men, to examine (with him) the fact of Horatius.

The people deliver Horatius from death.

The Capitall men, and how they became so named.

Caius Manilius Capitolinus.

Hereupon (by common consent) a glorious Triumphe was prepared for *Horatius*, and he riding back to Rome in that manner; no meane confluence of people came to meete him, among whom also was the Sister to *Horatius*. This Lady, who formerly had bene given by her Brother, in marriage to one of the *Curiatij*, beholding the spoiles of her flaine Husband hanging on his chariot: fel both into such loud and lamentable exclamations, as made all present very much amazed. *Horatius* taking her sorrowes discontentedly, perceiuing them to be a blemish to his victory, and a trouble to the generall reioycing; suddenly slew her. The Triumphe being ended, *Horatius* was brought before the King, from whom he was sent to Prison, and (in common opinion) thought worthy of death. But his memorable fortune, winning great grace and fauour with the King; procured his tryall to be delayed, and he being desirous also to haue his cause duely examined, would be one in his owne royal person, and therefore created two men more, who should heerein assist him to their vttermoost power. The two chosen men pronounced *Horatius* worthy to dye: but then he appealed from them, and would put himselfe on the peoples sentence. At which time, the aged Father to vndaunted *Horatius* (halfe drowned in teares) fell on his knees before them, entreating, that hauing lost two of his Sonnes in battaile, and onelie for the honour of their Country; that they would not suffer him now to be deprived of the third. The people being moued to much compassion, and calling to minde, the no small hazzard of his achieved victory; clearly acquitted him.

Thus grew the Originall of those two Capitall men, to whom (not long after) a third man was added, and so they became three. Now, because they were appointed to Capitall Inquisitions: they had the charge of those Prisons, wherein capitall Offenders were enclosed, and thereupon had the Name of Capitall Men. And this degree of Magistracy, had hand in the condemnation of *Caius Manilius Capitolinus*, from the people of Rome. And the same authority chastised all them, that dealt in the

conspiracy of *L. Cataline*, according as *Salust* describeth.

19 Concerning the *Præfect*, *Prouoost*, or Captaine of the Citty, there is nothing found written, before the time of *Spurius Lucretius* (Father to *Lucretia*) who was *Præfect*. I doe not heerein deny, but that there might be such Magistrates, and that all the other Kinges, from *Tarquine* forward, might create *Præfects*. But howsoeuer it might be, or was, the Reader is to take notice, that at all times, when the King had occasion to be farre off from Rome, he left (in his stead) the *Præfect* of the Citty. But as the Empire increased, so was the iurisdiction of all *Italy* committed to the *Præfect*. All delicts and offences which were found through *Italy* (as is witnessed by an Epistle sent from *D. Seuerus* to *Cilionus*) were brought before the *Præfect* of the Citty, in the beginning of which Epistle, are these wordes set downe.

20 We hauing committed the Government of the Citty to thy faithfull trust; know from us, that all such transgressions as happen in our Citty, shall appertaine to the care and ture of the *Præfect* thereof. The like we say, 30 of all delicts and errors committed forth of the Citty, within the circuit of an hundred miles euery way. But if he proceede any further, he shall be then out of our protection. Let him giue audience to Seruants, that flie for refuge to the Statues; or in complaining on their Maisters, for not making them free, they hauing bought their liberty by their owne true seruice, or best meanes. He must 40 heare Maisters false into pouerty: And such as are sicke and weak, that releefe may come to them from the sound and healthfull. His authority likewise extendeth, to confirme, and to banish. If any one shall faithfully affirme, that a Wife hath committed Adultery with her slaue; the *Præfect* is to heare his information: because he may (by his authority) make enquiry, whether the accusation proceedeth on spleene, or fraud, or whether the act were violently committed, or no. He shall also cause to appeare before him, Governours of Wards, or fatherlesse Children, and 50 Stewards of mens Landes or possessions, for enquiry of well or ill dealing in their offices: how they stand suspected, either for giuing Money to enioy their Gardianship, or deliuered any other bribes or rewards, without which, they had bene vnmeete for such authority;

Of the *Præfect*, Captain, or Prouost Marshall of the Citty.

A note for the Reader.

Epist. *D. Seuerus* ad *Cilion*.

The words in the Epistle.

The limitation of the *Præfects* power.

Their causes of Audience.

For Maisters and Seruants. For sicke persons. Confirming and banishing

For Adultery.

For Stewards and Guardians of Wards.

thority; Also, whether they haue abused and diminished the Orphanes faculties, or (by fraudulent conueyance) got any part of his patrimonie.

Ouer and beside the precedent matters, D. *Seuerus* likewise added to the office of this Magistrate; That he should haue an eie to Seruants, least they swerued from their Maisters, to vnlawfull entertainers. To be carefull of the Moniers or Minters, in carying themselves vprightly, and to make knowne all their treacheries against the Lawes. That Maisters should not be iniured by their Free-Seruants, or Iourney-men, as we call them: neyther by his owne Children, or his Wife, or his Neighbour. All these occasions ought to bee heard before the Praefect, who, according as he findes the offence, may punnish the Free-man menace, disfranchise, or proceede to some heauier kind of punnishment; as the like is to be doone, if he haue practised and conspired with any of his Maisters enemies. He ought likewise to ouer-see all things that were to be sold, and giue admonition, that a iust value or price should not be exceeded. The Markets also were vnder his charge, for Oxen, Sheepe, Swine, &c. with the Shambles, Fishery, Hearbery, and such like. And to conserue the people in quiet, he kept the souldiers in their places of quarterage, to preuent any insurrection, vpon the least suspition. In the Citty he might prohibite the faculties, pleadings, and Sessions, at such times as himselfe pleased, and (in like manner) appoint them.

At length, when this Man had long time continued in this high place; his Authority was giuen to the Praetor of the Latines Holy-daies, vntill (at some other time) the like creation should begin againe. And when all the other Magistrates made Holy-day, yet they gaue place to the Praefect of the Latines Citty onely. I haue left some other things vnspoken of, concerning the authority of this Praefect, but they are not of any great importance.

The most auncient Writers doe consent, that the authority of Consuls was formed after example of the Kings. For when the Kings were expelled, two men were created; to whom no lesse power was graunted, then for-

merly had beene giuen to the King: onely excepted, that their Dominion endured but for a yeare. They had * Lictors, and all other Officers as the King was wont to haue. Now, because their especiall care was, to counsell what was most conuenient for the Common-weales benefit: thereupon they were named Consuls, and to them was committed the diligent respect of all occasions, which they could conceiue to be fittest for generall good. The first Consuls, after the rule of Kinges was controuled, were *L. Iunius Brutus*, and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*. *Brutus* concluded with his Colleague or companion, that (by turnes) one of them onelie should be seene with the Ensignes royall: to the ende, that the people (who had seen and knowne both the one and other) might not lament for the losse of one King, nor yet bee terrified with the sight of two. The Lictors or Sergeants were twelue in number, who with bundles of Rods & Axes, alwaies went before the Consull.

It is said, that *Romulus* instituted this number of Lictors, because as hee questioned with a Brother of the *Augures*; he beheld twelue Gripes or vultures on Mount *Auentine*. Many other Authors of credit hold opinion, that the Lictors, Commanders, the * *Sella Curulis*, the Gowne, and the long Roabe, called *Pratexta*; came to Rome from the *Tuscan* people, confining on the *Romaines*. For it is saide, that the *Tuscan* people, being of twelue seuerall kinds, and hauing created their King; each people afforded and gaue him a Lictor. They hold, that the word *Lictor*, was formed of *Legare*; because as suddainely as the Consull gaue command, eyther to apprehend, or to binde any man; they were as ready and officious thereto, and they gaue command also to any that was to appeare before the Consull: *Iunius Brutus*, one of the first Consuls, died in Warre, and *P. Valerius* remained aliue in the Consulship, because he was put in place of *Tarquinius Collatinus*; who for the hatred the *Romaines* bare to his Progenie; had renounced his Dignity: Such was the mutability of the vulgares mindes, not onely to beginne false Calumniationes against him, but also to intimate blames, suspitions,

* Sergeants attending with Rods and Axes.

L. Iunius Brutus, and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*, the first Consuls.

The reason of twelue Lictors or Sergeants.

* The Tuory Chaire of State for a Consull to sit in.

Concerning the word *Lictor*.

Iunius Brutus died in warre, and *Collatinus* gaue over his Office.

Other additions to the Praefects office.

For Coyners of Money.

For iniury done by Wife or children, or free-seruants.

For the Markets, and all other matters of sale.

Souldiers in due readines.

The Praetors power and translation of it.

Of Consuls, and their originall.

and (finally) vehement accusations. Notwithstanding all which, hauing called a Parliament, and iustified himselfe beyond their expectation: he was the Authour of making a Law, that a Man might defend himselfe, and appeale from any Magistrate. Then beganne the Consules Authoritie (which had long continued famous) to bee inferiour to kingly prerogatiue, and so largely spread the Seedes of Licence and Liberty, that quickly began too liberall a Haruest thereof: for they left creating of Consuls among the Fathers, and the *Auspici* or hopefull signes, would neuer afterward come neere any other.

At last, the Warres beeing ended with the *Gaules*, I meane that Warre wherein *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, raking the Chaine from the *Gaule*, that fought hand to hand with him, was slaine by him, and gaue the Sir-name of *Torquatus* to all his Posterity: the Romaines waxing wearie of the Tribunes continuall seditions; gaue grant, that one of the two Consuls should be chosen by the Common people. The first Consull (then) of the *Plebeians* or Commoners, was *Lucius Sequatius*, and the *Plebeians* hauing obtained before, that the Tribunes of the Souldiers might be chosen among them, because they serued in the stead of Consuls: oftentimes, in creation of the Tribunes, they made likewise a mixture of the Consules Authority, and that in such manner, that many times it happened, that the Consuls commaund was voide two yeares together, sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, according as occasion fell out.

Concerning the Constitution or creation of the Consuls power and priuiledges; I finde, that an assembly beeing called by the Consuls, or by the two cheefe men, or by the *Inter-Rex*, or the Dictator of the *Squitinie*, which Man was elected of the Tribes, or by the congregating of the Centuries; and all these meeting in the field, called **Campus Martius*: such as were desirous to require the Consulshippe, came into the Fielde, and then they were called *Candidati*, in regard of White Robes or Garments which then they wore. He that obtained most Suffrages among the people, or had his happinesse by

lot, hee was immedinly called Consull.

Now, because wee haue formerlie made mention of the *Squitinie*, whom the *Latines* tearmed *Comitij*: it shall not differ ouer farre from our purpose, if we set downe what wee haue collected concerning them. Among these *Comitij*, there were some called *Calati*, and other some, tearmed *Tributi*. *Calati*, because the *Curiata Comitia* were called by the Licitors. The *Curiata* were deuided into Centuries and *Curij*, and called *Curiata*, of *Curij*: who were thirtie in number, containing the Cittizens among them; whereupon, euery one of the *Curij*, was called by the Licitors to the *Comitij* or assembly. The Centurie were elected by voyces, and according to their yeares. The Tribunes were so named (as I thinke) of the parts of the Citty, and of the Tribes. It was not lawfull, to congregate the *Centuriata Comitia* within the Walls of Rome: because it was accounted vniust, that an Army should bee commaunded or gouerned, but in place most conuenient; which could not bee within a Cittie. Wherefore, the *Centuriata* vsed to assemble in *Campus Martius*, where by reason of speediest supply, Martiall matters might be best discoursed, and men trained. Beside this, it was necessary for such as demaunded the Consulship, that by themselues (personally) they should be with the *Squitini* or *Comitij*, because it was not accepted, or giuen by a third person: which I perceiue they also obserued in euery other Magistracy. Such as were Sonnes of the Family, and were not vnder the awe of their Fathers, or Grand-Fathers; might haue the Dignitie of Consull, and might also be made free when they would, by their owne authority. Finally, it was concluded, that such as were Consuls; without any other freedome of their Fathers, were at their owne liberty.

21 *Titus Liuius* beareth witnesse, that the *Albanes* had a Dictor (euen *Mettius Suffetius*) before the *Romaines* had any. The first Dictator authorized in Rome, was *T. Largius*, who had formerly been Consull: but it is not precisely knowne in what yeare, and vnder what Consuls. It is well obserued, that in time of the *Latines* and *Sabines* Warre, and when forty Men had conspired against

The declining of the Consuls offic.

Titus Manlius Torquatus, a Noble Romaine.

Lucius Sequatius first Consull of the *Plebeians*.

The constitution of the Consuls authority.

*A Field neer Rome, where they made vse of all manly exercises.

Of the *Squitini* or *Comitij*, assembled as in a Parliament house.

These Men made the *Curiate leges*.

The Century and the Tribunes.

Centuriata Comitia.

Where the *Centuriata* vsed to assemble.

For Sons of the Family.

The *Albanes* Dictator before the *Romaines*.

Manilius Octavius Tusculanus

What the Romaine Dictator ought to be, and of his eminency in authority, and all appertaining to him.

At what times they used to create a Dictator.

Dictator of the Plebeians.

Varro his opinion of the Dictator.

Maister of the Horfe, and his office.

gainst the Romaines (prouoked thereto by *Manilius Octavius Tusculanus*, Son in Lawe to proud *Tarquine*, and who bare him company in exile) that euen then it was ordained, to create a Dictator in *Rome*. This Dignity (among the *Romaines*) was of very great importance, and their auncient Writings doe testifie, that could none appeale from them: but he must be a Romaine Cittizen by blood, and (among them) consisted the Authority of the whole Common-wealth. All the Kings honours were attributed to the Dictator, and because he had cheefe rule ouer the people, therefore he was fir-named *Maister of the People*. Whence proceeded, that whosoever held any publique authority, as being bred or deriued fro the high *Dictators* office: they were likewise called *Maisters*, as the *Candidi*, of the *Candidati*.

It was not the custome to create a Dictator, except when some suddaine and vnexpected occasion hapned, that threatned ineuitable ruine to the City. At first, it was vnlawfull to create a Dictator, vnlesse he were a *Patritian*: neuerthelesse, it fell afterward much lower, for in the Warre which the Romaines had with the *Falisci*, and with the *Tarquines*; then was created the first Dictator of the Common people, named *C. Marius Rutilus*; and then (in like manner) did they elect *L. Plancus*, to be Maister of the Horfe, or Cauallery, a *Plebeian* also. This Magistrates power (being of such greatnesse) could be endured no longer then sixe months, and because he spake, nominated or elected the following Magistrates: therefore (saith *Varro*) he was rearm'd Dictator, vnder pretence of this or the like authority, *L. Silla* and *Iulius Cesar* gayned liberty, as coueting (so much as in them lay) to thunne the odious and infamous name of Tirants.

22 Such as were the Tribunes of the light Horfe, in the Kinges time; the like (with the Dictators) were these other Maisters of the Horfe. And as the Dictator had Iurisdiction ouer all the people; so had the Maister of the Horfe ouer all the Souldiers. The first that was chosen into this place, was *Spurius Cassius*, created by *Titus Larginus*, the first Dictator. To conclude, the Office

of Maister of the Horfe, was such with the Dictators, as (with *Cesar*) was that of *Præfectus Prætorium*.

23 The occasion of creating Tribunes, was the deuision of the Common people with the Fathers, at Mount *Sacer*. For the Warre (on one side) being concluded with the *Volsicians*, and (on the other side) with the *Æqui*, and with the *Sabines*; the Common people also hoping, that (by a promised Law) freedome should bee had from the burden of Vsury, and perceiuing (to their hurt) that the Fathers did but prolong the time: suddenly *M. Valerius* was created Dictator, to appease the popular sedition, and for ease of a most important war. He hauing begun to intercede for the Common people, and finding both himselfe and them to be deceiued: hee renounced his Office, and went away from the people; who were not a little displeas'd, because the fathers thought, that the best way to quiet the peoples mindes (vnder colour of an Oath giuen them by the Consuls) was presentlie to lead them forth to Warre. The people taking the matter very ill, passed the Riuer *Teueron*, and went thence to Mount *Sacer*, which was three Miles distant from *Rome*. This bred such a terrour in the Fathers, not knowing how the Common-weale should be defended (being now destitute of all things necessary thereto) if Warre should be raised from any Neighbour Enemy: that they sent to them *Mencius Agrippa*, (a man dearely respected of the Fathers, and no lesse affected by the people) hee as an Ambassador, should comprenize this discontentment of the people. He speaking very grauely to them, induced the fable of the members, entring into conspiracy against the belly: which so highly pleased the people, that they consented to haue peace with the Fathers. But in the conditions of peace, they obtained; that there should be Magistrates of the Common people in the City. Whereupon ensued, that the *Plebeians* (from that time forward) were to haue two Tribunes in full authority, *A. Virginius*, and *T. Vetustus* then beeing Consuls.

Another time grew the like seperation, and then three Tribunes more were added to the former two: *Appius Claudius*

The cause why Tribunes were created.

M. Valerius created Dictator, quickly renounceth his Office.

The people offended with the Fathers.

Mencius Agrippa is sent to the people.

Two Tribunes appointed of the common people.

Ten Tribunes
in full number,
for confirma-
tion of the
Senate.

The preroga-
tive of the
Tribunes.

Aul. Gellius ex
Labeo Antist.
Of Labeo An-
tistius the fa-
mous Lawier.

A bold answer
sent to the
Tribune.

Varro in Lib. de
Reb. Human.
Of the Tri-
bunes power
and place.

Claudius, and C. Quintius, being Con-
suls. Afterward, five other; in the Con-
sulship of M. Horatius Pulvillus, and Q.
Minutius: and so (in this manner) the
Romaines came to haue tenne Tribunes.
The authority of these men encreased
in such sort, that whatsoever the Se-
nate ordained, was of sure strength, if
so be it were approved of the Tribunes.
They stood at the entrance of the
place, where the Senate were assem-
bled (because it was not lawfull for
them to enter into the Temple) and
those matters deliberated by the Sena-
tours, were committed to the Tribunes,
to examine them. If they were for the
good of the Common-wealth, they
should then ratifie them, changing, or
adding whatsoever they pleased: and in
signe that matters were confirmed by
them, they should set (vnder the writ-
ing) the Letter T.

But concerning the power of the Tri-
bunes, if I might speake at large there-
of, I should then alleadge the iudgment
of Labeo Antistius, that excellent Law-
yer, whose wordes are these, as I finde
them set downe in Aulus Gellius. Wee
reade (saith he) in a certaine Letter of At-
teius Capito, that Labeo Antistius,
was of great obseruation, and very learned
in the Lawes; yet was he extreamely encli-
ned to liberty, and there-withall of such
courage; that D. Augustus being then
Prince, nothing whatsoever was allowed
to be firme or good, but what he found to be
sacred and iust in Romaine Antiquity.
Afterward hee sheweth, that the same
Labeo, being called by a Commander of
the peoples Tribune; sent answer by
the same Commaunder, bidding him
say thus to him that sent him. Tell the
Tribune, that hee hath no authority to call
me, or any other: considering, that (accor-
ding to the custome of our Elders) the
Tribune hath power to take, but not to call,
or commaund. Wherefore, himselfe ought
to come, and then to giue commaund to him
who should be taken; otherwise, he hath no
power to call an absent man.

Aulus Gellius affirmeth, that the very
same is written by Varro, in his Book of
Humane things. This Varro, being one
of the Trismutri, maintained; that hee
was not to be called by the Tribune of
the people: And when he was Tribune,
hee gaue no commaund that any Man

should be called. Matter of greatest
importance in the Tribune, was; that
he went vp and downe (as a Mediator)
in suites of Intercessions, to prohibite,
that no violence should be done them
by other Magistrates. His least po-
wer also, was, in publishing the Lawes
to the people, those which were called
Plebiscita. In which Intercessions,
the authoritie of the Fathers making
no interuention; they assigned such
Men as were sent to the administration
of the Prouinces, instead of the Con-
sules: as we may reade in *Plutarch*, in
the Life of M. Cato, and especiallie in
the Tribune-time of P. Clodius. I finde
also recorded, that when all the Tri-
bunes were to agree vpon any matter,
if one of them onely varried, and were
discordant; he might doe more then all
the rest, and easily hinder any other that
was contrary to him.

24 I can finde no matter at all,
concerning this Authoritie, vntill (vn-
happilie) the Warre was made by the
Romaines vpon the *Aequi*, which pro-
cured great terrour to the City. For
the Consull which remained at that
time in Rome, for the better mustering
of Men together, and with the more
speede, onely to helpe his Fellow-Con-
sull, who was besieged: T. Quintius
was created Vice-Consull, *Albus Post-
humius*, and *Spurius Furius* being then
Consuls. And because he was to be
sent in stead of a Consull, he was (the
rather) called Vice-Consull. To him,
and others in like place, all the ensignes
of a Consull was graunted, onely ex-
cepted, that but sixe Liectors attended
on him, in not vsing the ordinary iurisdic-
tion committed to the Consull: al-
beit (not long after) these Vice-Con-
suls beganne to haue equality in power
and authority with the other. For the
Confines of the Empire beginning to
be enlarged; diuers charges in Warre
were necessarily required. Where-
vpon, it was concluded, that they
which went forth of the Consulship
at expiration of a yeare; should be
Vice-Consules the yeare ensuing, and
to them, by lots (deuiding the govern-
ments) all the Prouinces of the Empire
were giuen in charge.

No Vice-Consull could (of his owne
Prerogatiue) exercise any iurisdiction
on

Plutar. in vit.
M. Cato.

The power of
the Vice-con-
sull.

T. Quintius
the first Vice-
Consull

Vice-Consuls
grow equall
in authority
with Consuls.

on out of his owne Prouince, albeit the case concerned and appertained to the Vice-Consuls administration. If the matter (peradventure) were fiscall or penall, it better deserved reference to *Cæsars* Procuratour or Attorney. If he carried his Wife with him into his Prouince (which were better for him that he did not) hee might chastise her for any euill Act committed. And as he was not to refuse Royall presents giuen him; so ought he also, to obserue a certaine meane in receiuing them: because, as it were very inhumane to receiue none at all; so likewise it fauored of too much couetousnesse, to take all things whatsoeuer; but, beside presents sent in free giuft, the Vice-Consull ought not to accept of any. Next, he might not buy any thing in one Prouince, to feede on in another. Hee ought not to treat, negotiate, or summarily define any cause, that had neede of further inquisition and examination. But if it concerned diligent enquire in some cases, as the obedience of Children to their Parentes, and (on the other side) what Children or Sonnes were to demaund of their Parents; such matters he might fully consult on, and define. He might also deale with free Seruants, that were ingratefull to their Maisters, or otherwise abused them; and commaund them to bee whipped, without councell of the Ciuill Doctor, or ordinary Iudge. He that wanted an Aduocate, eyther in regard of his pouerty, or powerfull oppression of his Aduersary: hee might, and ought to appoint him one, and take obseruation of the whole businesse, or any other of the like Nature (as in his owne right and lawfull authority) according as all other Magistrates had, to pardon or punish such delinquents. But because the flowing streame of daily occurrences, permitted not the Vice-Consull to attend all occasions: hee was suffered to haue his Legate, of whose office likewise we will speake somewhat briefly.

25 The Vice-Consuls, by the torrent of weighty affaires which continually came vpon them; vsed to send Legates into the Prouinces, who exercised iurisdiction, not as of themselues, or by their owne authority: but as it was committed to them by the Vice-Con-

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suls; nor could they thus appoint them in their sted, except themselues had first bin in those Prouinces. If it happened, that any graue, waighty, or important matter came to the Legate, which required diligent care of the Iudge: the Legate ought to referre it to the Vice-Consull, because he had no authority to shed blood, nor punish by stripes: Neuerthelesse, he might giue iudgment in occasions of litigancy, and on such as had the tutelage of Orphanes. The vice-Consull vsed to ratifie arbitrated causes; and he might send no Legate, vntil himselfe were parted out of the Prouince. If peradventure the Legate died in the Prouince; the Vice-Consull tooke the charge on him, as the Legate in his life time left it. And if the Vice-Consull; (vpon some earnest and important businesse) was to part from the Prouince: hee might referre any cause to the Legate, although it concerned the life of a Man.

26 I am of opinion, that the *Ædilitas plebei*, was a very auncient kinde of Magistracy, and yet I make some doubt, whether the *Ædiles* were first created, before the Tribunes of the people. I remember, that (the Kings being expelled, and the separation of the people made at Mount *Sacer*) a great part of the Romaine people, remained a long time without any Magistrate in the Common-wealth, by whom it ought to bee defended. We read in *Liue*, that not long after the Tribunes of the people were created, one of the Consuls dying in a Pestilence, and the other being grievously sicke: the *Ædiles* of the people, tooke the charge of the Tribunes of the people on them, and the administration of the whole Common-wealth. Yet doe I not heereby inferre, that but (as then) their creation began; for it may be, that they were many yeares before: But the wealthinesse of the people encreased afterward in such manner; that out of their owne body or community, they yeilded Dictators and Bishoppes: yea, & many times (vniting themselues with the Fathers) they obtained of them, that two *Ædiles* of the people might be created.

The *Ædiles* being commaunded, to make prouision for publike Plaies and pastimes, and to set downe an agree-

The Vice-Consuls obseruations in his Prouinces

Concerning Children to their parents, and Seruants to their Maisters.

For poor men oppressed by might.

Of Legates, or rather Auditors to the vice-Consuls, and what their authority was.

When Legates were to be sent into the Prouinces.

Of the *Ædiles* of the common people, and the time of their creation

A great Pestilence in Rome, whereof one of the Consuls died.

The *Plebbians* yeilded Dictators and Bishops of their owne quality.

The young Patritians against the Aediles, craving to be made Aediles.

The two first Patritian Aediles.

How they tooke their name at first.

Concerning publicke Feasts.

Vicero, in Lib. de Officijs.

* An excellent expositour of Tullies Oratiops.

Of publicke Playes and pastimes.

ment for sollemne daies in the Kalender, both which were referred to their charge, they making deniall thereof: it is said, that the young *Patritians* challenged their aptnesse to such an Office, in honour of the Gods, and craved, that they might be made *Aediles*. Their motion being no way misliked, but rather much commended: the Senatours concluded, that the Dictator should elect two Cittizen *Patritians*, who must be *Aediles*; the Fathers and the *Comitij*, tearing themselves to bee Authours thereof. Wherevpon were created two *Patritian Aediles*, to wit; *Cneus Quintius Capitolinus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*. Last of all, there were two other created by *Iulius Caesar*; who looking to the prouision of Corne, were therefore called *Cereales*. I finde among Authours, worthy of good credit, that the *Aediles* receiued their name of *Aedes*; which signified a sacred Temple, and their charge was, to be carefull of Temples. And because they were created of the *Patritians*, they had the name also of *Curules*; because they were carried, either to the Pallace, or else where by Land, in Chariots or Litters. The *Plebeians* and the *Curules* are so well knowne, that I thinke there needes no further report of their condition.

The *Aediles* appointed publique feasts to bee made, which was no small burthen: because it was ordained, that (according to their Dignity, and State of their Patrimony) such should bee their expences. Concerning this Order, *Cicero* giueth sufficient Testimony, in those Bookes which hee entitled *De Officijs*, where he makes mention of the time, when he himselfe was one of the *Aediles*, and of *Pompey* the great. * *Asconius Pædiannus* saith, that *Pompey* being created *Aedilis*, hauing (at his own cost) builded a maruailous rich Theater: beside the magnificent plaies which were there performed; would needs haue a sumptuous Chariot also, drawne by diuers Elephants. Whereby may further be gathered, that the *Aediles* were at the charge of the feasts, & of the arguments of the Comedies; because they carried name of those *Aediles*, vnder whose authority they were made and acted. The *Aediles* appointed the places for all men to sit in, with due obseruation of their

quality and degrees. *Valerius Maximus* writeth, that *Attilius Seranus*, and *Lucius Scribonius*, being *Ediles*, were the first, that (in fitting) diuided the Senate from the *Plebeians*. If a Buyer were deceiued by a Seller, in deliuering him a sicke or weake Beast, for a sound; his helpe was had by the *Aediles*. They likewise had especiall care, that the Conduits for Water should be kept very cleane, and all other buildings neat and sweete. Finally, if bad things were sold in the markets, vnder the name of good; and rotten or corrupt wares, in stead of honest sufficiency: it appertained to the *Aediles* to controule.

27 It was not lawfull for the Magistrates of the Common-weale, to take away the regiment of the ten men, who are said to be created on this occasion. The common people being daily moued with new tumults, by electing Magistrates among themselves, to make lawes for freedome from oppression of Vsury; to contract marriages with the Fathers, and for confirmation of their owne possessions: by these means, matters (both diuine and humane) grew to an ouerthrow; and then, nothing was more desired then Common Lawes, to the end, there might be no lurking corner for enuy; which made them conclude, to deriue (from some place else) lawes for the City. Herevpon, three Ambassadors were sent to *Athens*, who should bring thence the written Lawes of *Solon*, hauing first well obserued the Customes and vsage of other Nations. The Ambassadors were these; *Spurius Posthumius Albus*, *Aulus Manilius*, and *Publius Sulpitius Camerinus*. These three men, three yeares after their departure from *Rome*; returned thither againe, and bringing with them the written Lawes: which Lawes, in regard they were to bee more fully perused, exemplified, & accommodated to their vse, there were ten men created by the *Comitij* of Centuries, to ouer-see them for the Common-weales benefit. The ten men were these; *Appius Claudius*, *T. Genutius*, *P. Castius*, *L. Veturius*, *C. Iulius*, *Aulus Manlius*, *P. Sulpitius*, *P. Curiatius*, *T. Romulius*, and *Spurius Post-humius*; from whose iudgement and censure of the Lawes, no man whatsoever should any way appeale.

This

Attilius Seranus and Lucius Scribonius Aediles.

Of ten men created for bringing the Lawes to Rome.

Lawes for Rome to be fetcht from some other Country.

Three Ambassadors sent to Athens.

Ten men created to peruse the Lawes, and their names.

Ten Tables made for the Lawes, that the people might aproue them.

Two Tables more to be added to the ten.

Ten other men chosen again, about the two other Tables.

The ten men appear before the people.

The pride and insolence of the ten men vnto the people.

This year (therefore) they made ten Tables, and published them openly, to the end, that the Lawes might be heard of all the people, with authoritie giuen them: that they might amend, Correct, interpret, and deliuer their opinions; promising to be patient in attention, while they were fully read and herd. After they had bin sufficiently perused, they were set downe in writing for continuance, openly manifested, and the former Magistrate quite displaced. But a certaine conceit rising among the, that if two Tables more were added to them, the *Romaine* Lawes (thereby) would be made most perfect: Heereupon, the *Comitij* were called together againe, euen in the former place of meeting; and there, other ten men were anew created. Then *Appius Claudius*, to whome the charge of assembling the Counsell was committed, contrary to his duty, and against the forme of all good vse: nominated himselfe for one of the ten, calling these also to be his Colleagues, *Cornelius Maluginensis*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Minutius*, *Quintus Fabius Vipulanus*, *Q. Petilius*, *Titus Antonius Merenda*, *Catius Dilius*, *Spurius Opius Cornucius*, and *M. Robuleius*. These men, being verie desirous to ouer-rule and commaund, made their appearance (the 15. day of May) in the Market place, with twelue Axes each man borne before him, interpreting the same to be a matter of the lesse moment, because they were created without apeale or prouocation. It is said that at their first comming into the peoples presence, they seemed as if they had bin ten Kings. And it is a matter (almost) exceeding beleefe, what a publicke feare this forme of behaviour bred in the Citty, wherein they were not much deceiued, nor their suspicion causelesse.

They began to waxe cruell, and libidinous against the people. There was no matter heard or handled amongst them, but it past rather by fauour and respect, then any Reason, Iustice, or Equity. They concluded together, that what matter soeuer they pronounced in publick, or else intended to do; if any man appeald from any one of the Confederates to another: he parted from him with such satisfaction as he had bin better not to haue appeald from the former. It was a generall opinion, that they had agreed amongst themselves, and confirmed it by oath, neuer

to ceasse this kind of Counsell, but perpetually to hold this Order of Magistracie, with Dominion ouer all the Empire. Under this condition passed the greater part of the yeare; and vntill the two Tables were added to the ten, there was nothing else current, but what passed by publication of the *Centuriata Comitij*. Matters sading thus, the yeare being spent; and no other tidings heard from the Counsell: the people (not a litle lamenting their losse of liberty) began to mutiny, & moue a tumult. In somuch, that newes came, how the *Sabines* and *Equi* raised warre against *Rome*. Hauing pondered heereon awhile, the ten men assembled the people, and selecting an Army out of them, went to the Warre. While there they fought with variable fortunes, *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten, who remayned behind for government of the Citty, became inamored on a *Plebeian* Virgin, and practised (by what meanes hee might) to enioy her company.

The Father of the yong Maiden, whose name was *Lucius Virginus*, being absent from *Rome* at the warre, where hee had a place equall to his worth and merite; had formerly affianced his daughter to a yong Gentleman, named *Leilius*, one of the *Tribunitij*. *Appius* tempting the Virgin with entreats and promises, yet no way preuailling to gaine his intent: altered his purpose to pride and cruelty, and plotted with one *M. Claudius*, an intimate friend of his, that as he sat in his Tribunal to listen causes: *M. Claudius* should steppe forth, and challenging the Damosell to be his slaue, to demand her in iustice, and he himselfe would punish al them seuerely, that durst take on them to approoue her freedome. This lustfull wretch; taking aduantage of apt opportunitie, *M. Claudius* had seized the Virgin, as shee past ouer the Market place, calling hir his slaue-servant, and the daughter of a slaue: commanding her to follow him, and offering to carry her away violently, if she made any resistance.

The Damosell (having no other company then her Nurse) cried out for assistance, because there were many by, to defend her from *Claudius*. But he told them, that they presumed ouer-rashly vpon his right, there was neither time or place (as then) for tumults. But if they mistrusted what he had said, he entreated them to go with

The Sabines & the Equi menace warre against Rome.

The Historie of Appius Claudius, and the faire Virginia.

The compact betweene Appius and M. Claudius.

M. Claudius (by his talke presence) seized Virginia, and carried hir before the Iudg.

The false claim of *Claudius* before *Appius*.

The defenders of *Virginia* are called.

Icilius the troth-plighted Husband to *Virginia*.

Lucius Virginia bringeth his daughter to the iudgement barre.

Appius gaue iudgement a gainst *Virginia*

with him to immediate iudgement. *Appius* sitting ready to entertaine the busines, demanded of *Claudius*, the reason of his disquiet, whereto he thus answered. *This Maiden* (quoth he) *was borne in my house, and of a slave my Servant: some while after he was stolne from me, and (under the name of daughter) conveyed to the house of Lucius Virginia, where euer since she hath forcibly bin kept from me. But hauing now seized her in mine owne right, I craue that she may be sentenced, & that she may part hence with hir maister, or else you deserue not the place of a Iudg. Appius* perceiuing so good a beginning, to the end it might not appeare, that he was rash in censure before examination; he caused the Maidens defenders to be called, who alledged, that it was a very vniust proceeding, to call the Virgin in question, her Father being absent about the Common-wealths affairs. Adding other cases of like moment, the young Gentleman *Icilius* (troth-plighted Husband to *Virginia*) and *Numidius* his Grand-father, came before the iudgment seat. *Icilius* making a great stir and noise, vsing words likewise very neglect & carelesly, as being of bold and vndanted courage: command was giuen him by a *Licitor* (by Commission deliuered from *Appius*) presently for to make his departre thence. But he resisting, imboldned by a resolued spirit, and the goodnesse of his cause, a great multitude of *Romaines* also being there assembled: *Appius*, to auoide any nouell accident, which might rise frō the people, caused him to giue securitie, that *Virginia* (the day following) should bee presented againe in iudgment. These ill-pleasing Newes were soone carried to her Father, who needed no other Spurre to hast him to *Rome*; where hee himselfe brought his daughter (accompanied with manie worthy Matrons) the next day before the Iudgement seate. With teares and humble intreats, the graue Olde Father desired to haue Iustice; and that the whole case might be publickly discussed; the like did *Icilius* and mournful *Virginia*, assisted by the voices of all the other Ladies.

But *Appius*, whose heat of lust admitted no reason, despising all their woful lamentations; mounted vp to his tribunall, where he gaue sentence, that *Virginia* was the Bond-slave to *Claudius*. This Iudgement filled all the hearers with admirati-

on; and *Claudius* offering to lay hand on the Maiden, with intent to carry her presently thence: her wofull Father stepped betweene him and the Iudge, and (with abundance of teares trickling downe his White Beard) vttered forth these speeches:

10 Heare (O you Romaines) that I haue espoused my Daughter to *Icilius*, and not to thee *Appius*. I bred and broght her vp, that she might go vwith a virgins honor to marriage, and not to libidinous rape or deflouring. But if (in a Fathers true affection) my words may seeme offensiue to thee; pardon me, that in thy presence, and before hir face, I may demand of hir nurse, whither she know me to be *Virginia*s father or no, that truth being acknowledged, I may part hence with the more contented minde. Then stepping to his Daughter, as if he intended to aske her some priuate question; he drew forth a Knife (which he had purposely hid) and there slew his Daughter, rather then she should be dishonored. The people amazed at this admirable resolution, gaue so loud a cry, that it drewe more people in multitudes thither; and *Appius* perceiuing a strange tumult toward, to secure his life, muffled his face closely, that he might not be knowne in his escape thence. The people taking addantage of this occasion, for their recouery of the City; forthwith entred into Armes, and chose wronged *Virginia* to be their Commander: parting away presently to mount *Auentine*. *Icilius* (on the other side) drew home his Fathers power of Souldiours; and in example of the *Plebeians*, tenne Militarie Tribunes were immediately created, who (accompanying the other Army) came in verie powerfull manner vnto *Rome*, forsaking Friends, Wiues, and Children, now to redeem the liberty of their wronged country.

20 The ten men, not a little confounded with this sudden alteration; made hast to assemble the Senate, and consult what might be done for safety of the Commonwealth. At length, after many and sundry determinations, with very bold reprehensions (by the Senators) giuen to the Ten men, calling them as many *Tarquins*: the Tenne were gladde and faine to submit themselues vnto the power of the fathers, so they might bee freed from publicke Iniuries, and all other doubted Daungers. Concluding withall, that Ambassa-

The words of *L. Virginia*.

Lucius killeth his Daughter *Virginia*.

The people take Armes, and make *Lucius* their Leader.

The Ten men driuen into amazement.

The Ten men submit to the Fathers.

bassadors should be sent to compound & quiet this great disorder. Heerupon, *M. Horatius*, and *Lucius valerius*, good men, and of great authority, were sent to deale with the people about the conditions of peace. The people demaunded (in their peace-conditions) that the ten men might bee punished according vnto their deseruings: but by faire and gentle language in the Ambassadors, such seuerity was mitigated. They were therefore contented, that their wonted Tribunes should be restored to them againe, and the gouernment returne (as formerly it had done) to the dignity of Consuls. By this means, the ten men renounced their Authority, and the *Comitijs* were warned for creation of the Consuls and Tribunes. Thus by this new ordination, the ten mens power was suppressed, and the State came vnto hir woonted honourable kinde of Gouernment.

2^d. Because wee are discourfing on Offices of authority, I hold it reasonable, that we should say somewhat of the Praefect for Corne, who (in these times) was created out of the woonted order. I find nothing concerning this Magistrate, but that hee was vnder the Consulship of *Appius Claudius*, and *P. Seruilius*, which was the very same yeare, when *Tarquinius Superbus* died, neare to *Aristodemus* the Tirant. It is faide, that about this time, a contention hapned between the Consuls about dedication of the temple of *Mercury*, which finally was concluded with this condition; that he who should dedicate the Temple of *Mercury*, should likewise be appointed for prouision of Corne. The people gaue the dedication to *M. Pletorius*, Captaine of the chiefe Squadron, not in regard that he deserud it, but as a shame and disgrace to the Consuls, for not carrying themselues vprightly in their Consulship. But not finding this matter so apparant in *Linie*, I am induced to thinke, that it was their error, who tooke vpon them to write so manifestly; because I find, that not long after, *L. Minutius* was made Praefect for Corne. This office was very expedient in hard times, when Corn wanted, and men sold it very deare. It was his charge to procure Corn from all neighboring parts; and he might command any man (who had more then fitted for his owne House and family) to bring it forth to publick sale (how farre soeuer it

were off) and to set a price thereon. By meanes of this Magistrate, the people of *Rome* (being many times in great want of Corne) had present helpe. *Pompey* the Great, hauing the same authority, & the same Magistracy, as we now speak of, setting forth from *Sicilie*, with a great quantity of Corne intended for *Rome*, the Mariners told him, that it was not good for them to put to Sea in a tempest or storm. Whereto, it is said (in his Countie behalfe) he returned this answer. *It is good and necessary to saile, but it is not necessarie to liue.* The care for Corne (afterwardes) grew into such fauour and authority, that all such persons as were not thought meet, nor admitted to accuse in any other case: yet in this onely they had free admision, yea, though they were Strumpets (most infamous) and such like persons.

29 Through many deuisions of the Fathers, made with the people, who had demanded of them, that (out of their own condition) they might create Consuls, & yet by reason of the wars abroad, the people made no administration thereof: they were faine still to supply the Fathers with men, and giue way aswell to enemies far off, as to contentious Cittizens at home. The first discordancy among the Fathers, was in them, who supposed, that if the Tribunes were created of the Common people; it should be but vnder bare pretence of agreement. Whereby ensued, that matters were so caried, as (by the request of *Camillus*) the Fathers permitted Tribunes to be created, who should be in the sted of Consuls; aswell of the Plebeians, as of the Fathers indifferently, not altering any thing from the Consuls. Then were created three Tribunes of the Consuls authority, whom they called Military, & these were ordained by diuers numbers. Somtimes they were twenty; otherwhiles more, and then againe lesse. But the first three of all, were these; *A. Sempronius Amacinus*, *L. Attilius*, and *C. Cecilius*, all *Patritians*; and the people were contented, because it seemed, that their owne desires were obtained. At that time also, some came from the Consulship, to be Military Tribunes, yet of Consull-power: as when *M. Genutius* and *P. Horatius* left their Consuls Office. And next to this Magistracy, was that (the name wherof is not exprest) wherein they were in like authority as the Consuls had; chaun-

Example of Pompey the Great, in bringing Corne from Sicily.

Tribunes of the Soldiers, and of the Consulpower

Camillus perswades creation of the Tribunes.

Three Tribunes of the Consuls power, and who the first three were.

Some left their Consulship to be Military Tribunes.

Peace sought of the comon people.

Consuls againe agreed on.

The Praefect appointed for the prouision of Corne.

The death of *Tarquinius Superbus*, and *Aristodemus* the Tyrant.

M. Pletorius, Praefect for Corne.

The Praefects power.

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ging only the name, and the people being not thereby impeached.

30. Many yeares were past in multiplicity of warres, and among ciuill diffentions at home; al which time, the people of Rome were not burdened with Tributes, paiments, taxation. or the *Lustru*; which was the Collection of Toll or custome euery fifth yeare; and purging the City by Sacrifices, according to the ancient manner. For this waighty burden was not laid on the Consuls, who vnderwent the many important occasions of warre: but was recorded by the Senatours; who thought fit to create a Magistrate for matters of waight; and yet not appertaining to the Consuls place, to which Magistrate should be giuen the charge of the Notaries, of the Prisons, of the Bookes, of the Tables, of the Lawes, and of the Taxations.

Hereupon, and on better consideration, they created two Censors, *Papyrius* and *Sempronius*; and in regard of the Tribute-collections, they were termed Censors: *M. Geganius Macerinus*, & *T. Quintius Capitolinus* being then Consuls. It was also ordained, that this Office or Magistracy should continue for five yeares. But this long limitation was afterwaerd altered, in regarde of the Censors insolence; and reduced to one man only, named *Mamertius Emilus*, Dictator, in the Consullship of *Iulius Virgilius*, and *M. Appius*. It is wonderfull to consider, how much this preheminence increased in power, being raised out of so weak an Original. It grew to such height, as (in this authority only) consisted the Customes, the Roman Discipline, the Senate, the gouerning of the Canalety, the Iurisdiction of priuate occasions, and the taxing of the publick places and people in Rome: Alledging in the Senate, electing the Princes of the Senat, gathering the Subsidies, celebrating the five yeares Sacrifices, adding good men to the Senate, and commaunding such thence, as were thought vnworthy in his iudgement.

I finde, that *Caius Fabricius*, beeing made Censor, he remooued *P. Cornelius Ruffinus*, a *Patritian*, from the Senat, because he had spent at one dinner at his table, ten pound in mony. *Marcus Cato* also did put from the Senate, the Brother of *C. Flaminius*, because (beeing entreated thereto by a Strumpet) he commanded a

prisoners head to be cut off, he being (at that time) Vice-Consull in *Gallia*. What shall I say of the consuetudes of the Censors, in their aduertisements about all other occasions? Such as were corpulent and well-fed Souldiers, from them they would take both Horse and Armour, to the end they might the better breath themselves. And if any delighted in sweet smells, or curious apparrell, they accounted it in them as a note of infamy, and therefore remoued them from the army.

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A Roman Cavaliero (costly and delicate in Garments, but riding on a Leane and meager Iade, so thinne and ouer-starued; that his bones might easily be counted thorough his hide) chanced to meete the Censors vpon the way. They demanded of him, how he came so neatly polished in attire, his countenance ruddy, and of so good complexion, and yet his horse sp euill-fauoured and vn-sightly? Where-to he answered; *I my selfe haue care of my Cloaths and diet, but my seruant only looketh to my Horse*. The Censors well regarding both him and his answer, without any shew of humanity or reuerence; did leaue him to his own vanity, worthily condemned of notorious infamy.

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They obserued likewise another man, who was a Citizen, that vsed to yawne or gape very much; especially in those places, where they sat and gaue audience to serious affaires, and he did it with a very irkesome and vnseemly noise: but when they vnderstoode; that want of modesty was not the cause; but meere weaknesse and infirmity; they cancelled him out of their note of Taxation, requiring onely his absence from such place and occasions.

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When the Censors went into such places where Weddings wer celebrated, and (according to their custome) demanded of the young men, if they tooke their Wiues with their owne free liking and full contentment, or no: If they made answer, that they accepted the marriage, because their Parents so commaunded; their company was thence-forward despised, and themselves set downe in the Kalender of infamy. Because they held opinion; that it was much vnfitting for the Maiesty they presented, in open sight of their Censoriall severity, that an vnmanly, foolish, or ridiculous answer should be made to them. Many other such matters

The Office of the Censors.

The creation of the two first Censors.

One Censor alone, and not two.

His great power & authority.

Remouing Senator's from the Senate.

The Censors managing of ordinarie occasions.

Of a Roman Gallant, and his horse.

Of an vnwise Cittizen, that had an offensive infirmity.

Of celebration of Marriages, by their owne liking, or commaund of Parents.

ters might be spoken of; but concerning this argument, these may be sufficient. Only I may not omit, that they helde it somewhat religiously, when one of the two Censors died, the other was sufficient to serue, both in his owne place, and for him that was dead. I know not how this fauor was admitted, but this I am sure of, that it was (not long after) appointed: that the one Censor dying, the other should re-
 10 nounce his Office, and two other men be newly created.

The cause of this obseruation was thus. In those parts where the *Gauls* surprized the City, one of the Censors being dead, the other was substituted in his stedde, which seemed to the *Romains* to be a sign of an euil Augury; whereupon, it was set downe as a perpetuall Law, that such succession should neuer more be admitted. It was then vnlawfull to create any Cen-
 20 sors, but onely of the Fathers: yet this grew (euen as all things else) to an alteration; and then the election fell to be indifferent. The Censors also had authority, that they should limit the taking of V-fury.

31 The *Arcni*, and the *Ardeati*, hauing had many and continuall fights together on their Confines, waxing at the length weary of warre (in regard of great slaughters and ruins made on both sides) committed their cause of contention to the *Roman* people, and made them Iudges of eithers quarrell. Ambassadors being sent from each City to intreat this fauour, a Counsel was called, & (from the Magistrates) the case was referred to the people, whereon there grew verie grieuous contention. For three men being chosen to vnder-goe the charge of the whole businesse; *P. Scaptius*, a *Plebeian*, aged in yeares, rose vp and said: *Consuls, if it be lawfull to talke concerning the Common-wealth; I cannot endure, neither wil I, that the people should erre in this matter.* But the Consules laughing (as at a man that doted) would no further heare him. Hee grieuing, and much displeased, that such a publicke cause should be betrayed and smothered; was (by commaund) re-
 40 moued thence by one of the *Lictors*. He appealed from them to the Tribunes; and being brought before them, he began in this manner: *I want not one day of ninetie three yeares old, and I do very well remember, that those Fieldes for which these two*

people contend thus together; belonged neither to the one or other, but to Coriolanus, for I (at that time) was a warre-fellow with him. Coriolanus taking these fieldes by fortune of the warre, they fell (by that meanes) to the people of Rome. In which regard (methinks) plain truth should perswade the people, not to deceine themselves in a case so apparant.

The grauity and authority of the man, moued not so much, as the vse and commodity of the fieldes, and so highly preuailed the power of the Tribunes, that this cause appearing in this forme to the people; a Law was forthwith made, whereby the Fieldes were interestted to the people of *Rome*. This act greatly blemished the Maiesty and reputation of the *Romaine* Common-wealth; and the *Romains* were much blamed and reprovied of their neighboring people, and of the Citties confining with them. The Fathers hadde no great liking of the matter, and not long after, a case of high iudgement hapning vnto the *Ardeati*, against the *Volscians* in their aide, beeing earnestly desirous also to cancel such an infamous sentence, they grew to this deliberation. In regarde that the City of *Ardea* (by ciuill warre) was
 30 reduced into the hand of a few, and consisted but of a few inhabitants, they must be written for a Colony, or sent (for present helpe) against the *Volscians*. This conclusion being told to the people, & pleasing them (much better) to be written downe *Rutilians*, then *Romanes*: the *Ardeati* were iudged to be the chiefe, because their fieldes (at the first) had bin gotten by so infamous a iudgement. Then were three men elected to conduct these Colonies, to wit; *Agrippa Menenius*, *T. Cincilius Succulus*, and *M. Ebutius Flauius*. I denie not, but that this Office or authority might consist of greater personnes, because it had so high and notable a beginning: It appertained to this place, to deuide the field to new Colonies, to designe the City, and appoint conuenient places for buildinges, to distinguish it also into wards & streets; ordaining & composing the Common-weale; in forme of an excellent, especiall, and well ordered *Tabernacle*.
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32 By continuall ciuill warres and dissentions, the Fathers being overcome by the people; and hauing granted them; that one of the Consuls should be created

A Censor dying, the survivor to serue the place of both.

A reason deriued from the *Gauls*, concerning the Censors.

Of three men to conduct the Colonies.

The words of *P. Scaptius*, in the Counsell.

His appeale and words before the Tribunes.

While two sides contend a third (beyond expectation) preuaileth.

The Romans seeke to wipe of their disgrace.

The three men that were chosen for the Colonies.

Of the Praetors, and their authority.

ted of the *Plebeians*, they referred onely this open way to the Consulship, and afforded the people, that they might create one only Magistrate of the Fathers, and cause him to be called an appointed *Prætor*; whereof a reason being rendered to them of the land, they termed him *Urbanus*, of *U. bs*, which was the City. Afterward, such was the Authority of this Magistrate, that in euery priuat and publick iurisdiction, hee had the power to erect new Lawes, and to take away the olde. Last of all, his prerogatiue so largely extended, that whatsoeuer the *Prætor* commanded, in honour of him, was called an honourable Law. All the regall Ensignes were graunted to the *Prætor*, and almost all the Consuls adornments; but yet, no more then sixe *Lictors*, and the seat called *Curulis*, with euery other thing to them appertaining.

Power to make newe Lawes, and deface the olde.

The Regall Ensigne giuen to the *Prætor*.

Plu in vit. Pat. Emil.

Iuuenall.

The Pilgrime *Prætor* created.

18. *Prætors* at one time.

Five Officers for the Night time.

Publicke tortments, for offenders, deuised by *Cornelius Sylla*.

Now, albeit the *Prætors* vsed but sixe *Lictors*, yet I finde in *Plutarch*, that *Paulus Æmilius*, *Prætor*, going into *Hiberia*, had twelue *Lictors* afforded him. The *Prætors* rode on White Horses, wearing likewise white Garments, and the *Roman* Footmen going by their Stirrops, were all apparrelled in white also, as *Iuuenall* affirmeth.

At length, an infinite number of strangers comming to Rome from all partes; and one *Prætor* seeming not to be sufficient for the multitude of businesse daily insuing, another *Prætor* was created, who was called the *Pilgrim*, because he heard the causes of Pilgrims and Strangers. But the Monarchy greatly increasing, the number of them likewise so enlarged, that sometimes there were eighteene *Prætors*, for the dispatch of occasions. And because it was thought inconuenient that Magistrates themselues should be seene publickly in the Night time, five men were appointed, who dwelt on each side the Riuer of *Tiber*, to execute the Office to such Magistrates belonging. But after the surprizall of *Sardignia*, *Scicilia*, *Spaine*, and the *Narbone* Prouince, there were so manie *Prætors* created, as Prouinces had beene taken, to the end, that some might attend the affaires of the City; and others also, apply the Prouinces businesse. Within a while after, *Cornelius Sylla*, added publicke tortures for Forgers of Writings, Parricides, and impoysoners, and added foure *Prætors* also. *Caius Iulius Caesar*, ap-

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pointed two *Prætors*, and two *Ædiles*, who were to haue charge for the prouision of Corne, and (of *Ceres*) they were called *Cereali*; so that then there were twelue *Prætors*, and six *Ædiles*. Afterwardes, *D. Augustus* made vp the number of sixteen *Prætors*; and *Claudius* sought to haue added two more; but *Tiberius* placed one, and *D. Nerua* another, to render a faithful reason of the trust committed to them concerning the Treasuries priuat & publicke. And thus the number of eighteene *Prætors* was completed for gouernment in the City. All these things also they obserued, when they (as Magistrates) were in *Rome*: but when they went forth on anie voyage, there remained but one only for the businesse, and he was then called the *Præfect* of the City, which *Præfect* they before ordained.

Another *Præfect* was afterward induced, termed of the Latines *Ferie*, who was created yearely, the other Magistrates being absent, for they then being superintendents of the warres, vsed to permit others into their iurisdctions, except the *Præfect* of the Land, who continued in the City onely.

33 Thorough the disastrous Fortunes of warre, vsury being buried, as it were, and the *Roman* people quite vndon, by great summes of debts, the Princes of the people likewise many times attempting to remedy such an vsupportable difficulty: at length, all their minds inclined to concorde, and they (who were then Consuls) concurring heerein, referred the paiment of their debts, to publicke care.

There were therefore elected five men, who by their dispensing and dealing with Monies, were termed *Mensarii*, Bankers, or Mony-changers. The notable Equitie, and great diligence vsed by them, deserued worthily, that their names should be honoured in all their Annalles. The men were these, *C. Duellius*, *F. Decimus*, *M. Papyrius*, *Quintus Pompilius*, and *T. Æmilius*, who dealing in so waightie and important matters, supplied (euermore) both the one and others part, with much modesty, and little iniury. And such was their care and hourelly respect, as not onely they auoided offence to any person, but likewise could no way be complained on, which was wonderful in discharging such a multiplicity of debts.

How the number of 18. *Prætors* was perfected.

A *Præfect* created of the *Ferie Latini*.

Of Five men called Dispenfators or Stewards.

Bankers and Changers of Mony & what their names were.

Their care & respect admirable.

Of the *Triumvirat*, or three men, for ordinary rule of the Common wealth.

M. Anthonye compelled to leaue Rome.

Lepidus ioyne with M. Anthony.

Ciceroes life giuen to M. Anthony.

Octavianus Caesar commaundeth alone.

Præfectus Prætorius.

Appeale from the Præfectus Prætorius.

34. *Julius Caesar*; being slain in the Senate house by them that accompanied *Cassius* and *Brutus*; and it appearing, that *Anthony* (by all his endeauour) sought to sway the whole State, and becom Prince of the City: proceeding on in his ambitious thirst of rule, hee trod downe *Cicero*, *Brutus*, & all the rest of that faction, that were contrary to him, & compelled them to forsake *Rome*. But *Octavianus* (who had bin set downe as heire in *Caesars* will) being returned from *Asia*: *Cicero*, and all other of that faction, ran to ioyne with his power. Whereon ensued, that *Anthony* being constrained to leaue *Rome*, was adjudged by the Senat as an enemy, and (for his vtter ouerthrow) *Hircius* and *Pansa* (being Consuls, were sent forth, as also *Aulus* with his followers, who neere to *Modena* put him to flight. *Anthony* being thē in a very desperat condition in most humble maner made his recourse to *Lepidus*. Being then wel backt by his countenance and power, they inforced *Octavianus*, who aspired to the dignity, to make a league with them: by which combination, many murders were concluded, & multitude of great persons proscribed to death: Among whom, *Caesar* granted *Cicero* to M. *Anthony*, by *L. Caesar*, Vnkle to the said M. *Anthony*. These men (vnder pretext of pious Magistrates) exercisid that bloody tyranny, which was called the *Triumvirat*, or office of three men, for gouernment of the commonwealth. But in thort while, their intention was apparantly discovered, hauing brought al occasions (both diuine & humaine) into a hurly burly: for hauing consumed both their own & others treasures, with all their vttermoſt abilities; at length, *Caesar* got the vpper hand, and being alone in authority, vpheld the *Triumvirat* for some ten yeares, as we may read in *Suctonius Tranquillus*.

35 Such as wer the *Tribunes* of the light horse for the King, or the Maister of the horse for the *Dictator*; euen such (about *Caesar*) were the *Præfecti Prætorij*. They, with *Caesar* held the second place, and (as Lieutenants) corrected publick disciplin. In such sort increased their authority (hating at first but a simple beginning) that for a certain time, it was lawfull to appeal from the *Præfectus Prætorius*; but yet the order how the appeale ought to be done, was by censure of the Prince, in granting the appeale from so great a Magistat. For

the Prince held opinion, that such men as attained to this dignity, by their discrete and singular indultry (carying due respect of his supream power) should giue iudgment as if it had bin pronounced by himself. This authority had another priuiledg, that such of yongest yeares, being sentenced by the *Præfect*, could haue no excuse or defence from all the other Magistrats:

36 I find, that there was another kinde of Magistracy, for hearing of matters in the City of *Rome*. For the burden of war-busineses being remoud from the other Magistrats to the *Prætor* only: there were ten men created for hearing of matters, holding the places of *Prætors*, al the while that the other remained abroad, and they were called Magistrats or Iudges of contentions. It is said also, that at the same time, foure other men were elected, who had the charge (as Surueyers) of the highwaies. And three other beside, for care of gold & siluer, atending on the coinage of the Monies, and matters in the Mints.

37 The famous *Augustus*, reputing that publick welfare and safety appertained to no one person more then to himselfe, ordained seuen troops or squadrons of men in the most needfull places of the City, to the end, that (with all expedition) they might quench fires, or any harms that by fire should happen. And it was ordered, that euery two Regions or Wards of the City, might commodiously be defended by one squadron onely; the *Tribunes* being chiefe of the troops, and yet aboue al, the *Præfect* of the Guard or Watch. And albeit (amongst the ancient *Romanes*) this charge was committed to three Officers for the night, vnto the *Ædiles*, and to the *Tribunes*: yet notwithstanding, there hapning (in one day) more mishaps by Fire, then they (appointed for that purpose) could haue care of, as necessity required; *Caesar Augustus* thought it very expedient, that a *Præfect* of the Watch or Guard should be created. All occasions then concerning fires, thefts, and rapes, were dealt withall before the *Præfect*; except eyther the delinquents personnes were so stubborn, or the facts so famous, that they required reference to the *Citties Præfect*.

And because (many times) fires hapned by default in the Inhabitants, they were therefore punnished with whipping, because they were so negligent of their fire, or else reprooued with seuerer admonitions;

The Prince gatic order for Appeales.

Of som other interiour Magistrates:

Iudges of contentions:

Of the Præfect of the City, & of the Guard.

Three Officers for night occurrences.

What causes were heard before the Præfect.

Of fires hapning thorow negligentie.

ons, if they escaped whipping. If any breach or decay appeared in such part of the house, where the Father of the family kept his thinges of most respect, eyther for householde seruice, or benefit of the wars abroad: the case was discussed and sentenced before this Magistrate. For so wrote *D. Augustus*, to *Erichius* his beloued Praefect, saying; *If Garners or Granaries be rotten or wasted, it pertaineth to thy care to see them amended.* Moreouer, it belonged to the Praefect of the watch or Guard; to haue his officers watch the greater part of the night; and being armed, and lighted Lanthornes caried with them; to walke all about the streets of the City, remēbring the people in their houses, to bee carefull of their Candles and fires. They commanded likewise, that euery one should haue water ready in their houses; that if any such casualty hapned, it might the quicklier be remedied.

38 We had like to haue omitted two Officers (whose charge was to order, settle, and place the Armies) thinking their imployment not to bee of any great importance; but seeing *Linus* hath recorded them, we may not silently slip them. In the yeare when *Appius Claudius* (who afterward was sur-named blind) was Censor, *M. Valerius*, and *Publius Decius* being Consuls, two offices then began by the peoples gift (as *T. Linus* saith) both of them appertaining to the Commonweal. One, which (by the *Tribunes* of the Souldiors) was created in the 4. Legions; and being a little before left, fell as a benefite to the Dictator & Consuls. These places by the Tribune of the people, was giuen to *Attilius*, and *C. Martius*. The other, was an ordination of two men by the same people, to restore, order, and settle the Armies by sea, & referd to the deliberation of *M. Decius* Tribune of the people. Not long after these publick fauors, 3. men were selected forth for night occasions; to whom (as I gather by some obseruations) in the difficult times of war and ciuil dissentions, the charge of the wals was committed in trust, and a Guard for ouer-seeing the soldiers. It was also referd to their fidelity, to preuent all tumults in the night; all idle walking and talking, and that the City might be in absolut quiet. Finally, the feveral duties of such a Magistrate, were granted to the Praefect, termed *de Concordia*. The very names of these Magistrats, did declare

their offices; and *Linus*, the Authour of these matters, speaketh of the no further, nor find I other mention made of them. 39 It remaineth now in this last place, to speak somewhat of *Cesars* aduocats or Attornies, who was Judge between *Cesar* & the people of *Rome*; albeit custome induced, that soueraign greatnes (from whom proceeded the lawes, decrees of the whol Senat, and of the Magistrats) should not be subiected to law, whereof himself was head and president. And because it exceeded possibility to find a greater person than the Emperor, that might in his priuat cases, and other mens actions, yeild a direct proceeding, without the Prince himself; to sit as Judge in his own proper cause: it was therefore determined, that a Magistrate should be created, who (betweene *Cesar*, and a priuate person) might sit in iudgment, and to be called *Cesars* Procurator or Attorny. To this Magistrate was granted license, that whatsoeuer hee dealt in of the Imperiall affaires, was as firmly ratified, as if it had bin done by *Cesar* himself. But if the Attorny alienated any thing belonging to the Emp. as if it wer properly his own, it was not therefore to be iudged, that the Emp himself had made such an alienation; but it was firmly aliened; when *Cesar*s consent gaue testimony thereof. If he bought or sold, dealt in Donations or bargains, they were not good; because his charge was not to estrange any thing of the Emperours, but to execute *Cesars* busines diligently. Principally, he was to be carefull, that if a seruant of *Cesars* was ordinary here in any Will; hee should command his succession in that inheritance, & boldly do it in *Cesars* name; because such matters as a slaue attained to was by the means of his maister. But if he were *Cesars* heire, and the Attorny made mixture of a richer inheritance then his right; he was then no heire of the Emperours. But if the goods fell to *Cesar*, which could not easily bee found: the Attorny ought to preuent the Emp losse, by diligent inquisition of the will, and due examination of euer party. Thus haue we sufficiently discourfed of *Cesars* Procurator, and al the other *Roman* Magistrats, from the beginning, to the time of noble *Cesar Augustus*. The name of President was general, because the *Vice-Consuls*, *Legates* of *Cesar*, and al the *Rectors*; gouerning Provinces (as the Senators) were called Presidents.

CHAP.

D. Augustus, to *Erichius* Praefect.

Great care to preuent fires.

Of two men, for ordering and placing the Armies.

Two Offices giuen by the peoples full Authority.

Three Officers appointed for especiall occasions.

The Praefect of the *Concordia*.

Of *Cesars* Aduocates, Procurators or Attornies.

The Prince no Judge in his own cause

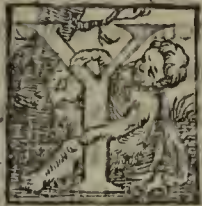
No alienations without *Cesars* consent

Concerning Heires in wills

The Emperor ought to be no looser.

CHAP. II.

Of Rome in her Moderne and later estate, since the Pope came to keepe his Court there, with his Cardinals, and other Assistant Officers, &c.



You haue seene Rome in hir Infancy and first original, so farre as we could go by our best observations. We come now to speak of hir, in another kind of nature, since the Apostolicke See grew to be planted ther, and hir government fell into the Popes preheminance. The authority of the pope, he being the chiefe, disperfed it selfe into so many members, that his Courtiers & followers grew into multiplicity of yeares, before they could well vnderstande that forme of government; yet I will bestowe my pains to discouer the same fully, & as briefly as may be. First of all, there is the most holy and Apostolical Senat of Cardinals, whose head is the chiefe Priest, & therefore called *Maximus*, and the Cardinals are his members: of whom, though in our times there is no definite number; yet I find, that in elder times there were but twelue, after the example of the Apostles. These honorable Fathers vsed formerly, to come altogether (twice in the week) to visit the Pope: but in later daies, important affaires & busines being scant, they meet once together only; & this meeting is vulgarly termed in the Consistory, of the word *Consistere*, which is as much to say, as being together: because on the day of their assembly, they stande firmly together, for publick negotiations. In this Senat are appointed and ordained such as are elected to Bishoppricks, Archbysshoppricks, to *Metropolitane* and *Patriarchall* churches; when such places are vacant; the election of which men, belongeth to the Chapter, City, Prouince, king, or some other person: or otherwise they are elected by the Pope, and this his Sacred Senate, to whom (by a referued Custome of al the Popes) this office properly is said to appertaine. Which referuation, was woont also to extend to certaine Monasteries, which wer found to be taxed in the bookes of the Chamber, and in

The Popes authority difused into many members.

The pope and his Cardinals.

The meeting of the Cardinals.

What is done in this Holy Senat.

A referued custom of the Popes to certtain Monasteries.

this sacred Senate were either to be granted, or recommended to apt & sufficient persons; and therefore those Monasteries were cald Consistoriall, because no other disposition was made of them; but by meanes of the Consistory. In this place, they discoursed on all matters which appertained to Diuine Reuerence, Faith, Religion, and peace of the Christian flocke, also for preservation of temporal patrimonies giue to the church of Rome. In this Senat (as being the greatest in al the world) al Prouinces, all Iurisdiccions, and all Kings were saide to haue their defensiue Fathers; whom they tearmed Protectors: whose charge then was, to propound the election, and other occasions of their Prouinces in the sacred Senat. He that propoundeth the case, ought to hear (in the election) al contradictions if any hapned, and to seeke out of many, for the fittest person to bee elected, or to take order for the Church vacant, with al things necessary to the said Church, performing the same by way of testimonie. Which inquisition or search, was vulgarly called, proceeding by Proccesse; where in all things were orderly set downe; and recited at large by the propounder, he hauing first made his purposed preamble to the sacred Senat. Then was he to vnderstand the Senats answer, which (acording to order) was subscribed, and sealed; and vnder-written, the Apostolicall answer. This answer, by such as gaue attendance for it, was presented to the Vice-chancellor, who framed another Schedule in his name; whereby he faithfully signified to the Officials in all places, that had charge of expedition; what belonged to them to see immediately performed. The relation thus obtained, the Suppliants required and procured to haue a Breaffe, conformable to the Relation; to wit, That it might first be done among the Abbreviators, next indited in true forme among the Clarke; and being written, to passe through all the other Offices; then to the Chancery; next, vnto the Apostolicall Chamber, and (sometimes) to be extraordinarily fauoured by the Secretary; of all which Offices we will speake in their due places. Being dispatcht, it hadde the Scale of Lead; and this last expedition, was to be done by the Officials.

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2 The times haue bin, that most places in the world, made humble intercession

To rowe of Iool at gimbic

Of the sacred Senate in the Consistorie, said to be the greatest in all the world.

Proceeding by way of proccesse.

The Apostolicall answer.

A Breaffe answerable to the Relation passing thorough many offices.

Of the chiefe Penentary.

The power of binding & loosing.

The churches of the Penitentiaries.

Dispensation for keeping of human Lawes

Of Supplications directed to the Pope, and of their answers.

New taxations far differing from the old.

to the Pope, as being perswaded, that he had the selfesame blessings & graces conferred on him, as our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ bestowed on *S. Peter*; to wit; to loose & bind in earth, whatsoever seemed to his best liking. This prerogative of loosing and vnbinding, reserved by the Pope to himselfe; was granted by him to one of the Cardinals; whom we use to call the chiefe Penitentiary; & he, for so much heereof as appertained to him, consonant with the Law Diuine, and his owne saluation; did exercise this authority (committed to him by the Pope) by diuers Vicars and Substitutes, commonly called Penitentiaries, who were diuided into all the chiefe Churches in *Rome*; as *S. Peters in Vaticanus*, *S. John Lateranus*, *S. Maria Maiore*, &c. But the dispensation to be made in obseruation of human lawes, was not granted, except vpon some cause, and by himselfe, and by generall commission of the Pope. To heare first the suppliants in such cases; and after their demand were known, to see if there were cause, wherby the desirer deserued to be herd, & whether the case thus required, were wont to be granted to the Pope, or no. Then hee writes it vnder Apostolicall power, and of his Office, and not by the Popes mouth; but by the generall commission affirmed in his letter, and his Commission (authorized to write so) from the Popes mouth; and credit heerein is giuen to his assertion, as a matter belonging to his office. In supplications directed to the Pope, the rescription was in one of these kinds; *Fiat in forma*, *Fiat de speciali*, *Fiat de expresse*; by which variety of answer back, is declared to the Maister of the Taxations, the importancy of his request. And he, according as the Penitentiary hath varried in his forme, so doth he direct the other Officers, in taxation of payment. But now a dayes, the multitude of Lawes haue so increased, both of the Popes, the Counsels, and of Monasteries, that men (being formerly bound to a certaine rate) do desire againe their auncient liberty, and are the more humble seruants to the Penitentiary. But he, after he hath signed the suppliants request vnder his hande, the Bull is likewise dispatched vnder his name and seale. And because somtimes it is not precisely written yet cleare enough, what assertion of the supplicant is referred to his Iudge: the cause being so knowne, the

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act is absolued, and he restored to his Office againe. This sacred Office of the Penitentiary, hath (for the more commodious ease of such as come for expedition) 24. Defenders of the suppliants causes, who are termed Procurators of the holy Penitentiary. These men, as Aduocates, do declare the extendure of the parties request, and plead the case (as it were) to the Penitentiary; from whom they procure to obtain the matter demanded; and to make expedition of the Bull. They used also, to set downe the whole proceedings in Iustice, with all the Allegations, *Pro & Con*, on either side, in true and faithfull manner. To this Office, belonged dispensations for marriages, in degrees prohibited by humain Lawes, Legittimation of Children, Dispensation for defect in members of such as had taken orders; or were beneficed. Moreouer, for incompatibilitie of many Benefices, Absolution for Homicides *in foro de conscientia*, and for clarkes in both kinds, with retention of Benefices, or dispensation to some other benefice. The like for Simony, or for banishment, for an oath taken voluntarily, for a false Oath, for communication of Vowes, and Licence for obseruation of any humain Law, especially to Regulars, of what Chapter soeuer they were; with Indulgences for place and person. Beside infinite Commissions, in *forma Iuris*, in declaring a *Nullitie* or *Validitie* of Matrimony, which they termed *Declaratory*. And in many other matters, much better knowne to them that are practised in such iudgments, or in the ecclesiastical courts, where they are frequently entercoursed.

3 Continually, suit is made for matters signed by the Pope, in cases that come of his owne voluntary, or out of his liberality; as concession of Benefices, and other gracious fauours, which are likewise generally committed to the chiefe Penitentiary. Beside, there are some things concerning Iustice, about matters Ecclesiasticall, in most parts of the world, and also of the prophaned temporall patrimonies of the *Roman* Church, deuolued thereto by accounts of ecclesiasticall persons, or by the remission of princes, or by consent of other persons, and giuen to the Court of *Rome*. The Pope for all these occurrences, & for the speedier dispatch of suites; apointed two audiences, in which Courts both

24. Procurators attending on the Penitentiary, and what was their Office.

Of matters belonging to the Penitentiary Office.

The Warehouse of Roman commodities.

Of both the Seales or Signature.

Two Courtes of Audience appointed by the people.

both those matters appertaining to grace, are made suit for; and those that do more properly depend on Iustice; for either of which, there is a Court of Audience, and they are termed by severall names, to wit; *The Signature of Grace or favour*, and *The Signature of Iustice*. To each of these Courts of Audience are certaine Lawyers appointed; and to the Signature of grace, do belong all those Cardinals that are Lawiers: for very rarely or sildom are any Prelates thereto appointed, if they be not Lawiers, and they are commonly called *Referendaries*, ordained both for grace and Iustice, by both the Signatures.

Their charge and employment is answerable to their Offices, to regard what is required by suppliants, as also, to oversee whether the requests made, doe tend to such matters, as vsually were and are to be graunted, which accordingly they insert in the forehead of the supplication, & then signify the same to the Pope: or to the Cardinall appointed to signe it, that the demand may be lawfully granted. But if the suppliant desire any thing, that may be prejudiciall to some other bodye; it is not granted, vntill the other party be first called. If then the case appeare to be important, rarely (in former times) seene to be granted; or else so doubtful, as the Referendary scarcely knowes what to resolve therein: it is then referred to the Court of audience, among other matters of like nature, where the suppliant is sure not to obtaine it, vntill it be agreed on by all belonging to that Signature. Heereupon, and for ease in such serious affaires, the Pope appointed a Cardinall, to attend on both the one & the other Signature, who ordinarily graunteth matters, if they be light; and great matters also, if they were wont to be granted. The vnder scribing *De Iure*, was vsed by the Pope; but he referred this Office to a Cardinall his Substitute; so that the Pope (very sildom or neuer) vnder-writeth *De Iure*.

The Referendaries attending on the Signature of grace, doe refuse all supplications, containing matter appertaining to Iustice, because it hath much displeas'd the Pope, that any belonging to the one Signature, should meddle in the others Office, but every man to respect his owne charge. One day in the weeke, is appointed for the Signature, wheron the Referendaries do meet together, & ioyn-

ly consult, whether any matters that haue passed in the Courts of Audience, do require them to bee there present, or not. And heereupon, the (day before that appointed for the Signature) the suters vse to come with their Aduocates, to the Referendaries for either occasions; because sildom (or neuer) any contradiction is disputed on the day, in any cause, be it neuer so vrgent. Vpon the day of hearing, it is the Office of the Referendary, briefly to declare (in the Court) the Suppliants request, which passing the iudgement of the Fathers: he who sitteth as President, graunteth or denieth the suite, according as most or fewest voices do yeilde liking therof. And the Referendaries do obserue it as a Law, that if a request be once denied; they neuer after vrgit any more.

If the Suppliant find himself to be contradicted in his suite, hee cites him that is hinderer, to come before the Referendary appointed for propounding the case, in this maner; *Coram Reuerendo, A. let N. be cited to render reason, why the Supplication or Commission ought not to be signed*. These citations are made answerable to the quality of the request, for appearance before the *Most Holy*, or *Most Reuerend*, because the Signature of grace requireth the presence of his *Holmisse*; and that of Iustice bescemeth a *Reuerend presence*; where it is lawfull for euery Referendary, to propound what time is expedient for grant; each mans eldership and dignity beeing duly considered. But at the Signature of grace, if it be broght before the Popes presence; two onely haue their authority to propound, as their antiquity appeareth by the Court Roll. And yet in the time of *Paul* the third, very sildom the second man had leaue to speak, so that then (by little and little) matters grewe restrained to one propounder only, especially as the businesse increased.

The Pope euermore subscribeth in this maner: **PLACET**, A. when it is a matter concerning Iustice: but if it appertaine to Grace, the Worde *placet* is changed, and then hee writeth; **FIAT VI PETITVR A.** and this Letter A. signifieth the Popes true Name; as *Alexander* the sixth. But if his name be otherwise; then, as *Iulius* the third; he writeth I. that is, *Ioannes Maria*; & so from time to time. If at any time the Pope subscribe, not by any suite or entreaty; but as

The two Signatures.

The Office of the Referendaries.

For important and doubtfull cases.

A Cardinall attending on either of the Signatures.

No meddling in one and others Office.

One day in the weeke for the Signature

The Day appointed for Audience.

In contradiction of Suites, what Citations are to be vsed.

Observation concerning the Signature of Grace.

The maner of the Popes subscribing to petitions, either on suit made, or of himselfe

The Cardinal
for the Signa-
ture of Grace

of himself: then he writes not *Vt Petitur*, but makes this addition, *MOTV PROPRIO*. But the Cardinal attendant on the Signature of grace, writeth alwaies in one and the same forme, to wit; *CONCESSVM IN PRÆSENTIA, D. N. PAPÆ*: and then he vnder-writes his own name, *PP. CARDINALIS PARISI-VS*, which hee writeth not in the Popes presence; but this fauour is only granted him to doe it, by vertue of the generall commision he hath. The same words also are vsed by the Prelate of the Signature of Grace, belonging to the said Cardinal, and is his Vicar; but then he addeth (beside the Cardinals name) his own, in this maner: *C. EPISCOPVS CESENNAS*.

The Prelat of
the Signature

The maner of
writing in ca-
ses of Iustice.

Now, as concerning the forme of subscribing in cases of Iustice, when it is written vnto the Iudges of the Romaine Court, he settes downe, *PLACET D. N. PAPÆ*, and then addeth his owne Name. *B. CARDIN. IVDICIONVS*. If he Write to the Iudges of the Prouinces, then he saith, *CONCESSVM IN PRÆSENTIA D. N. PAPÆ, B. CARDIN. IVDICC*. And sometimes he Writes, *Placet prout de Iure. Placet arbitrio Iudicis. Concessum arbitrio, &c.*

To the Iudges
of the prouin-
ces.

Three wayes
for dispatch of
businesse be-
longing to iu-
sticc.

Now, to know what is Written concerning Iustice, and to bee sent vnto the Iudges in the Prouinces; they come no otherwise to the Regents hand, but (without any other forme of Signature) are deliuered to the Datary, as likewise those of Grace are, writing onely in them the day of the date. Afterwardes, they are set downe in the Register, where (word by word) they are recorded in publique Bookes, and being first heard, they are then giuen to the Suppliants, or to their Sollicitors, in forme of a Letter for expedition. For speedier dispatch in these affaires, when the case belongeth to Iustice, there are three seuerall waies or meanes, to wit; by the Chancery; by the office of contradiction, vnder the Leaden Bull; or by the Secretary, in forme of a Brieffe, *Sub Annulo Piscatoris*, as coming from concession, to the rescription. But if the matter be of grace and fauour; it is expedited by the same Chauncery, or by the Chamber, and sometimes by the Secretary extraordinarily.

Of the Chan-
cery and vice-
Chancellor.

4 The Office of the Chancery, hath a Cardinall thereto appointed, who is commonly called the Vice-chancellor,

and his degree (by soleimne iudgement of all other Officers) is the very chiefest, and before all other belonging to the Court of Rome, both for dignity, authoritic, and benefit. This man, in regard of his proper Office, is President and present at the expedition of all Letters (concerning Ecclesiasticall occasions) that passe through the world, and ordereth the expeditors, who are a great number of them, as Abbreviators *de parco maiori* (whose Office is, to endite Letters at request of Suppliants; which enditing is tearmed a rough draught, or cōpy of the request) Clarke, Writers, and Abbreviators also *De parco minori*, whom the *Italians* doo call *Gian-nizzeri*, Casters of Leaden Bulles, and Registers or Keepers of Records. All these do attend on the expedition of Letters, in some one or other Negotiation. Next these, there are other Officers, who must be sought after in the time of expediting, for agreement of payments of Annates, first fruits, and such like, attending on no other charge, but receipt of the said Annats, fruits, and like payments, they being Clarke in the *Chancery*, Groomes of the chamber, and Bankers of Monies.

Abbreviators
de Parco maiori

Abbreviators
de parco minori

The order of expedition is in this maner. After that the Suppliant hath gotten his Supplication to bee signed and Registered, he or his Sollicitor for him, dooth procure amongst the Abbreviators, *de Parco Maiori*, that there may bee a rough Draught or coppie made of his request; which being in due forme enlightened, it is next drawne amongst the Clearkes in forme of a Letter, and Written in the Chancery among the bench of writers. Then it is taxed or valewed by him that is called the Rescribendarie; and vhen he hath taxed it, another Officer, termed the *Contatore*, or keeper of the Accounts, sets his hand therto, when payment of the taxations is made to the Clearkes. Afterward, another draught of the same is made among the Abbreviators *De Parco maiori*, where another taxation is paid to the Sollicitor, as the sum of fiue * *Iulios*, and there one of them likewise subscribeth his name. The Abbreviators *de Parco Maiori*, hauing receiued their fees, they then send backe the Bull to the Abbreviators, *de Parco Maiori*; at whose Bench or seat two Officers (thereto deputed) doe subscribe their Names, vnder the Name of the Abbreviatour *De Parco Minori*.

The order of
expedition, in
the Courts of
Rome.

* About the
value of halfe
a Crowne.

From

The order of taxations and payments of Monies in severall offices.

From hence, the Letter is carried to the Sollicitors Office, appointed for those Letters, called *Giannizzeri*, where payment is made, according to a taxation of so much in the hundred: for, if the taxation be of thirty Ducats, then two Ducats and two Carlines are deducted for the Chancery; but if the tax be vnder thirty, then one Ducat is paid, and two Carlines. From this place, it is afterward carried to another Seat of the *Abbreniators de parco minori*, where sit the viewers, or ouer-seers, and there the Sollicitor paises a Carline to one of the *Abbreniators*, who sets his hand to the Letter, a little beneath the subscription of the Clarke Apostolicall. But if the matter therein contained, be such as requireth the Annates payment; then pay is also made to al the Officers in the Chancery ratably: as to the *Giannizzeri*, or Apostolique Sollicitours, to the Clarkes of the Exchequer, to them of the Chamber, the Groomes and Bankers. The foresaid payments beeing made, the Bull is brought backe with the supplication therein enclosed, to the *Abbreniator de parco maiori*, that drew the rough draught. He peruseth the Bull, to see if it concord with the Supplication; and if he finde them correspondent; his iudgement passeth so, & then he writes down his name, in signe of approbation, which he testifieth, by casting the Bull, with the Supplication enclosed, from his Seat to the ground, and then the Keeper of the Chancery, or his seruant for him, taketh it vp from the ground, and looketh aduisedly; whether it be subscribed by all the Officers, according as the cause requireth; and if the date doe agree with the supplications grant of date; which doone, he sends it to the Regent of the Chancery. His authority is, to see by whom it hath been iudged and allowed, which if hee finde conformable to his liking, he sends it to one of the *Abbreniators*; to the end it may once more bee over-viewed; and then deuiding the supplication from the Bull, hee layes it aside where it ought to be kept. If the Bull doe containe grace and fauour, then is it againe subscribed by his hand, and on the right side hee maketh a great text Letter A. and on the left, an I. drawne very large and long. Afterward, it is

The manner of the Bulls approbation by the *Abbreniator De parco maiori*.

circumscribed round about with Text Lines, by the Clarkes and *Abbreniators* appointed for such Bulles. This being done, it is laid on a certaine Desk, and all the Officers of the Chancery being finished, the Officer of Lead cometh, and receiueth it from the Regents hand; he carrieth it to his leaden office, where hee fastens a Bull of Lead to it, with a silken little cord. Then the Keeper of the Chancery, perceiuing it to be returned to the Regent; he requireth it at his hand, that it may bee deliuered to the Suppliant, he hauing first paid a *Iulio* to each Man: then passing on by the *Giannizzeri*, there it receiueth finall expedition.

5 This Audience became so tearmed; on this occasion. There was a domesticke Audience of the Pope, where he himselfe both heard and discoursed on many matters: Whereupon, for speedier expedition, sixe Domesticke Prelates were made choise of, who were then called Clarkes of the Chamber, as men elected to be of the Popes Chamber; because *Cheros* (in Greeke) is as much to say, as elected by lot, by which example they were tearmed Clarkes, they being all elected for diuine seruice. These Men were Domesticall Councellours to the Pope, with whom the Pope vsed to discourse on all things that belonged to him; and deuided from the sacred Senate; as gouerning of the Cittie, the whole Temporal Estate, and the accounts of the Exchequer. Heere the Pope elected Magistrates, and there (to this day) an oath is receiued by them of the Chamber, for faithfull behauiour in their Offices. Heere, the contracts and bargaines are handled, of such matters (on the Popes behalfe) as concerne publique dealing by his disposition. Heere, expedition is vsed in Letters of Benifices, euen as well as in the Chancery; when Suppliants make choise of this way, for quicker speede, or in regard of the businesse; or because such matter belongeth not to the Chancery; but requireth the expresse command of the Pope. Heere, Malefactors are sentenced for punishment; be they Ecclesiastical or Temporal, according to the persons qualitie, or manner of the offence. Heere, the causes are heard, concerning *Toules* and

The officer of the Leaden Buls.

Of the Audience in the Apostolicall Chamber.

Domesticke Councellours to the Pope.

Matters handled and dispatched in the Apostolicall Chamber, according to their quality and nature.

The ouer-abounding of Romaine busineses.

Matters dispatched by the Pope himselfe.

Of the Chamberlaine, and the seauen Clearkes.

Letters from the Chamber.

Of the Treasurer, and his Office.

and Taxes, and suchlike publike occasions appertaining to the Church, in all places of the World, or to the Temporall Estate of the Church, be it between priuate persons and a Generality, or priuate men and the Exchequer. Heere finally, concurrence is made, by way of appellation, or otherwise, for all such as are molested, in behalfe of the vniuersall Temporall State of the Church; as by a supream and proper Audience of the Pope. But *Romaine* busineses ouer-abounding, both in Negotiations and other causes: the Pope (easing himselfe by little and litle from this burden) commeth now very sildome into this Audience; except it bee on important affaires, concerning eyther the Treasury, or slow expedition of his Bulls. He vseth likewise (now a-daies) separatelie to expedite some of the fore-named matters by himselfe, without the chamber Audience; as election of Magistrates, and other causes most importing, which he thinkes fit to dispatch alone: in execution whereof, he calleth to him such as are his Familiars, who also are tearmed Household Secretaries.

6 The Chamberlaine vseth, on behalfe of all the rest, and sometimes euen of himselfe, to write *De Iure* to the Iudges, as of all profane matters appertaining to Magistrates, of the Temporall Estate of the holy *Romaine* Church. And abroad also, for paiment of tenths, of Fruits, of Benefices, of spoiles, of dead Clearkes, and of other causes belonging to the Apostolique Chamber. He writeth alwaies, as by Commission, from the Popes owne mouth, and is credited, as occasions really appertaining to his Office; the forme of his writing beeing tearmed, Letters from the Chamber. The expedition of these Letters are in two kindes; the one, close signed and sealed; the other open, and deliuered vnder the Chamberlaines Seale.

7 Next to the Chamberlaine, the Treasurer is the cheefest, in regard of his office: and he is called Treasurer, because hee is put in trust with all the Monies, that are brought into the Apostolique Chamber, where his charge is to receiue it, keepe it, and lay out for expences, as occasion requireth. For some certaine yeares, not long since,

they vsed to bring the Money to some worthy Marchant, who (by Commission from the Treasurer) receiued it, and paid it forth again as his Cashiere, being tearmed the *Depositarie*. Whereby the Treasurer hauing the lesse encombrance, vsed to passe diuers things vnder his hand, which (in their owne nature) appertained to other Officers. Especially in those occasions, that (else) were dealt withall by the Commissarie; as payments, bargaines, of buying and selling, Fruits and Rentes, and demises graunted from the Chamber; yea, almost in all other matters, only through weakenesse and simplicity in some, that scarcely knew how to manage their offices.

8 Next to the Auditour of the Chamber, who is appointed for spirituall causes; the Gouvernor hath his place, and he pnunisheth Offendours with the temporall Sword: for, being the main power of the secular Arme, he decideth causes of strifes, compacts, assurances, breach of peace, quarrels of vassals against their Lordes, although they extend forty miles about *Rome*. He heareth and defineth causes of Hire or wages, without any iudgement Seat, summarily, without Writing, according to the forme of the Romaine Statutes, and common reason; when there is no particular Statute to the contrary. In all the recited occasions, he euermore preceedeth the Senatour; because the first recourse is made to him: but if all the parties be present at an instant, then the case is referred to the Senatour. And yet the Gouvernour cannot excommunicate, or threaten any Ecclesiasticall censure; because it belongeth to the peculiar charge of the Auditour of the Chamber. Finally, this man (as Vice-Chamberlaine) is appointed to all the Law-busineses, and offices in the cittie, & by reason of his precedency, attendeth for the peace of the Cittie, and Court of *Rome*, being assisted by all other Officers of the Cittie, and of the Court, in matters appertaining to the peace and quiet both of Court and Cittie; which is much furthered by his help and fauor. But if you read the Chapter of *Sixtus Quartus*, and the Bull of *Iulius Secundus*; there you shall more amply bee satisfied in the Gouvernours authority.

The Treasurers Cashiere called the *Depositarie*.

Of the Gouvernour, and his office in temporal matters

The Gouvernour not allowed to excommunicate.

Vice-Chamberlaine.

Peace of the City and Court of Rome.

9 After

The President of the Apostolique Chamber.

9 After the Gouvernour, followeth another Officer, whom we call President of the Apostolicall Chamber; whose charge is, to attend the affaires of the Treasury, and receiue the accounts of euery person, that is admitted entrance into the Apolique Chamber, eyther from the Citty, or the Provinces. And there they sit as *Censors*, and confer in the Chamber Audience.

The aduocate for the poore, and priuate persons.

10 Because (in former times) some matters happened, betweene the Exchequer and priuate persons, in the Chamber Audience: it was concluded, that priuate persons should haue an Aduocate in this Audience, at publique charge, there to defend priuate causes, but especially the poore, in this Audience, against the Aduocates belonging to the Exchequer, or the Atturney generall.

The Exchequer Aduocate.

11 Then followeth another Aduocate, who maintaineth the Exchequer causes, not onely in this Audience; but likewise abroad, among the Iudges of the *Romaine* Courts; where he answereth by an Oath, for the Exchequer affaires, and he is one of the Concistorial Order.

The Atturney of the Exchequer.

12 Next to this Aduocate, the Procuratour or Atturney of the Exchequer hath his place in this Audience: and he discourseth, oppugneth and defendeth the Exchequer businesse, in this chamber of Audience, and among the other Iudges of the *Romaine* Courts. Exchequer causes are such, as concerne liberty, or publique Monies. This Office is very conuenable, to bridle euill Customs, and to preferue peace and quietnesse in any Christian Commonweale. In the Court of Rome it is of no meane power and authority, importing also very much, that both Princes and priuate persons should respect it, and to aduance a man of good learning and practise thereto. This Man sits as an assistant for the Exchequer, in the Chamber Audience, among the Fathers and other Iudges. Out of this Audience, he is acquainted with secret causes, hearing and ordering them after his owne will; giuing his voyce in all thinges, or councill at least, although he be no Iudge himselfe. He is allowed also to come into the publique Concistorie, and by his publique Office, may

The conueniency of this Office.

Of the publique Concistorie.

require and plead, as well as any of the Protonotaries, to haue a publique Instrument made by any of them, in perpetuall memory of thinges publique done, and to continue in the Commonwealt for publique Testimony thereof: as, of obedience yelded to the Pope by any Prince, or in matters doone of the like Nature.

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13 Next to the Exchequer Atturney, sitteth the Commissary of the Apostolique Chamber, who handleth, dealeth, and executeth the Negotiations of the Chamber, that tend not to cases of Iudgement. He is appointed for Exactions; Toules, looking to the Mint and Corne, beside other businesse belonging to the Chamber; and this charge (of his owne Nature) was wont to be no way vulgar. Yet in our times, it hath been much debased: because the Gouvernour, the Treasurer, the President; and the Exchequer Atturney, haue vsed the same authority belonging to the Commissary.

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14 Last of all the rest, a place is allowed in the Apostolicall Chamber, for him that defendeth the arguing, and entrances assigned to the Cardinals, and for what matter soeuer is to be discoursed on there, appertaining to the Cardinals: And he is called Clarke of the Cardinals Colledge, resident alwaies in the Apostolique Chamber.

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15 Seeing we haue spoken sufficiently of the Members of this Chamber; let vs not omit to say somewhat concerning the maine Body. This Audience was wont to meete together three times each week, and in the same place, called the Apostolique chamber; where they discoursed on publique affaires, as already we haue declared, and heard what causes came before them there; as also committed abroad; and partly referred to other Ministers, as we haue else-where more at large dilated; to wit, vnfit expedition of Bulles by the Chamber; or controuersies among publique Magistrates, or Toules, and other publique entrances, for matters Ecclesiasticall in all partes of the World, and Temporall businesse also, concerning the Temporall estate of the Church, among the Offices in the *Romaine* Court, to whom assignement was made by the greater part, or among

Of the Commissary of the Apostolicall Chamber.

The Clarke of the Colledge of Cardinals, resident in the Apostolique Chamber.

Of the same Chamber audience, and of the Iudges of either banke.

mong the Toule-gatherers, Receiuers, Collectours; or concerning them with persons priuate or vniuersall; or betweene those priuate vniuersalities; or finally, about any businesse of the fore-named Treasury. Beside these matters, heere were determined all causes of Merchandizes, which were brought from Sea by the Riuer of *Tiber* to *Rome*, or from the Mountaines, being termed *Water-side occasions*. For this businesse, two Iudges, Vicars, were appointed, attending at the Water side continually; one of them, being President for Sea-Merchandizes; comming farre off on the Riuer, and from beneath the City. He alwaies is called Chamberlaine of the Bancke, and this Office euer belongeth to a Cittizen borne of *Rome*: whose election and gouernment (euen of all the rest of the Audience abroad) was aunciently committed to the Romaine people, whom the frequent vse of Merchandize most imported. The other was appointed for Merchandizes which were landed on the Water side, and comming from those parts beyond the Mountaines; and he, as by a different name (from the other) was called the Banker.

Now, if any Offender (in these matters) would appeale to the Chamber, or be heard by these men, for his most commodious and speediest expedition: he commiteth his cause to one of the Fathers aside by himselfe, and heereupon grew their severall Names, of President and Banker. This charge hath bin sometimes giuen (euen for euer, as it were) to one Man alone, he being the ancientest Deane: but now a-daies it commeth to men by Order of Court-rolle, and all the actions done by them, are written in the publike Bookes, called Apostolicall. Which Bookes are kept in a publike place, and in the Chancery, whereto the Notaries may goe at their owne pleasure. And they are keepers of that place, and there they Register the Apostolike Letters, which are expediated from the Chamber, by the other Bookes of the Chancery, and were for this intent purposely ordained.

16 The number of Iudges in the Romaine Court, being very great, and many Offendours in the Prisons, who

were to be heard each man by himselfe: it often hapned, that by want of Iudges, who were otherwise inployed, and (many times) very seriously; that matters were longer delayed, then the quality of the cause required, and to great annoyance of the Prisons. Heereupon they tooke another course, that the Fathers, as supream Iudges, and Vicegerents to their Prince; piouly vsed to visite the Prisons sundry times in the yeare; to wit, euery month each Prison. And yet, not all they that had place in the Audience Chamber, did meete together for this visitation; but hee that was Vicegerent to the Chamberlaine, and (well-neere euer) one of the seauen Fathers, Clearkes, and with them, all the other Ministers of the Chamber formerly named, except the Treasurer and the President. All these, on the day appointed, went to sit in a publike place of the City (for some space of time) neere to the Prison; where calling the Prisoners before them by forme of order, they might be heard, if themselves were so pleased. The Fathers hearing the guilty, and vnderstanding the merit of their causes, by graue discretion of Iudges, invred to such matters: by power of their office, according to the condition of the cause, the time endured of imprisonment, and nature of the offence; doe eyther determine on deliuerance, or longer debarment of liberty; or otherwise on expedition, eyther for death, or other kind of punishment, which (by meanes of the Fathers) is tempered with pittie and mittigation, in this manner. If any man, for a case of ciuill debt, shall be long time detayned in Prison, and hath had testimonie (in the Audience) of his pouerty: the Fathers vse to speake for his release, comforting the Creditor (according to his facultie) that the poore man may haue some further dilation, to make payment after such a rate, & with some security; sometimes vnder punishment in the Gallies, and losse of goods, if no security can be giuen.

Sometimes, when the parties pouerty is plainly apparant, and he (dispayring of all meanes of payment) will rather voluntarily yeelde his goods: the Fathers do (of themselves) admit the debtor to the benefit of simple cession of his goods,

Merchandizes being brought to Rome by the Riuer of *Tiber*

Two Vicars Iudges for the Water side.

The appeale of offendours, concerning Merchandizes.

Apostolicke Bookes.

The Chambers view or survey of the Prisons.

Visitations of the Prisons.

Seauen Fathers Clearks

The manner of visiting the Prisons, and hearing the causes of offendours.

For matters of debt, betweene man and men.

In cases of plaine and apparant pouerty.

goods, and Faith being made, for demonstration of the goods; the partie is forth-with deliuered. From hence ensues it, that Creditors, at the instance of any imprisoned Debter; is vigilant, and euermore present at these visitations, and labour (by all their utmost endeavour) for the poor mans deliuerance. This Office of the Fathers is very pious and pittifull, and with them are ioined some others (at liberty out of the Audience Chamber) by the Popes will and appointment; especially the Vicare in the Cittie; and in the Popes Diocesse.

17 With the two Keepers of the Prisons; to wit, of *Torre de Nona*; and *Corte Saueilla*, certaine inferiour Iudges, called *Pedarij*, haue their abiding; who haue their names of the places, because one is called Iudge of *Torre de Nona*; and the other, of *Corte Saueilla*. The appellation of these Iudges, was wont to come from the Governours Court, concerning that of *Torre de Nona*; and that of *Corte Saueilla*; from the Auditour of the Chamber. These Men, as ordinary Iudges, by this Appellation and their owne faculty, do so heare and descide matters done; as the Governour may also intermit them in Appellation of the Iudge-Marshall: but the other, in regard it belongeth to the Auditour, is one of those Iudges called *Curules*, inferior to a Superior, because this Iudge of the *Curules*, is a Iudge ordained of an inferiour degree; who makes his abiding at *Corte Saueilla*, and attendeth on all them that follow the *Romain* Court; but not to excepted persons, or them that are of more humble condition, who haue also an ordinary Iudge for them. The Whoores and common Strumpets of the Stewes, doe yearelie pay to this Man a certaine Rent, which they tearme a tribute, and it hath had so long a continuance to this day; as no other reason appearing to the contrarie; it is gathered as by prescription; euen of them that are most vnwilling, and they are compelled to pay it.

18 Beside the ordinary Court, there is in *Rome* another Generation of *Romaine* Citizens, to whom the Pope hath giuen a *Pretor*, and them wee call Senators. These men commonly dwell in *Campidoglio*, and (by ordinary autho-

10 rity) heare the causes of *Romaine* Citizens. They haue three Vicares substitutes, two whereof, being Presidents in private Iudgements, are called *Colateralis*. These men are different in degree; because one is called the first; another, the second; and the third is called Iudge of euill actions. If a Man do appeale from any one of these, there is a Iudge beside in *Campidoglio*, who is ordinarily for all Appellations, whose sentence, if it bee conformable to the first Iudge; the party cannot by Lawe, (belonging to the Burgers of the City, which forbiddeth it) vrge any other appeale. There are also certain Tribunals, where all Arts or Trades (which are noted downe in little Tables, hanging in diuers Porches) are to be righted. Ther all the Mysteries are to be read, and election made of Maister work-men, who render account (as Ouer-seers) for others of the same Society: and yet the party offended, may appeale from their sentence, to certaine men calld *Conseruatores* of the city, that haue their abiding also in *Campidoglio*. This iurisdiction of *Campidoglio*, was confirmed by Pope *Iulius* the second; *Leo* the tenth, and last of all, by *Paule* the third.

30 39 There is yet a third kind of persons, who are Priests, to whom the Pope (as a matter proper and appertaining to himselfe) hath graunted a Vicare. This Man (as well in *Rome*, as in the whole Diocesse) hath the same authority in all things, as the Pope hath: for all Priestes are subiected to his iurisdiction, and he heareth Clearkes causes, in matters belonging to the Church, and the Ecclesiasticall Courtes. Hee imposeth also the forme of pennance to Penitentes, conferreth the Sacraments of the Church, and (by law of the Diocesse) calleth Congregations, visiteth Churchess and regulare Monasteries, where there is no exemption by especiall reason. Beside this, he hath some charge of his Ordinary, though it cometh not by his general deputation: as to enquire, correct, punish, remoue, and to giue Benefices. Hee reuonpon, Popes vsed to graunt the fore-laid matters, onely by his permission, concerning Benefices that were abroad. And by vigour of this permission, the Vicares iurisdiction extended to all Lay-

Three Vicars Substitutes.

Diuers Tribunals for trades and occupations.

The Vicare of Rome, and his authority equall with the Popes.

The Vicares power ouer Lay-

Marshall Iudges of the City, at *Corte Saueilla*, and the Iudge of the *Soldano* of *Rome*, at this day called *Torre de Nona*.

Iudges Curules, called also *Pedarij*.

A Tribute paid by the Whoores.

Senators of the Cittie.

Lay-men and strangers, and ouer the *Iewes* in Rome.

Lay-people and Strangers, that by reason of some confraternity, or dwelling, or seruice in Hospitals, or in Monasteries, or in other holy places; seemed to follow Religion. Likewise, ouer all *Iewes* in the City, Widdowes, Orphanes, and other miserable Christian people, accounting them within the bosome of the Church: and among all these persons (by ordinary authoritie) he dealeth in causes, as ordinarie Ecclesiasticall Iudge of the City, and of the Diocesse, for what summes soeuer.

The Vicares authority out of Rome, in diuers occasions.

Abroad also, beside the fore-named power, his authority extendeth (by the same dispensation) to causes, wherein no speccn is made of propriety, but of Rents; and penstons out of those rents; remission of paiments; and in cases concerning Villages, Hamlets, Fieldes, Houses, Vineyards, and all kinds of waxes. But in other matters, where question is made of proprietie of thinges; he can proceede no further, but to sixty Ducates of Gold of the chamber. Now concerning the fore-named causes, his authority stretcheth forty Miles out of Rome, and in those occasions hee dealeth of his owne ordinary power, and within the summe of sixty Ducates limited. The Pope hath likewise giuen him all those Pontificall priuiledges, which euery Ordinary exerciseth in his Diocesse, which come not in generall within his Vicares deputation, & which cannot bee committed to their Vicare without dispensation, and Licence of Faith: As to consecrate prophane places; reconcile vnhalloved matters; promote to sacred Orders; elect any Bishop in times prohibited; and to punish the delict of any Body (in respect of the Church) out of Cleargy; as blasphemy, vsury, periury, incest, and such like. When the Visitours doe goe to the Prisons, the Vicare is one with the. If there bee question of any offence, wherein corporall punishment is required: he alone (as the Ecclesiasticall Iudge) sendeth the guilty person to the Governour, or to the secular Iudge. For all which matters, hee hath foure Notaries, or publike Scriueners appointed to attend him, and two Vicares substitutes. One of them heareth priuate and ciuill causes; the other, publike and criminall: who, vnder the value of sixty

How far out of Rome his power is limited.

Matters out of the Vicares authority.

The Vicare is one among the Prison visitants.

Two Vicares substitutes.

Ducates, make a quicke dispatch by demaund onely; but if it exceede the limitation, it is pursued by proceffe, according as other ordinary causes are.

20 After that matters in Rome grew to such height, that all parts of the World had recourse to the Pope, as well for accounts of Benifices, as diuers other occasions beside: all suiters, not onely priuate persons, but Princes and Kinges also, had their causes questioned in the Court of Rome; eyther by disposition of reason, nature of the action, weakenesse in the Prince, or verily, by consent of the offendour. And such was then the deuotion of our forefathers, that they voluntarily excited people from all parts of the World, to make their remorse to Rome, onely to be esteemed most holy Trauailers. All therefore recited causes (prouided that they wer not Concistorial) were heard by the Pope, and he himselfe, deuided from the Senate, heard the in his Chappell, & then (for their expedition) cald none but Lawiers: whereupon, they are now at this day called Chaplaines, and serue in the Chappell for diuine seruices. But the Bishops easing themselues by (little and little) from this businesse granted: that they should haue all suiters a part, and their causes, and therefore (by a new name) they became to be termed Auditors of causes in the sacred Pallace, and according to their relation, the Pope ordered his sentence. These men, as they haue admittance into this Order: haue authority to heare causes, by this most auncient delegation granted them by Popes.

Of the Popes Chaplainse, and Auditour of causes in the sacred Pallace.

The Pope heareth matters alone by himselfe.

CHAP. III.

A breefe Collection of the Originall and Progressse, of the Knightes of the worthy Order of Saint Iohn of Ierusalem, who were afterward called Knightes of Rhodes, and Knightes of Malta: Likewise, their exploits in Warre, vnder the conduct of their Great Maisters, from the yeare 1099. vntill this present.

THE Military Order of S. Iohn of Ierusalem, had her birth and first origi-

The Orders first beginning in Ierusalem.

Constantine Monomachus.

A church and Pallace builded in Ierusalem by Merchants, and two Monasteries.

An Hospitall for sicke Trauailers and Pilgrims.

originall in the holy Citty of *Ierusalem*, and passed there her first yeares of Infancy, with a great part of her adolescence: When as the *Sarazins* were Maisters of the holy Citty, and of the Country all about the sacred Sepulcher of our Lorde, which was ruined about the yeare of Salvation, 1012. by the commandment of *Equin, Califfe* of the *Sarrazins*, and continued so ruined, vntill the time of *Constantine Monomachus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, who, at the intreaties of the Christians which then dwelt in *Hierusalem* (with the consent of *Bomensor Elmonius Stensabus, Califfe* or *Soldane* of *Egypt*) built it againe at his owne charges, in the yeare 1048. About which time, certaine Gentlemen and *Italian* Marchants of the Citty of *Melphes*, frequenting the Portes and Maritime Citties of *Syria* and *Egypt*, and bringing good Marchandizes into those Countries; won themselues much loue and liking, not onely of the Citties Governours, but also of the *Califfe* of *Egypt*. And being well disposed Christians, they would oftentimes goe to *Hierusalem*, to visit the holy memorable places: and hauing no place of retirement in the Citty, they obtained fauour and permission of the *Califfe*, to build there a Church and a Pallace, for their owne vse and habitation, as also for others of their Nation; in that quarter of the Citty, where the Christians might dwell neere to the holy Sepulcher. There they erected two Monasteries; one, in honour of the blessed Virgine *Mary*, called *S. Maria de la Latina*, (differing from the *Greeke* Churches which were in *Hierusalem*, and placed there an Abbot of *Mont-Cassina*) & was built to lodge Christian Pilgrims therein. The other, was dedicated to *S. Mary Magdalen*, as a place of entertainment of all such women, as should aduenture thither in Pilgrimage, they beeing also religiously gouerned. Not long after, they builded an Hospitall; wherein to lodge as well all sickly Trauailers, as any other Pilgrimes of honest disposition, with a Church also thereto belonging, beeing both dedicatod to *S. Iohn Baptist*. These Monasteries, Churches, and Hospitals, were long time maintained by the care and cost of the *Amalphanes*, who founded them: and vntill

such time as the Citty was conquered by the Christians from the Infidels, and that *Godfrey of Bullen* was there elected King, which was in the yeare 1099.

10 THE Citty being thus won, *F. Gerard* was the first Rector or gouernor of the Hospitall of *Saint Iohn*, who, when the Citty was besieged by the Christians, was very ill dealt with by the Infidels, and was long time (by them) kept captiue Prisoner, because they distrusted, that he had some secret intelligence with the Christians; which beleagured the Citty. But after that the Christians were Maisters thereof, hee was deliuered out of Prison, and gouerned both wisely and charitably the hospitall of *Saint Iohn*; perswading and inducing Christian Kings and Princes, to entich & endow it with their liberality, which (indeede) they did in bountifull manner; so that in *France, Italy, Spaine*, and other Prouinces of Christendome, the Hospitall of *Saint Iohn* found good Benefactours; and attained (in short time) to great reuennewes and possessions. In the yeare 1113. Pope *Paschall* the second, receiued *F. Gerard*, and the Knights of *Saint Iohn* vnder protection of the Apostolique Seat, and graunted them great priuiledges; ordaining, that after the decease of *F. Gerard*, they should proccede canonically, to the election of another Rector or gouernor: who was afterward cald Great Maister, of the Order or Military Hospitall of *Saint Iohn* of *Hierusalem*, a name which continueth yet to this present, after five hundred yeares from the beginning thereof.

20 IN the yeare 1118. *F. Gerard* departed out of this life, in the Papacy of *Gelasius* the second, and when as the order of the Knights Templers began. After his decease, there succeeded him by election, *F. Raymond de Puy*, who was a professed Knight of the Order: Albeit, some holde opinion, that *F. Roger* succeeded deceased *Gerard*; and gouerned the Hospitall of *S. Iohn*; from the yeare 1118. vntill the death of *Baldwin*, second of that name, King of *Ierusalem*, who dyed in the yeare, 1131. *F. Raymond* (in a generall Chapter, assembled in *Hierusalem*, with aduise of the other Knights)

1099
The first Rector and Gouernor of *S. Iohns* hospitall.

Bounty and liberality from Christian Princes.

1113

The Rector called by the name of great Maister.

1118

The beginning of the Knights Templers.

Seruant to
the poore of
Christ Iesus.

The Armes of
Saint Iohns
Knights.

Three de-
grees of this
Order.

Knights Hos-
pitallers of
the hospital of
S. Iohn of Ier-
usalem: be-
came after-
ward to be
Knights of the
Rhodes. and
lastly, Knights
of Malta.

The honor of
chast Ladies
defended.

Knights) made Statutes for the Order, formed and instituted a rule of life, which all the following Knightes were to obserue. He was called Great Maister of the Order, and yet he qualified that Title, by calling himselfe Seruant vnto the poore of Christ Iesus, and Guardian of the Hospital of Ierusalem. This Great Maister, perceiuing that the Reuennues of the Hospitall did daily increase, and that hee could not better employ such wealth, then against the Infidels, by making war vpon them: he made offer to the King of *Ierusalem*, of himselfe, his strength, and all his Knightly Brethren, who bare in their Streamers and Ensignes, a Crosse Argent, in a field Gules. And thence forward, these religious Brethren were distinguished into three degrees: for one company were Knights, another Captaines, and the thrid Seruants, not hauing (from the beginning) any other difference among them, but that some were Ecclesiasticall persons, and the other Layickes. And from that time forward, there was not any enterprize in *Palestine* against the *Infidelles*, but the great Master was present therat in person, with his religious Knightes: who were first called Knightes Hospitallers, or of the Hospital of *S. Iohn of Ierusalem*, afterward Knightes of the *Rhodes*; and lastly, Knights of *Malta*. They grew into so great credit and reputation, that they were employed in the manning and guiding all affaires of chiefest importance. Among others, *Gerard Gebert*, Knight of this Order, was sent by *Fouiks* King of *Anion* into *England*, to treat on the marriage of *Constance* (Princesse of *Antioch*, Neece to the Queen *Meliscenda*, and Daughter to Prince *Boemond*) with *Raymond*, Sonne to the Earle of *Poicters*, who was then in the Court of *Henrie* King of *England*. In like manner (this marriage being thus concluded, by the ingenuity of this Knight) at the same time, *Raymond Berengarius*, Earle of *Barcelona*, and Prince of *Cathalonia* (who had conquered the Isles of *Maiorica* and *Minorica* from the *Moores*, and in single combat) defended the chastity and honour of *Mahauld*, Wife to the Emperor *Henry* the fist, against two *Allemaigne* Knightes, that had falsely accused her of adultery) to shut vp the conclusion of his

daies, resolved to take the habite of this famous Brother-hood, and in that sacred profession, he perseuered all his life time after, which was in the year 1131. Not much differing from this time, it is reported, that three Knightes of this Order, being natiue French-men of *Picardie*, and detained then by the Soldan of *Egypt* in Captiuity, were admirablie deliuered and transported out of *Egypt*, with *Ismeria*, Daughter to the said Soldane, to the place where (at this instant) is the Church of *Nostre Dame de Liesse*, and this happened in the year, 1139. In the year 1153. *Raymond* the Great Maister, caused the siede to bee yet still continued before the Cittie of *Ascalon*, which the Infidelles had defended against the Christians more then fifty yeares: and at length, it was yeilded to the saide Maister, the 12. day of August 1154. which was in the tenth year of King *Baldwine* the third. In acknowledgement of a prize so signale, & beneficiall to all Christendome; Pope *Anastatius* the fourth, gaue and granted very great priuiledges, to the Order of these Knightes of *S. Iohn of Ierusalem*, the first day of Nouenber, in the same year, exempting them from the iurisdiction and controle of the East Ecclesiasticall Prelates, which was the cause of great troubles, betweene the Bishops of the Country there, and the Knightes of this Order: albeit the Pope and his Cardinals maintained them still stoutly. Some haue held, that this Great M. *Raymond* was a *Florentine*, but the most credible opinion is, that he was a French-man, a Natiue of *Daulphine*, issued of a verie Noble House, called *Du Puy*: whereof, namely, *Jacques Bosius* the *Italian*, (who hath amply written the Historie of this Order) is an ingenious witnesse. He dyed in the year 1160. with this reputation; that he had beene a Man of good and vertuous life, fearing God, valiant, wise, and aduised in the affaires of the World, and one well approued in warlike exercises.

3 After that *Raymond* was deceased, there succeeded in the Maistership and government of the Order, *F. Auger de Balben*: of whom there is found nothing deseruing Memory: but that (in his time) died King *Baldwine* the third, who

1131.

1139

The Cittie of
Ascalon yeel-
ded to the
great Maister.

Great priuile-
ges granted
to this Order.

Jacques Bosius
an *Italian* Au-
thor.

1160

Death of King Baldwin the third.

who was not onely much bemoaned of the Christians, but likewise of the Infidels, who said: *That the Christians had iust cause to lament for the death of Baldwin, because they had lost a Prince, that had not his equall in the World.* This Great-Maister *Auger*, after hee had gouerned his charge in peace and repose about three yeares, dyed in the yeare 1163.

1163

4. **A**rnold de Comps, was next elected Maister in his place, who was a Man of great Spirit, valour, and counsell. And in short time after his election, he entred into *Egypt*, with *Amaury*, the new King of *Hierusalem*, who made warre vpon the *Califfe* of *Egypt*; because he refused to continue and pay the annuall Tribute, wherein hee had bound himselfe to King *Baldwine* the third, for a perpetuall payment to the Kings of *Ierusalem*. *Arnold*, after he had (with great wisdome and courage) gouerned the Hospitall of *S. Iohn* about foure yeares, he dyed in the year 1167. and then succeeded him

Amaurie K of *Hierusalem* warred on the *Califfe*.

1167

5. **G**ilbert d'Assaly, or de Saily, who was of stout minde, and so liberally, that he flowed in bounty, especially to his Souldiers, so that he fell into great expences, and wasted the whole Treasure of the house. Insomuch, that he was enforced to borrow Money at interest, with condition; that if hee tooke from the Infidels the City of *Belbeis* (aunciently called *Pelusium*) hee should stand acquitted to his Brotherhood (as indeede hee did) and victoriously performed his promise, the third day of *November*, 1168. In which year he held a Chapter generall in *Hierusalem*, where perceiuing that hee was greatly indebted, and had charged the Hospitall, with more than an hundred thousand Crownes of meere debts; being also much grieued, that his attempts found not equall issue to his desires: he determined to renounce his great Maister-ship, which he did in the yeare 1169.

Money borrowed at interest for maintenance of the Order.

The Maister-ship resigned.

1169

6. **B**y his resignation, or renunciation rather, another Knight was chosen Great Maister, named *F. Gastus*, or *Castus*; of whom there is nothing found, that makes to any purpose of

this our breefe History. And the breuity of his time of gouernment was the cause, by reason he was not a full yeare in the charge, but dyed in the very same yeare of his election, and had

7. **F.** *Ioubert*, a very religious Man, for his Successour, who in the yeare 1176. ioyned himselfe with *Phillip* Earle of *Flanders*, that was then come into *Syria*, to assist King *Baldwine* the fourth against *Saladine*; who had a very powerfull Armie, miraculously vanquished by the Christians, that were but few in number, in the Moneth of *November*, 1177. at which time the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarossa*, and Pope *Alexander* the third were reconciled together. At length, *Saladine* withdrew himselfe from the Country of *Damas*, in the yeare 1179. And then dyed *Ioubert* Maister of the Hospitallers, a Man very charitable to the poore, and sickly. It is said, that meere conceite of greefe, to behold (so manifestlie) the ruine of Christian affaires in *Syria*, with the shamefull and damageable truce, made betweene the King of *Ierusalem*, and the Earle of *Tripoli* (by his example) with *Saladine*; was the onelic cause of abridging his daies, hauing gouerned the Order of *S. Iohn*, about ten yeares.

1169

K *Baldwine* the fourth warred against *Saladine*

Saladine forsaketh the Country of *Damas*.

1179.

Dissention betweene the Prince and Patriarch of *Antioche*.

Ambassadors sent for the aid of Christian Princes.

8. **I**n his stead was elected *Roger de Molins*, a Man of high discretion and courage. In his time happened a great dissention betweene the Prince of *Antioch*, and the Patriarch of the said place: and this *Roger* was chosen to be Mediatour of peace and agreement betweene them, which followed in the yeare 1181. This *Roger* (with *Heraclius* Patriarch of *Hierusalem*, and *Arnold de Trogo*, Maister of the Knights Templers) was sent by the King of *Hierusalem* (in qualitie of an Ambassadour) into the West, to require ayde of the Christian Princes: These Ambassadors were kindly entertained by the Emperour, King *Phillip Augustus*, Gods Guist, Sir-named the Conqueror, the Kinges of *Seicilie*, *England*; and *Hungary*: they returned backe againe into *Syria*, all but the Maister of the Templers, who died by the way. In the year 1187. the Earle of *Tripoli* being lea-

Saladines be-
sieging of
Ptolomais.

gued and confederated with *Saladine*; graunted him passage, and releued his Army with victuals. And *Saladine* hauing besiedged the City of *Pto'omais*, the Knights of Saint *Iohn* and the Templers (ioyning together) disordered the whole Army, and *Roger* the Great Maister, fighting valiantlie, there dyed, with the fall of his Horse vpon him, and smothered in his Armour, as also beeing much troden on with the Enemies Horses. His body being afterward found among the dead, was buried with great woe and sorrow. And notwithstanding this losse of the Great Maister; yet the Knights of Saint *Iohn* and the Templers, won the day of battaile against the *Turkes* and *Sarrazins*; of whom dyed then in the fiede about fiftene thousand, the first day of May, in the yeare 1187. After whom

1187

Guy de Lusignan
King of Ieru-
salem taken
Prisoner, and
his cheefest
Lords.

F. *Garnier* of *Naples* in *Syria* (which was the auncient City of *Sichem* in *Canaan*) was elected Great Maister. In his time was a bloody battell fought betweene the Christians and Infidelles, wherein the King of Ierusalem (named *Guy de Lusignan*) was taken Prisoner, with the very cheefe Lordes of his Kingdome. It is saide also, that the Christians had then the true Crosse in the battell, but it was taken from them by the Infidelles: and almost all the Knights of *Hierusalem*, and the Templers, were one part slain in the battaile, and the rest beheaded in cold blood. *F. Garnier*, after hee had fought verie manfully, yet being mortally wounded in many places of his body; by the goodnesse and swiftnesse of his Horse, escaped into the city of *Ascalon*: where ten dayes after, he departed into a better life, the foureteenth of Iuly, hauing beene great Maister but two months and sixe daies.

A great and
wofull losse to
the Christians

1187

Ierusalem
yeilded to the
power of *Saladine*.

T He twenty day of the said month of Iuly, 1187. the Knights that were in *Hierusalem*, chose *F. Ermingard d' Aps*, to be their Maister. The second day of October, in the same year, the City of *Hierusalem* was submitted to the power of *Saladine*: 88. yeares two months and seauenteene daies, after that it was deliuered (by *Godfrey of Bullen*) from the hands of the Infidels:

Fredericke the first, sir-named *Barbarossa*, then holding the Empire of the West, and *Isaac* the *Angell*, that of the East, at *Constantinople*, *Vrbane* the third being Pope of *Rome*, and *Phillip* the second, called *Augustus*, Gods Gift and Conqueror, raigning in *France*. Then were expelled out of *Hierusalem*, the Knightes Hospitallers, Templers, and all the *Latine Christians*, of which Christians, the Hospitallers redeemed from captinitie of the barbarous, to the number of two thousand with their Money. All the Churches of the City were then polluted and prophaned, except the Temple of the Resurrection: which was bought with a great summe of Money, by the Christians of the East. After the losse of *Ierusalem*, the Knightes Hospitallers were continuallie in Armes, faithfullie assisting the Christian Princes, that had put on Crosses, for the recouery of the holy Land, and did actions (of high desert) at the fiedge of *Ptolomais*: which, after a long fiedge of three yeares, was regained from the Infidels by the Christians, the twelst of Iuly, 1191. And in that City, the Knightes of Saint *Iohn* kept then their ordinary aboad and residence. And in the very same yeare, the Christians wonne a notable victorie against the *Barbarians*, and *Saladine* their chiefe: wherein they were worthily assisted by the Knightes Hospitallers, and Templers. The yeare following, beeing 1192. in Winter, dyed *Ermingard d' Aps* the Great Maister, in the city of *Ptolomais*, and then was chosen in his place

The Knightes
expulled out
of Ierusalem.

Temple of the
Resurrection.

Ptolomais re-
gained from
the Infidels.

1191

1192

G *Effrey de Duiffon*. In his time there was truce taken for five yeares, betweene the Christians that were in the holy Land, and *Saladine*; by which meanes, many Lordes and Gentlemen of diuers Nations, who had worne the Crosse, and gotten great store of goods and possessions: returned home to their Countries, and gaue their goods to the Brotherhood of S. *Iohn*, which greatly did augment their reuennues. And after the death of *Henry Earle* of *Champaigne*; the Hospitallers and Templers remained Gouvernors, and Administratours of the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*: howbeit, that (by the fewer number of Christians there abiding)

Truce be-
twene *Saladine*
and the
Christians.

Amaury de Lusignan, King of Cyprus.

abiding) election was made of *Amaury de Lusignan*, who had succeeded the king of *Ierusalem* in the Kingdome of *Cyprus*, with consent of the Patriarch, the Prelats and Barons of the Realme, in the yeare 1194. when soone after dyed *Dasson* the great Maister, and then succeeded him, by election

1194

A Royall Portugall Great Maister.

12 F. *Alphonso* of *Portugall*, a Knight of the Order of *Saint Iohn*, and of the Royall House of *Portugall*, though it doth not appeare certainly, to what King he was Sonne. Hee made very worthy and commendable Statutes, whereof (to this day) there are some inuiolable kept. But because hee was of too stiffe nature, ouer-rough, surlie, and seuerer: hee incurred the hatred of the greater part of the Knights Hospitallers. Which was the cause, that he renounced his Maistership, and shipt himselfe for returne home to *Partugall*, in the same yeare of his election: But hee dyed the first day of March, in the yeare 1207.

1194

Death of *Saladine*.

13 THE same yeare that *Alphonso* renounced the Great Maistership, to wit; in the yeare 1194. *Geoffrey le Rat*, who was Graund-Pryour of *Fraunce*, was chosen Maister: And *Saladine* then dying, his Sonne *Noradine*, (Lord of *Alepo*) succeeded him. About this time, *Simon*, Earle of *Montfort*, was sent by King *Phillip Augustus*, with an Army into *Syria*; where finding much disorder, he tooke truce for ten yeares with the Infidels, in the yeare 1198.

Difference betweene the Hospitallers and Templers

In the time of this tranquile estate, there chanced a great difference, betweene the Knights Hospitallers and Templers, grounded on this occasion. The Hospitallers complained, that the Templers had enterprised too farre vpon their Iurisdiction, with much contempt, and violation thereof. Which quarrell (after many rough encounters and skirmishes) was appeased and accorded, by the interposition of King *Amaury*, the Patriarches of *Antioch* and *Ierusalem*, and other Princes and Christian Prelates, who comprimitted this

difference, in the Name of *Innocentius* the third, which fell out very successiue-ly. For, after that GOD (the onelie Staffe and stay of all affaires in the Holy Land) had permitted this friendlie vnity, betweene these two Millitarie Orders of Knight-hood, King *Amaurie* of *Lusignan* so preuailed, that the Great Maister and Knightes of *Saint Iohn*; might liue with him in the Isle of *Cyprus*, where hee graunted the Gouvernement of the Kingdome to them. In the yeare 1205. King *Amaurie* dyed, so did *Queene Isabell*, who appointed her Daughter *Mary* (which shee had by *Conrade* of *Monferrat*) to be her Heire, and he left her to be tutored and guided by the Knights Hospitallers and Templers.

Cyprus gouerned by the Knights of *S. Iohn*.

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20

In the yeare 1260. *Geoffrey le Rat*, the Great Maister died, and then succeeded him

14 *Guerin de Montagu*, of the Language of *Auuergne*, who (with the Knights of this Order) ayded *Lyuon* King of *Armenia*, against the *Turkes* and *Barbarians*, that had intruded into his Kingdome. In recompence whereof, hee gaue them the City of *Sales*, with the Castles of *Camard*, and *New Castle*, and their dependances. Hee likewise recommended his Heire and Kingdome, to the Knights of the Hospitall of *Saint Iohn*; which giift was confirmed by the Pope, the first of *August*, 1209. Then were *Iohn de Brienna*, and *Mary* his Wife (Heire to the Kingdome) Crowned King and Queene of *Ierusalem*.

1260

Lyuon King of *Armenia*.

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King and Q. of *Ierusalem*.

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At length, in the yeare 1230. *Guerin* the Great Maister dyed in the City of *Ptolomais*, and during his time, all the Christians affaires in the Holic Land, depended (very much) vpon the knights Hospitallers and Templers: who albeit they had many contentions betweene them, yet did they still agree together, (in all matters) against the Infidels. After him succeeded

1240

This is mistaken, for this was K. Richard the first himselfe.

15 **O**NE *F. Gerin*, of whom no other name is found remembered. *Richard* Duke of *Cornewall*, and Brother to *Henry* (then King of England) arrived soone after in *Palestine*, with any Army of forty thousand Men, and did many worthy actions there. The Great Maister also, and his Knights with him (bearing him company) fought valiantlie against the *Corasmine* Infidelles. There the saide Maister was taken, and sent as a Prisoner to the *Soldane* of *Egypt*, where he dyed; and in his place, the Knights of *Saint John* elected (in the Cittie of *Ptolomais*) for their great Maister.

1245

Turcomans spoiled the Countrey of *Antioch*.

16 **B**ertrand de Comps, in the time of Pope *Innocent* the fourth, and when the Generall Counsell was called at *Lyons*, 1245. This Great Maister was present in a furious battaile, fought against the *Turcomans*, that wasted all the Countrey about *Antioch*, in the Month of August, 1248. where, hauing receiued sundry deadly Woundes, he ended his daies: And in the citty of *Ptolomais*, on the 24. of August, was elected as Great Maister.

1248

Damieta besieged by the Christians, but with ill successe.

17. **P**eter de Villebride. In his time, *Lewes* King of *France*, called *Saint Lewes*, tooke on him the Crosse against the Infidelles, with many Princes and Prelats of *France*, who went and besieged *Damieta*, where they were ayded by the Knights hospitallers and Templers, and the citty was soone after surrendered to King *Lewes*, in the yeare 1250. Then did the *Soldane* of *Egypt* giue battaile to the Christians, wherein King *Lewes* with his Brethren, *Charls* and *Alphonsus* the King of *Cyprus*, as also the Great Maister, and many Knights of the Hospitallers and Templers, were all taken Prisoners. Which surprizall, caused an attonement betweene King *Lewes* and the *Soldane*, and the Hospitall Knights lent Money to King *Lewes*, to pay his ransome. In the yeare 1251. *Villebride* the Great Maister died in the Cittie of *Ptolomais*, and succeeded by election

1251

18. **G**villaum de Chasteau-neuf, or De *Castelno*, of the speech of *Auvergne*. He was a great obseruer of Iu-

stice, and Pope *Alexander* the fourth, gaue to the Knights Hospitallers, the Castle and Landes of *Bethania*, in the yeare 1256. In his time, the Christians lost their vtmost hope, of any succour from the Princes of *Europe*: and in the yeare 1280. the Great Maister of *Castelno* died, when as the Hospitall Knights of *Saint John* elected in his stead

The Princes of Europe send no more succor.

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19. **H**vgues Reuelle, or *Renel*, in the time of Pope *Vrban* the fourth, who gaue to the Knights of *Saint John*, *Mont-Tabor*, 1261. and in Anno 1262. they bought the Castle of *Affur*, but in the following two yeares, they tooke from the *Sarazins* a castle named *Lilion*, whereupon, the *Soldane* of *Egypt* concluded, to worke the ruine of the Knights Hospitallers, & (as an instance) he forcibly tooke from the said Knights (in the yeare 1265.) the Castle of *Affur*, at the surprizall whereof, there were slaine to the number of 90. Knights of *S. John*, which greatly abated their power and repute. And in the yeare 1267. the Knights Hospitallers and Templers were assailed, and much confused in battaile by the *Sarazins*, neer to the Cittie of *Ptolomais*, for they wasted & spoiled all the Countrey there-about. In the yeare also 1270. the Knights of *S. Johns* lost the Castle of *Craquuo*, which was assaulted by the *Soldane*, and all the Knights within it, were put to the sword. It is likewise said, that this great Maister *Renel*, assisted King *Lewes* in the voyage to *Tunis*, where the saide King dyed of the Plague, and that in the ende, about the yeare 1278. the Great Maister *Renel* ended his daies, hauing held sine Chapters, or assemblies of the Brotherhood of *S. John*, wherein many notable Statutes were made, for government and reformation of the Order.

1260

1265

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Knights of *S. John* assailed by the *Soldane*

1278

Hospitallers and Templers reconciled.

the

A famous victory against the Sarrazins

the Knightes of S. Iohn woon a famous victory against the *Sarrazins*, who proudly came to besiege the Castle of *Margate*; their verye principall Fortresse: which was very manfully defended by the Hospitallers; and in the end, quitted (at composition) by the Knightes, who returned (with their Ensignes displaid) to the City of *Ptolomais*. And in the yeare, 1288. *Lorgius* the Great Maister died, with very grieffe, because hee saw the Christian affaires in the Holy-Land, daily to fal from ill to worse, without any meanes or hope of remedy.

1288

21 IN the same yeare, *John de Villiers*, a Frenchman born, was created Great Maister of the Order. In his tie, the City of *Tripoly* was taken from the Christians, by the Infidelles, as (in like manner) were the Citties of *Sidon* and *Baruth*, in the yeare, 1289. all which, were ransacked, ruined, and burned, and the City of *Tyre* brought vnder the Soldans subiection, whereon the christians of *Ptolomais* were glad to seeke their owne peace. During which time, the Great Maister went to *Brundusium*, with the Great Maister of the Templers, to sollicit the christia Princes of the *Croisade*, and the Soldan came to assaile the City of *Ptolomais*, which was vertuously defended by the Knightes of the Hospitall and Temple, with manie braue sallies forth vpon the besiedgers. Especially the Great Maister *Villiers*, who was sore wounded, with long sustayning the whole charges of the *Barbarian* Infidels; the Knightes Barricadoing themselves in a quarter of the City, which yet was afterward taken on Friday, the 18. of May, the same yeare, 1292. With this great losse, the christians were driuen out of the Holy land, 191. yeares ten months; & 3. daies, after it had bin conquered by *Codfrey of Bullen*. The Great Maister, with the rest of his Knightes, fled (for safety) to the Isle of *Cyprus*, where they were very kindly entertained by the king of the Island, who assigned vnto them and the Templers, the City of *Limosson*, which was a Port Towne or Hauen on the Sea. There did they inhabit; and there did the Great Maister assemble two generall Chapters, one in Decembar, 1292. and the other in October, 1293. making therein diuers good Statutes for the Order: and in the yeare, 1294. he died at *Limos-*

Tripoly surprized from the Christians.

The City of Ptolomais taken, and the Christians driuen out of the Holy-land.

Limosson assigned to the Hospitallers, and Templers

son, and then succeeded him

22. **F.** *Odo des Pins*, borne in *Prouence*, in the time of Pope *Eonifue* the eight. He incurred the hatred and disgrace of the knightes of his Order, by reason of his negligence and conetousnesse. And there was a purposed determination to depriue him of his Great Maisterhip; but it was impeached by the Pope, to auoid scandall, and at length hee was cited to appeare at *Rome* in person, to answer the complaintes of the Hospitallers; and thitherward he traualled. But before hee could see *Italy*, he died by the way, in the yeare, 1295. hauing (in the precedent yeares) held two generall Chapters at *Limosson*. He carried also a long with him, a Manuscript Chronicle, wherein he had appealed certaine Letters of the Popes, containing Excommunication, whereby he pursued and releued his owne Appeale.

23 THE Knightes hearing the death of their Great Maisters *des Pins*, elected (at *Limosson*) the 24. day of March, 1296. *F. Guillaume de Villaret* to succede him; who was of the same Countrey of *Prouence*, and Prior of *S. Gilles*, where he was at the time of his election. But hauing intelligence therof, he trauelled immediatly to the Kingdome of *Cyprus*, and gouerned in his charge very prudently. In his time, *Vsan Cassanus*, King of the *Tartars*, became a Christian, and recouered the City of *Ierusalem*, where hee placed the Knightes Hospitallers and Templers in Garrison, in the yeare, 1300. He tooke the City of *Damas* likewise; but it was quickly regained by the Infidels; and the Hospitallers and Templers returned then to *Cyprus* againe; where the Great Maister departed out of this life; in the yeare, 1308. hauing held siue generall Chapters at *Limosson*, and seen the vtter ruine of the Knightes Templers:

24 THE great Maister being dead, *Folquet de Villaret*, of the same Nation of *Prouence*, was elected in his room. He was a man of liuely spirit and corage; and seeing that hee had attained to this Soueraigne dignity, he resolved to put in execution a matter, which (in his predecessors daies) had often beene intended; but could not any way be effected (viz:) to depart

1294.

The Great Maister hated for his Couetousnesse.

A Manuscript Chronicle.

1296.

Vsan Cassanus K. of the Tartars became a Christian.

Vtter ruine of the Knightes Templers.

1308.

The knights depart from Cyprus.

The beginning of the Knights of the Rhodes, who held their first name of Saint Iohns knights still.

The Isle of Lango, & other Isles conquered

The Great Maister deposed from his Office.

Orchanes Emp. of the Turkes besieged Rhodes, but to his foile.

depart from the Isle of *Cyprus*, and to get a dwelling some where else, which he very happily performed. For, in *An. 1308*. the very year of his election, hee made a voyage to *Constantinople*, and afterward, into *France*, wher the Pope gaue him the Isle of *Rhodes* (if hee could get it) which with his Knights he conquered, in the year 1309. and seauen other Islands neere adioyning. So that thither was the residence of *S. Iohns* Knights transferred, and then they were afterward called Knights of the *Rhodes*, yet keeping the name of *S. Iohn* of *Ierusalem* still. Not long after, *Ottoman* first Emperour of the *Turkes*, came and besieged *Rhodes* with a potent Army: but it was releued by *Amadis* the 4. Earle of *Sauoy*, and *Ottoman* was compelled to raise his siege. After which time, the Earls of *Sauoy* wore on their Armors a Crosse Argent, in a field Geules, in memory of the helpe they had giuen to the Knightes of the *Rhodes*.

The order of the Templers (having bin vtterly suppressed, in a generall Counsell holden at *Vienna* in *Dalphine*) the greater part of their goodes was giuen to the Order of the *Rhodes*, and confirmed by Pope *Clement* the 5. one thousand three hundred & twelue. In the year, 1314. the Knights of the *Rhodes*, conquered the Isle of *Lango*, with other Isles in the *Archipelagus*. And in the year, one thousand three hundred and seauenteene, *Folquet* the Great Maister (pleasing his owne Humour ouer-much in his Victories and Conquests) beganne to grow haughtie, proud, and insolent, which brought him into contempt of his Companions. Whereupon, the Knights reuolted from him, and if he had not saued himselfe in a Castle, they had seized his person. But in regard they could not get him, they deposed him from the dignity of Great Maister, and in his place, elected

1317

25. *Maurice de Pagnac*, whereof Pope *Iohn* the twenty two, beeing aduertised, he was greatly offended thereat, and sent two Prelates to the *Rhodes*, to informe themselves of the fact, with command to cite the great Masters *de Villaret* and *de Pagnac*, to appeare at *Auignon* in person, *Gerard des Pins*, being appointed Lieutenant Generall in the meane while. At this instant time, *Orchanes*, Emperour of the *Turkes*, came boldly and besieged

the Isle of *Rhodes*. But the Knights had an admirable victory against him; for there were then tenne thousand *Turkes* hewne in pieces. In this interim, *Maurice Pagnac* died at *Montpellier*, Anno, one thousand three hundred twentie two, and *Folquet de Villaret*, was re-established in the dignity of Great Maister. But he perceiuing, that it was against the liking of his fellow Knightes, renounced his Great Maister-ship, in the year one thousand three hundred twentie three, and liued as a priuate Knight, vntill the first day of September, 1327. when hee died, and was buried at *Montpellier*.

26. The same yeare that he gaue ouer his dignity, the Knightes of the *Rhodes*, chose *Elion de Villeneuve*, borne also in *Frouence*, and Priour of *S. Gils*. In the year 1343 a league was made between the Seignury of *Venice*, the K. of *Cyprus*, and Knights of the *Rhodes*. And the great M. having won the name of an happy Gouernour, died the twenty seauen of May, at *Rhodes*. In his life time, hee had enclosed the Great Maisters Pallace with wals and Towers, and diuided the Languages, *Bayliwicks*, and other dignities of the order.

27. After the decease of *Villeneuve*, *Deo-dono*, or *Gods gift*, (a Natiue of *Frouence*) was elected Great Maister. About foure yeares before hee was promoted to this dignity, he had fought with an horrible and monstrous Dragon, that greatly afflicted the Isle of *Rhodes*. And hauing killed the Monster, hee was therefore so highly honored and esteemd, that his memory yet remaineth renowned to posterity. In the yeare, 1347. he aided the king of *Armenia* against the *Soldan* of *Egypt*. Pope *Clement* the sixt, held the Knights of *Rhodes* in such esteem, that almost all the Forts in *Italy* (belonging to the See) were gouerned seuerally by one of them. In the yeare, 1351. *Constance* K. of *Armenia*, became a Brother-Knight of *Rhodes*. And in the yeare, 1353. the son to *Iohn Cantacuzen*, Emp. of *Constantinople*, came and required aid of the Great Maister of *Rhodes*: who after he had gouerned this Order of *S. Iohn* 7. yeares, 6. months, and ten daies, died the 7. of Sept. in the saide yeare, 1353. and was buried in the Church of *S. Iohn* of *Rhodes*. He builded Milles

1327.

A League of peace and amity concluded.

1346.

A Dragon afflicted the Isle of Rhodes.

Constance King of Armenia, a Kni. of Rhodes.

Church of S. Iohn, in the Isle of Rhodes.

Milles in the City of *Rhodes*; and engirt the Subburbs with wals, making them very strong on the Sea-side.

1353.

28. **N**Ext succeeded him by election, (as Great Maister) *Perer de Cornilian*, Prior of *S. Gilles*, born also in *Provence*. He was Maister but one year, eight months, and seventeene dayes; for, falling into a grievous sicknesse, hee died in the city of *Rhodes*, the 24. of august, 1355. He was a man of very exemplary life, and so seuerer, that he was sur-named the *Correcter of Customes*. Hee held a generall Chapter at *Rhodes*, 1354. wherein manie good Statutes were made.

Corrector of Customes.

1355

29. **A**fter the Great Maister was deceased, according vnto accustomed forme, *Roger des Pins*, borne likewise in *Provence*, did next succeed him. In his time, the Pope perswaded the Knights of *Rhodes*, to buy the Principality of *Achaia*, of *Jacques de Sauoy*, Prince of *Piedmont*, and the Knights of *Rhodes* made a generall assembly in the City of *Auignon*, to effect the treaty of buying of the sayde Principality of *Achaia*, and to reforme some abuses, crept into the Order. For their Statutes were nowe traduced into the Latine tongue; & to all Princes were sent authentickall Coppies or Volumes of them, by appointment of the great Maister. And in the yeare, 1359. the Great Commaunder, and the Marshall of the Order, were sent into *France* (in qualitie of Ambassadors) to be visiters and reformers. There was an assembly of the Knights, called at the City of *Carpentras*, but it could not holde in regarde of the great Maisters death, who died the 28. of May, 1365. and was much lamented, but by the poore especially, to whom he was a great and charitable Almoner.

A generall assembly in the City of *Auignon*.

Great Commaunder, and Marshall of the Order.

1365.

30. **R**aymond *Berengarius*, of *Provence* also, was next chosen great Maister, who had bin before the Commaunder of Castle *Sarrazin*. In his time, the King of *Cyprus*, and the Knights of *Rhodes*, made a league together, & tooke (perforce) the City of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, which they ransackt, spoylde, and burnt. The *Armensans* being expelled by the *Sarrazins* out of their dwellings, were charitably entertained by *S. Johns* knights, in the Isle of *Lango*: and at the same time

The City of *Alexandria* spoild and burnt.

the City of *Tripoli* in *Syria*, was taken and sacked by the King of *Cyprus*, and the Knightes of the *Rhodes*.

10 In the year, 1371. the Great Maister was (by the Pope) elected *Nuntio* from the Apostolicke seat, to appease the rumours & diuisions which were then in the Kingdome of *Cyprus*: whether he went in person, and both by his Authority and wisdom, he soone ceased all the troubles and molestations. The Great Maister hauing gouerned his Order about 18. yeares and an halfe, departed this life, in the yeare, 1373.

The great M. elected *Nuntio*.

31. **I**N the same yeare, *Robert de Juliac*; or of *Gulich*, great Prior of *France*, was chosen Great-Maister, who (at the time of his election) had the charge of his Priory: but vnderstanding the newes; he went forthwith to *Auignon*, where he was receiued with great honour, an assembly general of this Knightly order, being then there held, and the Great Maister had the gouernement of *Smyrna* imposed vpon him, vnder paine of excommunication. At his comming to *Rhodes*, he quallified all the contentions which had hapned in the time of his absence. At this time went 30 the Pope, to hold his seat at *Rome* againe, which he and his predecessors had kept at *Auignon*, for the space of seauenty one yeares, 1376. In which yeare, the 29. of Iune, died the Great Maister, and then

1373. *Robertus Iuliacensis*.

The Great Maister made Gouvernor of *Smyrna*.

32. **I**N his place came *John Fernandes d'Heredia*, a Natiue of *Arragon*, in the city of *Valentia*, who was Priour of *Cathalognia*, and *Castillian d'Emposta*. Twice he had bin married, and (chauncing to be a Widdower) hee was made a Knight of *Rhodes*, in the time of *Villeneufue*, who was then Great Maister. Beeing then but a simple Knight, hee went to visit the holy Sepulchre, and other memorable places in the Holy land. He was also Ambassadour from Pope *Clement* the sixt, to the Kings *Phillip 6.* of *France*, and *Edward* the third of *England*, and did very good seruice to king *Phillip*, in the year 1346. For he being dismounted from his Horse, on a day of battel against the *English*, he gaue him his owne horse, whereby the King escaped to a place of safetic: In like manner, hee fortified the Bastions and new wals of *Auignon*, wherof he was made Gouvernour by the Pope. Beeing great

1376.

The Great Maister rescued the King of *France* against the King of *England*.

The City of Patras besieged and taken

Patras redelivered to the Turkes.

Baiazeth prepared a siege against Rhodes

1396.

Sigismund King of Hungaria.

Tamburlaine hindereth Baiazeths siege at Constantinople.

great Maister, he took his way to *Rhodes*, in the yeare, 1377. and being required by the Generall of the *Venetians* army, to v-nite their forces together : they went to *Morea*, in the year, 1378. where they besieged the City of *Patras*, and took both it and the Castle. The Great Maister (fighting man to man with the Governour of *Patras*) slew him manfully. Afterward, in an Ambuscado of Turkes, he was taken prisoner, by reason hee was too well knowne to them. Whereuppon, to worke his liberty, *Patras* and other places (which had bin won from them) were redelivered to the Turkes. And yet notwithstanding, they would needes carrie him with them into *Albania*, where they kept him as a slaue three yeares. In the yeare, 1381. the great Maisters freedome was bought with mony; and hee returning to *Rhodes*, the Ambassadors of *Smirna* came to desire succor of him. In the yeare, 1391 *Baiazeth* Emperour of the Turkes, made some preparation to besiege *Rhodes*: Whereuppon, *Phillebert de Naillac*, Prior of *Aquitaine*, was sent by his fellow-Knights to *Auignon*, with Letters to the great Maister, to require aide against *Baiazeth*. *Naillac* returning to *Rhodes*, in the yeare, 1395. *Heredia* the great Maister died, & was buried at *Caspa*.

33. **N**Ewes being brought to *Rhodes*, that *Heredia* the Great Maister was dead, *Phillebert de Naillac*, Graunde Priour of *Aquitaine*, and born in *France*, succeeded in his roome. At the Spring time, he was invited by *Sigismond*, K. of *Hungaria*, to come and assist him with his Knights, against *Baiazeth*, which hee did in person, in the yeare, 1397. And then was a battaile foughten at *Nicopolis*, where *Baiazeth* had the victory, the King of *Hungary* beeing glad to saue himselfe, and (with the Great Maister) retyred to *Rhodes*. Thither also did the Emperour of *Constantinople* send all his precious Jewels, to be kept by the Great Maister, fearing least *Baiazeth* should surprize *Constantinople*. But hee was disappointed by *Tamburlain*, who ouercam *Baiazeth*, and kept him captiue in a Cage of Iron, so long as he lived; and the siedege of *Constantinople* being raised, the Great Maister sent home againe the Emperours Jewels. After the foil of *Baiazeth*, the great Maister, *de Naillac*, sailed with an armie

into *Caria*, and there builded an inexpugnable fortresse, which hee named *Saint Peters Castle*, in the yeare, 1399. vnder the raigne of *Charles* the sixt K. of *France*. In the yeare, 1403. there hapned warres betweene the King of *Cyprus* and the *Geneweyes*; which was pacified and ordered by the wisdome and authoritic of the Great Maister: to whom the Souldan of *Egypt* sent an Ambassador, for request of peace.

In the yeare 1409. the Great Maister gaue his personall assistaunce in the Counsell of *Pisa*, assembled to quench the Schismes which were then crept into the Church; and the guard of the Conclau was committed to the Great Maister, when *Alexander* the fift was elected Pope. The saide Maister was likewise at the generall Counsel of *Constance*, where three Popes were deposed, and *Martine* the fift elected, Anno. 1414. the gard of the Conclau beeing then againe giuen to the Great Maister. Trauailing into *France*, he held a general assembly of the Knights at *Auignon*, afterward at *Florëce*, and last at *Ancona*: whence returning to *Rhodes*, Anno 1420. he held there a generall Chapter, & in the beginning of Iune, 1421. he died.

34. **A**Nd then in the deads place, *Anthony de Fluuiano*, or *de Riuers*, reported to be a Natiue of *Arragon* (but more say of *England*) was created Great Maister. In his time beganne the general Counsel of *Basile*, 1430. And not long after, the Soldan of *Egypt* (pust vp with the victory which he wonne at *Cyprus*) brake the Truce, and prepared a great Armie, with intent to besiege *Rhodes*. But when he heard, that the Great Maister was provided of sufficient strength to withstande him; he left off his determination, and so the Order that way remained in quiet. This Great Maister founded and endowed a chappel in the City of *Rhodes*, which (afterward) hee made a Church for his Knights. And the 29. of October hee died, after he had gouerned (in his place) with much wisdome, 16. yeares and an halfe.

35. **T**He sixt of Nouemb. in the same yeare, 1437. *Iohn de Lastic*, borne in *Auergne*, was elected Great Maister, albeit he was absent at his election, & remai-

Warres betweene Genoweyes, and the K. of Cyprus.

Three Popes deposed in the Councell of Constance.

1321 This *Anthony de Riuers* was sent for to *Rhodes*, he being then chief Commander of the Brotherhood, at *Saint Iohns of Ierusalem*, in *S. Iohns streec*.

1437.

inained in *Auuergne*, wherof he was Priour. Before he would go to *Rhodes*, hee made a generall assembly of his Knightes at *Valentia*, in the month of December, 1438. When he cam to *Rhodes*, he began to build the new Hospitall for sicke people, which the precedent Great Maister, (by his will) had appointed to be done at his expences. In his time, Pope *Eugenius* the fourth, was deposed by the Counsell of *Basile*; and *Felix* the fift, created in his place, who was held at Rome to bee an Antipope. In the yeare, 1440. the Soldan of *Egypt*, being come neer to the Port of the Isle of *Castelle Rouge* (which apertained to the Knights) and from thence turning towards *Rhodes*, he was put to flight by an army of the Knights, who had but eight Gallies; and in the Souldans armie there were eighteen; and there were slain about 700. *Sarazins*, beside a great number that were wounded. This foyle did so highly offend the Soldan, that he leagued himselfe with *Amurath*, Emperour of the Turkes, with intention to make himselfe Maister of the Isle of *Rhodes*, and to kill or expell thence, that famous Order of Knight-hood.

Heereupon, in the yeare, 1444. hee came and besiedged *Rhodes*, which vvas vertuously defended by the *Rhodian* Knightes; and in the month of September the same yeare, a generall assembly was held at *Rhodes*, to helpe the ensuing necessitie of the order. So the yeare following, the Great Maister (by aduise of the Pope and the King of *Cyprus*) made peace with *Amurath*, and helde a generall Chapter at *Rhodes*. At which time, the D. of *Cleues* passed by *Rhodes*, in his returne from *Ierusalem*, where he had visited the Holie places. In the yeare, 1451. a generall assembly was made at *Rhodes*, wherein, the administration and gouernement of the Treasure, and whole fraternity, was giuen to the Great Maister: who in Anno 1452. after the death of *Amurath*, renewed the peace with *Mahomet* the seconde his son. And yet the yeare following, *Mahomet* became Master of the City of *Constantinople*; the 29. of May: when (being not a litle proud of this fortunate succes) he sent to the great Master of *Rhodes*, that he should pay him yearely, two thousand Ducats, in name of a tribute, otherwise, he purposed not to hold (any longer) the peace sworn betweene them. Whereun-

to the Great Maister made a couragious answer, to wit; *That neither his religion, the Isle of Rhodes, nor himselfe were Subiects to any, but God and his Church; that he would neuer pay Turk any tribute, being rather resolved to dye (both he and all his Knightes) then to endure Christian Libertie, (which euer had bin free) to come nowe (by his meanes) into thraldome.* Whereupon, he sent Ambassadors to the Pope and Christian Princes, to entreat supply from them, against the periured Mahomet. And in the yeare, 1454. the xix. day of May, he died, hauing valiantly gouerned his Order sixteene yeares, six months, & thirtene dayes.

36. *Jacques de Milly*, borne in *Auuergn*, whereof he was Prior, succeeded as Great Master, the first of Iune, 1454. being in his Priory when he was elected, & his Nephew *George de Poismond*, brought him first tidings thereof. Whereupon, he immediatly went to *Rhodes*, and helde a generall Chapter the same yeare, in the month of Nouember. In the yeare, 1456 the Isle of *Rhodes* was greatly afflicted with pestilence and famine, whereby it became halfe desert; and to re-people it againe, many generall citations wer sent abroad to all the Knights, to meete there at a certaine time. The yeare 1457. Mahomet besiedged the Isle of *Lango*, & the Castle of the Isle *des Singes*: but hee was couragiously repulsed, the Knightes hauing a very happy and singuler victory against him, which caused *Charles* the 7. King of *France*, to send the Knights (as a guilt) sixteene thousand Crownes. The Bayliffes, Commanders, and other Officers of the Order, beeing then enioyned (by a generall Chapter) to come to *Rhodes*, for the more secure defence thereof. The xvii. of August, 1461. the great Maister died, hauing (with much prouidence) gouerned his charge in harde & troublesome times, seuen yeares, two months, and sixteene daies. He was greatly lamented, because he was very benigne, affable, and humane, desirous to preferue peace and vnity among his worthy Brethren.

37 *Peter Raymond Zacoſta*, born in *Ar-ragon*, and *Castilean d'Emposta*, was created Great Master next, he being then absent in *Spaine*; but at his coming to *Rhodes*, by a generall Chapter there holden,

The Great Maisters answer to Mahomet.

1342.

A great plagu and famine in Rhodes.

The Isle of Lango besieged by Mahomet

The bountie of the King of France.

1461.

A generall assembly at Valentia.

The Soldane of Egypt put to flight.

A generall assembly helde at Rhodes.

The death of Amurath.

Constantinople won by Mahomet.

The eight language admitted into the Order.

The Tower of S. Nicholas builded.

The Duke of Burgundies Liberality.

The generall Chapter transferd to Rome.

1467.

Negropont take by Mahomet.

Horrible cruelties of the Turkes.

den, the eight Language of *Castile & Portugall*, was then admitted into the order. For till that instant, there were but seven Languages there before; to wit, three of *France*, *Auvergne*, and *Prouence*; one of *Italy*, one of *Arragon*, one of *England*, & one of *Allemagne* or *Germany*. The yeare 1464. the *Venetians* army besiedged the City of *Rhodes*: but the siege was soone raised, and the *Venetians* returned home to their Countrey, the war being appeased by the wisdom of the Great Master, who caused the Tower of *S. Nicholas* to be built, at the mouth of *Rhodes* Port, in the very same place, wher (in elder times) the great *Colossus* of the Sun (numbered among the seven wonders of the world) had stood. As a helpe to this building, *Phillip* Duke of *Burgundy*, gaue ten thousand Crownes of Gold. The yeare 1463. the great Turke sent Ambassadors vnto *Rhodes*, to mediate a peace between him and the Knights Hospitallers: but they worthily refused it; and in presence of the Ambassadors, denounced warre against the Turke. The generall Chapter being then transferred from *Rhodes* to *Rome*; & the Great Master being present in person thereat, he died there the 21. of February, 1467. and was buried in the Church of *S. Peter*.

38. **B**aptista Orsino, Prior of *Rome*, an *Italian* by Nation and Tongue, succeeded the Great Maister *Zacosta*. No soone was he come to *Rhodes*, but he receiued intelligence, that the great Turke prepared a puissant army; purposing to be sledge either *Rhodes* or *Negropont*: wherfore, hee sent for a great number of the Knights, that were then absent, to come forthwith for defence of the Iland. Moreouer, he leagued himselfe with the *Seignury* of *Venice*, against the Turke. Neuerthelesse, in the yeare 1470. *Mahomet* forcibly tooke the City of *Negropont*, the last day of Iuly, committing verie great and horrible cruelties, killing (in colde blood) all the *Latines* there to be found, and (by sound of Trumpet) he proclaimed open war against the Knight of *Rhodes*; which enforced them to seeke all meanes for their best defence, prouiding euerie way to withstand the Turkish Army. But in this time of preparation, the eight day of Iune, the Great-Maister died of a long lingering disease, which had afflicted him

a whole year together: and after him succeeded

39. **P**eter d'Abuffon, born in *Auvergne*, Priour there, and Captain of the City of *Rhodes*. He being chosen Great Maister, solemnly took his Oath (according to custome) to keepe the statutes of the Order. Hee visited the whole Isle of *Rhodes*, and made very great prouision to defend it against the Turkes army, sending for all Knights and Commaunders appertaining to the Order, to repaire thither for defence of the Isle, and renewing peace with the Soldan of *Egypt*. The same year, King *Lewis* preuailed to haue a Iubily in *France*, in fauor of the knights of *Rhodes*; taking order, that the monies thereby arising, should soly be imployed for their defence. And by this Iubily came great store of Money, wherewith Castles and fortifications were builded in the Ile. Truce also was taken, betweene the Knights, and the King of *Tunis*, for thirtie yeares; and the Knights of the Sepulcher at *Ierusalem*, were ioyned with the *Rhodians* of *S. Iohn*. In the yeare, 1479. *Mahomet* the second, Emperor of the Turkes, helde a solemne counsell, that *Rhodes* should be besiedged with a powerfull Army, as indeed soone after it was. In which siege, many sallies forth were made, and the Turkes daily repulsed and chased, albeit they were an 100000. fighting men, and the army consisted of 160. saile. The Great Maister, was much succoured by *Mesire Antoine d'Abuffon* his Brother, Viscount of *Montelis*, who was a great Warrior, and a most skilfull Captain, he was elected Captain Generall for the besiedged. In few daies, the Turkes gaue 3700. shot with the Cannon, against the City wals, and a maruellous assault was made of 40000. Turkes, who neuerthelesse were valiantly resisted, albeit the Great Maister receiued (in this fight) five great wounds, one whereof was thought to be deadly. In the end, so worthily were the assaylants withstood, that they were enforced to raise their sledge, hauing lost a great number of their Souldiers, & the Army of Turkes returned (with mightie shame and disgrace) to *Constantinople*, after they had besiedged the City, for the space of 89. daies. After this siege, *Mahomet* the second, concluded to come in person to *Rhodes*: whereupon, a generall assembly

1476.

A Iubily in France, for the Knights of Rhodes.

Knights of the Sepulcher ioyned with them of Rhodes.

The great power of the Turkes against Rhodes.

The Turkes compelled to raise their sledge.

Mahomet's death gaue some respite to Rhodes.

Peace concluded betweene Baiazeth and Rhodes.

1503

A great assembly of Knights at Rhodes.

A Nauall victory against the Soldan of Egypt.

1512

assembly of the Knights was made. But the death of *Mahomet* hindered this designe, and his Sonnes *Baiazeth* and *Zizime* performed the warre, after the decease of their Father, which gaue some breathing time of rest to the Knights of *Rhodes*. And yet *Zizime* (in person) came to assist the Great Maister, withdrawing himselfe to *Rhodes*, in the yeare, 1482. wher he was receiued with great honor, and from thence conducted into *France*. In the time of this Great M. *D'Aubusson*, the statutes of the Order were reformed, and brought into one Volume: Peace being concluded betweene the Knights and the Great Turke *Baiazeth*. The great Maister, was made a Cardinall by Pope *Innocent* the eight, and Legate also into *Asia*, with honour of Legate, and general of the legued Army against the Turk. Finally, he died at *Rhodes*, Anno 1503. the third day of Iuly, full of honor and reputation, and was interred with great funeral pompe. He had liued 80. yeares, three months, and 4. daies, and gouerned the Order 27. yeares, and xvi. daies.

40 There were 387. Knights assembled at *Rhodes*, when the Great Maister *D'Aubusson* died, who elected for his successor, *Emery D'Ambois*, Brother to *George D'Ambois*, Cardinall and Legate in *France*, Arch-bishop of *Rouen*. He was a French-man by birth, & great Priour of *France*, at the time of his election, *Guy de Blanchefort* comming into *France*, to accompany him in his voyage to *Rhodes*, wher he was receiued with much applause and reioycing, because the Kinges of *France* and *Spain* had written verie favourable Letters on his behalfe, to the Knights of the order. He was no sooner there arriued, but he held a general chapter, wherein was concluded, that a sumptuous Tombe of Brasse should be made, for the deceased Cardinall Great Maister. In the yeare following, they obtained a very famous and nauall victory, against the Soldane of *Egypt*, vnder the conduct of *Phillip de Villiers*, of the *Isle Adam*, a French Knight of the order, & afterward he was Great M. But this Maister *Emerie D'Ambois* died at *Rhodes*, An. 1512.

41 And the same yeare, 410. of the Knights were assembled at *Rhodes*, wher they chose *Guy de Blanchefort*,

borne in *Auuergne*, and Nephew to the deceased Maister *D'Aubusson*, to be great maister. In his time, the generall *Lateran* Counsel was holden at *Rome*, wher *Fabritio Carretto*, Admirall and Procurator for the order of *Rhodes*, was Captaine of the Guard to the said counsel. This great M. *de Blanchefort*, embarking himselfe at *Nicea* in *Prouence*, to make for *Rhodes*, was surprized (by the way) with a dangerous sicknes, whereof hee died, the 2. of Nouemb. a yeare & two daies after his election.

42 In his sted, *Fabritio de Carretto*, born in *Geneway*, and an *Italian* by Language, was created Great M. in an assembly held at *Rhodes*, the xv. of December, 1513. wher were then present 550. Knights of the order the said *Carretto* hauing formerly bin Admirall of *Rhodes*. In the yeare 1516. peace was made between the Knights of *S. Iohn*, and *Tomombecus* Soldan of *Egypt*, successor to *Campson Gaurry*, who (but a short while before) was slaine in a battaile, wherein *Selim* (Emperor of the Turks) had the victory against him. And *Tomombecus* was as vnfortunat, for in the yeare, 1517. he was taken, and strangled at one of the Ports of the great *Cayre*, by the appointment of *Selim*. And this was the cause, that the great Maister fortified the *Isle of Rhodes*, to his vttermost power, sending Ambassadors to the Christian Princes, to let them vnderstand the great victories of *Selim*, the sooner to take order for sending succour. But *Selim* dying, his son Sultan *Solyman* succeeded him: and in Ianuary, 1521: the Great M. *Carretto* finished his daies at *Rhodes*, leauing great prouision and munition for warre, which soon after did seruice to his successor.

43 *Phillip de Villiers*, of the *Isle Adam*, great Priour of *France*, and there borne, wher because he also was at the time of his election, *Gabriel de Pomereux* great commander, was chosen Lieutenant to the Great Maister till he came. The very same yeare of his election, the xxii. of Ianuary, 1521. Sultan *Soliman* resolved to besiege the *Isle of Rhodes*, executing the last Will of his Father *Selim*: whereof the Great Maister being aduertised, he made his preparation (by all possible meanes) to withstand the Turkes enterprize.

The generall Lateran counsell at Rome.

1513.

550. Knights, altogether at Rhodes.

Tomombecus Soldan of Egypt.

The Isle of Rhodes strongly fortified.

1521

Sultan Solymā executed his Fathers *Selim*'s will.

War between the Emperor Charles the 5. and Frances the 1. King of France.

The losse of Rhodes, to the great griefe of all Christendom.

How long time Rhodes was in the Knights keeping.

Malta giuen to the knights by the Emip. Charles the fift

The Knights of S. Iohn became Knightes of Malta.

Dilligently did he strengthen the City of *hodes*, sending for supply into Christendome, which as then hee coulde not haue, by reason of the Warre hapning betweene *Frances* the first, K. of *France*, and the Emperor *Charles* the fift. In the month of Iune, 1522. began the memorable sidge of the Citie of *Rhodes*, which was besiedged with an army of two hundred thousand Turkes; and afterwardes the army encreased vnto three hundred thousand men. The besiedged defended themselues most couragiously, and verie worthy exploits of war were there performed, especially by the Great Maister, who (during the sidge) did neuer put off his Armour. The assaylants were in many attempts repulsed, and in one of them, twentie thousand Turkes remained dead in the place: *Soliman* hauing then a purpose to raise his siege, but that there were some close Traitours, who hindered him from so dooing, and yet they did not escape unpunished.

At length, the Great Maister (receyuing no succour) was enforced to surrender the City, vpon composition, the 24. day of Decembre, 1522. the Turkes hauing lost more then an hundred thousand men. *Soliman* would needes see the great Maister, and when he beheld him, teares issued from his eyes, in meere compassion of him. So the first day of Ianuarie, 1523. the Great Maister (with fiftie saile) departed from *Rhodes*, and tooke his way towards *Candie*: after that the Isle of *Rhodes* had been in the power of the Knights Hospitallers, for the space of two hundred and thirteen yeares, to wit, from the yeare, 1309. to the end of the yeare, 1522. After this losse of *Rhodes*, the Great Maister, and his valiant Religious Knights, had not any assured place of abiding, vntill the Isle of *Malta* was giuen them by the Emperor *Charles* the fift. For they departed first into *Candy*, from thence they went into *Sicily* and *Italy*, where the Pope lent them the City of *Viterbo*, and where they held a generall Chapter. Afterwardes, thy sojourned for some small time, at *Cornetto*; then at *Villefranche*, and at *Nicea*. While they remaind at *Nicea*, the Great Maister made a voyage into *England*, and from thence to *France*; where being at *Lyons*, a great sickenesse tooke him: but after his recouery, hee went to *Cambray*, to holde the Baptisme

Font for *phillebert Emanuel*, Sonne to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy*. Afterward, coming with his Brethren-Knights to *Malta*, on Wednesday morning the sixte of October, 1530. he caused a Pallace to be there erected, for the abiding of him and his successours, calling it *Castel Angelo*, building another Pallace also in the olde City of *Malta*. VVhen he had gouerned his order thirty yeares, and seauen monthes (being aged seauenty yeares) the xxii. of August, 1534. he died at *Malta*, and was buried in a Chappell, which hee had builded nere to *Castel Angelo*, and then succeeded him by election.

A palace built at Malta, cald Castel Angelo.

44 *Pierrin du Pont*, a Natiue of *Ast*, and an *Italian* by language. Before the taking of *Rhodes*, he was Gouvernour of the Isle of *Lango*; & after the losse thereof, he departed (with all the Knights vnder his government) and ioyned his power in *Candie*, with the army of the order: In his time, *Charles* the fift, Emperor, attempted to go in person to the Kingdom of *Tunis* in *Affrica*, where he was assisted by the Gallies belonging vnto the Order, and the Knightes also, who performed there great exploits of armes: especially, in the surprizing of *Goletta*, which vvas held to bee a Fort vnconquerable. This war being ended, the Great M. aged 73. yeares, died; hauing gouerned only xiiii. months, and xxii. daies, and was buried by his predecessor *Villiers*.

1534. Gouvernour of the Isle of Lango, made great Maister.

Goletta taken by the Emperor & Knights

45 *Desire*, or *Didier de S. taille de Tolon*, borne in *Prouence*, and Prior of *Tholossa*, was next made great Master: when lifting vp his eies to heauen, he vsed these words: *O my God, if thou thinkest me fit for this great charge, I wil not refuse the paine and labor.* In his traouiling towards *Malta*, being very aged, so soone as he arriued at *Montpellier*, hee fell into an extreame sicknesse, whereof he died, the 26 of Sept. 15: 6. and was buried with much solemnity, in the church of the *Commandery* of *S. Gilles*, without the gates of *Montpellier*. VVhen the Knights were aduertised of his decease, the xviii. of Octob. in the same yeare, they proceeded to the election of

1535. The words of the Great M.

46 *Iohn d'Homedes*, a natiue of *Arragon*, who being then in *Spain*, made hast to *Malta*, wher he was ioyfully receiued.

1536.

ued Albeit he was discontented that they had not sent some of the Gallies, nor the great Carrack of the Order, for his conduct thither; wherefore he disarmed and destroyed the Great Carrack, which caused many complaints against him. Verie often would he discourse of the sledge at Rhodes, because he gaue generall notice thereby, that there he had lost one of his eies. He made a goodly Parke of Deare, and a very beautifull Garden in the Isle of S. Michael, and there would hee spend the greater part of the day, which rayled occasion of murmuring against him, that he was slacke in his publick government, and no way carefull to provide the Isle of Malta, of needefull supplies against the Turkes forces, for he trusted too much in the strength of Castel Angelo. In his time, the city of Tripoli in Barbary was lost by the knights of the order, & taken by the Turks, which droue him to no litle fear & amazement. In the year, 1552. Leo Strozzi, an especial Commander of the order, made an attempt vpon the Isle of Zoara, which had very harde successe, because many Knights were then slaine of all Nations, especially manie French, Auergnons, and Prouenceals. It being declared to the Great Maister, he grieved extraordinarily thereat, and saide; That a greater losse had not hapned to the Order, since the surprisal of Rhodes. He builded the Castles of S. Elme, and S. Michael, and being eighty years old, died the 6. of Sept. 1558 hauing gouerned xvi. yeares, x. months, and xv. daies, and was buried in the great Maisters Chappell.

1558.

46 **C**laudius de la Single, borne in France, was next created Great Maister, and at his election, there were then present at Malta, aboue foure hundred Knights of the Order. Hee Governed verie discreetly, by Counsell of five Worthy Knights his Officers and Attendants, (to witte;) by his Steward, Maister of the Housholde, Maister of the Horffe, the Treasurer, and Secretary: So that the Order was in great happinesse, during the time of his Maister-shippe, hauing obtained the priuiledge of Neutrality, of King Henry the second, and Charles the fift, Emperor, who made warre against him.

Hee was verie Valiant, Religious, and a most profitable Administratour of the Orders reuennues, in whose Treasury he

left abundant store: dying of a Catarrh, which had much suffocated him, after he had attained to the Climacteriall yeare, 63. of his age.

47 **J.** John de Valette, borne in Prouence, succeeded next as Great Maister, and his election was verie pleasing to all the Order of Saint John, because he was generally beloued of all the Nations; and vniuersally desired, as most Worthy of that charge and Dignitie. In lesse space then two yeares, he was general of the Gallies, Bayliffe of Lango, Great Commaunder, Priour of Saint Ghes, and Lieutenant to the great Maister, and nowe at length Great Maister also.

Hee did so affect his Knightes and Order, that, after the day hee first entered into it, he would neuer more retorne into his Countrey. So that by making continuall residence there with them, he passed thorough all the Degrees and offices of honour in the profession: appearing still (in all his actions) to bee of rare iudgement, perfect integrity, & incomparable valour. So soone as he was advanced to this Soueraigne dignity, he resolved to builde a new Cittie at Malta, vpon the Mountaine of Saint Elme, knowing that all the other Fortes were not sufficiently munited, to endure the batterie of a potent enemy: yet this disleign was deferred till a further time. He fortified the Castle of the Isle of Goza, and forsaking his abiding at the Castle of S. Angelo, came and dwelt within the town of Malta, which hee defended most valiantly against the siege of the Emp. Sultan Soliman, when he was grievously wounded in his leg, in the year 1565: But the siege being raised, to the shame and confusio of the Turkes; he greatly strengthened the Isle of Malta, and began to build the new City, which was called Valette, according to his sur-name, and whereof himselfe solemnly laid the first stone, on monday the 28. of March, 1566. And by the sollicitude of the Great Maister, the building thereof, continued on still, eight thousand persons being daily employed therein, and five hundred thousand Crownes monthly paid to the workmen. At length, the one & twentie of August, 1568. the Great Maister died, on the like day as hee was promoted vnto his place,

X 2 ha-

A great Carrack belonging to the order.

A Parke of Deare and a goodly Garden in the Isle of S. Michael.

Tripoli in Barbary, taken by the Turkes.

The Isle of Zoara, manie knights slaine there.

Four hundred Knights assembled at Malta.

Priuedge of Neutrality.

1561

Seuerall dignities in litle space.

A new Cittie built at Malta on S. Elmes Mount.

The Turkes receiued shame by raising their siege.

Building of the new City of Valette.

<p>1568.</p> <p>Titles giuen to the deceas'd Great M. & his buriall.</p>	<p>having governed eleauen yeares, fullie compleat.</p> <p>42. After the obsequies of <i>Valette</i> the Great Maister, they proceeded to elect a new successor, which was <i>Petro de Mente</i>, an <i>Italian</i> borne, and Priour of <i>Capua</i>. Immediately after his promotion to the Maisterhip, hee caused his predecessors bodie to be carried into the New Citty, and to bee honourably buried in the Chappell of our Lady of Victory, for he worthily deserved to be surnamed the Father of Souldiers, the Shield and Defender of the Catholicke faith, and the great persecutor or queller of proud Infidels. This new Great Maister, before he attained vnto so high degree, had made good prooffe of his wisdome and valour, in sundry other honourable and woorthy Offices. For hee was first, Patron of the Gally, which was Captain or Commander of the band. Next, Lieutenant Generall of the Gallies, <i>Castillion</i> or Gouvernor of the Castle. <i>S. Angello</i> at <i>Rome</i>; he was then Admirall, next General of the whol Fleet, and Ambassador for the Order to the Popes <i>Pius</i> the fourth, and <i>Pius</i> the fift. He came from <i>Rome</i> to <i>Malta</i>, when he was chosen Great Maister, and followed his charge so effectually, that the new Citty was finished, and thither hee purposed to transfer the dwelling of the Order. For the good Old man, thought it as great honour, to dwell in the New Citty, and make it habitable; as it was for his predecessor <i>Valette</i> to build it. In his time, the memorable Nauall battaile of <i>Lepanto</i> was fought, and victory obtaind against the Turkes, wherein the Knights of the Order did many woorthy actions of armes. The Great Maister deceasing at <i>Malta</i>.</p>	<p>chosen Captaine generall of the Horsemen: Commissary of the fortifications, then Marshall of the Order, and now last Great Maister, wherein he liued very virtuously, not letting any day passe him, without some especiall piece of Seruice; and feeding with his own hands, thirteen poore men. With his owne Money, hee builded the great Church dedicated to <i>S. Iohn Baptist</i>, in the new City of <i>Valette</i>, endowing it with a 1000 Crownes of annuall Reuennues, erecting also a goodly Sepulcher, for interring therein the bodies of the Great Maisters his predecessors. There happened some discontentment betweene the Knights and him, which shortning his daies, he died.</p> <p>10</p> <p>20</p> <p>50 And the twelfth of Ianuary, 1582. <i>Hugues de Loubenx Verdale</i>, born in <i>Prouence</i>, was elected Great Maister. He was but a yong Knight, yet both learning and Military knowledg thined clearly in him. For he was in the attempt at <i>Zoara</i>, where he declared himselfe to be truly valiant, and had many honourable offices imposed vpon him. He dying,</p> <p>30</p> <p>51 Martin <i>Garzes</i>, a Native of <i>Arragon</i>, succeeded him next as great Maister. Hee quallified the discontentments amongst his Brethren-Knights, & tooke away those Taxes which had bene imposed, and interdicted (for a time) the Officers of the Order, to giue a newe forme to his owne Gouvernement, and to the good liking of all the Knights. He did expressely prohibit, that not any Knight, (nor the Great Maister himselfe) might particularly haue any ship on the Sea, to vse any Piracies for his owne profit. Hee died also at <i>Malta</i>, and lieth buried in the Sepulcher of the Great Maisters.</p> <p>40</p>	<p>The Church of Saint Iohn Baptist, built at the Great Masters charge.</p> <p>1582</p> <p>1595.</p> <p>Discontents pacified among the Brethren.</p>
<p>The new City finished.</p>	<p>1572</p> <p>49 Iohn, Bishop of <i>Casiera</i>, borne in <i>Auuegn</i>, did next succede him, in the yeare, 1572. Before his election vnto this Office, his Vertue had appeared in diuers waighty charges. For, at the enterprize of <i>Zoara</i>, he was Ensigne-bearer to the Order, and defended the Standarde very worthily, bringing it backe with him to <i>Malta</i>, when both it and himselfe were smitten into the Sea, yet both of them saued by a Gally belonging to the order, after he had a long time fought vndantedly against the Infidels. Soon after, he was</p>	<p>52 The Knights assembling for a new election, the tenth of Febr. 1601. <i>Aloph de Vignacourt</i>, borne in <i>Fraunce</i>, was created Great Maister. In the yeare, 1566. he comming to <i>Malta</i>, with great store of other French Gentlemen; vpon a flying rumour that the Isle was likely to be besieged againe by the Turkes army, they all entred into the order, vnder the Great Maister <i>Valette</i>, receiuing (afterwardes) sundry great Charges, wherein his wisdome and man-hood was euidently discern'd, hauing bin captain of the Citty</p> <p>50</p>	<p>1601.</p>
<p>The Nauall battel of <i>Lepanto</i>.</p> <p>Honorable actions performed by the Great Master before his choise in that Office.</p>			

The Great-Maister that yet liueth.

Citty of *Vallette*, and not long after, great Hospitaller of the order. He yet continueth in the Office of great Maister, a great comfort (we hope) to Christendom, and a terror to the *Ottomans* Empire, whensoever they shall attempt the hurt of the Isle of *Malta*, where the famous memory of that ancient Order of Knight-hood of *S. Iohn of Ierusalem*, is still kept and maintained.

CHAP. IIII.

The severall Orders of Knight-hood, both Ecclesiastick and Secular, as they haue bene, and are yet honored in this Christian World.

Ecclesiasticall Orders.

Knights of S. Iames of Compostella.

1070.

IN the year, 1070. this Order of Knight-hood began in *Spain*, after that *Ramirus* had won the most famous victory, in the Prouince of *Compostella*, against the *Moores*.

At first, their number consisted but of thirteene, and it was lawfull for them to take wiues. There was a chiefe man chosen of this order, by the name of Great Maister; who (together with the other 12.) had power to elect other knights.

The badge or note of honour of this Knight-hood, was a Red Crosse, carying the forme of a downe pointed sword. At the Feast of *All-Saints*, was their meeting appointed, that they might confer about their affaires. Many years haue they continued, with many priuiledges, & scarcely any but they (called *Augustines*) holde any such lawes.

Knights of Saint Iohns of Ierusalem, who were afterwarde knights of the Rhodes, and at this day are called Knights of Malta.

1099.

IN the year, 1099. the Citty of *Ierusalem* being recovered against the impulsions of the Infidelles, by *Godfrey of Bullen*, Duke of *Lorraine*. About that verie time, a certaine Hospitall was erected by the Christians in *Ierusalem*, conse-

crated by the name of *S. Iohn Baptist*, for the entertainment of Pilgrims. Soone after, was this Order of Knight-hood instituted, and the first Rector or Ruler was called *Gerrard*, and the next after him, *Raimond*. These Knights wore a Blacke Garment, with a Crosse Argent, in a field Gules, vpon their breasts.

10 In the year, 1308. being enforced from their former abiding by the *Turkes*, and the Isle of *Rhodes* granted them by Pope *Clement* the fift: they were (in that regard) called Knights of *Rhodes*.

1308.

In the year, one thousand five hundred twenty three, *Rhodes* being wonne from them, *Malta* was afforded them; whereon to this day, they are called Knights of *Malta*.

1523.

20 The duty of this Knight-hoodes Order, was, to fight for the Christian faith, to releue the oppressed, to defend Widowes and Orphanes, &c. Nor was any one to be admitted into this Order, that was descended of a *Moore*, *Jew*, *Mahometist*, or any such ignoble race.

Knights Templers, or Knights of the Temple.

30

ANNO Dom. 1117. *Godfredus Alde-marus Alexandrinus*, and *Hugo de Planco de Paganis* (*Godfrey* Duke of *Lorraine*, and King of *Ierusalem* being dead, and *Baldwine* then rainging) this order of Knight-hood first began, and a seate was granted them in the temple of *Ierusalem*, whereuppon, they were called *Knights Templers*, or *Knights of the Temple*.

1117.

40 By entreaty of *Stephen*, Patriarch of *Ierusalem*, Pope *Honorius* brought in this Order, and confirmed their Society, giuing them a White Garment, whereunto *Eugenius* the third, added a red Crosse on the breast.

The charge of these Knights, was, to guide trauiailers on the way of *Ierusalem*, and to entertaine strangers.

50 Anno Domini, 1310. *Clement* the fift (who then held his See in France) by perswasion of *Phillip* King of France, gaue order for the vtter subuersion of this Knight-hoods Society, and all their Colledges, throughout our Christian Worlde, wheresoever they were builded: in regard of a most abominable trechery, by them intended and ratified.

1310.

*Knights Teutons, or Knights of
Allemaigne.*

1130.

Some after that *Ierusalem* was regayned from the Christians, one *Teuto* a Nobleman, and abounding in Riches, instituted this Society of Knight-hood, building an house (for their entertainment) at *Ierusalem*, called, *Hospitium Virginis Mariæ*.

Among this Order of Knight-hood, neither Knight of *Malta*, nor any other, except a *Germain* (and he likewise to be Noble by birth) could be receyued into their degree. Their garment was White, and a Blacke Crosse figured vpon their Breasts.

In the yeare, 1184. these Knights (the City of *Ierusalem* being surprized by the Sarrazins) *Ptolomais* was graunted them: but beeing likewise driuen from thence, they came into their Countrey of *Germanie*.

In the yeare, 1220. they intreated *Fredericke* the second, Emperour, that hee wold suffer the to take Arms against certaine fugitiue Idolaters in *Prussia*: who beeing by them subdued, they obtayned there a new seating, and their Dition or Lordshippe of *Liunia* was then added to them.

*Calatranian Knights, or Knights
of Calatrana.*

In the yeare, 1130. this order of Knight-hood was instituted by *Sanctio*, King of *Toledo*, in imitation of the order of Saint *James*.

These Knights, tooke the name of *Calatrana*, which was a place graunted vnto them, where (in former times) had stood a Church, that belonged to the Knightes Templers: And when the Sarrazins were ouer-powerfull for them, those Knightes were constrained to surrender this place vnto them.

These Knightes did were a black Garment, with a red crosse vpon their breast, and were said to be of the *Cisternian* Order, holding in Spaine large possessions.

Knights of Alcantara.

2150.

These Knightes, held their name of a City in *Castile*, called *Alcantara*, and

were of the *Cisternian* order.

They had a goodly Temple neere to the Riuer *Tagus*, where they helde very ample possessions.

Their Ensigne or Badge was a Greene Crosse.

Knights of the Redemption.

10

In Anno Dom. 1212. this order was instituted by *James* King of *Arragon*, who Conquered the Islands called *Baleares* or *Maiorque* and *Minorque*, in the Spanish Sea.

1212.

It was the Office of these Knightes, to redeeme captiues: whereupon, the Title of Redemption was giuen them: they wer also called Knightes of *Mary*.

20

These Knightes Order was confirmed by *Gregory* the ninth, Bishoppe of Rome. And they wore a white Garment with a blacke Crosse vpon it.

Knights of Montesia.

30

This order was instituted much about that very same time, as the Knightes of *Calatrana* were.

1150.

They deriued their name from *Montesia*, in *Valentia*, where was their place of abiding.

The Ensigne of these Knightes, was a red crosse.

Knights of the Holy Sepulcher.

40

These Knightes (who deriued their name of *Christis Sepulcher*) did weare two Red crosses. This order (at this day) is quite extinct, or (as some do imagine) the Order of the Knightes of *Malta*, is said to be somewhat neare it.

1219.

Knights of Christ.

50

In Anno Dom. 1320. this order was instituted by *John* the 20. Bishop of Rome. The place of these Knightes abiding, was in *Portugal*.

1320.

A Black Garment, & a double crosse, were the Ensignes of this Knight-hoodes order.

*Knights of S. Mary, the Mother
of Christ.*

1261.

Certaine Noblemen of *Bologna* and *Modena* in *Italy*, being much troubled and

and molested by perturbations among the Princes, desired of *Vrbane* the fourth Byshoppe of *Rome*, that they might be suffered to begin some kind of Societie. Whereupon, this Order was graunted them, to holde in free and peaceable manner.

A little red Crosse, reflected with Gold, they wore vpon their Breasts.

These Knights did weare costly Garments, and fared delicately: whervpon they were vulgarly cald by the *Italians*: *Frati Gaudenti*.

They might not weare any gilt Spurs, or vse any Gold on their Horses Furniture.

¶ *Knights of Saint Lazarus of Hierusalem.*

1048

This Order was confirmed, or (as some will haue it) restored by *Pius Quartus*. And yet the Knights of this order (are said to be) in the times of *Basilius*, and Pope *Damasus*, when *Iulian* the Apostata raigned, & then they flourished, as some do affirme.

The Ensigne or Impresse of this Order, was a greene Crosse, worne on the left side of the breast.

A man twice married, might not be admitted into this Order.

Knights of the round Table.

The Secular Orders.

In *Anno Domini* 516. *Arthur*, a worthy and warlike King, raigning in the Isle of *Brittaine*, the Countrey beeing infested and troubled with Armies of *Saxons*, &c. was yet (by him) very valiantly supported, and his fame out-stretched to the remotest Regions. Afterward, when peace was established, that other knightly mindes might bee inflamed with the like glorie: this Order he instituted, which continued (with others) in long and honorable obseruation.

The Order of these Knights was (especially) in the City of *Winchester*, as some haue recorded; and their yearelie meeting was there, at the Feast of *Pentecost*, or *Whisfontide*.

Knights of the Garter.

1349.

In the yeare 1349. *Edward* the third, King of England, hauing had great

victories against the French; and other neighbouring Nations, did institute this Order, and consecrated it to *Saint George*.

10 The King appointed a Garter to bee the Ensigne of this Order, wrought richly with Golde and precious stones, which should circle the leg beneath the knee, and on it to haue these words apparantly discerned:

HONI. SOIT. QUI. MAL. Y. PENSE.

The number of these Knightes, are twenty fixe, whereof the King himselfe is the chief.

The time of this Societies meeting, is the Feast of *S. George*, and celebrated at *Windsore*.

20 These Knights do weare the Ensigne of *Saint George* (fighting with a Dragon) fastned to a rich Chain or Collar, which weighed or valued, neither more or lesse, then eighty pounds of English Money (as hath beene saide) in former times. Their Garments is Purple, with a red Crosse.

Knights of the Starre.

30

Anno Dom. 1350. *John* King of France, being much moued with the glory of *Edward* the third, King of England; did institute this Order of Knighthood, entitling it by those 3. *Magi*, who (going from the East to honour Christ) were guided by a Starre.

1350

The Ensigne of this Order was a Star, set eminently in the Hat: and the words were

Monstrant Regibus Astra Viam.

40

The founder of this Order, beeing much molested with the difficulties happening in warre; could not perfect what he had instituted. And therefore (within a short while after) this Order ceased.

Knights of the Band.

50

In the yeare 1367. this Order was instituted by *Aphonsus* King of Spaine, the Son of *Ferdinand* and *Constance*.

1367.

These Knights did wear a certain red scarffe or Band, of three fingers bredth, which ('like a Stoale') was fastened on the left Shoulder, and so came vnderneath

derneath the right Arme, thwart the body.

Into this Order, younger borne Brethren onely (of Noble descent and Family) and none of the elder, might be admitted.

Many Articles (belonging to this Order, and to be obserued by these Knights) are at large set downe by *Sansonina*.

Knights of the Annunciation.

1409 **A** *Nno Dom. 1409. Amades or Amadeus*, as some write, the sixt, Sir-named the *Greene Earle of Sauoy*, deuised this Order, who were tearmed *Knights of the Virgine Mary*, and for this reason instituted: because *Amades* the first Earle of *Sauoy* (with wonderfull fortitude) defended *Rhodes* against the Turkish powers, in his memory it was thus celebrated.

A Chaine or Collar (such as Knights vse to weare, made of Gold and Siluer Plates, and fastned together with little Linkes) each Man had about his necke, with these Letters engrauen thereon, F. E. R. T. that is; *Fortitudo eius Rhodu tenuit*. Thereat hung also (by another small Chaine) the Picture of the *Virgine Mary*, with the Angels salutation.

Knights of the Golden Fleece.

1429. **I**N the yeare 1429. *Phillip*, Sir-named the good Duke of *Burgundy*, instituted this Order, and dedicated it vnto *Saint James*.

The number of these *Knights* were twenty four, whereof the Duke of *Burgundy* was the chiefe.

They vsed to weare the Picture of a Golden Sheepe, affixed to a Chaine, inter-wouen like flames of Fire.

Charles the warlike Duke of *Burgundy* (who also is said by euery one, to be the first Founder of this Order) added thereunto these words: *Ante ferit, quam flamma micet*.

But now at this day, the *Knights* haue these words:

PRETIUM NON VIDE LABORVM.

Knights of Saint Michaell.

1469 **I**N the yeare 1469. *Lewes* the eleuenth, King of *France*, instituted this Order

at *Amiens*, and dedicated it to *Saint Michaell*.

The begining of this Society, consisted of a Band of Men, to the number of thirty sixe, the very cheefest and noblest Peeres of the Kingdome, being *Knights* cleere from all detection; and the very cheefe of them was the King himselfe.

10 At this day, there are a great number of these *Knights*, and the Kingdom of *France* is not now so respectiue in their election, as at the first.

20 These *Knights* weare a Chaine of Gold daily, wouen like little shels, valewing two hundred Crownes: And thereat hangeth the Picture of *Saint Michaell*, fighting with the Deuill, the words being these; *Immensi tremor Oceani*.

These *Knights* did vse to meet euerie yeare, at the Feast of *Saint Michaell*, in the Church of *Saint Michaell* on the Mount.

Their Garments by *Henry* the second, King of *France*, were appointed in very honourable manner,

Knights of Saint Stephen.

30 **I**N the yeare 1561. this Order was instituted by *Cosimo de Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, and the same confirmed by *Pius Quartus*.

1561.

The Ensigne of these *Knights*, was a Red Crosse, worne on a blacke Garment.

40 The Statutes of this Order, doe not much differ from the of *Malta* *Knights*: and they were allowed to haue *Viues*.

The Duke of *Florence*, is alwaies the chiefe of this Order, and it is not to be censured by any of the religious degrees, but properly it dooth hold a freedom in liberty.

Knights of the Holy-Ghost.

50 **I**N the yeare 1578. *Henry* the third, King of *France*, instituted this Order, and named it of the *Holy-Ghost*: the memory whereof, was to be celebrated in the time of *Pentecost*: vpon which day, the King was borne, and succeeded also in the Kingdom. These *Knights* are an hundred in number, and the king himselfe is President.

1578

This

This Feast is celebrated yearely the first day of January, in the *Augustines* Church in *Paris*, by the *Parisians*.

The Ensigne of these Knights, is a Doue (in which forme the Holy-Ghost appeared) in midst of a Crosse.

The last or lowest degree of Knight-hood, is theirs, who (as reward of their Vertues) haue Golden Spurres put on their Heeles, and vulgarly are called Knights.

Concerning Knights Bannerets, who had that Title giuen them by the Kings of England in Warre, Knights of the Bath; And Baronets last of all deuised, they being also created by the Kings of that Kingdome: because they are of another Nature; I passe them ouer, without vsing any further speech of them.

CHAP. V.

Of a strange Custome (though scarcely commendable) used by the People, in the Kingdome of Cathay, for marriage of their Daughters, when they want means of Weaith and dowry.

Some Geographers doe place the Prouince of *Cathay* in *Asia*, and others in the higher *India*: but it matters not much to me, in what part focuer of the World it is situated; for I am not a little ashamed to read the manner of their daughters marriages, when they haue no means to bestow Dowries on them, which I finde to be thus related. Their Daughters hauing attained to the able yeares of marriage, and they wanting means whereby to aduance them: they bring them into a publike place, where making a noise; by beating two boards one against the other (which may bee heard almost as audibly, as the sound of a good Bell or Trumpet) the people thereupon asamble together. The appearance being made to generall liking; the Maid that then is in question of marriage, must be mounted on some Pillar or ascent of Stone, where best she may be seene: and there, by commaund of her Parents (hauing Garments made

Concerning the leatage of Cathay.

A dishonest fashion in marrying Maids.

for the purpose) she vnaceth and openeth all her nakednesse backward, and so suffers her selfe to be seene for a long space before them. Hauing laced her Garments againe, shee makes the like shew of her naked fore-partes; hauing first taken away her hairy excrements, if of such there bee any: And then, whosoever best fancieth her, and shee him; they are allowed to be Man and Wife, provided that he haue means to cloath and keepe her.

For my selfe, I condemne this custome as sauage and brutish, and hold the *Cathayans* to be very grosse people; albeit, they both say and beleue, that the whole World (beside them) dooth see but with one eye, and they directlie with both. I confesse them to be of great spirit, in matter of Architecture, for (in all the World) are not to be seen more beautifull Temples, nor so richly elaborate Pallaces, Bridges, & other buildings, then in that Country. Neither can any where else be seene, more goodly fashions of silken Cloathes, fine Linnen Cloathes, Cloath of Golde or Siluer, workes of Gold-Smitherie, Painters, and other ingenious Artificers. People for knowledge in Phisick, the Mathematiques, and Astrologie, they are not to be equalled. But in matter of ciuillity and pollicy, I protest they vnderstand iust nothing: in regard they compell their Daughters to discouer those partes, which ought to be with care concealed, and brute Beastes themselues doe obserue it. I am of the minde, that they should do much more honestly (notwithstanding their Custome) when they would haue their daughters to become wiues; to be contented with sight of their naked armes & Breasts: for if those parts do appeare to good liking, the rest of the bodie must needs be answerable. In like manner, it would be more ciuill and commendable, to follow the Law of *Licurgus*, who prohibited any gifts or dowries to be giuen to Maidens: to the end, that poore Mens Daughters might speede as well as the Rich do, and not blush to be seene as well behinde as before.

Licurgus made another Law beside, that Maids should go to publike playes and daunces, starke naked, except little

The Authors opinion concerning this bad Custome

The *Cathayans* are people of great Spirit.

Learned Philosophies, Mathematicians and Astrologers.

The Law of *Licurgus* concerning marriage.

cut

Lycurgus his Law, for Maids to com naked to publike pastimes.

cut Buskins onely, which they wore on their Legges : and this he did for diuers reasons, whereof I will alledge some. The first was, because he noted, that many young Men were so enamoured of Maides and Women; that they became vtterly lost in iudgement, and forgot all man-hood, appearing rather to be brute Beasts, both in desire and heat, then any way endued with reason or government. Such immoderate Amourists, would euermore be present (he supposed) at such assemblies, their to behold their naked Goddeses, and seeing their vnfighly partes, so neere neighbouring to the receptacle of all vncleannesse and loathsome conuayance of the Bodie: they would distast and abhorre such slavish affection, and declare themselues of more manly carriage, and that such a wretched shape deserued no such torments, forbearance of Meate and Drinke, and many Night sleepes losses. Another reason was, that Maides should not bee ashamed of those partes which Nature had bestowed on them; but feare to commit any foule Act with them. For he vsed to say; that Maids and Women should blush rather to commit any sin, then to shew the necessary parts of their bodies.

Lycurgus his second reason

The follie of Maids and Women now adaies.

Women vsing to wear vnder breeches.

Aduise to the Maides and Women of Cathay.

There are some Maids and Women now a-daies, who (I think) are perswaded, that Men doe desire they should haue great and fat Thighes, as the Cathayans did; because, they labour to ground this perswasion in Men, by their spacious, huge, and round circling Verdingales. Moreover, they exceede the Cathayans, who onely were naked vnder their garments: but our Women can haue close Breeches or vnder-slops, not of meane matter; as of fine Linnen, Fustian, and such like; but of Sattin, Taffata, Veluet, Cloth of Gold and Siluer, though they openly shewe them not. For by our lawes, we hold and account them as infamous persons, that freelie, or without cause, doe shew such secrecy. Me thinks it were more seemly for those Cathayans, to were close breeches of such rich stufes, to adde thereby a grace and alluring to those parts, and so prouoke men the rather to seeke after them for mariage: then that they should be vsed by any Women among vs (in

manner as I haue formerly said) not suffering them to be seen, much lesse to be toucht. I know not, whether they wear them for pride or profit, but this I am assured, that it hath giuen occasion to many men, to iudge strangely of such women, & to repute them scarce chaste.

Let vs then mooue a question; to wit, whether women doe attract and allure more Suiters and Followers, rather by their nakednesse, then when they are seemly cloathed? For my selfe, I couer not to determine any thing, except by plurality of opinions; yea, of Men of good iudgment, who haue bin in those Regions and Countries, where Men and Women do vsually go naked; as in many places of *Affrica*, almost throughout the *Indiaes*; the Land of the *Caribes*; and in all the *Brasiliame* Territories (containing more then sixe or seauen hundred leagues) in which Countries are more goodly Women, and better formed, then are among vs. For ye shall finde none there, either corrupt in body, crooked, lame, or otherwise deformed. And yet they neuer knew that cruell law of *Lycurgus*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, which was; that euey Infant, Male or Female, appearing in birth to be misshapen, was presently put to death.

All those Spaniards, Portugalles, French-men, Flemmings, and Englishmen, beside diuers others, that haue bene very conuersant in those partes, where the people goe daily naked, they haue affirmed: that such manner of going, is neither sightly nor pleasing, and that nothing makes a Woman to bee more dispised and contemned, then to behold her ordinarily naked. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Cathayans* are not to be imitated, that so freely discover their parts of shame, onely thereby to gaine Husbands; nor the *Affricanes*, *Indians*, *Caribes*, or *Brasilians*, who goe naked, not for ostentation, but by Custome, either in regard of the countries great heate, or by not being acquainted with the vse of Garments: but rather wee ought to cloath and conceale those partes, which Nature her selfe hath placed so farre off, both from the sight of our selues and others. As expressly is discerned by the wordes of our Sauour Iesus Christ, commending Charity about all thinges: in giuing meanes

A pretty question mooued and answered

Countries where are very goodlie Women.

A cruell and bloody Law of Lycurgus.

The opinion of many, concerning the nakednesse of Women.

The Authors Conclusion, pertinent to his purpose.

meanes to the poore, whereby to clothe them, not only for their defence against heate, cold, raine, stormes, and byting Flyes; but also to hide their partes of shame.

CHAP. VI.

Of a good Custome among the Locrenses, or Locrians, that he who would be the Authour or maker of any new Law (if it were not allowed for good and profitable) must presently be hanged.



Here were sometimes a people, commonly called *Locrians*, and the Metropolitane Citty, was tearmed *Locris*, or *Locros*, scituare in the Countrey of *Greece*, neere adioyning to *Beotia*. This people, while liued vertuously, and admitted no inno- uation among their Countrey Lawes, but carefully kept them of their Prede- cessors; their Common-weale conti- nually flourished, and neuer could they be ouer-awed by Tyrants, where with they were enuironed, and very much enuied, but rather made themselues much feared and admired.

And to preuent, that no man should be so bold, as to induce any nouell laws among them, whereby to vrge alterati- on of them so long embraced; they made an Edict, and thereby (according as *Demoſthenes* recordeth) ordained: That euery Cittizen, that sought to bring in any new kind of Law, must come with an Halter about his Necke, and deliuer his Law publikely before al the people; to the end, that if the New Law were not receiueable, and highlie profitable to the Common-wealth; he might presently bee hanged; as a con- digne recompence for his hasty for- wardnesse.

In all well instituted Societies (saith *Aristotle*) and by Lawes well ordained, it behoneth to vse very diligent regard, not to diminish or change any thing; (how little soeuer it be) of the Lawes; and warily to fore-see matters, that (by little and litle) may intrude themselues. For if (then) resistance bee not vsed, it

will fall out as in a dilease of the body, whereto, if at the beginning of the sick- nesse, prompt remedy be not appli- ed: the dilease so increaseth by flow de- grees; that that which (at first) might easily haue bene holpen, becommeth (by negligence) quite incurable.

The first signe to be obserued in an Estate, tottering towardes ruine, is, when we behold vnbrideled liberty, and facility in dispencing with good ordinā- ces; nothing being daily more listened vnto, then flying nouelties, tales, and rumours: because Law is a singuler rea- son, imprinted and stamped in Nature, commanding thinges which ought to be done, and prohibiting the contrarie.

The Ethnicks were much more consci- entious in keeping their Lawes, then Christians; for, if we would looké into many Lawes of the Emperours and Christian Kinges: we should finde no meane store of Nouell Lawes; forged in fauour of some one; and them of more Antiquitie, to be either quite cut off, or much modified. Following the opinion of *Machiauell*, who hath lest written: That a Prince may make laws, contrary to them of auncient standing, prouided, they be for his owne profit.

It was demaunded of *Archidamus*, Sonne to *Zeuxidamus*, King of the *Lace- demonians*, what were they that presided and commaunded in the Citty of *Spar- ta*? He made aunswere, that they were the Lawes. Surely, his reply was to good purpose, for in a well governed Common-wealth, chiefe authoritie is to be referred to the Lawes: for it is not permitted to any Magistrate, either to attempt against, or decline from the Lawes. Another, named *Pausanias*, and likewise King of *Sparta*, beeing asked; whether it were any great offence, to swerue from the auncient Lawes, and leane to them new made; replied, that it was a very great crime. For (quoth he) *it behooueth that Lawes should haue authoritie among men, and not men among Lawes.*

Chilo, one of the Wise-men of *Greece* said: *That all Men were bound to obey the Lawes, and Princes themselues ought not to be exempted from them.* *Craesus*, King of *Lydia*, demaunded of *Pisacus* the *Mitilenian*; *Where was the best and chee- fest Government*, who answered. *It is in that*

A good Simi- litude.

The euident apparance of a lost Estate.

Ethnicks more obser- uant of lawes, then Christi- ans.

A wicked ad- uise of *Machi- auell.*

The answere of *Archidamus.*

The answere of *Pausanias.*

The saying of *Chilo.*

The answere of *Pisacus* to *Craesus.*

The Citty *Lo- cris* neere to *Beotia.*

The new law maker, must declare his Law, with a Halter about his necke.

Aristotles rule for well orde- red Societies.

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The saying of Agislaus.

that place, where the Lawes haue Soueraign authority; for there Tyranny (how little soeuer) could gaine no admittance. Agislaus, King of the Lacedemonians, said; That the multitude of Lawes, resembled the multitude of Phisitians, who, where they abounded, the like abounding of Diseases was found. In like manner, Where were plenty of Lawes, there likewise was the greater store of Vices.

The saying of Heraclitus.

Heraclitus the Ephesian, said: A Man of Honour ought (no iot lesse) to hazard his life for the Lawes, then for the Walles of his Country: Because (quoth he) a Cittie may subsist without Walles, but not without Lawes. At this day, Lawes seeme to litle purpose in France; for the good haue no need of them, and the wicked or vicious care not for keeping any one of them. By the precedent discourse, and sententious sayings of many worthy men, it plainly appeareth, that for the best conseruation of any Common weale, and to keep it in continuall flourishing; the ancient lawes ought strictly to be obserued, and no easie admittance of any new, because it giues way to euill disposed persons first to decline from them, and then (afterward) to trouble the quiet of the State.

Lawes vtterly vnprofitable in France.

CHAP. VII.

Of the strange life of Diogenes, the Cynick Philosopher; with a breefe repetition of some of his witty sayings, propositions, and answeres.

Five seuerall Men named Diogenes.



Finde among good and credible Authors, that there were five seuerall Men, all of them bearing the name of Diogenes, and each of them, both for his vertue & singuler learning, wel deserued report to posterity. Howbeit, omitting all the rest, our present purpose is, to speake onely of Diogenes, the Cynick Philosopher; whose learning, life, and rare qualities, though they seemed strange and vnimitable, yet their foundation was vertue and goodnesse. He liued continually in voluntary pouerty, exposing his body to all toil

The life of Diogenes in wil-

and trauaile. In Summer, his lodging was on the Sand, in the sight and heate of the Sun; to arme him with patience against violent warmths. In Winter, he would embrace huge Statues of Snow and Ice, for better inuring himselfe to the extreimity of cold. His feeding was on grosse Viands, and none of the best neither; to the end, he might neuer perish for want of sustenance. He neuer had any certaine place, where hee might determine his absolute abiding: but wheresoeuer hee came and stayed; there he fed, drank, and slept. He would neuer speake, except cause required, and looke what Garment he wore all the day, the same was his Couerlet likewise all the night season. He had a certaine Scrip or Waller, wherein he kept all his Victuals together; and a Staffe, which serued him as his Horse, when he felt himselfe sickely or weary. A Woodden Dish was his Cup to drinke in; wheresoeuer he trauailed: but, beholding a Boy (one day) drinke Water in his hand, he brake his Dish in peeces, saying; Why should Art finde me a Vessell to drinke in, when Nature hath bestowed one much better on me? The like did he by a Woodden Trencher; seeing another Man make vse of one made of bread, and did eate it afterward, to piece out his dinner.

This Philosopher spent the most part of his dayes in Athens, which hee had made his retirement, being banished from his owne Gountrey. A Tun or great Tub (open at the one end) a long time was his House and dwelling; all things else being contemptible to him, but Vertue onely, and great was his feare to commit any sin. As for riches and honour, he counted them as nothing; but helde them in like slight regard, as he did them that enioyed them. It was an vsual saying with him, that he did not a little admire Mens vanity, in quarrelling and killing one another, for Dignity on the way, or taking the wall: neuer beholding any contention in them, who should excell each other in vertue. A rich ignorant or vnlearned Man, he alwaies compared to a golden Sheep; that had a goodly fleece, but no goodnesse else. And when he demaunded any thing that was needful for him, he said, he did it not in begging maner, but

ling pouertie, and his prouision against al extremities

Diogenes refused all things whercof he had no neede.

Diogenes liued in Athens, and dwelt in a tun.

His contempt of Riches.

His comparison of an ignorant rich man.

but as asking due restitution; for that the goods of rich men, were properlie gathered to be the poores inheritance, because they wer gathered of the poor.

He had a certaine behaiour, which (in outwad apparance) seemed to sauor of folly, and yet it had a misterious and concealed vnderstanding. Many times he would resort to Images and Statues of stone or wood, and make an humble request for an almes; as if he had spoken an liuing persons, & his reason was: that heereby hee learned patient sufferance, because men would as to one deny poor men charity, as those dumb Images did when he desired an Almes, he made no exception of persons, but vsed these words. *If thou vse to giue any charity to the poor, the let not me passe without somewhat; for I am the neediest of all other. But if (as yet) thou hast neuer giuen to any man, begin with me, and it will teach thee how to bestow on others.* Comming (on a time) into a certaine mans house, who sometimes had beene wealthy, but his estate was now very poore: he found, that he had nothing to sup withall, but a poore Sallet of sower hearbs; whereupon, he said to him. *Had thy former diet beene: no better, thou hadst beene sure now of a better supper.* Whereby he gaue him to vnderstand, that his riotous and lauish wast before, made him now to vse necessitie as a vertue. Being demaunded at an other time; what biting of any Beast was most dangerous? He answered. *Among wilde beasts, the slanderer and backe-biter: & among the tamer sort, the flatterer.* One asked of him; for what cause Gold looked so pale and wan complexioned? *Because* (quoth he) *all men (like Theeues) lie in waite to surprize it.* Another man asked him, if he wanted a Seruant; and he told him no. Who shall then bury thee (quoth the other) when thou art dead? *Many he* (said Diogenes) *that will dwell in my house.* Some were desirous to know of him, when was the fittest time for marriage; and he replied: *Young Men may marry at all times, for leasurable repentance; but old men may tarry, for little is their need;* inferring thereby, that marriage (in neither age) required ouermuch hastinelle.

Thus, as Diogenes was free both in life and behaiour, so was he likewise in any words passing from him. For, as on a day he went thorow a street, and beheld

a goodly house, belonging to a Lord of very dishonorable life; looking thereon more aduisedly, hee perceined (in faire Carracters) engrauen ouer the Gate, these words: *No dishonest person hath here any entrance.* Turning himselfe suddenly about, to such as then passed by him; he said: *If this Inscription be true, which way doth the Lord and Maister enter into his owne house?* Not long after, traouailing into the Country, he came (by chance) to a little Village, altogether as poore, as fillily peopled: yet the gates thereof were extraordinarily great & spacious, whereat, falling into a loude laughter, he said. *Be wise ye Inhabitants, and shut up your wide Gates betimes, or else all your Towne will run out by their means.* He chanced to passe by a company of Archers shooting in Crosse-bows, among whom there was one very meanly practised, for fill he shot faire and farre off from the marke; which when Diogenes noted, euer as that man shot, he would enter in; and stand directly before the But, and beeing demaunded why he did so? He answered. *Heere is my safest standing; when this man shooteth, for here (I am sure) he meanes not to hit me.* Looking on a young Lad, very well proportioned of body, but wicked in qualities: *Alas my Boy* (quoth he) *why dost thou carry so bad a sword, in so seemely a Scabberd?*

There were diuers, who commended a man that had giuen a smal gift to Diogenes, to whom he said: *Why do ye not much rather commend me, that deserued it, before he had the wit to giue it?* Vnderstanding thereby; that it is better to deserue a fauour, then to performe it vpon due desert. He neuer vsed to aske Money, as a gift from any man, yet (contrary to his custome) he once required a great sum of Money of a prodigall Companion; who being offended thereat, saide: *Why dost thou vrge me in such an vnreasonable request?* Whereto he answered: *I aske of other men reasonably; as hoping often to speed with them: but my demand is thus liberall to thee, because I intend to moue thee no more;* taxing (heereby) his immeasurable expences. Whence procedes it (quoth one vnto him) that men more gladly giue their Almes to the Lame, Blinde, Gouty, diseased and disreembred; then to Philosophers and Men of learning? Whereto his answere (in my conceit)

How Diogenes instructed Beggars to get an Almes.

His own kind of begging an Almes.

To a prodigal man false in to pouerty.

For Backe-biters and Flatterers.

For the complexion of Gold.

A fit time for marriage in young or old.

Of a faire and goodly building.

Of a little Towne with great Gates, named Almida.

Of an vnskillfull Archer.

Of a fair Boy with foule conditions.

Of a gift giuen to Diogenes.

In asking a great summe of Money.

Neglect of Philosophers and learned men.

conceit) was apt and excellent, saying: *Such is their bounty, because they fear to become sooner diseased like them, then any hope they haue of euer beeing Philosophers, or so much as louers of learned men.* The sayings and wise answeres of this Philosopher, were almost infinite, and I may the easier passe them, as being well knowne to the whole world.

Diogenes was the Scholler to Antisthenes.

For Astrologers.

For Musitions

For Logicians

Alexander the Great visiteth Diogenes, and their conference together

Diogenes taken by Pirats, and sold a Bond-slave.

He was very iudicious, discreet, and deeply learned in al the Sciences; for he was Scholler to *Antisthenes*, in the life time of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, and dispised all Arts that were vnprofitable, & them that studied them, more for curious knowledge, then the exercise of vertue. He reprooued Astrologers, that gazed on the heauens, and regarded not what they held in their hands. He would tell Musitions, that they could better tune their Instruments, then temper their owne disordered affections. When he heard an Astronomer argue skilfully of the Stars, he demanded of him; *When he came last out of heauen? To a Logitian, that (by Sophisticall Arguments) laboured to disproue all motion; he scorned to make him any other answer, but walking vp and downe before him, saide. What, is this motion, or no? The renoune of this Philosopher did extend it selfe so largely through the world, that Alexander the great comming to Athens; desired to see and confer with him, of diuers matters concerning vertue. At length, Alexander said vnto him. I perceiue Diogenes, that thou art poore, and standest in need of many things: wherefore, demaund what thou wouldst haue, and I will giue it thee. To whom Diogenes replied. Which of vs two dost thou thinke is in most necessity? Either I, who desire nothing but my woodden dish to drinke in, and the least morsell of bread: or thou, that art king of Macedon, and yet exposest thy life to multitudes of perils, onely for further extent of thine Empire, insomuch, as the whole world sufficeth not thine auarice?*

Diogenes on a time, was surprized by certain *Athenian* Pirats, yet his hart and speech neuer faild him in prison, but being brought to a place, where he should bee sold to him that offered most for him: a Merchant comming thither, demaunded of the Trumpeter, who had the charge to sell him, by what authority he exposed him to sale, and whether

he were a bond man or no? Wherupon *Diogenes* said to the Trumpeter: *Tel this man, that thou wilt sell him a Seruant, that knoweth how to commaund and gouerne his Maister.* *Aulus Gellius* and *Macrobius* doe affirme, that he made this answer to *Geniades*, who was the man that bought him, and brought him to his Inne; *Diogenes* said to his new Maister. *Take heede* *Geniades*, for now it stands thee vpon, to be obedient to whatsoeuer I shall counsell or command thee. Whereto *Geniades* replied, that it were against all reason, for the Seruant to commaund his Maister. *Diogenes* answered. *If a sick man do chance to buy a wise skilfull Phisition: shall not hee doe well to obey, and follow his counsell? In like manner, if an vntutored Mariner (for his safer conduct) happen to buy a cunning Pilot, will not his passage be the freer from perill? If this appeare to be profitable, in cases of sicke and bodily infirmity, or preservation of life from infinite dangers: how much more then is his merit, that knowes how to order and direct the Soule, being respected but as a wise and vnderstanding Philosopher? All these sayings were well obserued by *Geniades*, for hee vsed the aduise of *Diogenes* in all his businesse, and made him Maister of his Children, to their no little benefit and aduancement. In this manner; and with such exercises, *Diogenes* liued the space of ninety years.*

Some hold opinion, that he died by the byting of a Dog. But others doe affirme, that when he saw himselfe to be old and feeble, without strength, or any longer desire of life: containing still the same constancy and courage wherein he had formerly liued: he caused his owne death, the very same day that *Alexander* the Great dyed. A little before he yeilded vp the Ghost, his Schollers perceiuing him so neere his end, desired to know, where he intended to be buried? He replied, that hee would haue them leaue him in the open fieldes vnburied. They maruailing hereat, told him, that therein he was not well aduised, because, beeing left in that manner; the Birdes and Beastes would feede vpon him. *Why then* (quoth he) *lay my staffe by me, and I will keepe the Birdes and Beastes from comming neere me.* At this answer they fell a laughing, saying; it were in vaine to do so, because the dead do neyther see nor feele. *Why then* (quoth he) *trouble*

Aulus Oellius & Macrobius.

Diogenes confereth with his Maister *Geniades.*

Geniades mistli- ked not his Man *Diogenes.*

Concerning the death of *Diogenes.*

Concerning his buriall.

*trouble your selves no more, for if I shall nei-
ther feele nor see: I had rather be fed on by
Birdes and Beastes, then to be deuoured by
Wormes of the Earth: And this was al the
care he tooke for his funerall.*

CHAP. VIII.

*Of diuers and variable Natures in Men,
beyond vsuall and naturall inclination,
and whence the occasions doe proceede.*



He diuersity of complexi-
ons, and inclinations in
Men, is a matter very mar-
uailous, and greatly to be
considered; for among so
many as we doe daily behold, there are
very few, or scarcely any to bee found,
that are conformable in Nature one to
another. You shall see some one man,
that cannot abide some one kinde of
meat; And others say, that there is no
tast or rellish in their meat. Some will
say, that they cannot feede well, but in
company; And others, doe take no de-
light in their food, except they do eate
it alone by themselues. All which varie-
ty of accidents, doe plainly testifie the
great power of God, and of his vncir-
cumscribed wisdome; who pleased to
send such strange kinde of complexions,
among so great a multitude of men. For
let vs admit the case, that man had still
enioyed the benefit of his owne free-
will; yet it is most euident, that diuers
dispositions & actions, variable promp-
titudes, complexions, and conditions,
(next vnto the will of God) are occasi-
oned by influences of the Stars and Pla-
nets, as second causes and instruments,
wherewith God is serued, because they
haue a working in inferior bodies. And
in regard, that among such an infinite
multitude of men, there are som things
more notable and apparant, then free-
quent or common: we will make some
short discourse of them, according as
they are set down and iustified by good
and approved Authours.

*Seneca writeth of a Man named Se-
necius, who was very rich, but of strange
and extraordinary condition: for all
things that he would haue to doe him
seruice, must be of excessiue greatnesse,
or else he could not endure them. The*

Cuppes and Glasse wherein he vted
to drinke, hee bought them of such
hugenesse, as hardly could he lift them
with both his hands. He sought to haue
Horses for his riding, of monstrous
stature; and that which was much
more ridiculous, hee would weare
shooes, which were foure or fve times
bigger then his feet. He alwaies vsed to
goe very fast in the streetes, and still on
tip-toe, as we tearme it; to seeme more
great & high, then he was by nature. He
could neuer abide Women of low sta-
ture; but coueted and fancied such as
were hugely big and taule. He would
neuer eate Figges, Oliues, Pease,
Chiches, or such like small Fruites; for
he contained the same affection in all o-
ther things His garments were so long,
that they trailed after him in the streets;
the like he did both at bed and boord: so
that vpon this immeasurable appetite,
he was commonly cald, *Senecius the great.*
*Pliny writeth of Marcus Crassus, Grand-
father to the other Marcus Crassus the
Triumuir, that was slaine by the Parthi-
ans: and he tearmeth him Agelastus, be-
cause he was neuer seene to smile or
laugh. We read of Socrates; that he was
neuer beheld more pleasant or melan-
cholly, at one time, then at another.
And Pomponius the Poet, who neuer
belched or brake wind vward or down
ward. Marke Anthony neuer vsed to spit
at any time. It is a matter against Na-
ture, which the learned Pontanus writes
of himself; that he neuer felt any stich,
pricking, or ach in his bodie: albeit, he
would sometimes wilfully fall on the
ground, and yet notwithstanding, hee
could feele no paine. In the same place,
which is in his book of heavenly things,
he speaketh of another man, who neuer
in all his life time, did drink either wine
or water. But Ladislaus, King of Naples;
once compelled him to drinke, and it
much endangered his life. I know not if
that bee more admirable, which Theo-
phrastus writes, of a man named Peninus;
that in his whole life time, did neither
eate or drinke any thing else but water.
*Aristotle speaketh of a certaine Maiden;
who being in her infancy nourished with
poyson: could as well digest it all her
life time after, euen as we doe our natu-
rall food. Albertus Magnus giueth cre-
dible assurance, that hee saw at Cullen**

*Little women
dispised by
Senecius.*

*Plin. Lib. 6.
Cap. 8.
Marcus Crassus
who neuer
laughed in all
his life.*

Of Socrates.

*Pomponius the
Poet.*

Marke Anthony.

Of Pontanus.

*Pon. In Lib. de
Reb. Caelest.*

*Theophrast. lib.
9. Cap. 7.*

Arist in Nat.

*Alber. Mag. lib.
2. Cap. 9.*

*Few men like
to one ano-
ther in nature*

*A testimony
of Gods great
power and
wisdome.*

*The influen-
ces of the
stars and Pla-
nets.*

*Seneca his re-
port of rich
Senecius, who
fancied all
things of ex-
traordinary
bignesse.*

in *Allemaigne* a young Damosell, who vsed to pull Morter from the wals, and eat it so fauourly; that all her life after she liued onely thereon.

August. in Lib. de Ciu. Dei.

S. Augustine declareth, that he saw a man in his time, who could moue his eares like as a horse doth, one while the one, and afterward the other, and then again both of them together: howbeit, *Aristotle* maintaineth, that man onelic (among all other Creatures) cannot stir or moue his eares. He saith moreouer, that without stirring his head, or touching it with his handes; hee could raise or lift vp al the haire on his head, and make them fall flat vpon his face: afterward, he could likewise raise them againe, and return them orderly to their due places, which (questionlesse) was very strange, and argued admirable dexterity. He further declareth, that he saw diuers men, which could counterfeit the notes and singing of Birds; so naturally (and with such perfection) with their mouths, that very Birds were beguiled by them; witnesse a Moderne and late Vicount. He tels of one beside, that had a strange kinde of cunning (though discommendable and beastly) in breaking winde so readily below, and with such variety of sound; as if hee had sung to some musicke. In breece, we read of infinite things, quite contrary to common vse; both concerning the senses of hearing and sight, as in legerity of race.

Arist. ubi supra. August. ibidem.

August. ibidem.

August. ibidem.

Solin Lib. 7. cap. 5. Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 20. Strabo the sharp sighted.

Amistis and Phionides, swift runners.

Quint Curt in Hist. Alexand

Solinus and *Pliny* do both testifie of a man named *Strabo*, who in the time of the *Punick* war, could (from one of the Promontories of *Scicilie*) discern the Shippes setting forth from the Port of *Carthage* in *Affrica*, and count them one by one; albeit, the distance was more then fise and fiftie leagues. They speake also of *Amistis*, the *Lacedemonian*, opposing himselfe to *Phionides* (who was nourfed and brought vp with *Alexander* the Great) auouching, that they did runne aboue a thousand and two hundred stades, which are more then an hundred and threescore thousand paces. They adde moreouer, that a Page or Lacky of the age of nine yeares, did runne (from mid-day to night) the full distatice of seuenty and fise thousand paces: *Quintus Curtius*, in the History of *Alexander*, speaketh of a Man named *Phillip*, who was Brother to *Lyssimachus*;

he being armed, did follow *Alexander*, (riding in great hast) on foot, without any stay or breathing (as we vse to say) the space of two hundred stades, which containe foure and twenty miles in Geometry. *Plato* writeth of *Socrates*, that no man liuing could endure so much trauaile and paines as he; yet would he neuer rest, although he might do it. Beside, such hunger and thirst, (as was able to kil any other man) he could abide without any annoiance, oftentimes following the wars daily, without any wearinesse or debility. When he had abundance of victuals, he would eat no more then at any other time. In times of greatest frosts and colds, when no other men durst be seen out of their tents and dwellinges, except they were well wrapt in Furs: *Socrates* would walke abroad in no other garment, then that he wore in Summer, and go barefooted in the Ices and Snowes, distasting it no more, then they that were best hosed & shod. One while he wold stand a whole daies space vpright on his feet, without mouing or stirring out of the same place: then would he (afterward) walke all the whole night, without any signe or shew of desiring sleepe.

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Pliny maketh mention of a certaine man, whose sight was so excellent, and his hand so ready; that he wrote all the *Iliades* of *Homer*, in the compasse of so much Paper, as he could very easily enclose within a Nut shell. The same *Pliny* (warranted also by *Solinus*) maketh report of one called *Callicrates*, who was such an ingenious Sculpture and Caruer; that he could make Flies and Ants in Iuory, so small, and yet so absolutely perfect, that it behoored such as would see them, to haue a very cleare sight.

It is a matter very meruailous, concerning both good and euill properties or qualities in diuers people. For, it is most notorious, that ther are both men and women in many places, whose eies are very venomous, and by looking intentiuely vpon a thing: the very acuitie or piercing subtilty of the sight, doth (in the meane while) both infect, and performe apparant harme, and when it is done on children, it is cald, bewitching by the eye. *Solinus* and *Pliny* do affirme, that there was Family in *Affrica*, who had the priuiledge, that if (in anger) they looked

Plato concerning Socrates, who had a more able body then any other man.

Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 5.

Homers Iliades, written in compasse of a Nut-shell. Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 2. Callicrates the admired Caruer.

Both good & euill qualities in men and women.

Infection by the eye.

Solin. Lib. 4. Cap. 7. Plin. Lib. 7. Cap. 2.

looked vpon any Fielde or Meddow: it dried vp immediatly; the like they did to Trees, and were the death of many Infants. In *Scythia* also there were Women of the same quality. Our auncient Phisitions haue experimented, & some (of latter times) doe confesse, that there are men in the world, of very venomous Nature; not onely by their sight, but likewise by their spittle. The blood of a red and freckled Man (if it be taken from him while he is enraged) is very venomous: yet God hath giuen the benefit to some men, by their spittle, to heale the byting of a mad Dogge, though others (thereby) can doe great iniury. These properties are to be known in cases of lesser efficacy. For it is most certaine, that let some man kill any Foule, they will suddenly fall into such putrefaction; as hardly any stomach can endure to feed on them. Againe, let such a party salt any meat; the flesh cannot possibly receiue the salt, but corrupteth presently, and yet the like (as hath been tried) could not be done by another body.

Pliny further auoucheth, that (in his time) there was a Kinred or Linage of people neere *Rome*, the men whereof, would go thorow any fire, without the least scorching. There was also another Family, who were called *Marses*; and they could heale the biting of Serpents, onely by the touch of their handes, as is approoued by many good Authours. These things are to be credited, especially when *Pliny* affirmeth any matter for certain; then boldly may faith be giuen to his wordes: though many times hee speaketh of things, which may seeme to deserue little beleefe. But then it is to be noted, that he neuer maintaineth any thing, as by heare-say from others; but onely such as himselfe hath scene or experimented.

That which *Suetonius* writeth of the Emperour *Tiberius*, is also very admirable, for he saith; that when hee rose in the night, although he was in neuer so obscure a place, and without any light: yet could he see (for a long while continuance) as persfily, as if a lighted Candle had stood by him, yet, soone after, he could not discern any thing. *Quintus Curtius*, and many other Authours say the same; that when *Alexander* the Great was in any sweate, it yeilded (of it

selfe) a most sweete and pleasant fauour.

Many more haue written of sundrie men, priuiledged by very strange & no common qualities: but because in such arguments as these, I haue affected and aymed at breuity, I need wander no further in this discourse. For I perswade my selfe, that a sufficient view may be had of Mens strange complexions, by these alledged examples, deriued from true testimonies, and ancient Historiographers worthy of credit: not warranted by Poets or Fancists, from whom I make no account to fetch any verity. Let *Virgill* tell the World, the Legiere promptitude of **Canilla*, Queen of the *Volsians*; *Catullus* brag of *Achilles*; *Quid*, of *Atalanta*; *Statius*, of *Fidena*; *Sidonius*, of *Olphetus* the Mariner; *Higinus*, of *Orrion* the Sonne of *Neptune*; and *Claudian*, of *Lycaste*; with many other of like matters: I onely cleaue to soundest authority, such, as (by the best iudgements) haue beene, and are still held for credible.

The Authors conclusion of this argument

* She holpe *Turnus* against *Aeneas*, being daughter to *Metabus* and *Casmilla*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the great and large extendure of the Romaine Empire: Also, how, and in what time it began to decline and waxe feeble.



It is most apparant, that not any other consideration, can deliuer more certaine & intire knowledge, concerning the instability of worldly occasions; then that of the great and large extendure, which sometime belonged to the *Romaine* Empire, comparing it with that small portion, which the Emperours of *Rome* haue since then enioyed. For, in ancient & elder times, the most part of that, which is contayned and inhabited in *Europe* and *Affrica*, was subiect to the *Romaine* Empire, and likewise a great part of *Asia*. There to was subiected *France*, *Spaine*, *England*, *Germanie*, withall the Prouinces of *Italie*, and the *Mediterranean* Islandes: All *Greece*, *Thrace*, *Hungaria*, *Polonia*, *Dacia*, and as wee haue alreadie said, the very greatest part of *Affrica*, *Mauritania*,

The Romaine Empire is witness of the Worlds inconstancy;

The greatnes of the Romaine Empire in elder times, and how largely her limits extended.

Men of venomous nature.

The blood of a red Man poysonous.

Foules infected in the killing.

Plin. lib. 7. Cap. 3.

Men that healed the biting of Serpents.

Pliny is a good and sufficient testimony.

Sueton. de vit. de Tiber. Emp.

Quint. Curt de Alexand. Mag.

nia, Numidia, Carthage, Lybia; and (beside great store of Realms and Prouinces) *Aegypt*, and all her Confines. In *Asia*, *Arabia*, *Siria*, *Iudea*, *Palestine*; and *Mesopotamia*, they went through with their powers, and extended their dominion; euen to the famous Riuers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*: which happened in the time of the Emperor *Traiane*, who stretched his limits so far as the East *Indiaes*, conquering the Citties of *Seleucia*, *Ctesiphonta*, and *Babylon*, making Prouinces also of *Armenia* and *Albania*. In former daies, they had all the lesser *Asia*, *Pontus*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, *Galatia*, *Bithinia*, *Cappadocia*, and so many other Regions; as I know not when I should make an end, if I were to name them particularly. All which goodly length, and large scope, became restrained (through the pusillanimity of some Emperours) into one onely and little part of *Allemagne* or *Germany*, and *Italy*: wherefore we will declare how, in what manner, and when this huge Empire began to diminish.

The Empire restrained into a small part of *Germany* and *Italy*.

The principall and most notable wound, which the *Romaine* Empire receiued, and the very originall of her ruine; proceeded from the *Gothes*, a people greatly renoued in Armes, descended from the Northerne *Scythia*, to destroy and ruiuate al the rest of the world beside. But to deliuer the matter in due forme, I must make a backe retreat for a while, to recite breiefely the whole History. For I would amply describe, how many times the *Gothes* haue molested and affronted this Empire; how many Prouinces they destroyed; and how often they were repulsed; what victories they obtained, and yet were also vanquished by the Emperors and *Romaine* Captaines. But the discourse would be ouer long, and therefore it shal content me, to keep the same course we haue already continued, with breuitie and best order to please the Readers.

The Empires first wound grew from the *Gothes*.

To auoide confusion of opinions, I will forbear to dispute, from what part of *Scythia* they descended; or making declaration, which were they that named themselues *Ostrogoths*, and others *Vuisgoths*; because heerein is no difference, but that the *Ostrogoths* liued more towards the East. To conclude this point, they were all *Gothes*, and so will I

Ostrogoths and *Vuisgoths*.

name them, without any other note or difference among them. Passing ouer many things, that neede no repetition; *Cornelius Tacitus* writeth, that in the time of the Emperour *Domitian*, the *Gothes* enterprized to make war on the *Romaine* Empire. And, in some short while after, the Emperor *Traiane* took truce and peace with them; hauing first receiued assurance from them (vpon great promises) that they shold abide at home in their Countries quietly in peace, and so they continued for the space of ninety yeares. But this time being expired, they began to rise againe, and make another entrance vpon the Empires lands: against which attempt, the Emperor *Antoninus* made opposition, and vanquished them. Twenty years after, they became incensed againe, and assayed to passe the Riuer *Danubius*; wherein they were hindred by the Emperour *Gordianus*. Ten yeares after, being aduertised of his death, and in the time of the Emperor *Phillip*; they leuied an Army of three hundred thousand men, and subdued the Countries of *Thrace* and *Misia*, without any abilitie of resistance. Made proud with these victories, long time after the death of *Phillip*; they renewed warre againe, in the raigne of *Decius* his successor, and entering by the Country of *Rome*, *Decius* (in good equipage) got before them, and gaue them battaile. In which resistance (after cruell effusion of blood) the *Romaines* lost the day; and there remained *Decius*, who neuer after was seene, eithers aliue or dead, and there likewise died his Sonne.

Cornel. Tacitus. Lib. 7.

Traiane maketh peace with the *Goths*

The Emperor *Antoninus* vanquished the *Gothes*.

The *Gothes* army of 300000 men.

The *Romaines* conquered by the *Gothes*.

The *Gothes* conquered *Thrace*, *Macedon*, &c.

Afterward, all the Successors (well neere) of *Decius*, did euermore carrie themselues weakly in their wars against them: so that, in the time of the Emperor *Valerian* (who was conquered by *Sapor* King of *Persia*) the *Goths* made themselues Maisters of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, and also of *Bythinia* and *Nicomedia* in *Asia*, yet were they valiantly fought withall, and discomfited in *Achaya*, by *Macrinus*. Matters proceeding in this manner, when *Claudius* (second Emperor of that name) came to succede in the Empire; he gaue them battell, euen one of the most cruell and deadly, that any Histories doe make mention of. For it is most certaine, that three hundred thou-

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thousand *Gothes* perished in this fight. The rest that remained, the Emperour was victorious ouer, and expelled them out of those Countries which they had formerly gayned: Moreouer, he surprized such an huge number of them, that there was not one house in the Empire, but it had a *Goth* Slaue in it. Their so often restauration, and re-assembling in warre, after so many ouerthrowes was receyued by diuers Emperours, was an euident Testimony of their great multitude and power: for continually (after such great destructions) they would returne a fresh in armes to the field, euen as if they had sustained no losse at all.

It happened within a while after, that the Emperour *Emilianus* bad them battell in his owne person, wherein was slain their King *Carobius*, with fiftie thousand *Gothes* beside, that stroue to renewe the warre again; so that (then) they seemed as vtterly ruinated. But growing to bee re-peopled, in the reuolution of 30. yeares: they mustred infinit troopes together, to bee reuenged of their passed harde fortunes; and being an army of mightie power, possessed themselues of *Sarmatia*. By meanes whereof, the Emperour *Constantine* the Great (who was gone to *Constantinople*, purposing there to keepe his Imperiall seat) made head against them, so foyling and killing them; that the *Gothes* weary of vanquishing, and beeing vanquished) desired truce of *Constantine*, and afterware peace, and did him seruice in war, against *Lycinius*, as formerly they had done the like to the Emperour *Maximianus*, against the *Parthians*. In this manner, by many Confederacies & Friendships with the *Romans*, they receiued warwages of them, because they were reputed very valiant and warlicke Souldiours: Since which last rout or ouerthrow, they liued quietly for more then threescore yeares, in *Scythia*, whence they first parted: and now they became to be no more feared, because they seemed as vtterlie bruised with their passed Trauailles; and therefore, were verie gladd to liue in quiet.

The foresaid time was no sooner ended, but it fortun'd, that another people, called *Hunnes* (who were likewise of *Scythia*, and neere neighbouring to the *Rhiphean* Mountaines) warring with great spleene and hatred against them; & scor-

ning that they should inhabite so neare them: became Conquerors of them, and (proouing the stronger side) chased the *Gothes* out of their Countries. They perceiuing their great number, and yet to be thus violently expulsed (being compelled by meere necessity) did send their Ambassadors to the Emperour *Valens*, intreating him, that he would giue them some Country to liue in; and (as his Vassailes) they would obey him. Whereto the Emperour condescended; and suffering them to passe *Danubie*; gaue them the Country of *Misia*, according as *Crosius* Writeth; where they held and liued in peace, vntill two Captaines belonging to the Emperour *Valens*, named *Maximus* and *Lycinius* (who had parted and deuided the places of their abiding, and kept there as a Guard for the Countrey) vsed them badly, tyrannically robbing them, and (thorough extreame Auarice) compelling them almost to vtter famishment.

Heereuppon, they were enforced to enter Armes, and to vse by force, that which by loue and fair meanes was denied them. So passing on further then their limitation, they entered *Thrace*, destroying, robbing the Country, burning and wasting the Citties and Townes al along as they went. Against this impetuositie and violence, the Emperour *Valens* opposed himselfe, presenting them battaile, wherein he was vanquished; and beeing wounded with a Dart, was faine to flie and saue himselfe in a Village house, vwhere the *Gothes* (being Victours) put fire to it; and burned him therein. Pursuing their fortunate successe, they besieged the City of *Constantinople*, which was worthilie defended by *Dominica*, Wife to the Emperour *Valens*.

Gratian, Nephew to the Emperour *Valens*, succeeded the Empire, during whose raigne, the *Gothes* (glorying in such a victory) assailed the *Romaine* Empire; and made warre in so many places thereof, that it was in great daunger to bee lost: Which *Gratian* perceiuing, as also the danger and distresse hee was in (hearing the great renowne of *Theodosius*, born in *Spain*; a very valiant man both in peace and warre) he elected him as his companion in administration of the Empire, creating him Captaine, to controule the pride and fury of the *Gothes*. Imitating the Emperour *Nerua*, successor to *Domitian*,

The strength and multitude of the *Gothes*.

The king, and fifty thousand *Guthes* slaine.

Constantine the Great, conquereith the *Gothes*.

Another Nation calld the *Hunnes*, dwelling by the *Rhiphean* Mountaines.

The *Gothes* sued to the Emperour *Valens* for an abiding place.

Maximus and *Lycinius*, Captaines to the Emp. *Valens*.

The *Gothes* enter into armes againe.

The Emperour *Valens* foyled and burn'd by the *Gothes*.

The *Gothes* assail the *Romaine* Empire.

Gratian ioined *Theodosius* with him in the Empire, to resist the *Goths*.

Theodosius vanquished the *Goths*, and made them tributarie to the *Romaine* Empire.

Romes Empire decayed, after the death of *Theodosius*.

Trian, who seeing himselfe to grow Olde, & the Empire fall into much decadence, made choise of good *Traian* (borne also in the same Cittie of *Spaine*) who (by his wisdom and valour) not only defended the Empire, but likewise augmented it, in large extendure of Lands and Riches, more then any other did. In this maner, *Gracian* chose *Theodosius* (whom manie reputed neere Kinsman to *Traian*) and he became so worthy a Captaine, and afterward so wise an Emperour, that he hadde many victories against the *Goths*, of whō hee slaughtered so great a number: that he compelled them to begge peace, and yeild themselves tributary to the *Romaine* Empire, bereaving them of all that they formerly vsurped, and abated thē in such sort, that (all his life time) they were peaceable subiects to him, and tooke prestemony of him, to serue in his wars; beside, they had neither king nor Captain (while hee raigned) but such as hee allowed them.

So remained the Empire of Rome in peace, and restored (by him) to her first authority, albeit it was not accomplished without much trauaile, and great aduerture of his person. But after the death of *Theodosius*, this great Dominion turned topsie turuy (as we shall relate) although it was daily augmented so much in 1100. yeares. After which time, it fell into such decadence, as neuer (since then) could it be releued: except by the Nouell recidiuation, which it had by *Mahomet*, and reduced it into the same poverity, wherein the greatnesse thereof first tooke Originall.

CHAP. X.

The History of the Romaine Empire, further prosecuted, with the successe of the Gothes, and their surprizall of Rome.

Deuision of the Empire.



Theodosius dying, leste two Sonnes, the one named *Honorius*, and the other *Arcadius*, with one daughter called *Placida*; betweene whome, he deuided his Empire. Now, because they were verie young, and vncapable of

gouernment, hee left them two notable Tutors; the one, called *Ruffinus*, the other *Stellico*: *Ruffinus*, for the Countries in the East, and *Stellico* for *Italy* and the West. This *Stellico* was a verie worthy Captaine, wise, and prouident; and the other (being euery way as valiant) pursued high and famous enterprizes. Wherevpon, enuy and ambitious thirst of rule, got footing between them; and they perceiving the Princes to be ouer yong, applied their seueral practises vpon the Empire; *Ruffinus* for himself, but *Stellico* for his Sonne. Now, because this could not be easily compassed, in regarde that the people of the Empire bare affection vnto the sonnes of *Theodosius*, remembering the Vertues and goodnes of their father: these climbing spirites (in the conuertest manner they could deuise) both desired and sought all meanes, whereby to throw Warre and distresse vpon the Empire. For they being men of great imploiment might thereby continually command, & preferue their awfull authority ouer the people.

Moreouer, by such election as might be made of them (as formerly had bene done of Consulles and Captaines) they might (as occasions gaue way) entermiddle in the gouernment of the Empire.

The first of them that made discoverie of his intent, was *Ruffinus*; for hauing (by some quiet means) prouoked strangers to make warre; and he being elected Captaine or Chiefe Commander, assayed to haue himselfe named Emperour; wherein failing, for this presumption he was put to death by the apointment of *Honorius*, who (by this time) was growne to pretty stature. *Stellico*, who was much more ingenious, and better knewe how to play with time, hauing ioyned *Arcadius* in marriage with one of his daughters: forestalled (thereby) all suspition of any badde thought in him. Yet notwithstanding, seeking all apt waies to compass his enterprize, he secretly sollicitated the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, the *Hannes*, and other barbarous Nations, to rise against the Empire, assaying them himselfe sometimes, and meerey prouoking them to Warre. Besides, hee sent Messengers to them, to giue them hope, that they might easlye conquer diuers countries in the Empire: all which he did, vnder absolute perswasion, of being elected Generall (as we haue alrea-

Ruffinus and *Stellico*, tutors to *Honorius* & *Arcadius*.

Practising against the yong Princes, by their Tutors.

Ruffinus first sought to name himself Emperour, and therefore was put to death.

Stellico prouoketh the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Hannes* against the Empire.

already said) knowing himselfe to bee the most able man for armes that those times afforded. For, albeit *Honorius* and *Arca- dius* were then tall youths; yet their care (as yet) extended not to the Countreyes Government, as Princes ought to do.

Now came the *Gothes* with a main army, and *Stellico* beeing chosen Captaine against them, obtained some fewe victories: but they were in such sort, that no generall Conquest was intended, but only to lengthen out the warre without finishing; yet heereby he won himselfe such reputation; that whatsoeuer he did, needed no other approbation. In the meane while, the *Gothes* elected *Alarick* as their King, who went into *Italy* with a mighty army; against whome, *Stellico* opposed himselfe very powerfully: and although he had much disadvantaged the *Gothes* and their King, yet it was plainly perceived, that greater matters might haue bin performed, had he bin so pleased. *Alarick* who was a man of great fore-sight, and of good vnderstanding, discerned apparently, that *Stellico* desired no conclusion of the warre, least then his means of commanding should cease: for, by a full conquest, he could not attend the coming of som other barbarous nations, as namely the *Vandals*, who hee knew certainly would attempt against the Empire; and he being descended of their Nation, conceiued the greater hope, that (by their helpe and fauour) hee should the easier feize on the Empire, and so aduance his sonne thereto.

In this maner, *Alarick* being thoroughly acquainted with the drift of *Stellico* priuately aduertised *Honorius* thereof, desiring that he would graunt him peace, because he sought nothing else, but some small Countrey to liue in, with his people; in signe whereof, hee tendered him his faithfull seruice. The Emperour being thus certified of these proceedings; and looking into the cunning Stratagemis, with all other suspitions inducing to the purpose; clearly perceited the intention of *Stellico*. Neuerthelesse, he dissembled (as yet) all apprehension thereof, & yeelded to the request of *Alarick*, graunting him to inhabit a certaine part of *Gaul*.

While matters thus waied vppe and downe, manie daies passed on, quite frustrating the perswasions whereto *Stellico* bended his course. And albeit (according

to the agreement) *Alarick* remoued with his army, to take possession of the place assigned for his dwelling: yet notwithstanding, *Stellico* practised secretly with a Captaine of his troopes (a Jew born, and named *Saul*) who pretending some per- ticuler quarrell against the *Gothes*, should find meanes, that vppon one day in the Easter, when the *Gothes* (as such Christians as they were) should celebrate their festiuall, to set vppon them vnprouided, and in this maner of assault, to kill so many of them as he could. For, his Office of captain, being void in this time of peace, the warre (by this meanes) would be begun againe, and *Stellico* aduanced to his former dignity. The Jew performed his desire, and assaying the *Gothes*, made a great slaughter of them: but in the end, he made them amendes with losse of his owne life: for the *Gothes* being quickly assembled, ran violently vppon him and his people, and he (with a great number of them) there perished.

Alarick beeing much offended at this treachery, marshalled his forces against them belonging to *Stellico*, vwho made shew of fearfulness, and woulde (by no meanes) aduenture themselues that day: but dispatching a Trompet to the Emperour, required to haue more men for his assistance. The Emperour well knowing (before) the cunning of *Stellico*, and standing in dread of his further meaning, sent such a potent Army to the field, & some others put in especiall trust for the purpose; as there was both *Stellico* and his Sonne slain, few or none being acquainted with the reason of his death, or the treason by him intended. Now, albeit *Honorius* had well provided against this scandall and danger, yet could he not suddenly take order for creation of a newe Captaine, so excellent and meete to manage matters in fiede. And *Alaricke* pondering heereon, that this might be occasioned by the Emperours direction, or that *Stellico* miscarried in his owne purposed mischief, tooke aduantage of so apt an opportunity, and went on towards *Rome*, without any impeachment by the way, putting to fire and sword (al) along as he iournied, and planted his siege before the Citty, in the yeare eleuen hundred, three-score and four, of the foundation therof. But finding by his first assaulte, that the manhood and courage of the Romaines, yeilded

The Gothes bring a potent army.

The Gothes, entered Italy in armies.

Stellico seeketh to prolong the war against the Gothes.

Alarick dealt covertly with *Honorius* for peace.

Alarick is granted his abiding in *Gaul*.

Stellico plot- teth with a Jew against the Gothes.

A great slaugh- ter of the Gothes by a Jew.

Stellico and his son slaine in the field.

Rome besieged by the Gothes.

Rome besieged by the Gothes 2. whole yeats.

Paul. Oros lib. 7
Paul' Diac. in
Hist Honor.
Ibrd. in Hi. Got.
Aug Lib. 7. de
Civit Dei.
Hier in Epist.
Isid. in hi. Goth.

The words of a Monke, to King Alarick.

Alaricks answer to the Monke.

Annal. Const. per. Hist. Eutrop

Paul. Oros. ubi supra.

ded slender likelyhood of any speedy surprizall: he besiedged it on all sides verie strictly, and his sledge continued two whole yeares together;

Many Authours haue thus written, concerning the assault and taking of Rome by Alarick: neuerthelesse, the actions of Armes therein performed, haue been so brieft and slenderly described, as almost nothing thereof can be said. They that haue written thereof, are Paulus Orosius, in his seauenth Booke; Paulus Diaconus, in the History of Honorius; Iordanus, or Ienardus, in his History of the Gothes; S. Augustine in his seauenth Booke of the City of God; and S. Ierom, in the beginning of his Epistle, as a thing that hapned in his time. Isidore also speaketh thereof, in the History of the Gothes, with many other Moderne Writers: who (all agreeing together) say, that so it hapned. Moreouer, one saith, that as Alarick went marching against Rome, and as a Christian, though fierce and cruell: there traualled a Monke before him, of great Authority and holy life, yet could it not possibly be knowne, of what place hee was.

Alaricke affoording him audience, the Monke councelled and admonished him to leaue off this euil purpose, bidding him remember that hee was a Christian, and (euen for the loue of God) he should moderate his passions, for hee ought not to take any delight, in shedding so much Christian blood, considering, that Rome had neuer offended him. Wherto k. Alarick thus replied: *Man of God, let me tell thee, that my going against Rome, is not of mine owne wil: but contrariwise, I assure thee, that euery day there goes a man before mee, who much constraineth and importuneth me, stil saying; Set on Alarick, goe against Rome, destroy it wholly, and bring it to desolation.*

The Religious man beeing amazed at these words, durst make him no answer, but suffered the King to proceede in his purpose. I found this written in the Annals of Constantinople, annexed to the history of Eutropius; whereby it appeareth, that this aduersity of Rome, was by the especiall rod or scourge of God. Paulus Orosius affirmeth as much, and saith. That euen as God drew Lot out of Sodome, to deliuer him from destruction; euen so, did he free thence Pope Innocent the first, who (some few dayes before the sledge)

went out of Rome, to visite the Emperor Honorius, who was then at Rauenna. Notwithstanding, Platina saith; That this desolation hapned in the time of Pope Zozimus: but it may be, that it began in the Papacy of the one, and finished in the others Gouvernement. Saint Ierom was likewise (in these yeares) out of Rome, in solemne penitence in the Deserts of Egypt.

Rome being thus besieged, the Gothes and Romaines performed many woorthie deeds of Armes: and so resolute were the Romaines; that they kept it till extreame famine came vpon them, for S. Hierome saith; *When the Citty was taken, there were found very few prisoners; because deuouring famine had consumed, and (wel-neere) brought them all to death. For they were compelled to feede on infected victuals, and one did eate another: the Mother spared not her nursing infant, but (enforced thereto by famine) sent it backe to the place fro whence it came at first so little; These are the very words of S. Ierom.*

Among Authours there is great variety, in what manner Rome was taken. Procopius the Gracian saith; That Alarick perceiuing his forces insufficient to take it, concluded to compasse his determination by treachery, and faigning as if hee meant to raise his sledge, made a certaine kind of truce, and sent three hundred prisoners into the Citty, with whom he had compounded during their imprisonment and durst relie vpon their vowed promises; for fulfilling such instructions as hee had giuen them, only to enioy their liberty, and other great benefits. The designed time being come, the prisoners that were at liberty in the Citty, to the number of three hundred; tooke one of the Gates, in despite of the Guardes which kept it; and thereat entered Alarick furiously, with all his followers.

Others say, that by the industrie and command of a Great Romain Ladie, this Gate was giuen into the Gothes power; & that this action proceeded from meere pitty in her, to see poore people suffer such extreame euils. For she was perswaded, that the enemy could not performe such cruelties in the City, as the Romaines acted vpon themselves.

There are others who say; That it was surprized by force of Armes: the people within being no longer able to withstand the

Plat. in Hist. Ro. cap. 9.

Hier. ubi supra.

Variation among authors concerning the surprizall of Rome. Procopius the Greeke.

A second opinion, concerning a worthy Lady of Rome.

A third coniecture of the Cities taking.

the *Gothes*. But by what meanes soeuer it was, they all agree together, that before any person entered the Citty, K. *Alarick* proclaimed (on paine of death) that none of his followers should be so hardie, as to touch one liuing creature of them, that had betaken themselues into Churches for their safety, especially those Churches of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, which accordingly was obserued; but all the rest of the City was sacked and spoiled; in which sledge, perished many thousands of persons, beside multitudes of prisoners taken. Among whom, was the Emperors Sister, named *Placida*, who was deliuered into the power of *Attaulfus* (one of the chiefeest in the Army, and a verie neere Kinsman to King *Alarick*) which *Attaulfus* in short while after married her.

The day following, they made themselues (wholly) Lords of the Citty, and (for the more ignominy and disgrace to the Empire) the Soldiers made one *Attilus* Emperor, whom they carried vpe and downe in habit of an Emperour; but the next day after, hee was made to serue as a slaue. Thus remained the *Gothes* three or 4. daies in *Rome*; and then setting fire on it in diuers places, they departed out at the further side therof. Al which while the Emperour *Honorius* was at *Rauenna*, where he could not but heare these wooll tidings; yet did hee declare no compassion for the Citty, whereof hee bare the Title of Emperour. This is the first time, that *Rome* (being in hir full strength) was subiect to the power of strangers. As for the *Frenchmens* entraunce in the time of *Brennus*, I make no reckoning thereof, because it was but in *Romes* nonnage or beginning, and had not attained to such might, as shee did afterward. But from this time of the *Gothes*, the City and Empire went continually to wasting. And many other times (since then) it hath bin ouercome and destroyed, whereof we will briefly report the most notable successe; to the end, that all men may knowe the frailty of Kingdoms and worldly powers, and how *Rome* (sometime the Ladie of our vniuersall Nations) hath bene made subiect and Slaue to all manner of people.

Not many daies after, *Alarick* was gone out of *Rome*, hee would haue set saile towards *Sicily*; but fortune returned him backe into *Italy*, and hee died in *Cosenza*,

a Towne in *Calabria*. In regarde of his death, the *Gothes* elected (as their King) the fore-named *Attaulfus*, who had taken to wife *Placida*, daughter to the Emperour *Theodosius*. Heereupon, this new-made King returned to *Rome*, with intent to ruinate and confound it to the very foundation, to dispeople it vtterly, and to burie the name thereof in obliuion: which determination hee had executed, but that the teares and intercessions of his Wife, preuailed with him.

These things, and many other passing, the *Gothes* departed out of *Italy*: but forty yeares after, the *Vandels* or *Vandalles* (who were likewise a Northerne people) came thither, vnder conduct of their King named *Genfericus*. They entred *Italy* with a stout people of *Affrica*, ouer whom they commanded: and comming to *Rome*, entred without any resistance, because the greater part of the Inhabitants were fled thence. Thus the *Vandals* (and their King *Genfericus*) remained in *Rome*, the space of foure daies: during which time, they made what spoil and hauock they could, and then set it on fire in many places.

Seauen and twenty yeares following this surprizall of the *Vandals*, (which was in all seauenty two yeares, after the *Goths* had entred vnder King *Alarick*) the King of the *Arules* and *Thoringes*, named *Odoacres*, came with a mighty armie against the Citty of *Rome*, which the Cittizens perceiuing, and how vnable they were to withstand so potent an enemy: went forth and entertained him amiably in peace, which caused him to name himselfe King of *Rome*, and there he raigned fourteene yeares.

Afterward, *Zeno* comming to succede in the Empire, sent *Theodorick* King of the *Gothes*, (who in those dayes) were become friends to the *Romaine* Empire; & *Theodorick* going against *Odoacres*, with a powerfull Army, only to recouer *Rome*, performed his purpose; and hauing the victory ouer *Odoacres*, not onely chased him out of *Rome*, but likewise out of *Italy*. Then tooke hee on him the name and kingdome, ruling there for the space of thirtie yeares in peace, and without anie contradiction. He dying, his Sonne *Atalarick* raigned there, eight or ten yeares, with his Queene *Amalafunta*.

Time passing on, and many trauels in Warre endured, *Iustinian* succeeding in the

King *Alaricks* Proclamation for such as fled to sanctuary.

Placida the Emperors Sister taken prisoner.

An Emperour made among the Soldiers, in scorn of the Empire.

The Emperour *Honorius* was at *Rauenna* in all this spoile.

The first decadence of *Rom.* after the *Gothes*.

The death of King *Alarick*, and *Attaulfus* made King of the *Gothes*, who thretned the vtter ruin of *Rome*.

Genfericus K. of the *Vandals* entered into *Rome* with his power.

The second spoile of *Rome*

Odoacres King of the *Arules* and *Thoringes*, goeth to *Rome*

Rome (the 3. time) kindly yeilded.

Theodorick K. of the *Gothes* goeth to *Rome*

Rome conquered the fourth time.

Totillus the cruel King of the *Gothes*.

the Empire, the *Gothes* returned againe into *Italy*, vnto the Ensigns of their most cruell King *Totillus*. But *Bellisarius* and *Narfetes*, most excellent men, exceeding all other in valour, and being Captaines in *Italy* for the Emperor *Iustinian*: did vanquish the *Gothes* diuers times, in the yeare of our Lord, five hundred & eighty. This *Totillus*, after he had many times besiedged *Rome*; and fought sundry hardie battels; at length, (by secret treason of some within the Citty) he won it; *Pelagius* being then the chiefe Bishop, who was found therein, and by his teares and earnest entreats, *Totillus* was moued, to moderat the cruelty and slaughter which his people vsed to the Inhabitants. This done, the cruell King sent his Ambassadors; to require peace with *Iustinian*, and because hee did not freely graunt it him, but referred him to *Bellisarius* (who was then Captaine generall in *Italy* against him) hee grew to great discontentment with himselfe, for sending to the Emperour; and to be thus denied. Heerupon, he destroyed almost the whole Citty, nothing remaining but the third part of the walles: he caused the Capitoll to be burned, and the greater part of the Citty; euen all that possibly hee could, commanding the Dwellers to get them from thence.

When the people had deuided themselves into diuers other Neighbouring Citties and Townes; he led thence with him many of the Senatours, and such as were of greatest respect in *Rome*; leaving the Citty wholly vn-inhabited, and most Goodly sumptuous buildings utterly desolate. In brieffe, such was the ruine and destruction, as neuer after could it be reduced to the former condition: Albeit *Bellisarius* (after his entrance into it) repaired a great part of the wals and dwellings, and gaue aide to the *Romanie* Princes; fortifying their Citty, so much as in him lay; and procuring the return of many dispersed Inhabitants, who had fled to sundry Neighboring places of *Italy*, now to beginne a New Population of *Rome*. In such good sort was it repaired, that it was strong enough to out-stand a second attempt of *Totillus*, who came againe, & laid his siege to it. But in regard that *Bellisarius*, at his departing out of *Italy*, carried thence with him the Manly courage wherewith such a Citty should be defen-

ded: therefore, King *Totillus* had his second surprize of it the more easily, and vsed effects quite contrary to his former. For, insted of againe destroying it, he laboured to restore what he had ruined, & such Cittizens as had fled (being fearefull of him) he caused their returne with verie kinde Welcome, and Royall Feasting.

10 Some Authours say, that the cause of this strang alteration, proceeded by these meanes. That he had sent into *France*, with request of one of the Kings Daughters in marriage, and answer was returned him; That he would not giue him any one of them, because he knew him not to be King of *Italy*, for if hee were King thereof, he would not labour so much to destroy it, but rather strue to maintaine it in all her rights. Others affirme, that repenting himselfe for his passed cruelties, he made a Vow to *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, to restore *Rome* againe. But howsoeuer it was, it fell out to prooue so, and this was the last time that the *Gothes* entred *Rome*: for they lost it before many daies were past, being vanquished by the woorthie *Narfes*, or *Narfetes*, Captain to the Emperor *Iustinian*, who threw them whollie out of *Italy*, whereinto afterward, they neuer re-entred.

20 Neuerthelesse, it plainly appeared to other Nations, that *Rome* was no difficult thing to be conquered and taken. For in short time after, the *Longobards* went into *Italy*, where making themselves Lords of *Cisalpine Gaule*; by that occasion it is called *Lombardy* to this day. This hapned three yeares after the ruine made by *Totillus*, and vnder the raigne of King *Clouis*: then went they on to *Rome*, where they mainly besiedged it, and did great dammage to the Neighboring parts, albeit they could not take the Citty. Some while after, and in the life time of *Gregory* the third, *Luitprand* their King, besiedged it likewise; and being vpon the point of taking it, hee left off his enterprize, at the intreaty of *Charles Martel*.

30 After which, and in the yeare seauen hundred and two, another King of these *Longobards* or *Lombardes*, called *Ataulphus*, besiedged it once more, in the time of Pope *Stephen* the second; & although he entred not into the Citty, yet did hee engirt it with the most cruell inuasion, that euer hapned since the Tyrant *Totillus*;

Rome betraide and won the sixt time.

Rome almost quite destroyed by *Totillus*, and the Inhabitants expelled.

Bellisarius repayed a great part of *Rome*.

Rome the sixt time surprized, and by *K. Totillus*, but in very strange manner.

The opinion of Authours, touching the kind mutation of *Totillus* the

The *Gothes* last entering into *Rome*.

The *Longobards* entred into *Italy*, and sharply assaulted *Rome*, but could not take it.

Luitprand king of the *Longobards* besiedged *Rome*, but would not take it.

Ataulphus another *Lombard* King, most cruelly besiedged *Rome*, and very neer tooke it.

lus, and worfe (for the extremitie) then he performed. And, if *Pepin*, King of *France*, and Father to great *Charlemaign*, had not gone to succour it: without all question they had entred in, and then it had beene vtterly destroyed, as appeared by the spoile they made without. This calamity being ouer-blowne, *Rome* had some respite, by the fauour of *Charlemaigne*; and so much the rather, because the Empire then came into the West.

Notwithstanding, by successe of time, and in the yeare of our Lord, eight hundred thirty three, *Gregory* the fourth being Pope, and *Lewes* Emperour: *Sarrazins* (Disciples of *Mahomet*) descended with a mighty Army into *Italy*, and hauing destroyed *Centoncella* (at this day cald *Ciuita vecchia*, or the old Citty) they went against the Citty of *Rome*; which they both besieged, and tooke; prophaning the Temple of *S. Peter*. When they had performed many ignominies, and burned all they could: they returned vnto their Shippes, enriched with many Prisoners, booties and spoiles.

Rome hauing endured all these misfortunes, *Gregory* the seauenth came to succede in the Papacy, who had great wars against *Henry*, Emperour of *Germany*; and the Emp. pursuing his iniuries, brought his armed troupes before *Rome*, wherein he besieged the Pope: but the *Romaines* defended the Citty couragiously, and the Emperour resisted with such constancy, that the sledge continued a very long time. Neuerthelesse, in a battaile well ordered, he surprized the Citty, by meanes whereof, the Pope fled to the Castle of *S. Angelo*: in which place, being also belegered, he was succored by a great number of *Normans*. When the Emperour perceiued, that his stay could not (well) be long; hee destroyed (first) many goodlie buildings in *Rome*: and at his parting, he left the greater number of his Men in the Citty, to defend it with the *Romains*, who were then of his faction. Many more *Normans* comming to ioyne with the rest, in fauour of the Pope; the two Armies encountered together diuers times, and such was the dammage which the Citty receiued on both sides: as the greater part thereof was burned. For this was especially obserued, that whatsoever the *Normans* could seaze on their Enemies, were they houses, or what else: they were bur-

ned, rased, and laid flat with the Earth. The Capitoll it selfe, which had beene againe builded, and wherein the Emperour *Henries* people were fortified; was again burned and quite ruined. Finallie, the *Normans* and the Popes side got the victorie, but with such wofull hauocke and desolation of *Rome*: as neuer since then it could be restored, nor euer will be, to her first estate. Some that haue written, do a- uouch, that neither *Totillus*, nor any other Nation; did euer cause so much losse, as might be compared with the hurt it then receiued. And that it must needs be true, it is apparant at this day to be seene, for Vineyards, Gardens, and other empty places, doe supply roome where Churches, & other things (very remarkable) then stood, the which wofull ruine, hapned in the yeare one thousand eightie two.

Wherefore, whosoever shall well consider these misfortunes: will finde, that there is not any Nation in the World; (hauing heeretofore beene subiected to *Rome*) that in such diuersity of times, can to spoile. And for a last example, in our time, by meanes of our sins, especially of them there inhabiting: the Emperiall army (consisting of *Spaniards* and *Germans*) came before this Citty, tooke it, and sacked it. And because in the first assault, *Charls* Duke of *Bourbon* (a *French* Prince, and one of the worthiest men in his time, who was then Generall Commaunder of the Emperour) hapned to bee slaine: his Souldiers (becing at liberty) committed such enorme cruelties, that they acted euen all the villainies they could deuise, except setting the Churches on fire. Which proceeded (as hath beene presumed) by the iust iudgment of God, albeit the executioners thereof were not clear from grieuous sinnes: But it is necessary that scandals should happen, yet woe to them that cause and commit them.

CHAP. XI.

That there is no height of spirit, valour, courage, or Man-hood, truly commendable; but such as is necessary, & grounded on vertue.

Many Authours, both Ancient and Modern, haue deliuered their iudgments;

Rome neuer can be restored to hir first dignitie.

Rome taken and spoyled the last time, vnder the conduct of *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*.

The Sarazins entred *Italy* with a mighty power.

Rome taken the seauenth time, by the *Sarazins*.

Henry Emperour of *Germany* besieged *Rome*, & tooke it the eight time, with much destroying it.

The most part of *Rome* burnt in this combustion.

Concerning such as haue written on this argument

The small regard of Man-hood among Noblemen.

The words of Maherball to his Souldiers at the battaile of Cannas

The perfect valour remaining in Hanniball.

ments concerning Man-hood or Valor: but yet so weakely, and without any true validitie, as nothing can be collected from such enstructions; but meere Cowardise, and debility of courage. For they being empty of such naturall capacitie, as should conuay them to so high a knowledge: haue sought for such a Iewell in sinister places, and not where the perfect markes of this vertue is to be truly found. The French, Germanes, English, Italians, and Spaniards, haue (like Fresh-men) discoursed on this Argument, vsing so many words, and little grace; as if they were deprived of all meanes to write on such a subiect. For now a-daies, Man-hood is so slenderly practised among Noblemen; that it appeares no other then a cloud of Vanitie, which disperfeth it selfe at the first noyse of an armed Enemy. Because it is impossible for him, who hath no other courage, then a braue apparance onely (which is more proper to threaten, then to hurt an enemy) to forme any true resolution in his Soule, of being then valiant; when hazard disputes with reason, and feare coapeth with honour so rudely; that gallantry in desseignes, proues goutinesse in performance. Herevpon was it, that Maherball spake so courageously to his Numidians, on the great battaile day at Cannas; *We come not hither to looke on, but to conquer; we are not here for shew, but for our liues. For the Romaines dispute about an Empire, and not for the excellency of Affricke or Europe. If ye couet flight, to preuent the great tempest that may fall vpon yee; let me aduise ye, to get ye gone, before ye be chased. For otherwise, they that shall haue more courage then you; to preserue their liues, will haue more breath to pursue the ruine of yours, then you can (by flight) can be assured of safety. Considering, that as there is no neede of fight, where no victory is to be had for the Conquerour, nor rout for the conquered: So let no man fly, when flight is not auailable; retreat being much more dangerous, then fight.*

These, or the like wordes, vsed this great Caprain, Maister of the Horsemen to Hanniball, who was so happy in armes; as neuer was any slacknesse noted in him, no, not in the battaile of Zama, which he lost; by fighting rather against the rigour of Heauen, and the destinies waiting on the huge Empire of Rome; then

by the violence of his enemies, who conquered, onely because they could not be conquered. Whereto we may adde, that whatsoeuer outward note or effect, could deliuer (for happinesse) in a wise and valiant Captaine: it was exactly deliuered (that day) by Hanniball: who (in so hard a necessity) did all the offices both of head and armes, so many times, and for so long a while together; that Scipio himselfe, after the battaile was won, made this loude exclamation, *O Rome! What shouldst thou yet suffer, if Hanniball were liuing?*

Now, it is most certaine, that the Affricane fought by power, being commanded by the Magistrats of his Common-weal, to whom he made apparant their errour, and his owne experience; accompanied with such perfect Man-hood, as he would neuer make vse thereof, but where it was so needfully required, that meere necessity tooke away all suspicion of vaine glory, and the issue gaue testimony of the beginning; to wit, effectes of their cause, more then legitimate and necessary. To whom then, shall not this true Valour in Scipio seeme admirable, that neuer came to manly triall, but by necessity? And hauing conquered, made no such assurance of his victory by his enemies foile; as by diligent search of their loue and amitie?

A wretched fortune attendeth on some Nations, wherein no Lordes or Gentlemen are found, to delight in the imitation of this auncient Man-hood, whereto so many Vertues were enchained: that they seemed rather a colligation of wonders, then any simple qualitie, reaped in the Fielde of a strong and couragious soul. There are so many inciulities mingled with our Man-hood, that they sympathize rather with wild Goats, or the heat of Bulles; then with the reall excellencie of humane Nature, which beeing the Image of the Diuinitie; figures vnto vs another kinde of strength and courage, then that which is proper to brute Beasts onely. For their transport, is desseigne, fury, fight, and hugeness of body, wherein assuredlie, they so far exceed vs; that if we esteem Manhood to consist in sudden fury: we shal find our selues more feeble then all other Creatures, worthily deseruing to be termed vnreasonable, & much lesse excellent then Lyons, Panthers, & Tigers, the least enraged whereof, so little feareth the brutall fury of any Man, (how

The words of Scipio concerning Hannibal.

The absolute man-hood, remaining in Scipio.

The miserable condicion of some Nations in these daies.

The courage in brute beasts for their fighting.

(how violent soever he be) that a Wolfe hath feared the Tuskes of a young wilde Boare, the space of three whole daies together.

Pyrrhus King of the *Epirotes*, demanded of his Ambassadour *Cineas*, what manner of people the *Romaines* were? he answered: They are goodly men. What more quoth the King. They are aduised, said *Cineas*. What else? saide the King. They are valiant, quoth *Cineas*. Is this all? replied the King. No, said *Cineas* they are (beside) vertuous and honest people. Why then (answered the King) we shall deale with three enemies more then I dreamed of. True replied *Cineas*, and the legerity of the *Tarentines* makes the fourth. But it is all one, provided, that the merits of *Italy* doe not exceede theirs of *Greece*: for the *Epirotes* and the *Romaines* must act a Tragedy, whereof the *Tarentines* will be the Iudges. The common Theater is *Italy*, the Gods & victorie will leane to him perticularly, that shall declare himselfe to be most worthy. How-soeuer it be, replied *Pyrrhus*, reason is on our side: for we haue crost the Seas, to yeild Iustice to the *Tarentines*, and mercy to the *Romaines*; if we be Maisters of the day. As for the rest, they are Sonnes to them whom our Fathers haue beaten, & we cannot be conquered; without doing iniury to the vertue of our Auncestours, who were neither lesse, or more valiant then we be, if we would enter into possession of one another.

Vndoubtedly, these were words, or rather Oracles, well becomming a Christian Captaine: and what were their effects, but meere perpetuall miracles? *Romes* fortune and vertue fell flat vnder his valor; the Sea stouped her breast vnder the weighty burthen of his Ships; the straites of *Sicily* opened wide (like mouths) to receiue his victorious triumphant feet; and *Greece* (his Countrey) had more honour then disgrace, in being subdued by so vertuous a Conquerour. And yet notwithstanding, in struing to be a more forward Souldier, then so good a Captaine; hee lost his life, not in the midst of his victories, but in the beginning of his triumphs; and vpon the very end of a fight. For, pursuing (to no purpose, and against all prouidence) a young Lad of the City of *Argos*, that was carried away in the assault:

he was slain by the stroke of a Tile, which the Mother of the lad threw at him in the pursuit. Was it not enough, that hee had shut vp King *Antigonus*, who had called him forth to fight? that he had commanded the day, & provided security against the assailants; but he must yeild himselfe to cominon seruices, which are more ignominious to great Commaunders (being done out of time) then they can bee honorable to the meanest Souldier, that serues no other God, but occasion, and seekes no pay, but applause and vulgar knowledge?

When it was told the wife *Antigonus*, of a certaine *Polyperchon*, that being excited thereto, or rather drunke with boldnesse; ran into the army of *Eumenes*, and had broken five *Corps du garde* of the *Argiraspides*, but was staid at the sixt. *It is nothing* (answered *Antigonus*) *for I haue seene an Elephant much more signale and commendable in courage, that trauerse the whole army of Demetrius, and yet was neither slain nor taken.* *Hyrodes*, Prince of the *Parthians*; beholding a *Hircanian* mainly galloping into the field, & smitten down at the first encounter; instantly gaue him this farewell. *We are not now (my friende) at the passage of a Riuer; where every one strives for entrance into the Boat, before his Fellow; but we are heere to grow enamored of victory, and she is a Goddesse so full of Maiesty, that shee scornes to looke vppon Fooles and mad men.* *Pelopidas*, the honour of *Thebes*, failed (by this meanes) in the day of battaile, which he hadde against the Tyrant *Phalaris*, of whom hee had won a verie great victorie: which at length he robd himselfe of (by vnadvised courage) in running rather to the ruine of a particular *Thessalian* Souldier, then to the conseruation of his Army, and the establishment of his Common-wealth; which was left more desolatee by his death, then this vnperfected victorie yeilded assurance and safetie to *Beetia*.

Gaston de Foix might serue vs for a sufficient example; without borrowing any among the Greekes or *Romaines*, whose losses (in the like cases) may the better direct vs to Wisedome. For the *French* vse to say, that (without all question) they wholly lost *Italy*, and their owne good fortunes together; when the saide *Gaston* lost himselfe. For he enuying

The death of King *Pyrrhus* by his owne follic.

A *Polyperchon* in the army of *Eumenes*.

A pretie re-prooffe for foolish hastinesse, giuen to an *Hircanian*.

The indiscretion of worthy *Pelopidas* the *Theban*.

Example of *Gaston de Foix* in being ouer aduenturous.

King *Pyrrhus* his demand concerning the *Romaines*, of *Cineas* his Ambassadour.

A worthie resolution in a King, and fit to be imitated

The successie of *Pyrrhus* fight against the *Romaines*.

The iniurie which ensued by too much rashnesse.

the brauing valour of some Gallantes, too apt in spurring on such as had betaken themselves to flight: more to be seene, then for any hope hee could haue of recalling them, lost his owne life. And his fall might be compared to that of a great and mightie *Colossus*; whose ruine not onely hurteth whatsoever is nere neighbouring; but thinges much further of, by very distant separations.

An excellent comparison concerning true valour.

Like as the bright Luster of the Easterne Opalles, doe figure and represent to our eyes, the very lieliest Colours of all precious Stones; euen so is perfect Man-hood endued with this particuler Vertue, that it giueth to him (who is therewith possessed) a generall acquisition of all such varities, as may builde vp a faire Nature, and make it euerie way compleate. But he who is simply valorous, and hath no other merit, but onely a giddie and skipping kinde of courage: is borne rather for his owne hurt and ruine, then any aduancement; except he will goe liue among sauage Beastes, for whose humour (perhaps) he may be more capable, if they should make any dangerous fallie vpon his person. To this purpose, the famous Captaine *Epaminondas*, compared a valiant man, that had no other vertue; to a great goodly Shippe, wherein is nothing but a saile. Shee is not carryed by any Conduct, or whether the Mariners desseigne had appointed their Commerce: but fortune onelie is her course; the Windes her Pylor, and she hath no other anchorage, but ship-wracke. Yet if it so happen (as it may, though rarely) that hauing contended with the angry Heauens, and iniuries of the Seas, shee bring her selfe (vnbruised) into some safe harbour: no glory is therefore to be ascribed to the goodnesse of her prow, to the best form of her poepe, nor to any cost bestowed on her building; but onely to the oportunitie of the place, the nature of the Windes, the depth of the Water, and calmnesse of the Seas, that altogether, or one for all the rest, rather left her so without dommage, then warranted what thus hapned, they being insensible of good or euill.

Epaminondas his comparison of a valiant man.

Sildome such aduerture is seene, but onely this is a meere comparison.

Charles Duke of Bourbon, that sacked *Rome*, and lost his life tho-

To what end (I pray ye) serued the hot and spleenitiue Manhood, of *Charles Duke of Bourbon*, who would needs enter *Rome*, among the pell-mell furie of

his foot Souldiers, that saw not the ouerture of the breach, but with the eies of pillage and Rapine? Being abandoned in this sort, by the transport of gaine, and bootie of the Cittie (which was the more allarmed, then assaulted) their generall intention was to vanquish, onely thereby to enrich themselves; and this was the sole command of the assault, yea, the absolute forme or cause of the fight & victory. Wherein, the Conquerour (not knowing how to conquer his owne impaciency) declared himselfe vnworthy of such fauor, as the Heauens had then prepared for him, to make him Maister of the Queen of Citties: which could not haue been subdued, but by so Noble and famous a Commander, who (out of his death) begot a second life, and conuerted his particuler triumphe, into a generall mourning: for the Army and Cittie (which was then spoiled) were very far dissemlable, in condition of their fortune.

row his owne rashnesse.

What Man-hood was that in *Polydamas*, who (all alone, and disarmed) ran after a great and strong company of *Theues*, amongst whom he was slaine: more satisfying (therein) his owne fury, then good intention, which was, to cleanse the Country of them? He wounded, slue, and chased the greater part of those common enemies to mens society: but what did he heerein, either for himselfe, or others? When his verie death, caused more courage & violence in the remnant of them that remained aliue; then the whol heap of them (before) had together? Could not he haue mustered the community of *Greece*, and selected young Spirits of his owne hot temper? with such a sindiquat, he might haue made opposition, rather against their flight, then violence, and (by this means) had the grace to vanquish them at the first fight, and by this first too, rather haue punished, then vanquished them. For so base a victorie, better becommeth the pursuit of a Prouost of iustice, or a polliticke Magistrate; then the dreaded Armes of a Prince. Were it not that one must haue the charge, when the leudnesse of men so far aboundeth, that *Theues* and *Pirats* may better giue the Title of army (yea, of a great Army) to their conspiracy; then of a simple

Polydamus the Sonne of *Antenor*, wilfully sought his owne death.

A Prince is not to expresse valour in base occasions.

Examp'e of Pompey the Great.

simple company of misse-led men. As it happened in the time of Pompey, who was to fight with so great and prodigious a multitude of Sea Rovers: that the very Conquest of them, rather got him the Name of Great, then all the victories he had in Asia. This likewise was the verie greatest honour, that euer the valiant and inuincible Hercules attained vnto, if the Greekes write truely.

A good aduertisement to all Noble-men.

I am the more willing to continue this subiect, because it were no dishonest wish, that the Man-hood of all our Nobilitie, would declare it selfe (more then it hath done) in diligent search of Morall Vertues, and opposition against all vices, for whose destruction, they were first created by God, and secondlie by Kinges. For, let me tell yee, that the best and most famous Houses in Europe (let me not say of the whole World) were sometimes plain Yeomanry, & extracted out of the common Masse: out of which, some apparant and remarkable vertue gaue them distinction & separation. Because a recompence so faire and glorious, moued braue courages (in quest of such occasions) to become partners in the like benefits: which the meere courtesie of Kinges (animated by this subiect onely) established, to make differrence between more and lesse, good and better, the Comparatiue and the Superlatiue.

The Original of the best houses in Europe, and their separation.

Man-hood is commended by many, yet known of very few; because it is much more easily praised, then learned, or practised. It ought to be in the hart, like pure and cleere water in a Cesterne; whence it may be fetcht for diuers seruices, and all for no other end, then mens commodity. Some to make drinke therewith; others, Bread; others dresse their meats, Water their Gardens, and wash, as occasion is required. In all these vses, it is not onelic profitable, but also very needfull: and yet it may be abused, for ouer-much thereof, doth rather returne disaduantage, then any benefit. To elect it (then) for our best seruice, is not according to it selfe, as in a liuing thing; but answerable to manlie iudgement, & discourse of reason: which appropriateth the quality and quantity of this Element, according as the occurrence and neede thereof, shall require his vertue and succourable power. It is enen so in Man-hood, one while it is employed for the establishment of Kinges;

Much commended, but little knowne.

The vse of man-hood exemplified by water, in vsing it.

for the conseruation of their Estates; for particular defence of our assayed persons; and for perfection of the weake and innocent. Out of this, or the like subiect; it is ridiculous, changeth into fury, and gets the name of madnesse, rage, and desperation. This immaculate Virgine shunneth such a Spirit, as hath more cowardise to offend a Man, of whom hee thinkes he hath receiued an iniurie: then truevalor, to do him grace, by letting him rather know the pardon, thē the pain; the precept, then the punishment. Heereon was it, that Diuine Plato was wont to say. *If we were all iust; Might would bee condemned in humane societie, for Iustice doth all by her owne proper Vertue. Shee made Aristides both couragious and patient. Shee made him more necessary thē Themistocles; more victorious then Miltiades; and more happy, then all the other Athenian Captains.*

The application in the vse of man-hood.

The saying of the diuine Plato concerning Iustice.

There is no valour without Iustice, nor Iustice without courage.

It is impossible then, to be very valiant, without being iust; or to be iust, without courage; because, it is not faintnesse, or want of Spirit in the heart, that makes a Man acceptable in all Companies: but rather a Celestiall heate; which mounts the Soule beyonde common pitch, and seeketh after a commendable contentment, by delight which others apprehend in seeing our actions to hold euen gate with their good, as much (or rather more) then they doe with our owne. We are not bound to those boistrous wordes of Alexander the Great, when he said; *That he did not abandon hazards, but to be honoured and renowned among the Grecians in generall, and particularly, of the Athenians: Who seemed (neuerthelesse) vtter Enemies to his Fortune, as formerly they had beene to his Father Phillip.* Such speeches issued from the mouth; nay, the very heart of a Man; an Atheist: who had no other God, but Vanitie; no Reason, but Couetousnesse; no Iustice, but feare of contempt; Fortune for his Armes, Asia for his pay, and the rest of the World for his hope. Little was his care, if the whole Earth were afflicted, for the weake Subiect of his fraile satisfaction: for hee receiued but the rinde or shell of goodnesse, and tooke (from euery one) the whole heape of happinesse, which Peace onely bringeth.

The words of Alexander the Great.

Wordes more like an Atheist, then a worthy King.

All occasions of the great battailes he gaue, were conceiued on a sole desire, to thame and disgrace all Princes in the World;

Alexanders en-
uying of all
other Princes
onely to ex-
ceede them in
might and
courage.

The saying of
Alexander, not
long before
his death.

Alexander rash-
ly flew his
deare friend
Clitus.

Demetrius com-
pared with A-
lexander, for
more valiant,
but lesse for-
tunate.

Alexander was
tearmed Gods
scourge in
Asia.

World, whom he sought to oblige by his victorious Armes; and by the Graces he did them, to beleue, that hee excelled them in power and courtesie. Nor had he any other intention beside, either to assure the estates of Greece, or doe any good to his Countrey, much lesse would hee exalt any of his partakers: for all his proiect was, not to be equalled by any one in his life, nor seconded after his death, saying, not long before. *He that hath no part in my Glorie, can be no Heire to my Conquest: How then should I make a Successour, that neuer could haue any Companion?*

He well declared, that his valour was imperfect, when he flew his Friend and Benefactor Clitus, reproouing him for his ambitious vanitie: beside, it was very vnorderly done, and out of due time. He ought to haue expressed the truth of courage, in supplying the defect of the others indiscretion (if he pleased so to iudge it) then so furiously to bee his Destroyer and Murderer. Demetrius had more valiancy (but lesse Fortune) then Alexander, considering, he pardoned the Thebanes twice; but many times the people of Athens. Whereas (quite contrary) Alexander ruined Thebes from the top to the bottome, and neuer left the Athenians in peace: but when time serued not to proclaime open Warre; his mind being then busied and imploied in much greater matters, & yet notwithstanding, lesse perillous. For, it is most certaine, that had hee else-where conuerted his fury (rather destenied, then premeditated for the ruine of Asia, which (was in his time) the principall subiect of Gods wrath, of whose vengeance he was the onely Organe:) doubtlesse he had ended his Fortunes in Greece, and his triumphes had extended but the length of Macedon, which remained more vnvanquished, then victorious, by the Armes of this Shittle-cocke of the Heauens displeasure. At whose ending, all Tytants in the world tooke their beginning, and the vniuerse it selfe, was more shaken (then maintained) by the accidentall valour of this Monster of ambition, and of pernicious glory. For he had no Law, but superstition; no Magistracy, but prodigious and vsociable disdain. Yer could he outwardly seeme milde and familiar,

because he affected this necessary vertue in a great Prince: especiallie in such a one, that exaltes himselfe (without any right or election) into others Empires and Monarchies. For power doth not so much strengthen the nouelty of a Kingdome; as hope, which subiectes (halfe desperate) doe deriue, from the accostable and kinde behauiour in him, who (in effect) hath forced, and (in apparence) striueth to surmount their feare, of being worffe entreated afterward.

The Empire of the Romaines, was of longer continuance then the other, because it daily begot more Friendes then Enemies, and onely began to loose it selfe; when they grew to disdain the Northerne people, who being farre off from Italy, by long distance of Seas, Ri- uers, Mountaines, and by so great a length of ground: the Gouvernors seemed to be meere proprietaries or Owners. By means whereof, they committed such prodigious violences, as were to be wondred at. But the patience of the afflicted, kept in, and continued so long a time, for a iust and necessariè punishment, that the Arrest being concluded on: the North (at length) leapt out of her limits, and brake the Ice of her heart in such sort, that the shiuers flew so farre as Rome; yea, and with so stearne a strength, that their power and Iustice (vsing necessity as their best helpe) made a meere break-neck of the Worldes pride. For hauing nothing but valour, and no equity in their first Oeconomy, they became so humbled; that their fall remaineth (to this day) very dreadfull, and it would exceed credence, in men most learned, if the ruines did not render a more apparant testimony, then all our Histories.

CHAP. XII.

That all such, as had no other vertue, then meere and naked valiancy, or valour; haue ended their daies very vnfortunatly.

It is a case without all question, that the first Monarches more established their

Affability a
necessary
vertue in a
great Prince.

The Romain
Empire conti-
nued longer
thē the other.

The Nor-
therne people
long wronged
by the Romans

The wisdom of the first Monarcks in establishing their Empires

their Empires, by election which they made of their Friendes and Enemies; then by force of Armes, or relying on their power. And true it is, that the people of *Asia*, had (naturally) more might and courage, then the *Grecians*; who notwithstanding, did almost daily beat them, because they had no other helpe, but such a transport of spirit, which being linked to indiscretion and fury: admitted no other meanes of conquering; but that which Nature enstructs brute Beasts withall, being furthest off from all iudgement. When the *Grecians* degenerated from the wisdom of their Ancestors; they suffered themselues to be led by the *Romaines* prouidence: who were a people, not so goodly of Body, so well proportioned, or of like courage to them of * *Attica*; where the Ayre was of such temperature, as nothing wanted, to be desired. Euerie one knoweth, that *Greece* was not onely the Mother of Sciences, but of all the Pagan Gods, and of all those most remarkable thinges, which our auncient Histories doe make mention of. It was the birth place of *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and *Perithous*, who knowing nothing else to be mastered in the World; went so farre as Hell to exercise their violence. Thence they drew out *Cerberus*, with his three heades, and (some say) they cornuted wretched *Pluto*: a goodly act no doubt, aunswerable to the birth of * *Calais* and *Zethes*, who rid the Countrey of the *Harpies*, that deuoured the foode of blinde *Phineus*. There was *Meleager* born, and all the *Argonauts* in generall. Of thence was *Achilles* and *Diomedes*, who wounded *Mars* and his Concubine *Venus*. Of thence was *Alexander*, *Pyrrhus*, *Demetrius*, *Themistocles*, and *Alcibiades*, all which, hauing giuen a substance of valiancy to their world: had Children to their Successours, that suffered themselues to be conquered by the Heard-men of *Calabria*, and Shepherds belonging to the *Romain* fields; onely because they were lesse wise then valiant, in comparison of their predecessors, who had true iudgment, both in the one and other.

Theseus had neuer got out of the *Cretane* Labyrinth, if hee had not brought more discretion to his enterprize, then meere valour. For he did not vanquish

that great and dreadfull Monster, halfe a Man, and halfe a Beast; but by deuise and singuler cunning: in regard, that the prodigious Bull was endued with more strength and courage, then hee could be; the Nature (both of Man and Bull) being common and indifferent to him. Moreouer; it was (in manner) nothing, to haue surmounted such a confused masse of Flesh, because he had more need of conduct, to get foorth of the Forrest where he was enclosed; then power to warrant him against a violence, which was soule-lesse to all reason. And surely as offence (in another body) trained him vniustly to this hazzard; euen so was hee deliuered by strange vertue, which was as well acknowledged, not to be Domesticke to his owne Spirit, as he declared indiscretion and improuidence in his returne, which appeared more signale in the deplorable death of his Father, then any wonder could be discerned in his victory: for he was more prepared by wisdom in the King of *Cretes* Daughter, then well atchieued by vertue in the *Athenian* Prince.

The selfe-same (doublelesse) happened to *Iason*, Captaine of the *Argonauts*, who beeing (well-neere) inuincible for humane valour: had yet all been vtterly lost, without the industrie and prouidence of ingenious *Medea*. For shee knew how to conuert the Armes of the Garrisons of *Colchos*, quite against themselves, for whose vse and preservation they were onely destined. Here, amazement surmounted the courage of our young Conquerants; and their valiancy had no other vigour, but onely for flight: till she alone, without any other Armes then inuention; changed their feare, to a chearfull heat for fight; their incertitude, to assurance; and their vnauoydable ouerthrow, to a victory sudden, and done at an instant.

The meanest Fortresses would appeare impregnable to humane valiancy; without Art and inuention of a sprightly minde: who vniting the one with the other; bringeth supernaturall things to passe, or (at least) such as are extraordinary. The Poet *Lucernus* mockt our first men, that made bodily strength their best benefit of defence, vsing their teeth, nailes, feete, and handes, as their safest

The meanes how *Theseus* was deliuered, not by his owne valour, but by wisdom: in the Daughter to the King of *Crete*.

Iason and his *Argonauts*, deliuered by the ingenuitie of discreet *Medea*.

Valiancie and discretion linked together; bring admirable occasions to end.

* A Country in *Greece*, between *Achaia* and *Macedonia*, where *Athenes* stood.

* The Sonnes of *Boreas* (by *Oribia*) that had wings to flie.

Theseus in the Labyrinth of *Crete*, ouer-came the *Minotaur*.

Good armour
is not the best
defence.

Difference
betweene
madnesse and
valour, and
very easie to
be discerned.

A Macedonian
banished for
being vnarm-
ed on the
day of Battell.

Actions are
not good,
wanting their
due forme.

safest Armour, and beeing guided by
courage, without order or direction;
ran head-long into ineuitable dangers.
Homere also tels vs, that the Captaines
of best ranke (as well in *Europe* as *Asia*)
were singularly well armed: as *Ajax*,
Sarpedon, the Son of *Mars*, *Diomedes*,
Glaucus, and *Patrocles*, that perished
with the Armes of *Achilles*: who was
not so hardie, as to run and reuenge the
death of his perfect and intimate friend,
till he had gotten him new Armour; to
wit, much better then that hee had be-
fore. He, that (to shew himselfe coura-
gious) throwes his vnarmed body into
charges, breaches and assaults; declares
the actions rather of a mad man, then
one that is valiant. Some men haue bin
seene, one, to cast himselfe into a Fire;
another, fall vpon the point of a sword;
a third, leap suddenly into a deep Riuer,
or from the height of a dreadfull Rock;
according as frenzy altereth and misgui-
deth the ordinary moouing of his dis-
ease. A fourth, as vnhealthfull in mind,
guideth his life by the pathes of death,
onely by defect of apprehension, which
cannot, neither ought to bee lawdable
or imitable: but onely in such, who be-
ing weary of life, doe desie both fortu-
ne and perill, and become obedient
to dispaire and melancholly, which
makes them to esteeme death more
sweet then life.

Alexander the Great, banished a *Ma-
cedonian* from his Troupes, because he
was vnarmed on the day of battaile,
which he fought at the Riuer *Granicus*,
saying to him. *In this manner (my small
Friend) we vse to goe to Weddings, and not
to war; where he that is best armed, cannot
be cleare from perill.* The *Spartanes* con-
demned a young man of their City, to
a very great penalty, because on the
day when the *Thebanes* gaue their assault;
he came naked to the fight, where (not-
withstanding) his fortune was equall to
his valour, deliuering such prooffe of
high desert, as themselves, by whom
his folly was condemned; adiuged a
great salary to his valour, which had
beene perfect, if it had been exercised in
better forme. *Lysimachus* being vanqui-
shed by a *Thessalian* Prince (that was re-
puted barbarous, and slenderly acquaint-
ed with glorious actions) when he was
mockt for his foile, made them this an-

swere. *Mine enemy (what soeuer you con-
ceine of him) seemes to haue as much wise-
dome, as fury: for, the fortune of Alexander;
and himselfe pertaking with me, could not
make me inuincible; because I was ordained
to be one of this Princes heires. But the mis-
prison I made of my companion, deceiued my
possessed assurance of conquest, and enabled
mine enemy to fight, when I thought him
more capable of flight, then of assailing. Ent
why then (answered one) did you under-
take such a difficult attempt? Because (qd.
he) I had courage enough to execute it, if
meere valiancy had onely bin necessary.*

When rich *Crassus* was ouerthrowne
in *Assiria*, by the Army of the *Parthians*,
which were farre lesse in number, then
that of the *Romaines*; a *Patrician* said to
Cato: *This rout seemeth to me incredible,
considering the courage of many strong Le-
geonaries; whereto Cato replied. There
would haue beene much better apparance, if
the couetous eye of Crassus had not lookt
more to booty, then to the charge: which
was more easily desired, then taken, and yet
more easily taken, then kept.* For it beho-
ueth, that (in eucry desseigne) wisdom
should exceed the power of execution,
and execution to arise, not from possibi-
lity, or apparance; but from truth and
certaintie of the matter, which distin-
guisheth it selfe by no other time, then
when we are assured of it. This sacred
Lady *Wisdom*, onely taketh inter-
mission, to haue greatest priuacy with
such, whom she iudgeth worthy of her
fauour; which is continuallie combi-
ned with *Prouidence*, *Iustice*, and *Ne-
cessitie*.

It is not might only, that surmoun-
teth the ouergreat agitation of the Bil-
lowes, iniurie of the Winds, and their
immeasurable violence. Might onely,
doth not oppose it selfe, and make
resistance against the Tempest of that
ayre, or those turbulent stormes, that
beget and forme the ruine of Passen-
gers. Might onely, doth not facilitate
the entrance or issue, of straites or nar-
row passages on the Seas, Riuers, and
such like places: neither can it onely
compell the rigour of seasons, nor their
quality, to be either more or lesse intem-
perate; nor to fortify vs against dange-
rous change, from our first dwelling,
to any other. In all these, might is but as
an humble seruant, to a million of much
fairer,

Lysimachus con-
quered by a
Thessalian
Prince, his
speeches at
the instant.

When rich
Crassus was
vanquished
by the *Parthi-
ans* in *Assiria*.

Wisdom is
the best guide
in all our acti-
ons whatso-
euer.

Might hath
little or no
Maistry in it
selfe, concer-
ning infinite
occasions.

fairer, or (to speake better) more lawdable and necessary vertues, for the atchieving of such high enterprises: wherein (oftentimes) meere Valiancy, simple valour, and courage onely (badly guided) and ouer-rudely imployed; is more dammageable, then beneficiall; and lesse sightly, then well beseeming. For, to speake truly, a braue and generous Spirit, thought it were naked of all other Grace; yet it carrieth with it an admiration aboue capacity: which followeth not other vertues, as by a selfe allurence, but inciteth their imitation out of his owne splendour.

Hercules was not numbred among the Gods, for the sole benefit of his greatnesse in courage: for, in Heauen, as much esteeme is made of a weak man, as of him that is most strong and vigorous. Seeing that it appeareth, to be rather as a defect of his bodie, which is ill disposed: then any iniury naturallie linked to the Spirit, of such as are more timorous, and lesse couragious then others. It was the Iustice of *Hercules*, that made him dreadfull to the wicked, and wonne him the fauour of euill ordered Common-weales. His Charitie made him necessary, for the mallice of his time, that abounded in tyrannies and cruell oppressions. His courage made him the lesse apprehensue of daungers; yet oftentimes dispaireing of their good issue. The greatnesse and Nobility of his Parents, made him the more famous, and knowne through all partes. But his settled Resolution, to be an vter Enemy to Vices, and a partaker with Vertues, much more requisite: that onely made him commendable among all men. I say, the brauest Spirit (in his time) durst not enuy his glorie, nor compare their actions of greatest merit, with the very meanest of his. Courage was one in number of his merits, neuerthelesse, it was not the principall, in regard hee ouercame many, that ought him nothing in that point: not reckoning Lyons, Hydraes, and other prodigious Beastes vanquished by him, to whom he might well haue seemed as a prey, if cunning and knowledge (by what meanes to shunne their violence and fury) had not beene a better subiect to him of hope, then of feare, in such bold enterprises, which alwaies were

grounded on necessitie, occasion most apparant, and vndertaken with iudgement.

The great King *Artoxerxes*, compared courage onelic, to a sparke of Fire, which dyeth as soone as it is borne, and hath more apparance, then body. *Hereby* (quoth he) *I perceiue; that my Brother and Enemy Cyrus, will be but of small continuance: For he is of the Nature of small Coales, which are good for nothing, but to kindle great Wood, and then suddenly they extinguish, because the great Fires flame, disperseth and scattereth them among the light Cinders.* It came so to passe, for *Cyrus* enflamed all *Greece* and *Asia*, against the said *Artoxerxes*, who was much better qualified then his Brother: on whom rashnesse bestowed wings, to fly more swiftly to his owne ruine; then to prepare any danger for others. For they that had lesse power, and more pacience then he; assured their liues by the hazard of his, beeing more carried by the violence of his owne courage, then by the strength of his enemies.

O inconsiderate courage, principall Artezane of so many sudden losses; so many deplorable deaths, so many cruell Wounds, and so many light enmities! Thou art more hurtfull, then succourable to mankind. Thou art deadly Enemy to reason; thou blindest iudgement; thou art the Father of pride, and the peruerter of all order. Thou makest Families desolate; Wiues, to bee Widowes; Children, Orphanes; Citties, Deserts; Common-weales vnpeopled; and Kingdomes, shaken into shiuers. Thou neuer dost any good, except when faire hap (in such as inherit thee) bequiles their certaine hope, and all occasion, of loosing thee. The good thou doost, ensueth from hence, that thou hast not strength enough, to weaken the destiny that saues and deliuers thee, or (to speake better) the diuine benediction, that armes it selfe in thy succour, and opens an assured passage to the inconstancy of thy motions; which leads thee (without eyes) hither and thither, like a Skiffe beaten with the Windes and Billowes, euer ready for wracke, as often as eyther the one or other gains the maistry, and lifts it vp betweene those two light elements. Rashnesse is the mother of Murders,

The words of K. *Artoxerxes*; concerning his Brother *Cyrus*.

Cyrus, a very rash and intemperate man.

The Authors inuectiue against rash & haire-brained courage, declaring the manifold mischiefs thereby ensuing.

The worthines of a braue and generous mind.

Hercules numbred among the Gods, and the especiall reasons why.

His Iustice.

His Charitie.

His Courage.

His parentage

His Resolution.

Courage was but a part of his merits.

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the Witch that conceiueh contempt, brings forth despaire, and nurseth forward opinion. Thou art Foe to humility, and hast no shame, because thou art blinded; neither any vnderstanding, because thou ouer-turnest the braine, and engendrest the Palsie, both of the mind and bodie. Thou hast no Law, but sudden aptnesse and inclination; to be guided by thine owne transport; to assure thine owne despaire: that the rule of thine opinion, the Soule of thy distemper, and thy desire of reuenge; may make booty of impossible things. Thou only makest vs companions with beasts; takest reason from vs; settest diuorce betweene Body and Soule; deprivest vs of election; robbest vs of our owne wils; and destinarest vs to offer sacrifice, euen to all kindes of miseries and calamities. It was thou that didst build Hell, and Armed the Angels against God, yea, euen one Heauen against another. It was thou that madst the confusion of languages, when thou mountedst thy head as high as Heauen, by the proud top of audacious *Nimrods* Tower. From thy Womb, improuidence first receiued life, and all violent and insolent actions, tooke their former Essence. Thou makest vs presumptuous and miserable, full of melancholly, out of our senses, and meere mad men; by disposing vs to fiery diseases, whereon first rose the name of a fiery Ague. Thou makest vs all furie, drawest vs out of our selues, to be more beastlie then Beasts, to whom (by right) belongs the chiefe vse of thine imperfection. Thou distinguishest no times; but makest all seasons equall; all persons indifferent; all iudgements, venters; all authoritie, contemptible; all Iustice, powerlesse; the Magistrate doubtfull; and Lawe weake and imbecile, beyond her Nature. Thou raisest people into Armes; mockest all Superiors; formest * Anarchies; exaltest the wicked against the good; tyranisest our duty; seducest obedience, and excludest fidelity from our hearts, when they are thereto most willing. Thou art neuer pleasde, but in pleasing thy selfe; accounting patience to be faintnesse; counsell, excuse; disposition, delay; mildnesse, fear; and humility, sottishnesse.

* A people without Prince or gouernment.

To conclude, from thee springeth

the chiefest mishapes that can cometo Men; by teaching them an opinion of duty, as a shadow without a substance; debilitating their actions; & destroying (by immoderate power) all those Vertues, which Iustice establisheth in this great Theater of worldlie affaires; and would depend vppon diuine assistance; but for such a dangerous plague to all mankind.

10 But O deare Wisedome! How necessary art thou for the helpe of vs all? Thou seruest for an eye, or as bright day to our Soules, like those windowes properly designed to any goodly building. Fooles come to knowledge of thee, when thy vertue is not auileable for them, but to their sorrowes; and when repentance whips them, for not entertaining thee in due time. Rash courage commends thee, in the verie depth of his fall, and exalts thee aboue the height from whence he fel; because he did not accept thee as guide and directour. The vnfortunate tearme thee, to be none of their faction; and the fortunate ascribe the vertue of their content, onely to thy merit. The Blinde doe borrow eies of thee, whereby to direct them, and the best sighted (seeing thee) stand like meere Mummings, gazing at the glory of thy bright radiance. Thou seruest as Sentinell in Armies; as a Rampier for Citties weakly defended; as a faithful Guard to forsaken Princes; as the cheefe Starre for Marriners to faile by; and the first innuentresse of all Commerce. It is by thy Grace (next vnto God) that Kingdomes are established; Magistrates ordained, and Policies authorized.

20 It is thou that makest Kinges venerable; that keepest people in awe; the feeble in assurance; the strong in suspicion; bringest offenders to punishment, and containest the honest minded in their quiet being. It is thou that giuest esteeme to valour, and keepest courage in contempt; vntill it bee enriched by thy assistance. It was thou that gauest Testimony to God, of the Royall Prophet, when he said: *I haue known David, the Sonne of Isai, a Man according to mine owne heart; in Wisedome and greatnesse of Courage.* It was thou that madest the same *David* acceptable to the mildnesse of

His like commendation of Wisedome and prouidence, & how needfull it is to be our guide in all our actions.

of *Jonathan*, and suspicious to the malice of *Saule*. Thou gauest government to *Ioseph* in *Egypt*, *Cadmus* in *Beotia*; *Ianus*, in *Italie*; *Triptolemus* and *Ceres*, in *Scicily*; *Bacchus*, in the *Indiaes*; *Saturne*, in *Asia*; *Pompilius*, at *Rome*, and *Ulysses* euery where. Thou madst graue *Nestor* much more respected, then the furious and rash-headed *Aiax*; yea, more then the vntameable *Achilles*. In briefe, it is thou, that onelie inciteth and compelleth masse puissance, for more employment of the bodie, then the mind, wherein thou declarest thy selfe to bee the *Genius*, and fauourite of the Deuill.

Returning now to meere Valiancy, to form a necessary perfection for him; I say, that all such, as haue had nothing but courage onlie: haue lost themselues wilfully, and were thereto trained thorow their owne default. And (on the contrary) where Wisedome and true Iudgment hath managed the businesse; the maine matter hath not onely beene preserued, but established from perishing, euen to immortality. Courage, (let me not say inconsideration) ruined the two new Potentates of our time: for the one exalted himselfe aboue the Towers of his young authoritic; and the other became a founder of such a Fortune, as was blunted by the meere incontinency of his owne desires. I confesse, that courage lookes sweetelie (at first sight) in the eye of rash conceit: yet will she bee courted onely by the wise, I would say, by vertuous mindes; that conclude the perfection of their happinesse, by the Iustice of their actions; shaping them alwaies, to bee as commendable in desseigne, as by attempt and finall conclusion. The one, (without any other fore sight, then goodnesse of the place) promiseth himselfe an inuincible permanency: but the other iudgeth what is to come, by the issue of his precedent actions, which carried no splendor but by the vglinesse of theirs, that suffered them to shine in such true radiance, as they themselues could neuer attaine vnto.

How many hasty heads haue I seene perih; without any benefit to their Countrey, but onelie their owne example, as an admonition to prevent the like calamitie? how many Families haue I knowne desolated, by this plague of

supposed happinesse, Glory and Life? How many young Gentlemen haue I seene buried, that (but for this dangerous diseate) had rather beene an admiration to Straungers, then sorrowe to their Friendes, by such vntimely losse? How many braue Castles haue I seene abandoned, by the rash fall of their Commanders, who would needs seek Death in their Enemies Trenches; and wilfullie loose their liues there, when neither vndermining, Cannons; scalds, or breach could preuaile against them; albeit, they were euen as common and familiar to them, as desire of superiority? How many Prouinces haue I seene deserted, by the ouer abounding courage in such, whom election and not lot, made their Governours? How many wilfull people haue I noted to perish; assemblies dissolue themselves; Comminalties abrogated; factious heads run to the libbet, training Troupes after them likewise, much more indiscreete, then faultie? Meere Courage is a double death, that stifles reason, and makes the body insensible of the thing, which most offendeth it; yea, killeth and ruinateth it altogether. Meere Courage is a double debilitie of Spirit, which altereth the Heart and Soule, principall Iudges of the humain Common-wealth, and Oeconomie of the little World. Meere Courage, is a double Enemy, that betrayeth vs by mis-gouernment, and leaderth vs into the Ambush, which our Enemies wiledome prepared for vs. Meere Courage is a double assurance, promising and performing victory, to him that out-reacheth vs in iudgment and counsell. Meere Courage, is a double Engine, that shaketh our naturall carriage, and changeth vs into that, which is much lesse proper, then the thing that animates and most enflameth vs.

I grow the larger in this Argument, to abate the prodigious pride of greatnessse, and to annihilate the presumptuous excellence, which they giue themselues aboue others, who (oftentimes) are rather inferiour to them in happinesse, then in merite. They attribute our Soueraigne and principall Felicity, to a braue and swaggering ostentation, as to the onely Lady and Queen of this life: which (notwithstanding) is not to be

He returneth to his primitive Argumēt of meere valiancy.

The two worthy spirits of our latter times ruined by their owne temerity.

Example is wolfull, when it hurteth any Countrey, by losse of such as can hardlie be spared.

The harmes ensuing by meere courage, in the body of Man.

The Authors intent, by enlarging this discurs.

Of Courte
Flatterers,
and talkatiue
Diuines.

The chiefest
vertue in a
man, that is
truely a man.

August. De Ci-
uit. Dei. Lib. 7.

Men grow
proud of
those things,
which are not
in themselves,
but proceed
only of Gods
goodnesse.

be found in vs, but by the knowledge of true humanity. I am sworne Enemy to Court-flatterers, and Mountebanke Diuines. of these daies, who hold opinion, that to induce, & thrust a man on to the rule of duty: there is nothing more contenable and necessary; then to shew him all that is glorious in him, or worthy of most precious esteeme. Alasse, by this way, Princes (intemperate enough of their owne Nature) can meet with nothing but Rockes, which bruising themselves against, they must needs fall into the Guise of ignorance. Al this Cabala is practised to no other end, but to puffed vp vaine-glory, and to make apparance esteemed for an effect. By this meanes, a man labours to conceiue a good opinion of himselfe, and then aduentures vpon some enterprize, wherein he cannot chuse but faile. For the chiefest vertue in a man (that is truelie Man) according to the rule of truth; is properly placed in the slender estimation, which he ought to haue of his owne miserable condition, whereinto he was deiectioned by the fall of our first Father: by iust consideration whereof, all vaine glory and presumption will bee beaten downe in vs. For, if we duely weigh, in what manner our first grace is disgraced of Celestiall fauour, and that (instead thereof) we are plunged in the bottomlesse death of corruptions, all the parts of our Soules becomming so possessed with sinne, that each man, in himselfe (as the Eagle of Doctours, S. Augustine saith) is made a meere Enemy to Nature; If wee were liuely touched with the rigour of our importune mallice, and those out-ragious defectes, which betrayes vs in perticuler conduct of our liues: we would immediatly depart out of our selues; as empty and vnprouided of all goodnesse, and seek our glory else-where; yea, our Dignitie, Fortune, and perfect contentment; by sighing after those glorious qualities, as desirous to giue a new Title to humane Nature, the name whereof being so infamous and monstrous in it selfe.

It is our case, that being puffed vp with the little glory, which remaineth of our Originall, and tearmed (by our diuines) a portion of the Diuinity: we exalt our selues in such sort, that we grow proud

of those things, which appertaine onely to the goodnesse of God, yea, and that in such manner, as he refuseth further to assist vs; because we referre that to our owne proper and peculiar vertue, which is due to his grace onely, being the sole Artezane of our cheefest felicity. We neede not bee proud of vnderstanding our primatiue excellency, if wee consider withall, in what darkenesse wee are enueloped, and detained in the Prison of that Curse, which is likewise false vpon vs, by the timerity of him, who; hauing touched what was forbidden, threw into obliuion that Wisedome, which might haue kept him to the subiect and object of his first condition. Alas, we conceit, that we haue something properly resident in our selues, which opinion being presented to our vnderstanding: abuseth our weaknesse, and eleuates vs to ingratitude; yea, euen to the ouerweening boldnesse of *Nimrod*, who thought to touch Heauen with his litle finger, as *Lysimachus* with the point of his Lance. Man hath naturally in him a Spirit, too capable of entertaining this life; and some discretion also of good and euill, grauen on the Table of his conscience. Hee hath likewise in him, some naturall knowledge of God. But all these thinges are sullied in him, much like to pure and good Wine, infected by the foule sauour of the Caske; which makes it loose the grace both of goodnesse and beauty, throwing a sower, harsh, and hurtfull tast to health on it.

In this manner, the iudgement remaining with him, whereby to discern the most from the least; is imperfect & confused in part, and whatsoever is solide in him, slydeth away in meere vanity. As (for example) his courage, or (to speake better) his will, which (without will) ouerthrowes it selfe by frenzies, and impetuous heate: according as his errour enstructeth him to runne, and as his bad Nature transporteth him with motion, which was not so familiar in the first man. In breefe, the intelligencē that courage onely (in Man) hath of his own good; is nothing else but an horrible source of errour, which declares it selfe in plurality of most necessary desseignes, and not onely

The folly of mens idle imagination concerning them selues.

Mans natural knowledge of God corrupted in him.

Courage, or will in Man, ouerthroweth it selfe.

In breefe, the intelligencē that courage onely (in Man) hath of his own good; is nothing else but an horrible source of errour, which declares it selfe in plurality of most necessary desseignes, and not onely

Wherein our best considerations may be abused.

The Molosses of Albania.

Wherein any Man ought to place his greatest glorie.

God respecteth them that are vnworthy, but only enabled by his grace.

The Authors admonition to Princes of these times.

ly therein, but in this faire and holy consideration: to wit; That the Heavens doe alwaies retaine their ordinary motion; The Waters their inconstancy, and course ordained; The Birds building their Nests; The Fruites fructifying according to their times; And finally, that no Creature (inferiour to Man) committeth any fault in his worke. Whereas (quite contrary) he drawes himselfe from his proprietie, to resolute and conuert into his contrarie; hauing lesse shame then the *Molosses* of *Albania*, and lesse feare then the *Vultures*, which follow battailes, and seek the furious encounters of cruell and dreadfull Armies.

We must deriue then our conclusion in this point (at least) if we followe Christianity, and the duty of a Christian Soule, which neither can, or ought to glorifie it selfe, but in the Grace of God; we must conclude (I say) that all our vertue, be it great or litle, cometh from no place else, but Heauen; or, to speake better, from the first, chiefe and Soueraigne Architect: who, without considering or regarding any thing beside himselfe (fore-seeing our weaknes) is willing (of his owne good pleasure) to helpe some, by placing them in honor, as vessels of his Almightyesse, and to leaue others in their own iudgment. So that the one haue Grace, which is not due to them, neither is giuen them, but by diuine clemency; and the other receiue such punishment as they deserue. For it is in Gods power, to communicate himselfe to them that are vnworthy (but onely by his grace) and not to vse the like to euery one; to make his iudgments admired, and to enforce our diligent search, for that, which wee esteeme more requisite for him to giue, then we are worthy of. Onely we are so much the lesse capable of this favor, by how much there is nothing more certaine; then that God will neuer pardon a man of violent courage, and of prompt execution in doing euill, being led by the rage of his own angry reuenging hart.

The whole drift of my scope in this Argument, is nothing else, but to enstruict Princes, that they ought to ioyne piety and pittie with their State affaires; and further to assure them, that their

courage (without wisdom) is rather the fire of Gods anger, then any marke of perfect valour. The *Gothes*, *Hunnés*, & *Vandals*, may testifie the same, whose rage made an vniuersall terror in three great parts of the World, running here and there, like a tempest arising on the calme Sea: which yet (at length) dissolved of it selfe, and brought more amazement then perill to the beholders. The *Gauls* also witnessed as much, who, being growne great with courage, and improuident in their blindfolded hope; ran to ruinate the buildings of *Rome*, & not to the Conquest of the Cittizens. Tell me, I pray ye, to what end serued such hastinesse, temerity, and insolent fury? To what purpose were the *Gauls* so violently transported; but onely to tell the *Romaines*, that their Enemies were more vincible, then vneasie to be vanquished? That their fury, was without desseigne; their rage, without any premeditation; their rash leape, their owne breake-neck; their enterprise, a meere Chaos of dis tempered wils; and the issue of all, a shame very dammageable, a ruinous infamy, and a perticuler scandall to that Nation.

Courage (saith a learned Gentleman of *France*) is not for these times, when Men are growne madde; nor for these daies, wherein follie possesseth vs, transport commaundeth vs, and the verie Atomies of inconstancie, doe forme a body to our intentions. We make Warre with the Spaniard in a leafe of Paper; we gad thorough all our Parliament Chambers; our Cannon is yet in the Metall Mine; our Artillerie carriages yet growing in Forrests; our Pikes in the liuing bodies of Trees; our Souldiers in the purse; our Captains in creation; and our enemy (who hath not so much courage, as to enterprise any difficult thing, without a solide & robust bodie) mindes not the defiance in writing, but victorie, destroyeth *Piccardie* and *Champaigne*; and, in stead of Paper warre, which leadeth our *Frenchmen* by the nose, to the feuerall quarters of the Citty: he brings his Ensignes before our Bastions, his Trenches to our wals, & his Souldiers to our breaches. Of al which, our own rashheaded ambition is the only cause, & somewhat else, whereof I spare to speake at this time,

The violence of the *Gauls* in sackeing *Rome*.

The words of a *French* Gentleman, concerning courage.

The *Spaniard* is polittick in his stratagems and advantages.

forbearing also further pursuite in this argument, because the Reader is evermore best pleased, when he wandereth at liberty in variety of discourse.

CHAP. XIII.

Of a strange and wonderfull accident, that happened in the Islands of the Molucaes, about the yeare of our Lord, 1525.



Haue long time forborne, to remember in this labour of important occasions, an admirable accident, which befell in the Isles of the *Molucques*, seated in the East *Indiaes*. Whereof (neuerthelesse) there is not any mention made, in the Booke of the generall Historie of the *Spanish Indiaes*, nor in *Hierome Osorius*, Byshop of *Sylues*, neither in *Lopez de Castagneda*, and other Historians of *Portugall*: but onely in the Booke of *Laurentius Surius*, *Germaine*, Chronicler to *Charles* the fift Emperour, entitled; *The Historie of all memorable thinges, as well Ecclesiasticall as Seculer, happening within seauenty and eight yeares, in all partes of the World, beginning at the yeare 1500.* But the saide *Surius* heard this strange accident, by people worthy of beleefe, who made report thereof to the Emperour, because they were there present at the time; and since then, I my selfe haue heard it confirmed by diuers honorable Gentlemen, who trauided for certaine knowledge thereof.

Laurentius Surius, Chronicler to the Emp. *Charles* the fift.

Five especiall Islands of the *Molucques*.

The *Spaniards* first discoverers of the *Molucques*.

The Isles of the *Molucques* are many in number, but among the rest, there are five, more great and remarkable then all the other; which are named *Tidora*, *Terrenata*, *Mata*, *Matila*, and *Matiena*. In which Islands, there is much greater increase of Spices, then in any other as yet discovered: as of Pepper, Nut-megges, Ginger, Cloues and Maces. Moreover, the Countrey aboundeth in Rice, which is their onely Corne, and in many other Fruites. The *Spaniards* were the first that discovered these Islands, and made

very great profits of them, by Traffick of those Spices at meane prices. Which when the King of *Portugall* vnderstood, he made knowne to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, King of the severall *Spaines*; what wrong hee offered him, by sending his nauall Armies to Traffique in those quarters, because they belonged to his partage, which had beene made betweene the Kings of *Castile* and *Portugall*, by Pope *Alexander* the sixt, a *Valentinois*, who had heard the discoueries of the new lands, made by both these Kings, and the differences depending betweene them, for gouernment of them. Whereupon, of his owne meere good will and motion, hee gaue the *Indiaes* to the Kinges of *Castile*, and all the Coast of *Affrica* to the Kinges of *Portugall*; with charge, to conuert the Idolaters and Gentiles to the Faith of Iesus Christ.

And to the end, that the one should not presume any way against the other, he commaunded a line to be drawne vpon the Globe, descending from the North to the South, & passing towards the West more then 400. Miles from one of the Isles of *Cap verdi*; because it should not touch any iote of *Affrica*, which appertained to the King of *Portugall*. This line deuided the whole World, and serued as a borne or limitation, to the Conquests of both these Kinges. The partes beyond the line, belonged to the *Spaniards*, and those on the hither side, to the *Portugals*. And yet, notwithstanding this deuision, each of these kings was perswaded, that the *Molucques* belonged to his severall part, and there was a long time of contention (there-about) betweene them. But the Emp. hauing neede of Mony, to serue his Warres in *Italy*, *Germanie*, and *Fraunce*: quitted his rights to the King of *Portugall*, for three hundred and fiftie thousand Ducates, whereby the *Portugals* haue (ever since) enioyed the sole Trafficke, to their great and inestimable profit.

At that time raigned in the great Isle of *Tidora*, one named *Mansor*, a Man well skild in Astrology, and very affable, contrary to the nature of *Mahometane* Religion: for hee entertained the *Spaniards* courteously, as afterward hee did the *Portugalles*, permitting all his Sub-

The partition of the World made betweene the Kinges of *Castile* and *Portugall*.

The Emperour sold his right to the King of *Portugall*.

Mansor King of the great Isle of *Tidora*.

Subjects to be instructed in Christian Religion, and so many of them as pleased to be baptized, the *Portugalles* having brought thither Priestes, and religious persons for the purpose. In the meane while, the Deuill (enuying that Gods Kingdome should be so freely furthered, in these rich and populous Islands) quickly altered the estate of Christian Religion: for this good King *Mansor* dying, his Sonne (succeeding him in the Kingdome) not onely interdicted the *Portugalles* Commerce with his Subjects; but also commaunded his people (as suddenly as they could) to kill them, and that none should be so bold, as to make profession of Christian Faith, or to meddle with any matter thereof. This was no sooner vnderstood by some, who were but badly affected to Christianity: but (before they could preuent it) many *Portugals* were slaine, and such as had any means of escape, fled into their Ships, lying neere at Anker, and returned home to *Portugall* with these ill tidings.

Heere ye are to note, that after this disloyall act, of so euill vsage towardes Strangers, and breach of fidelitie, without any cause giuen to procure it, (albeit the deceased King *Mansor*, whose owne Letters cleared from all such barbarous and Mahometane perfidie, had graunted to the *Portugals*, free libertie to sley any that hindred their Commerce, or any way scandalized their Religion, which they refused to doe) they carried themselues very patiently, in all the iniuries that these *Mahumetist Molucques* offered them, who were much assisted in their violence, by the *Arabian* Marchants, that repined and grudged at the Christians fauour and authority. After (I say) this massacre of Christians; for the space of two yeares, the Land of *Tidora*, and other Isles thereto adiacent, became to be barren, that had before beene as fruitfull, as any other Countries in the World.

Their Trees brought forth no more Fruits nor Spiceries, and albeit the grounds were sowed and re-sowed many times together; yet did they not produce any Corn, and the Rice which they kept for further sowing; putrified of it selfe. The sweete Waters became

salt; the Cattell, as Elephants, Oxen, Kine, Camels, Sheepe, and such like, dyed (well neere) all, and caused the death of many people beside. All which notwithstanding, these wicked Mahumetists would not acknowledge their Apostasie (the greater part of the Island hauing made profession of Christianity in the life time of *Mansor*) abjuring the same now with their new king, who was of a wauering and inconstant Spirit.

The King of *Portugall*, named *John*, hauing heard by such as escaped, the Treason and iniury committed on his people, was not thereby dismayed; but arming himselfe with royall courage, and not regarding the great distance of two thousand leagues by Sea, with other difficulties of passages to the *Molucques*; leuied an army of four hundred men, who (two yeares after this massacre) arriued in the Hauen of *Tidora*, which is a great City, and whereof the whole Island beareth name. The Army landed, and (placing their Artillery) gaue great terror to the City, and erected a Fort on the Sea shoare: the King, with his Islanders and other Neighbours, labouring to hinder the *Portugals* purpose. Here we are to consider, that the principall Armes of the Islanders, were poysoned Arrowes, which they could deliuer from their Bowes very dexteriously, and those arrowes were very dangerously bearded, otherwise they went starke naked, as all the other Negroes doe.

Twenty thousand of these men of war being thus assembled, they ranne with such boldnesse and courage vpon the small number of Christians; that they had all beene immediately slaine, if these Apostate *Molucques* (God so appointing it) had not beene suddenly surprized with a mightie feare and terror, & that in such sort, as the Weapons fell to the ground out of their handes. For the Sunne (albeit it was then the houre of midday) was so obscured, as hardlie could they discern one another. The earth trembled and quaked, and fierie stones fell downe from Heauen, which bruised and battered their Mosques or Temples. The Trees were strangely rent and torne, the roots being turned vppward. This tempest beginning some-

A a 2 what

The death of King *Mansor*, and succession of his Son.

The fauours granted by K. *Mansor* to the *Portugals*.

Heauen reuenged the Christians cruel oppression.

John King of *Portugall* prepareth to right his wronged subjects.

A second Army of the *Portugals* against the *Molucques*

Twenty thousand *Molucques* in armes against the *Portugals*.

A wonderfull tempest suddenly happening.

what to flake, the *Portugals* ranne vpon the affrighted *Barbarians*, and stewe the greater number of them, not any one Christian being so much as wounded, and the Islanders flying, the *Portugalles* remained Conquerors, and finished vp the remainder of their Fort.

The *Molucques* enter into considerat on of this admirable accident

The *Molucques* hauing considered with themselues, that this losse sustained in battaile, the barrenesse of the Land, the Earthquake, terrour, darkening of the Sunne, the fiery stones falling from Heauen, and the Tempest which rent their trees in such sort, could not happen but by Gods heauy displeasure, and that their Prophet *Mahomet* could not be God, but rather an abuser and imposture, and that the Christians were assisted by the true God indeede, and to him onelie (and to none else) repaire ought to bee made for safetie, as well in this World, as that to come; Considering also, that the Famine, barrenesse of the Earth, and Mortality both of Men and Beasts, which hapned in the precedent yeares, was, because they had forsaken Christian Religion, and (returning to the Mahometane) had cruelly murdered them that enstructed thē in the truth, without any iniurie offered on their behalfe: Hereupon, they concluded to make peace with the *Christians*, with promise (thence forward) to liue in loue and fidelity with them, embracing Christian Religion againe. Moreouer, such as had not formerlie beene baptized, they caused them then to bee baptized, whereof there was so great a number, that in the space of a Weeke, more then fiftene thousand were become Christians. Beside, diuers of the neighbouring Islands, hearing of this wonderfull accident, came thither in great numbers to doe the like. Since which time, the Countrey returned, to the former fertility, & the most part of the people haue continued in Christianity. And not only these of the *Molucques*, but many of the great Prouince of *China*, of the Kingdomes of *Narsingua*, *Bindana*, *Bennaga*, *Isaana*, *Coa*, *Calecuth*, *Arabia*, and others, became Christians, who before were Idolaters, and of the Mahometane Religion.

The *Molucques* forsake their former Apostasie, and returne to Christianity.

Of other Nations that became Christians vpon this accident.

CHAP. XIII.

Of some, who haue counterfeited sicknesse, to exempt themselues from businesse and employment: And of others, who (in mockery of Men) haue feigned to haue their imperfections; and false (truelie) into sicknesse, and the same deformities.



Artiall, who was a notable scoffer, makes a mockerie at *Cælius* in his Epigrames, who counterfeiting to bee Gouty; annointed himself

Cælius, that counterfeited to haue the Gout, became gouty indeed.

with Oyles and other things, wrapping and binding vp his ioynts, because hee would haue nothing to doe at the Court, either by night or day, or attend (as Courtiers doe) vpon any great person. But in the end, his fortune so fell out, that he happened to haue the gout indeede. *Appianus Alexandrinus* reporteth also of another *Romaine*, who, to escape the proscriptions of the *Romaine Triumuir*, and not to bee knowne for what he was, by such as might take notice of him: kept himselfe close, and wore an emplaster of veluet vpon one of his eyes, which hee continued for a long time. After all such search and pursuite was passed ouer; the man took off his plaister, and found the vtter losse of that eye indeed.

A *Romaine* that dissembled to haue but one eye.

The reason of his fall into this accident, is plaine and apparant, in regard that the eye, not performing his action (which is to see) looseth it selfe. As may be gathered by such, who haue long time beene imprisoned in some dark Caue or Dungeon, where no light could be discerned; and haue lost their sight, or very greatly impaired it, by discontinuation from beholding light. Serpents containe the same quality, for when they come forth from vnder the Earth, where they hid themselues all the Winter: they see not any iote at all, and therefore they are the more easilie kild. This *Cælius*, who became Gouty, it may be, that idlenesse, the cloaths wrapped about his ioyntes, with the ranck & hot Oyles applied to his limbs and

The reason of those strange accidents, in both those *Romaines*.

and Arteries; hauing made attraction of the humours; caused such goutines. For; if a bruise, receiued by a straiue shoe, or a seame of some hardnesse in a stocking, hath many times occasioned the Gout, according as some learned Phisitians haue writen: much stronger reason then is there for the fore-named matters.

But of another History, which I my selfe credibly knew to happen, I cannot alleadge any naturall reason. During those troubles of the union or league in France, it chanced, that (neere vnto a Castle) certaine honest men were: set vpon by Theeues, and robd in such sort, that they had nothing left them but their shirts. When they perceived the Castle; they went presently thither, and entreated the Lord thereof, that hee would lend them some assistance, for apprehension of the Theeues: in regard that he had a certaine knowledge of them; and was armed with such authority, as might (at least) helpe them to their Garments againe. But the wretched Gentleman would afford them no fauour; no, not so much as to see them: but feigned that hee had the Collique, and was vnable to stirre out of his Bed; or to attend vpon any businessse whatsoener. It was then the coldest season of the yeare, and the Seruants (albeit vnkowne to their Master) lodged these despised poore men, (for that night) in a stable; whence they parted homeward on the next morning, without drawing the least courtesie that could bee; from that vngentle Gentleman. Now, I know not whether it happed by iust vengeance of Heauen, or by some naturall occasion thereto leading: but he fell into the Collike indeed, and keeping his Chamber for it, the space of twenty daies, at last he died by violent extremity thereof.

An Abbot of Guyenne, and Archdeacon in a Bishoppricke, was cited by the Bishop and Chapter, to appeare at a visitation, for assessing of each Benefice in the Diocesse (according to their faculties) for the releefe of poor Parishes, from whence they deriued dismes and rents. The Abbot made excuse, saying hee had a plurisie (which was meere lyalle) & therefore he could not be there

present. But within few daies after, hee was taken with such a grieuous paine in his side; that hee kept his Bed a whole yeare together, and was glad to haue his side cotterized in two places, all which notwithstanding, he could not recouer health while he liued.

Snibdager, King of Swedia, being very colerous; counterfeited deafnesse, to the end, he might heare no requestes made to him for bestowing of any gifts. For in that Country, he negotiated his whole reigne; by conference with the King, and so by writing or petition, as they do to this day: But in short time the King became both deafe and blinde indeed.

I know a young Scholler, descended of good Parentage in the Franche Countie, who was a very facetious Scoffer and mocker, and continually vsed to counterfeit the gait, gesture, and behauiour of his Sister (the Wife to his elder Brother, descended of a verie worthy and vertuous familie, and had brought great estates (and meanes to his Brother) but she was lame, and as she halted, so (in scorne) he would doe the like. But (no doubt by Gods iudgement) he chanced to breake one of his Legges, which could neuer after be recouered, or brought to any forme, but that he halted downe right to his dying day.

Mothers vsed to correct (& with verie good reason) their Children, when they counterfeited squinting in their eyes, gogling, blindnesse, limping, wry Mouthes, and other imperfections and deformities of body. For as a bodie so young and tender, wil easily apprehend any bad impression; so, oftentimes it falls out (by what meanes I know not) that they are suddenly surprized, euen in their wanton and mocking imitation. And assuredly, I haue seene many, who haue become sicke, in attempting (by scorne) to resemble sicknesse especially, if such dissimulation hindered their due presence from requisite occasions; and Children, in mocking yeares thers, by successe of time; haue bredde to the same disease or infirmity. Opium or Toade (very venomous). A 3. main remedy, must then be

A strange accident happening in France

Diuine vengeance hapning on a dissembling Gentleman.

An Abbot iustly punished for his dissembling.

A strange accident happening to a king

a scoerner that became lame by meere mockery.

An especiall duty in all good Mothers;

Against Mushromes or Toad-stooles,

The vertue
of Hydromell
or Metheglin.

For olde and
foule Vlcers.

For deaffenes
and windines
in the head.

Against, It-
ches, Ring-
wormes and
Tetteres.

Against the
weakenesse of
sight.

The saying of
Cato.

Galen vnder-
tooke to de-
fend the yong
mans spee-
ches.

be ordered into a *Syrop*, as in that nature it is vsed, to displace phlegme, and an old dry cough. *Hidromell* or *Metheglin* gargarized, doth very well cleanse all hinderances, which proceede from any thicke phlegme, either in the throat; *Vuula* or the Almondcs. Concerning the fordidc and inneterate *Vlcer*, which he seemeth to haue had in his leg, and cured it by the helpe of *Hony*: the case is very euident, for *Hony* cleanseth, clearcth, and is vtter enemy to all fordidy or filthinesse, and having thus neated the *Vlcer*; it easily heals & closeth it vp. Touching that which he alleadged, of some, who haue distilled & put *Hony* into their eares, being deaffened, full of windes, and ascending vp into the braine: this must be vnderstood of very old *Hony*, foddcn with foure times as much old Wine, for all hot medicaments (as very olde wine and *Hony* are) they doe disperse windes very easily, and other cold causes, which procure deaffenesse, and other accidents in those parts.

That it causeth the drying vp of Itches, Tetteres, Ring-wormes; and other such like defoedations in the skinne; proceedeth from hence; that it is absteriue of his owne nature, and a great enemy to all corruption, for whatsoeuer things are confected in *Hony*, will neuer corrupt. By the same reason, it worketh the death of Itches and Tetteres, which are nothing else, but meere vncleanesse and filthinesse of the body. In regard of sight, questionlesse, being mingled with a little Fennell water, and so distilled into the eyes; it quitteth them from blearings and waterish humors, which congealing in the, doth greatly trouble the sight, especially in such as vse ouermuch weeping. To conclude, Ladies and Gentlewomen doe wash their faces and hands therewith, to keepe them smooth, faire and white. And *Cato* was wont to say; That to liue long, we must vse *Hony* within the body, and oyle without.

Galen thus finishing his prooffe (by very good reasons) that the olde man had spoken truly; would not so giue it ouer, but though the young man (who was oppositiuely contrary to the other) had declared so much against *Hony*; yet would he maintaine the truth of his speeches likewise. And directing his eye to him, began in this manner, discoursing with plenty of words, after the *Asiatick* course, and not *Laconically*, as his good and an-

cient *M. Hypocrates* was wont to do in his time. Let no man count it strange (quoth he) if thou doe mislike the vse of *Hony*, and lay so much blame vpon it: for it is very contrary to thy nature, being of an angry and chollericke temper, hot in action, and easily displeascd. And though I had not heard thee speak, nor beheld any action of thine: yet very sight had beene sufficient to me; thy haire being red, thy skin yellowish; thy body leane and meager; these are enow wherebý to direct iudgement. First, let me tell thee, that diseases are neuer cured, but by their contraries, for whereas thou saidst, that thou hadst a Feauer tertian, and supposed it to come by the vse of *Hony*, a food enforced in the time of thy captiuitie: I make no doubt at all thereof; for *Hony* conuerteth it selfe quickly into red choller; in any body naturally hot, as thine is, and I wonder it did not more hurt vnto thee, because it was in no manner prepared. For albeit that many viands are good, yet there be some that (before they are eaten) doe require preparation, to correct a certaine malignity, which they haue naturally in them. As *Coriander*, which is venomous of it selfe; Neuerthelesse, corrected with Vineger, it is an excellent medicine for the stomack, trauailed with indigestions, and filled with windenesse. In like manner, crude and raw *Hony*, not repurged from his excrements; offendeth the stomack, engendering a desire of casting, and descending into the intestines, begetteth there such windenesse, and so painefull gripings, as are not possible to be declared, and therefore thou hast affirmed nothing but truth. As for the drie cough which it raised in thee, there is no doubt thereof, for but by eating it rawe; some part thereof must needs fall into the conuoye of the lights and liuer, as it doth in all liquid things (that are thicke and impure) receiued into the body. And his tartnesse or saltnesse (not being scummed away before) prouoketh a dry cough, yet auoyding nothing in spitting, because no matter at all was descended to the lights & liuer. Which hapned not in like sort to this old man, for he had phlegm enough in him, to let fall downe ordinarily vpon those parts. But for that report, that *Hony* should engender wormes; it is quite contrary to all reason; because all things steeped in *Hony*, are exempt from vermine

The signes of
a chollericke
man.

Hony quite
contrary to a
Feauer tertian.

Rawe *Hony*
and vnprepa-
red is danger-
ous.

Coriander
venomous.

Crude *Hony*
procureth
a dry cough.

Hony doth
not engender
wormes.

mine or corruption. But if it fall out, that a man vsing Hony, had wormes before, or is enclined naturally to them: then it doth maintaine and nourish them, euen as Suger doth; but it can bee no cause of their generation.

Concerning *Hydromell* or *Metheglin*, drunke in the continuance of thy Feauer Tertian, and presumed to prolong the same: there is nothing more certaine, then that this drinke (composed of Hony and Water) did it. But it was not caused by any defect in the liquor, which of it selfe is most wholesome, for Men of melancholly habitude, and for diseases of black Choller and Phlegmaticke: but for any chollericke person, such as thy selfe is, most certaine is it, that it is a true foment, and a maintainer of fiery Agues, euen such as thine then was, and he was greatly to be blamed, that thereto did aduise or counsell thee. And whereas thou saiest, that it is an enemy to such places, as the skin is flaid or gone off: it is to be considered, that it was no Vicer, like vnto the other; for it detergeth, cleaneth, and dryeth not. To regenerate new skinne, we must not apply detersive Medicines: but such as are desiccative, without any mordication. . . And I credit well, that burnt Paper was much more conuenient for it: but yet we must not say, that if Medicines be badly vsed, they are not therefore good, being fitly applied.

I conclude then (by these reasons) that you both haue spoken very well of Hony, albeit ye are so different in opinion: but all your contrariety hath no other ground, but that the younger man of ye both, did not vse Hony duely, and with consideration and good iudgement, according as the circumstances required. Thus *Galen* gaue ending to this Controuersie, and it was to be feared, that if *Galen* had not thus moderated the matter; the difference had caused blowes between them. Such debates and contentions, are daily seen in Countrey Townes and Villages, when a man will rashly commend his Scithe, Hatchet, Sickle, Dogge, Bull, or Cow, beyond his Neighbours, and thereupon are ready to goe to Law: But breaking off this discourse, because I would not be offensive to the reader: I wil adde another Chapter, to declare

whence the matter of Hony is taken, and how it is made.

CHAP. XVI.

How Hony is made; Whence Manna proceedeth; Of the Aiery Hony; And of Sagar.

Hony commeth from the Dew of Heauen, which falleth vpon the Herbes and Flowers, and is sucked vp by the Bees, and enclosed in their stomackes: after ward, it is vomited or cast vp at their mouthes, and they preserue much part thereof in the hollow of their Iawes, to liue thereon during winter, and other hard times. Prouident Nature hath so well ordered all things, for the benefit and commodity of Man; that shee hath bestowed many vertues and vigours on those pretty Flies, in gathering sufficient for themselves, and liberall extendure for Man also. For it is a great merchandise, helpfull for diuers Maladies, and a singular nourishment for some bodies, as may bee gathered by our former discourse.

Nature hath bene so bountifull to Man, and still continueth the same affection; that she causeth great quantitie of this Hony dew to fall, euen like raine vpon the earth in some Countreys, vpon the Mountaines, and places where Frankinsence groweth. To gather it, the Inhabitants lay fleeces of Wooll vnder the Trees, and beat the Trees, to cause the Dew to fall vpon the fleeces, which drinke it in: afterward, they presse the fleeces, and receiuing this honny-dew into conuenient Vessels; they boyle and purifie it, making vse thereof in their foode, as also in their Medicines, as they thinke best, and it is much better then that which is wrought by the Bees.

Galen saith, that there fell such great quantity of this Dew (in his time) in his Countrey of *Pergamus*; that the Countrey people (greatly delighted therein) gaue thanks therefore to *Iupiter*: *Aelianus* writeth also, that there fell such

Hydromell or *Metheglin*, for what persons it is good.

Burnt Paper good to procure new skin.

*Galen*s conclusion of these two contraries.

Contention quickly causeth quarrell.

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How the Bees do make their Hony.

Natures prouidence for Man.

Hony-dew falleth like raine in some places.

Galen his report of Hony dew.

such plenty thereof in *India*, in a Region which is called *Prasia*, and so moistened the *Grasse*, that the *Sheepe*, *Kine*, and *Goates* feeding thereon, yeelded *Milke* sweete like *Hony*, which was very pleasing to drinke. And when they vsed that *Milke* in any disease, they needed not to put any *Hony* therein, to the end it should not corrupt in the stomacke: as it is appointed in *Hecticke Feauers*, *Consumptions*, *Tisickes*, and for others that are vlcered in the intestines, as is confirmed by the *Histories of Portugall*.

Hony hindereth Milke from corrupting.

Euripides and *Aelianus* of the vertue of Hony.

Hony both medicinable & venomous.

Dioscorides concerning hony

Hony gathered in *Sardignia*.

Another kind of dew beside the former.

Grained *Manna*, the best is of *Calabria*.

Euripides saith, that meere *Hony* fell vpon the *Trees* in *Media*; and *Aelianus* saith, that in *Trapezonde*, the people gathered *Hony* on the *Boxe-tree* leaues; and albeit it was bitter, and of strong fauour, yet it cured such as were mad, and them that were tormented with the falling sicknesse. Doubtlesse, it is very likely, that *Hony* should rellish of the *Plant* or *Hearbes* quality, from whence it is gathered: for if the *Tree* be venomous, such will the *Hony* be, and if the *Hearb* or *Grasse* be healthful, so is it likewise. Which was very well obserued by *Dioscorides*, who saith; *In Heraclea of Pontus, there was some Honie so venomous, that it would reduce all the body into a sweat, and take away their senses, that did eate thereof: but the Hearbe Rhue being presently taken, was an immediate remedie*. In *Sardignia* it is gathered of very bitter tast, because it may be, that much *Worme-wood* or *Sothern-wood* groweth in that *Countrey*: and yet notwithstanding, it is not venomous, but irksome to tast.

And to the end, that nothing may be omitted, of what may be said concerning *Hony*; I finde, that there is another kinde of *Dew*, beside the former, which congealeth of it selfe, & is found and taken vpon the leaues and branches of *Trees*, vpon *Hearbs* and *stones*, and sometimes on the very ground, forming it self into litle *Grains*, like *Gum*, which falleth from heauen before break of day; being very sweete in tast. And this dew or moisture, is called *grained Manna*, the best whereof commeth from *Calabria*, where they take it on their common *Ash-trees*, vpon the wide commons, and (many times) vpon some other *Trees*, by some secret of

Nature. It maketh the belly loose, without any violence, as by daily experience it is to be seene, for if a man take the waight of two ounces and an halfe thereof; it releaseth the belly gently, and purgeth choller particularly: nor is there any feare, in giuing it to *Women* great with childe, and young sucking *Children*, if they neede any purging. Now *adaies*, because in stead of *Hony*, most part of men doe make vse of *Suger*, as being more amiable vnto *Nature*; it shall not vary much from our purpose, if wee enter into some breefe discourse thereof.

The vertue of this *Manna* in vse.

Suger is but the *Pith* or *Marrow* of certaine cultiued *Reedes* or *Canes*, naturally produced, and boiled in *Water*, vntill it grow to some hardnesse. The *Suger*, whereof our auncients (as *Pliny*, *Galen*, *Dioscorides*, *Paulus Aeginetus*, and others) make mention, was none other, but that which came forth of the *Cane*, by a rift made thereinto, as being ouer full of sugred pith, which congealed to the *Cane* like a *Gumme*; and long time (both before and after) no other kinde of *Suger* was knowne, but onely that, which quenched thirst in the hottest fiery *Agues*. Quite contrary to the *Suger* of these daies, which prouoketh thirst, and turneth it selfe into bitter choller, euen as *Hony* doth. This *Hony* was then rare, and all *Sauces*, *Conserues*, *Confections*, *Opiates*, *Electuaries*, and other medicinable compositions, were made with *Hony*; only through defect of knowing *Suger* in those times.

The definition of *Suger*.

Pliny, *Galen*, *Dioscorides*, *Paulus Aeginetus*.

The naturall *Suger* vsed by our elders.

But since *Madame Auarice* discovered the *Art*, of pressing and boyling those *Suger Canes*, deriuuing thence great aboundance of *Suger*: it hath happened; that the *Indians* haue (and yet yearly do) cut the *Suger Canes*, making also a yearely planting of the. And therefore there needeth no maruaile, if those great *Suger Canes* be not to be found, wherein nature shewed her effects, and so (by consequent) the naturall *Suger* vsed by our fore-fathers, is vtterlie lost. In stead whereof, our moderne rimes haue vsed *Suger-candy*, which is artificiall and cleare, drawne forth of *minerall Salt*; being sucked vp on the tongue, whereby it wholly resembleth the *Suger* of our Auncients.

Couetousnes the first inuenter of *Suger*.

The artificiall *Surger-candy* of these daies

The

Difference between Honey & Sugar in vertue.

How long time it is since sugar was first knowne.

*Majorque and Minorque.

The comparison which our Physitions make betweene Honey and Sugar, is, that they are both Absterfiue, Desiccatiue, and Resolueable; but yet Sugar much lesse then Honie. Sugar is not so contrarie to the stomacke, as Honie, neither so hot, that it may be numbered amongst those Medicines, which may be administered in Feauers: and this is the opinion both of *Galen* and *Auicen*.

The inuention of boyling, and making it into a Licquid kinde of Loaves, for common Traffique and distribution (in such great quantity) through all parts of the world, began within these last 800. yeares. In which time (yet farre off from the Originall) the *Africans*, and people of *Asia*, being Neighbors to the *Indians*, got the sight of making Sugar in *India*, & preparing their grounds aptly for Sugar Canes; by transporting some of those sugar Canes into their Countries, and husbanding their tillage for them. Afterward, they communicated the manner thereof to other people, as (at this instant) there is verie good Sugar made in *Egypt*, *Madera*, the *Canarie* Islands, throughout all *Barbary*, *Sicily*, the Isles * *Baleares*, in some partes of *Spaine*, and other places. The Reader may perceiue by this Discourse, in what case Honie is good, and in what euil: how it ought to be applied; and in what things it is best vsed; What difference there is betweene Honie and Sugar, and the generation both of the one and other. By obseruing also the disputation, which hapned between those men of different yeares, some profit may be gathered; in what kinde it is wholesome, Nutritiue, and Physicall; and in what Nature also, dangerous and hurtfull.

CHAP. XVII.

How the Gothes vsed to elect their Kings, Great, Fat, and Corpulent of Bodie. Contrariwise, how the Sarrazins wold haue their Kings to be Meager, Leane, and of sma' stature.

It were needlesse to declare, what manner of people the Sarrazins were, hauing formerly spoken sufficient there-

of, in a Chapter onely thereto appertaining. And for the *Gotes* likewise, somewhat hath already bin saide, and the rest remaineth to more conuenient place. My instant purpose is, to relate of what stature and habitude of bodie, both those Nations vsed to create their Kings, thereby to appeare more apt and proper for command ouer them. The *Gotes* would not elect anie man to be their King, except he were tall, great, grosse, and verie corpulent. On the contrary, the *Sarazins* would haue no King to commaund ouer them, except he were little, lean, and low of stature. Whosoever considereth well on these matters, will find neither side to be void of reason, albeit their opinions were so opposite; and therefore wee will begin with them of great, grosse, and corpulent condition.

Hippocrates, the Prince of Physitions, saith; *Great stature is verie seemly & commendable in a young man, and it begetteth him much grace; but it is an vnprofitable charge to age, and much worse then smallnesse.* Doubtlesse, a Prince of high great appaunce, and goodly shape, is much more respected by the greater part of his people; then one that is lowe, leane, and little. To approue this, certain *Normans*, hauing made a Voyage into the Countries of *Brasile* (where the people were tearmed *Saluages*, and went whollie Naked, feeding on humane flesh) brought backe in their Ships diuers Captaines of the *Caribes*, and made a present of them to King *Charles* the ninth, who was then young in yeares, onely about the age of fiftene. The *Saluages* perceiuing his great attendance, and that euery one was verie respectiue of him, demanded what he was? One told them, that he was the King, who absolutely commaunded all *France*, a Countrie of large extendure; and well peopled. The *Caribes* answered, saying; *Surely, there was but ill proceeding in the election of so young a King; rather this man, or that man had bin much better,* pointing their fingers to two *Switzers*, of great corpulence, and were of the Guard belonging to the said King.

It is contemptible and vnseemlie, to behold a chiefe person, as the king, Captaine, or other men of command, to be of small stature, and their seruants great. The first King of *Israel*, which GOD chose and gaue to his people, was *Saule*.

Kinges fat, great, and tall, and others leane, lowe, & litle.

Aphor. 54. lib. 2

The Normans voyage to Brasile.

The iudgement of Saluages in choise of a King.

Men of small stature, much despised.

Hippoc Aphorif.
54. Lib. 2.

Great stature
is very hurt-
full to age.

The discom-
moditie of
great or grosse
corpulence.

A good rea-
son against
corpulency of
body.

Concerning
men of indif-
ferent stature

a man of high and great stature. After such slightly personage, commended by Hippocrates in a young man; he addeth, a great discommoditie, saying; *Great Corpulence is insupportable and hurtful to age, because a great man being old, becommeth bending or bowing, and hath labor enough to beare the bignesse of his bodie, by the puffing up or swelling in his legges. Moreover, for the most part they are Cowardes, without magnanimitie or bodily strength: For neither their spirits, natural heat, or animal forces, are so well assembled and vnited, as in them of lesser corpulence.*

If occasion so required, that such men should be exposed to danger, either by Sea or Land, or some misfortune or aduersity should befall them, they wil quickly shake and tremble with feare: vvhich hapneth thus to them, because their Naturall heat languisheth, their spirites are thin and little, and their blood lesse boiling. Besides, Naturall Vertue spendes it selfe, when it spreads into a long & large extendure; which vniting and enclosing it selfe in a little bodie, is much more vigorous and powerfull, then that which is heer and there disperfed. And that which yet is worse, what grace could the *Gotes* finde, in a bodie so great and grosse? For ouer and beside, that they must needs be vnable for all royal actions, either in bodie or vnderstanding; so likewise, life could not prolong it selfe so wel in them, as it commonlie dooth in leaner bodies. The reason is, because grosse corpulency hath not so manie vitall spirites, neither such plentie of bloode in the Veines and Arteries, as Leanness generally hath. For, Fatnesse doth cause great oppressi- on, whereby (such men) doe verie soone suffocate vnder anie laborious trauell, or sharpe disease. It procureth also, that in the least sicknesse or indisposition happen- ing to them; they thereby become daily tired, panting, sighing, grieuing, hart- lesse, deiected, and in such sort emptied of all courage, that life it selfe (thogh ten- derly affected) is tedious and irkesome to them.

Men of lesser stature, haue (naturally) a meruailous vigor, and the faculties of Nature strongly combined. We may discern in them verie excellent graces, both Corporall and Spirituall, with sin- gular promptitude and subtiltie of mind, and that in such sort, as not only they ex-

cell, or equall (at least) the others in any disposition: but likewise, in strength and swiftnesse, as also in goodnes of stomack for eating or drinking. I haue oftentimes noted in our Armies, some French men of slender stature, who haue bin drinking a Vie (as we terme it) with *Switzers* and *Germanes*, great of bodie, and verie fat: but the *Switzers* and *Germanes* were sooner drunke, became sleepeie, reeling, and fell to the ground, vnable to vse any function of soule or bodie; then the other light timberd men, that went away clen- ly. The cause of all these thinges remain- eth, not only in great capacitie & large- nesse of the Veines and other Vesselles: but likewise in heate both Naturall and vehement, which boileth, concocteth, and consumeth all. Likewise, in a strong and firme braine, which doth not easilie apprehend or receiue fumes: but, in such maner, as a Tile made red hot with fire, or as a hot Iron, that slips water off, being cast vpon them; also, like to a verie drie ground, which suddenly dispatcheth and consumeth Water cast on it, for there it looseth it selfe, and passeth away, as in a subtile vapour.

Moreover, that commonly there is more magnanimitie and valour in a litle bodie, then in the corpulent; may be ap- proved by the Annals and Histories of *Fraunce*, in the life of King *Pepin*, called the Lowe or Little man, Maior of the Pallace, who liued about the yeare, 750. He was of no corpulence, yet contained in him a great spirite, generous and ro- bust of his members: which was the cause, that all the people of *France*, reie- cted *Childerick* (who was their legitimate and Naturall King, a man of great sta- ture) and hauing storne him as a Monk, did locke him vp in a Monastery, there to end his daies, because he was tearmed *Do Nothing*, a Coward, dull, and ordina- rily addicted to drunkennesse.

We read in the *Romain* Histories, that a man of *Gaule*, of immeasurable great- nesse, and higher (by the head) then anie in the Army, called or Challenged anie *Romaine* to fight with him in single com- bate. Among all the rest, *Marcus Corui- nus* (being a man of lowe stature) could not endure this insolence and arrogancy in the *Gaule*, but vndertook the fight with him, and slew him, in faire warre, as we vse to tearme it.

Small stature
preferred be-
fore fat Cor-
pulence.

Pepin the litle
man preterd
before *Childe-
rick* the great.

Of a great
Gaule, and a
litle *Romaine*.

We

The *Carthaginians* were of no such humour as the *Gothes* and *Sarazins*, for their eyes were not fixed on Fatnesse or Leannesse, great or small stature; but on a man that was magnanimious and Vertuous, not any way respecting either bodily beauty, or feature. In brieft, I find that the *Gothes* were not so able in the election of their Kinges, as the *Sarrazins*. In like manner, they were people void of Letters or Learning, and those battailes which they won, consisted more in multitudes of men, then any industry or magnanimity.

On the contrarie, the *Sarazins*, *Affricanes*, and *Arabians*, had amongst them many men of great Learning, and vvell read in all the Sciences. Amongst all other excellent qualities, they were very skilfull in the choise of their Kinges; as being able (by Physiognomie) to gather mature iudgement of their Magnanimitic, Vertue, and Vices; well knowing, that in great and grosse Bodies, neyther Science, Good Spirite, or Generositie, hath (commonly) any abiding. And to this Day, they are knowne to be good Physiognomistes, and, but for them, all the Learning which the *Gracians* left vs, had vtterlie beene lost, thorough those bloody warres of the *Gothes*, *Vandalles*, *Ostrogothes*, *Vuisigothes*, and other barbarous people.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the abuse committed, in carrying sweet Drugges, Powders, and Perfumes, about Men or Weomen: What harme thereby ensueth, and at what time they came to be first vsed, and of their properties.

ME thinks, that the *Romans* dealt both wisely and worthily, in ordaining (at the request of their Censors, *P. Licinius Crassus*, & *C. Iulius Caesar*) that no man shoulde sell any sweet Odours, or Arromaticall Vnguents, which commonly were brought forth of strange Countries. For this law, they had (vndoubtedly) very great reason, because such sweet perfumes and fauours, do make men effeminate, weak in

the brain, and all the other animal parts: engendering nothing else, but vertiginositie or giddinesse; and great torments in the head, with trembling of the Nerues; procuring (by these meanes) a pale and bloodlesse colour in the Face, and the verie selfe-same accident, which Quick-silver causeth amongst *VVorkers* in Golde.

Hippocrates and *Galen* doe both confirme as much, saying beside, *That they do beget great paines in the head, and all such as make vse of them in wearing them about their bodies: it is only but to attract voluptuous Loue, whether it be in Men or Women.* It was neuer seen, that any brane Princes, Captaines, or men of great erudition, and that made account of vertue, did vse any of those Perfumes, or Muske fauours. Not any (as I haue already said) but the voluptuous, or such as haue some defect in their bodie, do carry such smells about them; as a strong vasauntie breath, which commeth from the brain, or some Vlcere in the Lights and Lunges, beeing commonly called, a corrupt & stinking breath. Or for rotten teeth, full of putrified food sticking in them: Or for such as haue a Goat-like fauour, by reason of an ill-scenting sweat vnder their arme pits, & other parts of the bodie. For such people, I say, it is permitted (as a shadow to their defects) to carrie Perfumes, or sweete Powders about them, or else to haue their Garments perfumed. *Martial* speaketh the verie same in his Epigrams to *Posthumus*. The Easterne people did much more vse these sweete Vnguents, then they of the *VVest*; and were extraordinarily addicted to Luxuries and Voluptuousnesse, beyond all other parts of the world.

The verie greatest antiquitie that I can finde, for the vse of these sweete Vnguents, is in *Genesis*, where it is said, *That Iacob sent such giiftes into Egypt*; because there was a great dearth of Corne, and to be fauoured of *Ioseph*, who distributed the Kings corn out of his Garners, which he hadde reserued to preferue his people, or to make profit thereof; or rather, by diuine inspiration. *Salomon* in his Canticles, speaketh of most sweete Oyntmentes, especiallie in the first Chapter. The like dooth his Father *DAVID*, and that hee did Anoint his owne Face.

Bb After

The advised care of the Carthaginians.

The Sarrazins were great lovers of learning

Very bad accidents ensuing by the catiage of sweet fauours

Galen in Aphorism. 28. Lib. 5.

Sweete Perfumes serue to cover the bodies imperfections.

Who are allowed to wear perfumes.

The antiquitie of sweet odors *Genes. 43. 12.*

Cant. 2. 3. 11. 12. 13.

Plutark in vit. Alex.

Herodot. in Europ.

On what beastly pleasures sweete perfumes are now a-dayes employed.

The Authors allegation for himselfe.

After that Alexander had conquered Darius, there was found (amongest the other spoiles) a little Coffer full of most sweet and singular Vnguents. We read in Herodotus, that Cambyfes King of Persia, and Sonne to Cyrus, sent his Ambassadors with very rich presents, and vessels full of precious Oyntments, to Macrobius, King of the Ethiopians. But the King hauing vnderstoode by the Ichthyophages, (who brought him this Present) in what manner those compositions were made: would by no means accept them, because, they were too effeminate for him.

In troth, this barbarous Moore gaue a good Lesson to vs that are Christians, and thinke our selues to excell all other in the worlde for Vertue: that wee are much more barbarous then hee, and all his Countrey of Ethiopia. For, in these our dayes, wee cannot bee content with perfuming our Garments, and the haire on our heads; but many are growne to such horride immodesty, as to annoint those secretes both in men and VVemen (only to prouoke Lust, and for the more lasciuiousnesse) which were not ordained for any such brutish wickednesse. Many also, haue their Beades made of sweet Perfumes, not to vse in their priuat Orisons, but only for Vaine-glorie, and where any interchange of affection is, to procure the better meanes for voluptuous pleasures, and seeme more acceptable to his wanton Mistris, or shee to her as idle seruant. Incense bestowd in churches, or on hallowed Altars, are matters of no great value or moment. And yet the Altar of God in Ierusalem, vvas not perfumed but with Sitim woode, according to his owne appointment.

Let me not heerein be mistaken, as if I would inferre, that Beniamine, Storax, Amber, Muske, Ciuette, and such like, which are the principall foundation of Vnguents, Pouders and sweets, are wholly to bee reiected; for they are of great Vertues, and haue peculiar properties against diuers diseases, and then they may lawfully be vsed, but not abused. Not as did Muleasses King of Thunis, who in the yeare, 1554. hauing left his Kingdome, to require aid of Charles the fift, Emperour, fearing the Turkish forces, which the Admiral to Barbarossa prepared against him; wherefoeuer hee went, hee abused these

10 blessings very highly. For he had ordinarily (well-neere) serued in to his Table, a Peacocke, and two Phesants, farced full of most precious and odoriferous Vnguents, amounting to aboue 200. Crownes: beside his other delicious Sawces, Pottages, & meats dressed in like maner, and this was plainly scene at Naples. He was so extreamply besotted in these sweete fauours, and yet without cause or neede, that when he was cast out of his kingdom for his cruelties, wherein he was re-seated by the said Emperour, and at the sacke of Thunis by the Spaniards, when he returned to his Castle, and found his Cabinet emptied of those precious perfumes, which the insolent Souldiers (not knowing their value) carelessly threw away; he said. That he grieued more for his Delicate Drugges, then if he had lost his whol Kingdome, which he had but newly reconquered, by the helpe of the Emperour.

20 Going afterward againe, to entreate fresh succour (being still feareful of Barbarossa) while hee went about this businesse, he placed his Sonne (as his Lieutenant) in his Kingdome, who seized it only to himselfe. Which when Muleasses heard of, he returned (with a few people) backe to Thunis, thinking they wold open the Gates vnto him; but hee found the contrary, for his Son hauing slain about fiteene hundred of his Followers, and finding the King to be none in number amongst them: at length his Father was knowne, only by the sweete smell of his Odours and Vnguents; and his Son Amades beeing possessed of him, caused his eyes to be pulled out. Beholde, what benefite this wretched King gotte by his sweete fauours and perfumes, being vsed vpon no cause or necessity. I haue known too many, that beeing gouerned with affection to this vanitie, and enriched with more wealth then wisdom, haue vtterly lost their health, and falne into exceeding pouerty.

30 Thus yee see, what I haue collected for yee, out of many good and auncient Authors, concerning the vsage of drugs or sweet Perfumes; what euil vse is made of them, and how being vnfitly applied, they are the chiefe causes of manie maladies, and seruing (for the most part) for nothing but voluptuousnesse. I hold Opinion, that no man dooth more abuse them, then a man that shoulde most respect

Muleasses king of Thunis, greatly abused sweete fauours.

An yd'e conceit in a King.

The son supplanteth the Father in his absence.

The miserable end of Muleasses.

The Author his conclusion

The composition of all perfumes & sweet saours.

spect his honor, and hold it in highest commendation; to be so much forgetful of himselfe, as to feed his effeminate and voluptuous appetites, with these vnfitting & wanton procurements. Now, because there are great controuersies, and manie are ignorant, from whence wee haue our Amber-Greece, Muske, Ciuit, Beniamine, and Storax, wherewith are composed the said Vnguent, Powders, Sweete Pomanders, and Perfumes, it shall not alter our determination, in our next succeeding Chapter (to recreate the Readers spirits) to speake something more of them, and of their faculties.

CHAP. XIX.

¶ Of Amber-Greece; From whence it is brought: The worth and properties thereof. And certaine Fables (concerning the same) refuted.



Y purpose is not, to speake of that Amber, which is bred among Rockes of coloured stone, and (by his Native Vertue) attracteth

Straw thereto, as the Adamant doth Iron: But of that sweet Aromaticall iuice of Amber-Greece; wherof, because many men haue diuers opinions, concerning the production of a thing so rare & precious, I thought good to make some briefe discourse. I woulde gladly also refute diuers Fables, deliuered in publicke conference thereof, without alledging any Authours in my conclusions, that write or speake by heare-say; but onely such persons as haue seen the places from whence it is had.

Concerning the name of *Ambar* or *Amber*, it is so called in all Countries of the name. Our ancients haue supposed, that it is the seede of the Whale, which is left by her vpon the Waters, and so is gathered, because in the Bellies of some Whales, there hath bene found thereof. *Nicholas Monardus*, a Spanish Physitian, saith; That in the year, 1560. (himselfe being present) a Whale was taken neere to the Canarie Islands, which are tearmed the fortunate, and in the Bellie thereof, was found aboue foure pounds

There are two severall kinds of Amber.

Of the name Ambar or Amber.

waight of Amber. Afterward, he was also present at the taking of manie other, with their young Ones, but not a iotte was to bee found in any one of them. Others are of the minde; that amber is nothing else but the excrement of the Whale, which he auoydeth by his egestions in April and May: because hee then feedeth on certaine frutes growing on the Sea-bankes, which are verie odoriferous. Some do affirme, that it is not any excrement of the Whale, but of another huge Fish, as great, or much more in greatnesse exceeding the Whale: and it hath a head more hard then Marble, & neuer swimmeth but in the Northerne Seas. But all these coniectures come nothing neere to truth, because all thinges of good and great fauour, do com from Countries and Regions which are hot; as experience deliuereth by our Spicers, of which, no one kinde was euer knowne to be produced, from Northerly or cold Countries.

I finde some other Authors, who say, that Amber is sought for and found, being deuoured by a Great Fische; named the *Azell*, which dying, and floating vpon the Waues, hee is quickly knowne by Marriners, that seaze on him vvith their Hooke, and so dragge him on the shore. There opening his Bellie, they finde store of Amber; but that is onelic good and pure, which they finde against his chine-bone. But there is no aparance of truth heerein; for Amber is not anie kinde of poison, but a dear Friend to the heart and life. On the other side, Fishes doe neuer seeke anie thing to hurt them, except by Trecherie vsed to them, and that men do mingle Venom among other foode, which is apte and proper for them, as they do to Lyons, Wolues, Foxes, Leopards, Rattes; and diuers other harmefull Beastes, that liue on the land. Many also haue bin perswaded, that Amber is a kind of froth or scum of the Sea; but this Coniecture, is euen as Fabulous as the other. For, Amber is not found in those Seas, where Whales doo frequent, and much lesse in any place, where the Sea is continuallie full of Billowes, or store of froth appeareth.

Theuet saith, that hee Learned of diuers *Arabes*, *Iewes*, and *Easterne Greeks*, dispersed heere and there thorough the *Turks* iurisdiction, that there are certain

Variety of Opinions, how Amber is found, & how men come by it.

A strange Fishi in whom Amber is saide to be found.

Amber is a louer and friend to the heart.

Amber supposed to bee a scum or froth of the Sea.

A verie erroneous opinion of *Andrew Theuet*, concerning Amber.

Birds in the Isles of the *Vicques* (which are situated in the way leading to *Mozambique*, towards the North) as great as our Geese, and called by them *Aschibobuc*. These Birds, doe ordinarily withdraw themselves, farre off from any Inhabitations of men, and perch in the Night time, either in these vn-inhabited Islands, or on the toppes and pointes of Rockes and Clifts, for auoyding disturbance in their rest: and there they mute in great aboundance, because they company in huge flightes together, euen as our Cranes or other Wilde Fowles do with vs. It is faide, that this Dung or muting of these Birdes, is true Amber, which beeing concocted in the heate of the Sunne, purified by the Moones power in the Night, and refined by the ayres subtilty, which keepeth continually vpon those promontories: it so remaineth, till the Sea doth swell and rise (either by those violent Windes, or some out-ragious Tempest) and carrie it thence away. Floating thus, by Morcelles or Fraggements vpon the Waues, it is one while cast into Creekes, Hauens, or Neighboring Strands: and another while, deuoured or swallowed vp by Fishes. But, it beeing a matter vndigestiue, they are enforced to cast it vpe againe. And the other, that continueth still swimming hither and thither, yeeldeth a reason (by these seuerall meanes) of three kindes of Amber. The one, is of a Whitish Colour, which is the true Naturall qualitie of fine *Amber-Greece*. The second, is more Clowdie and obscure, and yet good account is likewise made thereof. But, as for the thirde sort, vvhich hath beene swallowed by Fishes, and sent vp againe, thorough the lacke of Digestion, being Blacke, waightie, and of much lesse fauour, they reckon it to be of slender perfection, and therefore, make no esteeme at all thereof. But all these things, come nothing neere vnto the truth, and I am verie sorrie, that *Theuet* (having trauailed so much) shoulde set downe this in Writing, euen in the verie same manner, as I haue deliuered it, beeing a matter no way likely or probable.

Æcius and *Simeon Sethius*, only Writers concerning Amber.

Æcius, and *Simeon Sethius*, Greeke Authors, who onely and chiefelic haue spoken of this Amber, do say; That it is a kinde of *Bitumen*, comming foorth of

the Fountains or Springs in the bottom of the Sea, and that by floating vpon the water: it becommeth hardened, as manie things else doe, which houer vpon the Seas, being first bred in them; all which while, they are soft and tender; but coming forth, they wax presently hardened, as *Corrall* doth. This Amber thus floating, when the Seas are angry and tempestuous, as many times they bee: there is store thereof found among the Rocks and stones, as also about the trees growing on the Sea-shores, when the East-wind, or else the North-east (but more enclining to the East) bloweth.

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A great quantitie thereof is found in *Sofala*, and in the Isles of *Comaro*, *Demogra*, *Mozambique*, and along this Tract, euen to the Isles of *Maldina*, or *Naledina*, which looke into the East. But when *Zephirus*, or the Westerne Windes do moue the Seas to choller, then is a great quantitie found in the later named Isles. There haue beene some fragments found floating on the Sea, as great and tall as any man; and others of the bredth of foure spannes, and twentie in length. Some do affirme, that they haue a whole Isle (as it were) all built of pure Amber; and within some fewe daies after, when searck was made for it, it was dispersed, and could not be found.

Garcias d'Orta, a *Portugall* Physition, from whom I tooke this latter opinion: and with whom, the best iudgements of these times doe giue consent, for, being alwaies found veritable, and hauing been present in the Countries where this drug is had, where hee kept possession of an Island belonging vnto the King of *Portugal*, wherein great quantity of Amber was daily founde: hee was of the same minde with *Æcius* and *Sethius*, & heard them when they delinered their Iudgement therein. Hee saith also, that in the yeare, one thousand five hundred fiftie five, neere to the Promontory of *Comaro*, a great lumpe or proportion thereof was founde, which waighed more then three thousand pounds waight, and hee that found it (supposing it to be a kind of Pitch or *Bitumen*) sold it almost for nothing. For himselfe, hee sayeth; the verie greatest lumpe that euer hee saw, did not exceed aboue the waight of fiftene pounds. But the Merchants which trauaile into *Ethiopia*, giue good assurance, that

Places where the Amber is found.

Islands where the best Amber is found.

The opinion of *Garcias d'Orta*, a *Portugall* Physition and an Eye-witnesse.

The Merchants that comerce in Ethiopia.

that they do ordinarily behold pieces of much greater scantling : for all the passage from *Sophala*, euen to *Brana*, aboundeth plenrifully in Amber. In the country of *Brasile*, there hath bin some found, and yet is, but very rarely. In the year, one thousande five hundred thirtie, a fragment was there found, contayning the waight of foure poundes, in sayling vnto a Porte of *Portugall*; called *Setuball*.

Amber found in the beakes of Birds, and cleauing to cockles in the Sea.

Some say, that Amber hath bin found in the Beakes or Billes of certaine Birds, which may be so : and cleauing to some Cockles and Scallops of the Sea, which I imaginie happened, by being fastned thereto. But, Maister *Nicholas Rasseus*, a verie Learned Man (my intimate Friende, living yet in *Paris*) and curious in search of the rarest thinges; shewed mee what manner of Beakes those were, and we plainly perceiued, that they were the beakes of Sounds or Cuttle-Fishes, and not of Birds.

Amber eaten by the rich Indians.

Amber, is of great estimation among the Wealthie *Indians*, for they eate it in their Meates; and looke how much the price appeareth in bignesse, so much the greater is his price in Value, euen as of precious Stones. There is no Countrey or Region, where more sale is made thereof, then in *China*: for, as the *Portugales* obtained fauour of the *China* Kinges, to Trafficke with that kingdom, and bringing thence some small quantitie of Amber, they solde the Waight of twentie Ounces, for fiftene hundred Crownes: Which beeing vnderstoode by other Merchants, they broght thence more store afterward, because (thenceforward) they would not pay such a hie price in that Countrey.

Amber sold at deare value in China, France and other places.

In *Fraunce*, it is commonly solde (at this day) for eight or nine Crownes the Ounce, at the least: Neuerthelesse, it is sometimes more, and sometimes lesse.

Amber maintaineth helth and long life.

Let no man count it straunge, that it is so curiously coueted by Rich and Noble persons; for it hath manie especiall properties, whereby to preserue soundnesse of Health, and to maintaine long life, as I will briefly declare. First of all, it strengtheneth the Braine, appeasing all paines therein, either of the Nerues or Heade, comming of Colde causes: by chafing the fore-head there-

The Vertue and properties of Amber For the head-Ache.

with, and all the Head outier, or making a good bigge Emplaister, and mingling a little Oyntment of Muske with it, lay it so to the Head. If a good lumpe thereof, be hanged about the Necke of Man or Woman, tempered with a little *Lignum Aloes*; and a small quantity of Musk, the very smell thereof cheareth vp a dull braine, augmenteth memory, and reuiveth both the spirits and heart extraordinarily. Besides, it is a singular remedy against the plague, and all colde distempers, onely by petfuming a Night-Cappe therewith. There is nothing more beneficiall for auncient people, and to lengthen life in them; if they moderately vse it in smelling, either in perfuming their Garments, anointing their faces, or mingling it amongst their Meates. A little powder of the Load-stone compounded with it, and applied Emplaister-wise to the Nauell, it holdeth and restraineth the Fruit, that it fall not before due and convenient time. It is a singular Remedie, not onely against the procidence of the Matrixe, but likewise to prevent the suffocation; being applied with a litle Cotton, and vsed in the secret parts. Applying it both outwardly & inwardly, it maketh Women fruitfull, whose barrennes is caused by coldnesse. It profiteth greatly for paines in the heart and stomacke, occasioned by windinesse. Such as are afflicted with the *Epilepsie*, that is to say, the falling sicknesse, or disease of *S. Iohn*, if they vse it as an ordinary sinell, or receiue it as a perfume, it quite appeaseth it, or causeth a mightie asswaging thereof, as hath beene many times crediblie experimented. In like maner, it is verie singular good against the Palsie, if, beside taking it inwardly, yee vse it as an Oyntment to the necke and Chin-bone of the backe, mingled with some neruall Oyle.

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For memorie and a dull braine.

For the Pestilence.

For auncient people vsed moderately.

For Women with Childe, and some other infirmities hapning to them.

For the falling sicknesse.

For the Palsy

For what people it is hurtfull, and ill to be vsed.

For a hot or dry braine.

Nature, do either vse it as a fauour, or receine it inwardly: questionlesse, it will proue verie troublesome to his memorie and vnderstanding, and cause diuers diseases in his head, endangering his fall into frenzie or madnesse. And therefore, it is most auailable for olde decrepit people, and such as haue a cold braine; and for such Diseases, whose Causes or Originall do proceed of frigidity.

Amber of 4. feuerall Colours, and to know the best sort.

There is Amber of foure feuerall colours: White, Gray, Red, and Blacke; which commeth according to the variety of places or Regions, where it is found out. The Gray, is preferred before al the other, and is knowne to be good, if when pricking it with pin, it deliuereth forth a moisture like Oyle. It hath bin tempered in Torches, Tapers, and Candles, for Emperors, Kinges, and Great Princes: as in the Court of *Campson*, the last Soldane of Egypt, *Muleasses* King of *Thunis*, and diuers others. It is mingled also amongst other Drugges, for making of Chaines and Bracelettes, worne vsually by Ladies, and Great Courtiers, without anie great offence or discommendation, the causes in our precedent Chapter alwaies remembred.

CHAP. XX.

Of Muske, and of Ciuit, howe they are engendred, From whence they are broght, and how they are any way good.



Ext vnto Amber, methinks that Musk ought to haue his due ranke. The *Barbarians* call it *Patt*, and there are manie sorts or kinds thereof.

The best of all, is that which cometh from a Countrey, that leaneth very much into the West, as farre as the City of *Chorasa* doth, and is yellowish, or of Gold colour: The best, next to it, is that which is brought from the *Indiæ*, and appeareth blacke, whereby it is not so good as the first. The worst of all, is that which they bring from the Land of *Sini*. All these kinds of Musk, are engendred in the Nauell of a certaine Beast, like vnto a wilde Goat, which hath only

Sundry varieties of Muske according to the countries.

How the Muskies are engendred.

one horne, and is verie great of bodie. When this Beast is in paine, by a raging swelling in his Nauell, which filleth it selfe with a kind of grosse blood, in manner of an impostume: he afterwarde voideth this bloude, halfe corrupted, and within a certaine while after, it becommeth of very sweet fauour.

Serapio (among the *Arabes*) hath written diligently and carefully concerning Muske, speaking in this manner: The Beasts that make Muske, and are like vnto wild Goats; are principally bred in the Countries of *Tumbasco*, & of *Sini*, which bee neere neighbouring to each other. The Muske of *Tumbasco*, is better then that of *Sini*, because the Goates which make the Muske, do feed on nothing but Spicknard, & other odoriferous plants, whereon only they liue. Which hapneth not so in the land of *Sini*, for, albeit the Musk-Goats do there liue also on sweet hearbs and plants: yet are they not to be compared in their Muske, neither to the Spickenard, nor to the other plantes of *Tumbasco*.

The maner also of gathering the Musk, is some reason of the difference, for they of *Tumbasco*, do neuer take the Musk out of the thin skin or wrapper, to sophisticate it; neither will they gather it, but when the season is bright & clear. But the men of *Sini*, they vse to squeeze the skin of the swoln impostume, and mingle and sophisticate it, euen in the issuing forth, not caring whither the time be foul or faire, and so they shut it vp in purposed boxes. That is the best Muske, which is the most odorant, and is very ripe when it cometh forth of the swoln bag. These goats which carry the Musk, are no way different, but onely in their teeth, for they haue teeth (there commonly cald Dogs teeth) very long, stading out of their mouths, aboue a span-long, like to the wild Boare.

Musk that is not mature & ripe, hath a most offensiue smell: but they which seek for the Musk, do shake the thin skins wherein it is not ripe; and hanging them in the open aire, there leaue them so, vntill they be ripe, and the foule fauour bee vtterly gone. It becommeth very odorant of it self, when it is perfectly baked in the aire: neuerthelessse, the best Muske is that, which naturally receiueth his maturity, euen in the thinne wrappers of the Musk-Goat. The people of this country, do

Serapio an Arabian writer.

The maner of gathering the Musk in *Tumbasco*, & in *Sini*

Difference of the Muske-Goats only in their teeth.

Muske not ripe, hath a hurtful smell, and how they ripen it.

How they find and gather their Muske.

doe gather it among Stones & Trunkes of Trees; for the Beast, when he feelles his impostumation ready to ripen: hee taketh great delight, in rubbing his body against the Rockes and Trunkes of Trees, vntill the Bag be broken, and all the congealed matter bee voyded out. This Muske is better then all the other, as being that which is plainly ripened; both by the good temperature of Heauen, and perfect concoction of the sun. They then that seeke after it, so soone as they haue found and gathered it; they close it vp in the thin skinnes and Bladders, of such Beasts as haue bred Musk, and haue (formerly) bin slaine by them in hunting.

The best Muske, and how it is found and vsed.

Of this Muske is it, that presents is made to Kinges and Princes, & whereof they make vse. It hath (almost) the equall properties to Amber, but herein it is much worffe; for if a Man beare too great quantitie about him, or if he receiue ouer much inwardlie: it brings him to a palsie trembling, and raiseth great torments in the head, enforcing so vehement an attraction of blood to the Nose; as many haue suddenly dyed by bleeding. But in a small and moderate quantity, it is good, against all paines in the head, comming of colde causes.

In what manner we finde Muske to be hurtfull.

I haue not found any Author, either Greeke, Arabe, or Moderne, but iumpeth with this Man in opinion, and in the gathering of Muske: except one *Amatus*, a Portugall Phisition, a Man of very great inconstancy, as diuers haue declared to mee, that had knowledge of him in Turkey. Hee makes a mockerie, of that which hath bene deliuered by diuers good Authours, concerning Musk, and labourerth to assure vs, that in a certaine Countrey of *India*, there is a Beast as big as the Hares here among vs, which being taken, and beaten to death with rods; the bowels and inwardes is then taken forth, and the Flesh bruised or beaten in a Morter. Afterward, it passeth through a Searce, to the end that no bone may remaine vnbruised, and then the flesh is made into round Bals, and wrapped vp in pieces of the said Beasts skinne; stil to preserve them in a round forme, and because the Merchants, that buy them thus readily prepared; may make no

The error of *Amatus* a Phisition of Portugall.

doubt, but that the Muske is of the very same Muske-beast. But both *Portugals*, *Arabes*, and *Jewes*, who haue trauailed into those partes, and seene these matters thus gathered: are of *Serapios* mind, and hold the courte which I haue formerly alleadged; and that our Muske commeth from a Beast like vnto the wilde Goat.

10 *Marcus Paulus*, a *Venetian*, in the first Booke of his Voyages, and the first Chapter, saith; That in the Prouince of *Singul* in *India*, himselfe found the best Muske in all the world. For in that Countrey, they haue a Beast, of no strange kinde, but about the bignesse of a Cat, with haire like to a Hart, or red Deere, very great Clawes; and foure teeth only; to wit, two aboue, and two beneath. Neere, or about the nauell of this Beast, betweene the Flesh and the skin, there is a bladder full of blood, which is true Muske, yeelding the vertuall sent and sweete sauour. I would be loath to belye such an approued Author: For it may very wel be, that this Beast is of the same kind, as the Muske-Goat is, notwithstanding the smalnesse in body: because (here among vs) we see Dogges, Horses, and other Beastes, of all shapes and formes: But yet he agreeth with all the rest in this; that the Muske is found about the Nauell, as hath formerly bin said.

The opinion of *Amatus* strongly refuted.

The report of *Marcus Paulus*, a worthy *Venetian* traualler.

20 Muske (by length of time) loofeth his good smell, or being tainted with wind, or too closely kept. Therefore, to preserve him still in his goodnesse, he must be kept in Boxes of Lead, verie well stopped.

The Authors censure with *Marcus Paulus*.

Of Muske loosing his sauour.

30 *Platearius*, a learned man, is of this opinion; That if Muske haue lost his vertue and good odour; it must be hanged in a Viall of Glasse, with the mouth open, in the midst of a Sink or house of Office, and so it wil recouer his former sauour. There is some found composed of another fashion; but then it is sophisticated; and how that composition is made, *Gesner* enstructeth in his History of Beasts.

A receipt to re-accomodate tainted Muske.

40 50 Ouer and beside Muske, we haue yet another licquid matter, which is not onely odorant; but also pierceth all the senses and spirits at the first encounter. Perfumers make great vse thereof, in their compositions of sweete sinelles, which

Of Ciuet.

How Ciuet is engendred.

The vertue & power of Ciuet.

War continually betweene the Agobdilbat and the Ciuet Cat.

A History of a Ciuet Cat in France.

which they tearme mixtures. It is engendred in the skinne of the Testicles of a Beast, much like vnto a *Feyne*, some calling them *Cats*. To speake more properly, *Ciuet* is as a sweate, passing betweene the Testicles of this Beast, being of a temperature hot and moyst. If it be put into the pits about the Nauel, or into the Wombe-pipe; it serueth maruailously against the suffocations of the Matrix. Many times, vpon vrgent extremity, the Husband vseth it to his owne secrets, and so conuayeth it vnto his Wife; whereby immediate remedy ensueth for the paine.

And as we haue already saide, that Muske being tainted, or ouer-aged, recouereth his strength and quicknesse by stinking ayre, as of a Sinke or Priuy, as by one contrary to correct another. Euen so, in those Countries where these *Ciuet* Creatures are bred, there is another Beast, equalling the *Ciuet* Cat in bignesse, called *Agobdilbat* (which signifieth nothing else but foule sauer, and this beast is (indeede) the most stinking of all other) who continually is at Warre with the *Ciuet* Cat, his colour being very pleasing, & somewhat neere to a Sky-colour.

I call to memory, that beeing (one day) in the House of the Constable of *Fraunce*, *Anne de Montmorancye*, a Cat (not being discharged of her *Ciuet*, according as her selfe sought meanes and place) emptied her burden vpon the Gowne of a young Gentlewoman, deliivering thereon such a great quantitie of *Ciuet*; that all the spacious roome was filled with the ouer-piercing sauer thereof. Wherevpon, diuers were readie to fall into swoonings, others felt grieuous paines in their heads, and (among the rest) the young Gentlewoman fell suddenly into a suffocation of the Matrixe; yea, and in such extreame manner, that she was reputed dead for the space of twelue houres, and was cured by stinking fumes and ill smells onely. The Gentlewoman gaue sufficient testimony, that she had neuer (before) beene subiect to that perplexitie: and yet notwithstanding, when Women are vexed with the anguish forenamed, if *Ciuet* be put into the Nauell pites, they feele presently ease. But ye must vnderstand, that it ought to be applied

in a very small quantity. For this cause is it, that Muske and Amber are wholesome for many cold diseases, being applied and taken in small quantitie. Here also the Reader may be aduertised, that there are people of such complexion, as do affect such saours naturally: and others againe, who finde them very hurtfull, and therefore doe fly from them; of which sort there are many more, then of the other. Therefore, when any vse is to be made of them, let euerie one well vnderstand his owne naturall inclination, or take the aduise of some skilfull Phisition: for oftentimes, by vsing them indiscreetely, they haue beene the death of diuers people.

How Ciuet ought to be vsed and applied.

CHAP. XXI.

Of an Edict, made by *Dionisus* the elder, King of *Scicily*, against Women, Maids, and youngest *Virgines*; whereby he purchased a double returne of *Mony*.



Whoever readeth the *Grecian* Histories, shall finde, that the Isle of *Scicily* hath anciently beene subiect, to be gouerned and commaunded by Tyrant Kings; among which Tyrants, it appeareth that *Dionisus* (whom they vsed to tearme the elder) surpassed all the rest in tyranny. For, after he had drawne all meanes from his people, by frequent, great and intollerable impositions: hee surcharged them againe with a new taxation, much more irkesome and burdenous, then any one, or all the other gone before. Which was an expresse payment, by poule, or head (as they call it) both for Men, Women, Maidens, children, great or little, young or old. And albeit the Collectours of these imposed Monies, made great and grieuous execution in the leuey, as well vpon Cattell, as seazing moueables and imoueables; yea, imprisoning the people (euen to the death of many) by cruell vsage, and bad handling: yet, notwithstanding all these extremities, no *Mony* could be had, because the Tirant had drawn them dry, euen to the vttermost

Tyrants alwaies raigned in *Scicily*.

Plutarch, in *vit. de Dion*.

An intollerable taxation by the poule.

How the Tyrant wasted his peoples Monies, and ouer-awed them.

most penny. All the Mony of this rich Island, hee had imployed (in daily payments) for ten thousand foot Souldiers, to guard his person, and ten thousand Horſſe-men, beſide foure hundred Gallies, well armed and furniſhed. Beſide this, he payed great penſions to other Common-weales, and to ſtrange Princes; to the end, hee might haue their ayde when neede required; reſoſing little (or no truſt at all) in his own Subiects. In breefe, he exerciſed all kindes of prodigalitie towards Straungers, at the coſt and expences of his owne people, for the more ſafe aſſurance of his Eſtate and dignitie.

Signes whereby to know the pouerty of the people.

He had aduertifement, that there was no more Money to be raiſed, neyther by Wine or Corne, or any other Commodities: for there was great dearth of Victuals two whole yeares together. He knew it evidently, becauſe the people were growne careleſſe, and did nothing but laugh at his impositions; as knowing, that he could not be paid, when they had nothing wherewithall to pay, which made them then raiſe that memorable Prouerbe: *Where nothing is to be had, the King looſeth his right.*

The Scitilians affected braue and proud apparrell, both in the Men and Women.

But this old Tyrant Foxe, knew well enough the Cuſtome of the *Scitilians*, which was, to be pompous, affecting brauerie in Apparrell, and (aboue all) to be richly decked with Jewels of gold and Siluer, embelliſhed with coſtly precious ſtones: neuer regarding their owne condition, as Huſbandes and Wiues, nor good of their Families; but ſuffering all their prouiſions to be ſold, to ſeede the Kinges impositions, and ſerue other Negotiations, prouided, that they might ſtill enioy their Jewels and brauery. The Men (for Antiquity of this idle Cuſtome) did willinglie tollerate it, though they were to endure all the neceſſities in the World; yea, death it ſelfe. And this was all which remained, of the mightie riches of *Scitilie*: for the Island had abounded in plenty of Corne, which was the maine hope of all the Inhabitants, and (next to *Aegipt*) it was one of the beſt Garners in the whole World.

The mighty riches of the Iſle of Scitilie.

A Tyrant taketh aduantage on all occasions.

Heereupon, he would inſtantly help himſelfe, according as the time fitted him with occaſion, which was (in re-

gard that his tyranny, and the two precedent years, had greatly impoueriſhed the Kingdome) notwithstanding al former oppreſſions: he would now haue the Jewels of the Women and Damſels, then which, they had nothing elſe remaining to them. And for his more cleanly conueyance heerein, he cauſed to be publiſhed by the Prieſtes and Sacrificers (whoſe Ceremonies hee gaue no faith to, nor any way beleued) that the Goddeſſe *Ceres* was very greatly offended with the Iſlanders; becauſe there was no worſhippe giuen her, but in an old Temple, ruined, darke, and vterlie vnpleaſing: wherefore, ſhe would haue a new one erected to her, built with faire ſhew, and ſumptuous coſt, elſe there ſhould no more happy daies be ſeene in that Island. According to theſe remonſtrances, made by the Prieſtes and Sacrificers, with interpoſition of his owne authoritie: it was credibly giuen forth, that the Goddeſſe her ſelfe had appeared to him, & this the Prieſts ſollemnely iuſtified, being well enſtricted in the treacherie. Vpon this vrgent occaſion, and pretending carefull reſpect of the Common-weale, as alſo to appeaſe the high diſfauour of *Ceres*, (ſhe being the Goddeſſe of Corne and Fruites of the Earth:) he had determined, to erect her a new and magnificent Temple. Now, becauſe he had no Mony, nor the people neither, who are called the Kinges Purſe: he willed and commanded, that all Women, Wiues, Widdowes, Maids, & Damſels, ſhould bring forth their Jewels of Gold, Siluer, precious ſtones, and all other matter elſe whatſoeuer, to a certaine place, and at a time by him appointed; impoſing grieuous paines and penalties, on any that durſt vſe the leaſt contradiction. The female ſexe were in wonderful perplexitie, and durſt not hide any of their Jewels or brauery: becauſe they had ſo long openly worne them, and good note was taken of them from time to time, both of the riches and value, on feaſtiuall daies, at ſollemne ſacrifices, publique plaies, banquets, and marriages.

Now, for the better obtaining his purpoſe, and inducement of the people to more willing forwardneſſe heerein: he cauſed a ſpacious compaſſe of ground

to

A cunning ſubtilty of the Tyrant.

A feigned apparition of the Goddeſſe *Ceres*.

An Edi&t very displeaſing to Women.

The deuise of
the Tyrant to
deceiue his
people.

Neighboring
people also
cheated by the
Tyrant.

The women
could not for-
get their pomp
and pride.

Another sub-
tily of an old
Tyrant.

to be prepared, in an eminent place of the Citty *Siracusa*, not far off from the Fountaine *Arcthusa*, where hee made some proiect, of present building a goodly Temple, by a forme or Modell shap'd thereof. Farre off was his mind from any such intent, but day by day to get possession of the Womens Jewels, and hastned the leuicy of them with all possible speed. He gaue notice heereof also, to the round neighbouring Isles and Countries, where he had no command: from whence he got almost a Million of Gold, where-with they willingly furnished him, onely that the Goddesse would be gracious to them. And thus he held the people in suspence the space of the three whole yeares. In his time, the Land began (naturally) to waxe fruitfull againe, yeilding as great plentie of Corne and all things, as formerly it had doone: by which good meanes, Corne, Wine, and Cattell, thriuing stil with them, the Inhabitants became rich and sufficiently stored.

When the women began to tast of this well-relishing fertility; they could not forget their former vanities, but faine would fall againe to their pride & rich brauery: Only their feare was, least the Tyrant should play the like tricke againe with them. To make an estimate, of the inestimable masse of Wealth, which they were cōpelled to lay down, for building this new Temple to the Goddesse *Ceres*; is a matter exceeding my capacity, and yet no Temple at all builded. The Tyrants ayme was only at wealth, and hauing compassed what he intended; by the aduise of some well-willers to the Women (pretending comiseration on their disfurnishment of Jewels) a counterfeit request was made vnto him, that he would be pleased to permit their wearing of Jewels againe. Standing (like a crafty Reinard) vpon some strangenes for a while, the suit at length was granted, with this Prouiso. That euery one of the Female sexe (of what degree or age soeuer) should particularly present her offering to the Goddes *Ceres*, either in Gold or Siluer, according to the number and value of those Jewels, which shee purposed to weare: whereto they consented verie gladly, so foolishly fond were they of their curious adornments, which gaue

way to the Tyrant, to make a double benefit of one and the same Edi&. And to this very day, the Women of that Island do continue this proud humour, in beautifying themselves with Jewels, beyond any other Country that I haue read of. The riches that he compassed by this Edi&, is not to be valued, for the Isle was (in those daies) much more peopled then now it is: And then the principall and royall Citty, was called *Siracusa*, which at this present is named *Sarragossa*. This Tyrant, hauing occasion then to vse men of Armes, beside such Strangers as he kept in pay: could leuy sixscore thousand foote, and twelue thousand Horsemen, beside foure hundred Ships and Gallies; whereas at this day, the Land will hardly yeeld fiftene hundred able fighting men. When it was surprized by the *Romaines*, for hauing taken part with the *Carthagenians*; there was found in one place (called the *Magazine* or Store-house for war) furniture to arme seauenty thousand men; and such large booty was found therein, that *Carthage* (which fought for the Empire) could hardly yeeld the like.

This *Dionisius* was an affronter and Deceiuer, who knew better then any Man else in the World, how to finde meanes of non payment, when reason & equity did require it. Among diuers other, he had entertained a young man, who was reputed to be very skilfull in playing on muscalle Instruments, and tearmed the very best that those times afforded, to whom he promised liberall wages. The Musition hauing serued him a long while, requested to haue his due recompence; whereto *Dionisius* replied: That he ought him nothing; *Because* (quoth he) *I haue giuen thee as much contentment, by hope and promise of great wages and enriching thee, as thou hast yeilded me, for I haue taken paine enough, to heare the idle sound of thy instrument.*

In breesfe, he cared not how he came by any thing whatsoever, provided that it would yeild him profit, making spare, neither of Statues of the Goddes, or any other sacred thing, but made a meere mockerie of all, as I shall haue occasion to speake else-where. The *Scicilians* haue neede of such a King in these daies, to punnish that shamefull murder and massacre, which they committed

The Citty of
Siracusa, now
is called *Sar-
ragossa*.

The greatnes
and ablenesse
of *Siracusa* in
former times.

Concerning
Dionisius him-
selfe.

A History of a
Musition.

The *Scicilians*
are a bad kind
of people.

The Scicilian
Vespres.

mitted (on a day in the Euening time) vpon so many worthy *French-men*, called thither in their aide and succour, to deliuer them from the seruitude of an other Tyrant; and when they were at libertie, they did bloodily put them all to death.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Word or Name Grammarian, and what it is truly and properly.



Those persons which the *Latines* properly called *Grammaticos* (which in all other Languages is tearmed *Grammarians*) were not any such men, as knew not how to speake congruately, or write Orthographically, with good obseruation of accents in their speech, as being vnskilfull in the Etimology of Dictions or Vocables, according as some (to this day) haue supposed. For well I know, that it hath beene a common matter, when one would point at a man slenderly learned, or little seene in the soundnesse of learning, as vnderstanding nothing but the very principles: they would tearme him a *Grammarian*, or a *Grammer Schoole-Boy*, for his greater scorne and open disgrace.

But contrariwise, the ancient *Latines*, as in the time of *Cicero*, had no other vnderstanding of the word *Grammarian*: then of a learned Man, well skild in all the Sciences, and thought fit to be the Interpreter of our grauest Authours. The *Greekes* called *Grammarians*, *Critiques*, of the Greeke Verbe *κριτικω* which signifieth to be iudged. For when learned men (were they *Greekes* or *Latines*) had any doubt about the interpretation of some Text, sentence, or saying, in any Science whatsoever: it was then wholly referred to a *Grammarian*.

Suetonius was of the same opinion, in his Booke of famous *Grammarians*, who were likewise called Learned, as for example, *Mesala*. *Coruinus* and *Macrobius* write, that one *Didimus*, sufficiently learned in the Sciences; was esteemed to be a great *Grammarian*. *Ci-*

The name of a Grammarian very badly vnderstood.

The ancient Latines in Ciceroes time.

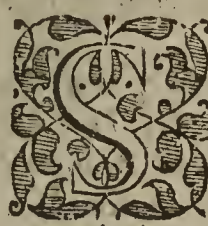
Grammarians cald Critiques.

Grammarians were most wise and learned men, and accounted the best Schollers of those times

cero made high account of one named *Emiphon*, whose Schoole continuallie he frequented, after his handling causes in the Senate. *Nidigius Figulus*, and the excellent Wise-man *Varro*, are said to be the learnedst *Grammarians* of all other: as also *Marcus Valerius*, *Probus*, and *Palemon*, the most audacious of the that euer professed Letters, with many more beside. And among the *Greeks*, who triumphed more then *Aristarchus*, *Aristotle*, *Theodotus*, and diuers others; all which were esteemed admired *Grammarians*.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Paradoxe, maintaining by witty Arguments: That speedy death is much better to be desired, then a long & tedious date of life.



O great is the disaster & miserie of worldly occasions; that long grieft, and ouer-burdenous compassion of them (without any other hope of speedy amendment) hath made the better sort of people to affirme and maintaine: *That it is more expedient for a Man (who feareth GOD) to wish for death quickly; then long to endure in these labour some trauailes.* For albeit that death (the true Minister of Iustice, end of all vexations, and most assured way of our eternall health) performs no other good or fauour to Men; but takes them from the afflictions of this World, hindering them (thereby) from offending GOD most strangely, and deliuering them from seruite subiection, being in the hands of rauinous, cruell, and bloody Tyrants: yet for this one and onely reason, hee is most highly to be extolled and praised. For, without this happy helpe, wee should be miserably condemned to vn-sufferable pains, and altogether pressed downe, or smothered, by vnresistable stormes. Our hope (without this) would be quite quenched. And, without this) what is the Sinner, be he neuer so great a Prince or Lorde, not knowing, fearing, and regarding God?
By

The lamentable condition of worldly affaires.

A definition of Death, and what good he performeth.

An especiall reason to be considered.

By death we liue eternally; and by death we are freed from the prison of all sorowes and mishaps.

A memorable custome obserued in Thrace.

This was the reason, why the ancient custome of Thrace was so deuoutly obserued, that at the birth of euery Infant, they vsed great sorrow and lamentation. Contrariwise, when any (eithers aged in yeares, or of what time soeuer) died: They would make much ioy, triumph, and feasting, and (according to the parties Dignity) celebrated the Funerall, with sportes, plaies, and other varietie of pleasures. If such a barbarous Nation as this was (deprived of all vse of Philosophy, and good Letters) could doe so great an honour to death: Is it not a shame for vs, that call our selues Christians, and know, that our very best benefit came by his death, to whom we pretend both Faith and seruice: to be so wretchedly amorous of life, which is nothing else (according to the learned Poets opinion.) But an obscure Prison, enthralling the best ennobled Spirits.

Pindarus.

Foolish men doe couet long life.

Blessed Saint Paule, The Vessell of election, did not he desire to dye, That hee might liue with his Lord and Maister? Yet we (onely to compasse leysure, for committing ten thousand horrible excesses) make life our great God; adding daily one paine vpon another, and augmenting the Register of our numberlesse offences. Are not we so obstinately affected to this short and dangerous pleasure (if that may be called pleasure, which is the plaine high-way to euerlasting death) that for it onely: wee care not to loose the life celestiall, diuine, & (then which) the like can no way be so much as dreamt on? Ezechiel wished for speedy death; That hee might ioy in the beauties and excellencies of Heauen. But we couet long life; the more to entangle our selues in the filthes of this World. Simeon, that good, iust, and holy old man, Desired death with all his heart: But we (blinded, or deprived, euen of naturall discourse) hate Death, and speake all the euill we can imagine against it.

Ezechels desire of death.

Old Simeon desired death.

Why death was called Thanasos.

Wherefore (thinke ye) was it, that death was (by our Elders) called Thanasos? But onely in this respect: That (in the end) it makes vs all ioyfull, and wel pleased with that, which we ought

most of all to desire. Are we then so ignorant and sencelesse; as not to acknowledge the aboundance of benefits; which we gaine by being taken out of this so hatefull a Labyrinth? Do we not plainly perceiue, that he which escapeth longest, and tarrieth the longest while in this world; beholdeth (euevery day) more troubles and discontentments, then reall ioyes, or true recreations?

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If ye alleage vnto me, the noblenesse of Age and length of life, for great experience in things past, as seruing to discover and approue them which follow after. Let me then aske ye, of how much happinesse may we boast, in proouing our unhappinesse? Considering, that (whether we be well or ill-pleased) wee must patiently endure those thinges, which we cannot tell how to shun: hearing that which our cares hateth, and seeing thinges, wherewith our eyes are most strangely offended.

An Allegation for old Age, or length of life.

But what is that which we call olde Age; if not a continual dolour, and languishing disease? what other sir-names can we giue to aged men; but mouing Anatomies, or liuing Mortuaries? Filling them with so many distillations, & falling humors; as leaues them not one good houre, during the remainder of all their poore life time. If then, the verie memory of death, and houely cogitation of our departure, makes such a certaine aduantage for vs, and assures vs infallibly, that we are (thereby) permitted immunity from sin: how much more then would deaths reall presence preuaile with vs?

What old age is.

Remembrance of Death.

Who are more fearefull of death, then such, as neither know, nor vnderstand the faire strait passages thereof? which indeede are such, as all the art in Man cannot corrupt or blemish; except (like a Monster, and no sensible Creature) he would deface all Histories both sacred and prophane. What had the famous Romaine people bin, if the valiant Horatius Cocles had feared death? If Quintus Curtius had bin fearefull and timorous, and had not preferred glorious death, before the irkesome life of the world: had not (but for him) the goodly City of Rome, bin subiect to the most daungerous Hell, as can be deuised to name vpon earth? VVhat shall I say of them,

Who they bee that are most fearefull of death.

Horatius Cocles and Quintus Curtius, two famous Romaines.

Cheerefull going to death.

them, who (for the freedome of their country) went cheerfully to death, with striking vp the drum, and the very highest sounds of the Trumpet, euen as if they had been bidden to some triumph? Did ye euer know a man (that feared death) worthy of so great an honour?

The Custome of some barbarous Nations.

For this cause was it, that ancient Historians so highly praised & applauded, the Custome of some barbarous Nations, who, with like promptitude and alacrity ranne to their death: as if they were to be presented in some publique triumphe, or other great pleasures and Iouiall spectacles. Why are the *Germanes* entred into such credit with vs, if it were not onely for this; that they are knowne to be a Nation, meere lie prodigall of their liues, and couetous of most precious death?

Of the *Germanes*.

Hee that gaue the first enstruction, for entermedling Musick with the harsh battery of warre; as Drummes, Phifes, Trumpets, Clarions, and Harps (albeit the vse of the Harpe is now altogether left) did it for no other occasion, but for a sound assurance to Souldiers: that to dye, was, as if a man were going to the Fountaine of all consolation; yea, euen to the perpetuall iouissance, of eternall and immortall Treasures with the highest. Conclude we then, that it much better auaieth to dye quickly, then long time to languish in this wretched world. Let vs also maintaine, that death is more noble and excellent, then life: Because his power extendeth ouer all, without any limit or exception; and in regard likewise, that he is the Maister Controler of this life. As, not without iust cause and good reason, a Philosopher (being demaunded what Death was) readily answered: *An accident and passage ineuitable, from which, neyther by teares, entreats, sighes, or the sweetest Kisses, we can be deliuered.*

The Musicke vsed in warre. The Authours Conclusion.

A Philosopher answers concerning death.

CHAP. XXIII.

The saying of Plato familiarly interpreted, That Kings should be Philosophers, or Philosophers raigne.



Here are very many, who in reading good Authors, doe take thinges litterally, without any further ruminati- on: which makes mee

the more desirous, to interpret the saying of *Plato*, so often spoken of within these last two thousand yeares, by many learned and excellent Men. His words are these; *Those Common-weales shall be most happy, where Kinges be Philosophers, or Philosophers are found in the places of government.* And because that diuers Men (especially such as are not conuersant in State-affaires, doe wish for a King, who might altogether bee giuen to learning, and not to the pollicies fitting his Kingdome) greatlie abuse their iudgement heerein, for this would bee the totall ruine of his Monarchy: therefore I will set down some obseruation, what Philosophy it is that *Plato* meaneth, wherein a King ought to apply his studies, and wherby, there cannot but redound extraordinary good and profit to all his people.

This Diuine Man *Plato*, vnderstood not by a King Philosopher, a Prince so addicted and bent to studie, that if hee should chance to be deposed from his Dignitie; he might thereof make a benefit of liuing afterward. This humours appeared in *Dyonisius*, the younger (King of *Sarragossa*, and the greater part of the Isle of *Scicily*) Sonne to the affronter, and imposer of Nouell subsidies; for he being offended with his Subiects, and doubting least his estate would haue no long durance: fell to learne good Letters, to the end, that if he happened to be expulsed his Royalty; he might become a Schoole-Maister, for the better support of his life; as indeede (afterward) such fortune befell him. This his study of Philosophy, (which is as much to say, as the loue of wisdom) while he raigned King, proceeded but from a bad intention in him: for he had done much better, in effecting some worthy pollicies in his kingdome, then frequent vse of vices, and exercising tyranny, thereby to haue preuented the office of a Pedant, and liuing in such an abiect manner.

Nero was enstructed (from his youth) in the three partes of Philosophy; and being

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Vpon occasion, that Kinges were addicted to vnprofitable readings.

The ayme and intent of *Dyonisius* the younger, in giuing himselfe to study.

Nero learned in Philosophy and Poetic.

Tiberius and Adrian, read Ouids Art of Loue.

How a Prince ought to be a Philosopher.

Disimulation in som Princes

The Emperor Commodus made but had benefit of his Philosophy.

Poetry is not reckoned to be Philosophy

being created Emperor, was skilfull in Poesie, much addicted to Musique, and to play on the Harpe: yet would hee say, that he could liue well, if he were deposed from the Empire. We find recorded, that many Princes were giuen to learning, as *Tiberius* and *Adrian*, who found good companions of *Ouids* loue-Books, and *Martiall* his Epigrams. But this is no part of Philosophizing, neyther labour of minde, how a Prince should liue after his falling.

For a King to bee a Philosopher, it consisteth in establishing his Throne so assuredly; that he may neuer sit tottering in it, or be shaken out of it. In rendering himselfe necessary to the cōmonwealth, as well by his vertues, as generous disposition; he sits safe from all deiection: carrying himselfe in such sort, like one that is a Tutor ouer many inferiours, as well in charge, as in correction, and (as he) when time respiteth his Office; then to take delight and recreation. Princes that read plenty of Books, doe it (oftentimes) for pleasure, rather then to deriue any obseruations thence, for profit of their people. And when they cherish learned men about them; it is onely in hypocrisie, and to let their Subiects vnderstand, that they are gouerned by their aduise, and by Men of knowledge. So dealt the fore-named *Dyonisius* the elder, as himselfe would often reueale, to such as were his familiar and intimate friends.

The Emperor *Commodus* (Sonne to *Marcus Antoninus*, and Emperour likewise) fir-named the Philosopher; was learned, and read ouer diuers Books of Philosophy: And yet notwithstanding, he could not refraine, from being the most detestable Emperour, which had beene before, or came after him. Contrariwise, his Successour, who had employed all his life time, in exercising Marchandize about the sale of Wood or Billets: is numbred among the most bemoaned Emperors; and *Traiane* likewise (who scarcely could write his own name) was esteemed a very vertuous Prince and Emperour.

Princes are not to be repured Philosophers, if they can reade lasciuious Bookes of Loue, or compose in in poetry; as *Thibaulte*, Earle of *Brie & Champagne*, and *Raymond*, Counte of *Tolosa*,

whose Poems are yet (at this day) to be seene, and they accounted rather ignorant, then learned Philosophers. This is no such Philosophy as ought to bee exercised: but that of true and especiall import, I will come now breefely to relate. It is to be vnderstood, that Philosophy is deuided into three distinct parts, to wit: into Phisicke, Logicke, and Morall Philosophy, according as *Cicero* saith in his Oratour. The first, aymeth onelie at an intire search into the obscuritie of Natures secrets. Logicke diueth into the subtilty of disputations and discourse. Morall Philosophy, speakes of Life and ciuill manners; & this is that which Kings ought to seeke after. The best exercising whereof, is neyther read or studyed in the Bookes of the *Romaines* Lawes, called Ciuill Law: For, how euer it produceth some honourable effectes, yet (questionlesse) it is the onely Motiue, whereby we enter into a Labyrinth of suits. Because, in not being built vpon one only piece, but running into diuersity of scantlings; ech man makes a cloak thereof after his owne fashion. Therefore, let Princes neuer meddle with such intricate matter, but referre the study thereof, to men destined for so troublesome a profession.

The first Lecture that a Prince ought to take, is out of sacred & vnreprouable writ; because (thereby) he shall learne knowledge both of God, & of himselfe, and that the beginning of true Philosophy, is the fear of God. Next, he ought (about all things else) to bring his people in obedience of the Magistrate, and the Magistrate of the Law, without any infringing or violation. We read of the *Æthiopians*, that at the receipt of their Lawes, they protested; that they would be subiect to those laws, & passe no other letters contrary to them. The people of *France*. when they place their K. in the seat of Iustice; they deliuer him a staffe in his right hand, on the toppe whereof is the figure of a hand: Giuing therby to vnderstand, that the K. should lend a strong hand to Iustice; and then they giue him a scepter in the left hand.

He must study to quench ciuill warres in his Kingdome, if there be any, and preuent such as may ensue, vpon the least presumption or apparance; euer more

Cicero, in Orat. The three parts of Philosophy

Which part of Philosophy is best in a King.

The first lesse for a Prince.

People ought to be subiect to the Magistrate, and the Magistrate to the Law.

A king to keep his word with his subiects.

more keeping promise with his Subjects, for otherwise it may fall out, that delay and length of time, will bring his life and the State into great daunger. The death of *Henrie* the third, King of France, happened thorow euill counsell giuen him, and also to his Predecessour; as the Histories of Fraunce and Flanders (written according to truth) doe credibly declare: without crediting, what detestable *Macchianell* hath written on that Article. By the last ciuill warres in *Allemaigne*, the French brought their Frontiers into the Cities of *Mentz*, *Toula*, and *Verdune*, which are three goodly Imperiall Citties, and held by them to this day. They that are called the States of the Low-Countries, and of Flanders, hardned by long Warres against their naturall Prince, vpon refusall of some serious requests: are become Cantoned; so that in common opinion, the whole Countries haue suffered grieuouly: all which had bin well eased, if no *Macchianellist* had medled among them.

As for strange warres, which a King may haue with other Princes; he must bee mindfull of Faith therein, for they are euer the least hurtfull. Prouided, that he do it in such sort, that being fortified with alliance and Confederats, strength, and meanes; hee may haue peace when himselfe pleaseth. Euermore remebring, that he do not imitate *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, who coueting to make himselfe great, lost both his State and life together. And *Frances* the first, King of *Fraunce*, in seeking to ioyne *Millaine* and *Italy* to his Crown, was fondly taken Prisoner.

He must not likewise lend eare to some kinde of Courtiers, who commonly are prating, that a generous King should neuer be without war: For in time of their continuance, hee may impose great taxes and subsidies on his people, which the saide people, taking then to be a matter extraordinary; doe finde them (soone after) to hold on as ordinary. These meanes (indeede) may encrease his reuenewes; but somtimes they reach to troublesome rebellions, wherein the Prince looseth both his land and subiects. The leagued Countries of *Germany*, had neuer come vnder their Lords obedience; but for the like causes.

In like maner, he ought to make no Forts or Cittadels, except in case of very vrgent necessitie; for it doth but declare contempt and distrust, conceiued in the Prince against his people, procuring (oftentimes) a reuolt in the subiects, with desire to seeke a new Maister. As the like was imagined to haue happened at the good Cittie of *Lyons*, which hath euermore bene very obedient to her kings, and lent them strong aide in their necessities, when they haue bene thereto required. Neuerthelesse, through some bad counsell, and vpon small occasion, the Kings of *Fraunce* did build a Cittadell there, a meere retreat for al scelerates: who, by the cautels of diners loose Captaines, too much diminishing the reuenewes of the **Douane*, and the Souldiers committed many insolencies in the Cittie, viciating diners Virgins, & making pillage of al things. Which was the cause, that the men of *Lyons* arose to ruinate this Cittadell, that serued for nothing else but wicked purposes. And albeit they were sollicit to take a new party, yet would they not yeild thereto; but kept themselues in obedience to their King, being contented with the demolition of the Cittadell, how euer the king otherwise mistrusted them. Such Cittadels ought not to be erected, but in countries newly conquered, and not in ancient and obedient Citties, whence Princes can receive nothing, but commodity & pleasure. Nor ought he to exercise prodigality, or giue immense gifts, especially to such people as haue no merit: for wee know very well, that it is the blood and labour of the people, which is so prodigally wasted. And for offending in such manner, some Kings haue been deiect from their Thrones; as hapned to *Edw.* King of *England*, second of that name, in the yeare 1325. who affected nothing but the Family of the *Spencers*, giuing them all great confiscations, and the Mony of his subsidies. These extreme and vsufferable courses, raised his Queene, Sonne and people against him, who were punished with death, & the King (at length) strangled.

Adde we hereto, that it is a great blemish and deformity in any King, not to bee liberall: for a couetous Prince is contemned of euery one, and hath few

The erection of Cittadels do but cause hatred in the people.

* The name of the custom-house at *Lyons*.

Lyons impatiently endured the Cittadell.

Prodigality is very odious in a Prince, when he giueh immeasurably to vnworthy mē.

Couetousnesse discommenda ble in a King.

Wicked counsell o. *Macchianell*.

Of Flanders & the Low Countries.

How a Prince ought to begin warre.

Taxations for warre ought not to be continued.

A Prince
should inquire
what is repor-
ted of him.

Friends. He should informe himselfe, what is reported of him, to vnderstand who are malecontent, and who pleased, prouiding for both in good discretion. As (very wisely) did *Phillip*, King of *Macedon*, Father to *Alexander* the Great, who was informed, that an auncient Knight (following his Court) did nothing but speak badly of him, and raised diuers enemies against him. The King comming couertly to know the cause of this obloquy; heard the old Knight complaine, that he had imployed both his youth, age, and vttermost meanes in the Kings seruice, whereby he was not onely growne poore, but also vnregarded. The K. well noting so foule a fault in himselfe, prouided for the Knight in such gracious manner: that he had not (formerly) so greatly reprocud him, but now he did much more exalt him. Whē the King heard thereof, he said to every one about him; *I was the sole cause of the Knights iust complaint, but hence-forward I will take order, that others shall not haue the like aduantage against me.*

A gracious &
worthy mind
in a King.

The bad and
dangerous
countell of
Macchiauell.

He must be careful to constitute some bad man in great authoriuy, and to haue rule in his Kingdome, euen as his Lieutenant: to the end, that he may bear all the blame, and if the people fall into commotion, they may rest contented with killing him, and so the K. shall remaine safe. This is the Philosophy of Maister *Macchiauell*, a matter verie dangerous; for hereby, both the one & other may well loose their liues. As we may read in the History of *England*, that King *Richard* accusing his Earle Marshal to the people, to be the onely cause of Subsidies, and robbing them of their Monies, seeming willing to content the people; he banished him the Land. Which man, could finde no place of safety, either in *Fraunce*, *Flanders*, *Allemaigne*, nor thorow all *Europe*, where to make his abiding. After this bad man, the king committed the gouernment of his kingdom to four other Men, against whom, the people conceiued as great hatred, as before they had done against the Earle Marshall. Which caused the saide *Richard* to be imprisoned; where those foure men were beheaded before his prison window, and he himselfe (afterward) lost his life.

The cause
why *Richard*
King of Eng-
land was cru-
elly murdered.

He should study, not to be ouer dread-

full to his Subiectes, nor too familiar; for the one begetteth hatred, and the other contempt. He should punish the wrongs of other men, and be sparing in his owne. As did good King *Lewes* of *France*, the 12. who in the time when he was but Duke of *Orleance*, hauing some enmity with King *Charles* the eight, and seeking to seaze the City of *Orleance*, for security of his own person, least the King should further labour to disquiet him; the Citizens made fast their gates against him. It happened, notwithstanding many trauerfes and misfortunes; this Duke came to the Crowne, after decease of the said King: And then the people of *Orleance* came to entreat him, not to remember precedent accidents, but graciously to grant them pardon. The King made aunswere, that he had forgotten all iniuries doone him: but wished them afterward to be carefull, how they offended another man. After that *Hamball* with-drew himselfe from *Italie*, the *Romaines* found no better means of raiging in quiet for the time to come: then by forgetting those iniuries, which they had receiued by the Common-weales of *Italy*; that had ioyned with *Hamball* in making the warre. In quarrels among great men hee ought not to entermedle, to support one side more then the other: but cause them to lay downe their Armes, by his absolute authority, and seek best means to reconcile them. For, in formalizing himselfe, more for the one then the other, it hath many times occasioned intestine war, and sometimes the losse of Royal dignity, as hath too often happened both in *France* and *England*. He should not be addicted to wine, but shun drunkenesse as poyson. For a King being drunke, is like a Lion, or any other furious beast, that bites and teares the first he meets withall. It causeth beside, that the K. (hauing his spirits fiered and troubled with wine) may kil some one man in that fury, or otherwise so offend him: as may afterward endaunger both his Royall person and the State. He must moderate choller, so much as in him possible lieth, without vsing either a Sword or Staffe. Imitating heerein the Bees, whose King hath no sting at all: For choller and fury are the chiefe hinderers, that the soule cannot

Not to be o-
uer terrible,
nor too fami-
liar to his sub-
iects.

A History of
the Duke of
Orleance.

An answer
truly & right-
ly Royall.

How he ought
to behaue him-
selfe in other
mens quarrels

A king should
shun drunken-
esse.

Anger and
choller very
dangerous.

not forme her functions according to reason:

Incontinency, whoredome, and obscenity, should be detestible to him, and for his better support, he must frequent no luxurious company, nor have any such person about him, whose ordinary talk is euermore thereto enclining; but such, whose speech is alwaies vertuous. Luxury makes a man dull, neglect, and effeminate, and a King (giuen to that vice) should rather carry a distaffe, then a Scepter. *Sardanapalus*, King of *Assiria*, lost his life, by being over-greedily giuen to this sin. So did *Nero*, Emperour of *Rome*. King *Frances*, first of that name, became very vnhealthfull in his aged daies, by being too much addicted to this vice; and yet otherwise, he was vertuous, and a louer of learning.

Being affected of his Subiects, for his good life, his treasury is the purse of his people, who will succour him liberally when he shall haue any needfull occasion. Which, in our memory, and not long since, *Elizabeth*, that famous Q. of *Eng.* found to be true. For in al her time, she neuer oppressed her people, but declared her selfe to be the liuely Mirrour of true Maiesty. And therefore, when there came a very potent Army (verie strongly bent against her and her Kingdomes) such as (in humane iudgment) was likely to preuaile: yet her subiects Bounty & Loue (next to heauens blessing) stood so strongly to her, that when her enemies supposed her ruine neere, they were shamefully foyled, and she gloriously triumphed. *Cyrus* and *Alexander*, two great Monarches, made themselves mighty, not by their Money (for they had none at all, or at least very little, at their first aduenturing) but were only assisted by friends, and the purse of their people. Whereas on the contrary, *Darius* and *Croesus*, two Kings that had abundance of treasure, and no loue of their people; were brought into most miserable condition.

Let him not be easily led, to beleue some Couriers, men affected in the search of nouelties, vsing perswasion, to attempt Conquests and far off voyages; as crossing the Seas, either to *Barbarie*, *Asia*, and the foure quarters of the world, 500. a thousand, or two thousand leagues distant from his own king-

dome, and ther to make war: such wars doe (oftentimes) beget the totall ruine of his owne estate. As hapned to King *Lewes of France*, ninth of that name, who lost a goodly Army of Noble-men and braue Souldiers in *Syria*, himselfe also beeing there taken Prisoner, to the no litle cost of his owne Kingdome. After his returne home, he would needes be gone thither againe: but he died before the Cittie of *Thunis*, and lost the verie greatest part of his Army.

By perswasion of the *Genewaiers*, *Charles* King of France, the sixt, sent an Armie into *Barbarie*, against the chiefe Cittie of *Affrica*: but one part of the French dyed there thorow Famine, and by inclemency of the aire, and the rest returned home; not hauing performed any one act of honour. *John of Bourgogne*, Counte of *Neuers*, was sent with a worthy French army into *Epire*, against *Biazeth*, Emperour of the *Turkes*; in assistance of the *Hungarians*: but there hee was surprized, and kept as Prisoner, with the Constable of France, and diuers others, and the whole French Armie quite defeated. *Lewes of France* the twelfth, sent an army against the *Turks*, that besiedged *Mitylene*, a Cittie in the Isle of *Lesbos*: but vtterly in vaine, for he lost (well neere) all his people. Notwithstanding, if a King make a league against any Infidell Prince, and that all Christian Princes (or the more part of them) are thereto likewise moued and sollicitated, vpon good reason: the King ought to contribute both Men and Money, but not to goe in person, except hee haue an assured peace with all his Neighbour Princes. Now, albeir a King had conquered a farre-off Country, yet scarcely knowes he how to keepe it for any long time: because the manners of strangers will hardly agree with theirs of that Countrey, and then the building of Cittadels is to be talkt on, but yet he must Philosophize how to maintaine them. It much better for any King, to sustaine himselfe vpon the forces of his men of armes, and fidelity of his Subiects; then on the strongest wals he can build. Which the *Lacedemonians* practised, by the aduise of *Lycorgus*. But after they had engirt the Cittie of *Sparta* with Walles, and gaue themselves wholly to the forti-

Whoredome and incontinency abhorrible in a King.

Examples of vnchast life.

Where the treasure Royall most consisteth.

Examples of loue & bounty in Subiects to their Princes.

War enterprised tarre off, cannot be but full of losses.

Diuers true & well knowne Histories tending to this purpose.

Exceptions in this case to be obserued.

No trust to be reposed in strong wals, but in the faith and power of men.

fyng of places: thence forward, their Common-weale grew to bee iust nothing. The Turke practiseth the verie same yet to this day. The first Cantons of the *Suitzers*, had neuer any wals, and were no other then great Villages; for they relyed more vpon their strength, then any trust in wals.

But it may be alleaged vnto me, that it is good for a King to read, to the end, he may learne something, as other men doe, and as other Kings haue formerlie done. This I approoue, and do no way mislike, at such times as he is not to bee more seriously imployed: For, a King that will well discharge his duty, shall find very little time of respit or leisure. Bookes that discourse on matter of good manners, should then be most familiar with him: because, in them hee shall learne such lessons, as no man else dare be so bold as to teach him.

As for Bookes of Histories, he must haue choise and plenty of them, because in reading such as are another mans Collections, that neuer saw, or came where they were acted: they cannot alwaies talke of truth, in regard, that hee giueth credit but to what he finds in another mans Papers, and Writers, will (vsually) speak fauourably of their owne occasions. If they be Histories, concerning the time when the Authour liued: he wil be sure to fauor the Prince, and the party which hee best affected, or to whom he was Pentioner. As may be noted in *Paulus Iouius*, the *Italian*, and *Sleydan*, the *Germaine Historian*, who haue written well enough: except whē they fall into some particular matters, as of Religion, or such like; there they are evidently perceiued to wander, in speaking partially, or out of priuate affection. Likewise, he should not iudge of good and lawfull enterprises, according to the bad successe they haue had, or so to condemne them: neither, whē affaires haue bin ill grounded, & worse mannaged, to repute them good, because they haue passed with fortunate euent. Therefore it behooueth any Prince, to read Histories, with good and deliberate iudgement.

Alexander Seuerus (at an houre of leisure) would read *Platoes* Commonwealth, the Offices of *Cicero*, and sententious *Horace*. Wise *Scipio*, when oc-

casion serued, would read the Institutions of *Cyrus*, proposed by *Xenophon*. *Charles* the first, Emperour, neuer reade any Authour, but *Phillip de Commines*, who wrote the life of King *Lewes* the eleauenth. I would not be mistaken herein, as (seeking by these allegations) to restraine a Prince from reading, or limit him none other, but these Books onely. But I say, that the principall Bookes, and those which bee most necessary for him: are such, as do discourse on the affaires of State, and of matter belonging to the Common-wealth.

Many times; it fals out, to bee more expedient for a Prince, to buy a Town by intelligence, or giuing Mony to the Enemy: then to take it by force of armes, though it cost him not so much; so is the Land sure to be no way ruinated.

To conclude, let a King stand vpon his Guards, and haue assured and trusty people about him; euermore ready, least occasion should present it selfe, & he be suddenly surprized: such as were the *Legionaries*, or those trained Souldiers, instituted by King *Frances*, first of that name.

And for conclusion to his Philosophy, he should be little, or of least reckoning in his owne eye, how great or potent soeuer hee appeareth to other. As it happened to *Alexander*, who had no sooner ended his Conquests in the East, but (standing vpon his own pride) he was cast downe, and poysoned by his owne Followers. *Baiazeth*, the verie greatest Emperour of all the *Turkes* that were before him: was vanquished, chained, and carried about in a Cage of Iron, by *Tamberlaine*, King of the *Tartares*, who was but a Neat-heard, by his first profession.

Behold (in summe) what Philosophy Princes ought to learne, which is not so much comprized in Bookes; as it is the braine (prouided of good and solid iudgement) the feare of God beeing alwaies principally preferred. So shall the saying of *Plato* be truely found in them: That *Kinges ought to be Philosophers, or Philosophers raigne*.

The end of the third
BOOKE.

What profit a Prince should make of reading.

Concerning Bookes of Histories.

Bookes of Histories are to be read with good deliberation and iudgement.

Concerning the reading of some Princes.

To make a Bridge of mony into the enemies countrey.

Alwaies to be prouided of men for warre

Humility auaieth more the glory.

The Authours conclusion of Kings Philosophy.



The Fourth Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdome of Persia; Nature of the Country and People; Condition of their Court, Lawes, and Commonwealth affaires, &c.



Persia hath caried the same name, from the beginning to this day, containing it in these feveral Regions, *Lar* and *Requellmall*. The

principall City thereof is called *Siras*, in elder times tearmed *Persepolis*; which is gouerned by the Sophy, Great Lord of all *Persia* and *Azimina*, called (by our Elders) *Assyria*; and the Kingdom of *Dearbech*, sometime named *Mesopotamia*; and *Seroan*, that was *Media*; and *Parthia*, now called *Iex*; with *Hica*, now tearmed *Coraxan*; And *Sarmania*, now *Dulcendana*; and *Asia*, at this instant called *Hetti*. All these Regions, with the greater *Armenia* (which is a part also of them) are gouerned by the Great Sophy, and the greatest or largest City vnder his command, is named *Tauris*, being built in the midst of the Mountaine *Taurus*, foure Dayes journey off from the *Caspian* Sea. Next vnto *Tauris*, there are other Citties beside; as *Soltania*, *Concassan*, *Saphan*, *Corazan*, *Lera*, *Mora*, *Sarmachaud*, *Gesti*, *Far*, *Siras*, and *Ormuz*, a City in the *Persicke*

Siras the chief City of *Persia*

The Gouernment of the great Sophy.

Sea, which at this day, is called *Mare Misindia*. In this City, is great Commerce of Merchants, made with the *Portugals*, and there they Fish for great abundance of Pearles. There are also other Citties, as *Cureh*, *Iex*, *Casmine*, and *Coy*, with infinite Castles. On the west-side of the Cittie *Tauris*, are the *Caspian* Mountaines, which bee now called the Mountaines of *Ararat*: And on the *Bacchan* Sea (aunciently named the *Caspian* Sea) are these Citties; *Summachia*, *Derbent*, *Bacchan*, and *Mamutaga*. All these Prouinces, and their Regions, are very barren, because they haue small store of Riuers: the greatest whercof, is cald *Bindarin*, but (in former times) they entituled it *Bragada*. The people of these Regions, are warlicke, ciuil, and very valiant men: ther is not so much ciuility found in al-*Asia*, as in these people, but they are al *Mahumetists*.

These Prouinces do produce the best Horses that are to be found in the world. And there they make the best steele Armors, that is in any Lande, which are made at a place called *Azimina*, where there is great abundance of Silke. As concerning the Gouernment heere obserued, *Zenophon* (speaking of those elder dayes) saith; That they haue a certaine cheefe place, called by them, *Freedome*; wherein standeth the Kings Pallace, and all the houses of the cheefest men Neere vnto this, ther is such another void place made fit for Merchants, and things to be sold by Mercenary Artificers, seuered farre off one from another, to the end, that such as are addicted to vertue and Liberall Arts, may not be molested with

fooles,

Commerce of Merchandize, and fishing for Pearles.

The nature & qualitie of the people.

The best breed of Horses in the world.

Zenophon concerning their gouernement.

Bad people seuerd from the good and vertuous.

fooles, and their ydle chatting; besides, beastly people, and the rude misgouerned multitude, may not presume to meddle with them.

The Market-place of Freedom or Liberty, is deuided into foure parts or habitations, and are tearmed Courts. In one, dwelleth young Children: In the second, Youths without Beards: in the third, men of mature yeares: and in the fourth, such as (by Age) are no more able or bound to follow the warres. Each of these (by Law) hath his place and exercise: the Children and men do assemble together daily, in their severall quarters; but the Olde men not so often, but only vpon some appointed dayes. The young men, with such Armes as they are allowed to exercise, doe tend about the the Princes dwelling in the Night time; except they be such as haue wiues, who, not being subject to such commaund, is fauoured for the Night-seruice. But they account it not honest but rather a shame and disgrace, to be ouer-soone married. Each Court hath twelue *Præsfects*, according to the number of the *Persian* tribes. To the Children, are old graue men appointed, apt for their better continuance in good manners: and such men likewise to the youthes, as (by their Vertue) can yeild them best example of imitation. For, the men of riper yeares, there are Governours elected, that by conformitie of their passed liues, and regular sway of authority, may holde good disposition with them, not anie way to swerne from the wil and direction of their Prince, but doe containe them in verie facile obedience.

The exercises of each age and degree (to the end that euerie man may knowe, with what care and industry he must become a good Cittizen) are these. The Children of *Persia* (like to ours) doe attaine to Learning in Schooles, and there they are taught to vnderstand, what it is to liue according to Iustice and honesty. Such as are their Governours there, doe spend the most part of the day, in iudging and giuing sentence on such Delictes, as are reported one of another. Such as are accused of Theft, Rapine, Violence, Deceit, Dishonest Language, and such like offences, being found innocent in these Crimes, the false accusers, are presently punished. Aboue all other Vices, In-

gratitude is most seuerely chastised, as being the occasion of infinite shames among men. And he that is found negligent, in returning like thankfulness for a benefit receiued, they sticke not publicly to maintaine, that out of this Vice, issueth contempt of the imortall Gods, their Countrey, Parents, and Friends: & finally, that it is the head and manifest originall of all other euils whatsoever. Beside this, they learne to liue temperately, and for inducement thereto, they repute example of the most ancient, to bee best available, and the beholding of their temperate behauiour.

In like manner, with no great difficultie, they are incited to continencie, with abilitie to endure both hunger and thirst: by seeing men of such graue yeares, not part away thence to eating or drinking, without license obtained of the *Præsfects*. They eate not in the Mothers company, but alwayes with their Maisters: for their diet is brought to the School, which is Breade and Hearbes, commonlie called * *Nasturtium*. Little need of drink haue they, because they vse nothing but Water, vntill the age of sixteene yeares. They haue Bowes and Arrowes, wherewith they practise shooting, and afterward are sent to dwell among the * *Ephoby*, who are young youthes, that likewise haue, and do still lead the same kinde of life.

Their attendance and sleepe time, is as we haue already said, about the Princes Lodgings, and as well for a Watch or guard to the Citty, as also to prevent such Luxuries, which commonly do ouer-abound in these young years, except they be holpen by diligent sollicitude, & verie stirring exercises. In the day time, they waite vpon their *Præsfects*, to the end that they may bee alwaies in readinesse. When the King rides on hunting (which happens diuers times in the month) one part of them do go along with him, carrying each man his Bow, and Quiuer of Arrowes, his Axe or Long Sworde, his Shield, and two Dartes: one readie to draw, and the other to hold in his hand, as well to defend as offende with them. The King, as in a vision of a King, euen so in Hunting, he is the Captaine, pursuing the chase with greatest dilligence, and commanding all the rest what is necessary to be done. So that this exercise, appeareth

Four Courts
for foure degrees of people.

12 *Præsfects* allowed to each Court, & their severall officers

The exercises of each age & degree.

The Children are instructed in Schooles.

Ingratitude is seuerely punished.

Of liuing temperately.

Children eate not in their mothers sight.

* Water-Kars, or Water-cresses.

* Striplings of 15. yeares old.

The attendace of the youthes.

The Kings riding on Hunting, and how attended.

Hunting compared to warfare.

peareth like vnto warre, by carefull foresight, to keepe a good houre of rising in the morning, to endure both colde and heate, to run after Wild-Beasts; and (by the sharpenesse of a sauage Countrey) to make the body able to euery labor. They are likewise (manie times) enforced, to awaite the wilde Beasts comming against them, respecting alwayes, that if hee be more powerful then he was reputed, they may all stirre presently, exercising still that small respit of time, euen as if they were in the Campe for battaile.

Euery man bears his own prouision.

Euery man carries his own food with him; and yet they eate not before the houre of supper time, except they haue leysure to stand still awhile, in expectation of some wilde Beastes comming, or haue giuen better order for the Chase. When they haue supt, the next day following they pursue still the Game, vntill the same houre of Supper againe, euermore without feeding, making two daies together but one, in respect of eating: which habitude is also most profitable in Warre, respecting times, which often do enforce a great scarcitie of Victuals. If there bee any dearth, then they vse to temper their bread, with the aforesaide *Nasturtium*, for no man there will eate, till vrgent hunger compell him. Farre differing from them, that care not what excesse they feede Gluttony withal, who can neuer iudge truly, how little would serue, or be really delightfull to Nature: like to him that can please appetite with simple Bread, or a poore small Cake; & seekes not to slake thirst with Wine, but harmelesse water.

In the time of dearth or Famine.

Concerning such as remaine in the Cittie.

They that remaine at home in their houses, for safegard of the Cittie, haue publick places appointed, for like exercises in them. They haue a care of all occasions, euen from verie Childe-hood, to see them vse their Bowes, hurle their Darts, and exercise Armes. They that are most vertuous, wise, learned, and actiue of person, doe carry greatest Commendation, and are honoured of the people; not onely the *Præfects*, but euen such also, as haue bin any occasion (by their diligence) of their education from Child-hood, they carry worthie Commendation, and are contained in highest fauour.

Who are most commended and honored.

In causes of vrgent necessity, who are employed.

If any lewd Offender should be sought for, any Theefe apprehended, or speedy

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succour sent to some needefull place, in dealing with these occurrences, which require hast and strength of bodye; the Gouvernors make vse of none but young lusty men, who (hauing bin trained ten yeares in such Disciplines) are ranked among the number of men, that (to the age of fife and twenty) haue hadde the Gouernment of them, as the *Præfectes* had of their Childe-hood, euer to make them ready for seruice of the Commonwealth. When they go in battell order, they vse neither Bowes, Darts, or Weapons, to offend a farre off; but ech mans brest is armed with a Cuirace, his shield vpon his arme, and so he confrontes his Enemy, either with his Axe, or with his Sword. The Heads or Commanders, are all *Præfectes*, yet none of them abide in the City, hauing care of the yong Children and youth.

When they go to battaile.

What they do at the age of fifty yeares.

When they haue past this time, and attained to the age of fiftie yeares, they are placed among the old men, sent forth no more to warre: but rest in their countrey, where they elect *Præfects*, ordaine Iudges for publicke and priuate causes, and likewise (as Iurors) do passe vpon the liues of men, that sentence may be giuen vpon euery delict, acording as the crime appeareth by due eidence, in which cases, euery man offended, hath free liberty to accuse. He that stands condemned in the whole course of his life, is reputed most infamous. The whole Commonwealth of the *Persians*, containeth in it an hundered and twentie thousande men.

None are denied instruction in the publicke Schooles.

Difference betweene rich & poore mens sonnes.

There is no prohibition, of being instructed in the publicke Schooles, where Iustice is truly taught, neither is it forbidden by any Lawe, but that a man (by his Vertues) may attaine to dignitie and honor, no exception is made, but onely want of Vertue. Yet let me tell ye, most choise is made of Rich mens sonnes for the Schooles, not because their Parents haue least need, but that themselues are soonest infected with Vices. Aud poore mens sonnes (for necessity of common maintenance) are sent to Shoppes, to learne Mercenarie exercises, whereby to liue.

The Children that haue been entrusted in the Disciplines fore-named, may conuerse with the *Ephebi*, but not the others. The *Ephebi*, that haue liued according

Order of descent from one degree to another.

The Persians temperate life, is a great blemish to ours.

The Persians order of warre in these dayes

Their want of footmen.

Their lacke of Shot & great Ordinance.

Example of Vsan-Cassanus and Ismael.

Difference betweene the Turks arming and the Persians.

ding to the Lawes, may likewise abide among the men, and attaine to Honours and Magistracie. And these men, after they have liued according to the *Persian* Discipline, may go amongst the Oldest Men, who hauing liued (all their time) with greatest Iustice, are most woorthie and excellent Citizens in the Commonwealth.

An expresse note of abstinence in the *Persians*, is, that they can endure labour enough, yet liue moderately. But among vs, there is little or no respect at all, albeit they hold it for the greatest infamy, to spet in company, or make clean the nose, and to voide Vrine publickely, or do any such Offices in open fight. All which, we might easily shun, if wee would eate but little, and the grosse natural humors of the bodie, would consume themselves by labour and exercise of the body.

In these daies, all things in the world being altered, the *Persians* make their wars with most vnindifferent course, and (for ought I can perceiue) bad conditions, because as they haue a wonderful Caualerie, so they haue no certaine power of Infanterie or Footmen, either ordinarie or aged. By which part of strength, the Turke (euen in our times) hauing gotten many notable victories, and being neuer foyled in any place; hath brought verie great and important warres to end. It is a matter also verie vnbeneficial to the *Persians*, that they vse no Shotte, neither abounde in any Artillerie on Carriages; with which terrible helpe, euery attempt is soonest concluded. As was too well exemplified, by the vnhappy prooue of *Vsan-Cassanus*, and of *Ismaell*, whose Caualerie were then honourably victorious. Lately also, in the *Caldean* Fields, and (in memory of our Fathers) at *Harsenga* and *Euphrates*, where they could not endure the great and vnaccustomed noise of their Horses, in that most cruel & bloodie Tempest. Wherefore, in no place may the armed man of *Persia*, compare with the Turke, if he were disarmed. Because the *Persian* is (of all parts) couered with a scalie Cuirace; his Panciere or Belly-peece, of Iron; his buffed Helmet strongly crested, and hung thicke with Feathers, his Shield or Target rounde, and curiously embellished with Golde. But the Turke of *Europe*, as vtterly vnarmed, is scarcely halfe couerd with a round

bended Target, after the manner of the *Asian* Shieldes, inter-wouen with Reeds, subtilly sweetned with Cinnamon, and embroidered with Silke of sundrie Colours. The *Persian* likewise couereth his arme and right hand, with a false sleeue and Gauntlet of Steele, galloping with a Launce of Ash, which hath two points; and being met in the midst, (after the Moores fashion) oftentimes beares off the blowe on high, for easier passage of the men and Horse disarmed. But, the Turke (according to the *Gracian* vse) placing his Launces butt-end in his flanke, and stouping it vnto his horses eare (like them that are made of light and brittle Firre) runnes swiftly vpon the spurre, breakes it at the first blow, and so passing on to the enemies Armie, is constrained to lay hand to his Semitar, or to his iron Mace, as vnable to gouerne the *Persians* furie. For, they are mounted on great & verte strong horses, that haue their foreheads armed with Iron, and their bodies covered with sodden Leather hides (after the manner of the Italians Capparisons) plaited together in narrowe foldes, and stuffed with Bumbast or Silke, to beare off euery blow falling thereon. In which regard, no one of them (except ouer-audaciously) will compare the best *Persian*, either with the Archer on Horsebacke, or foote-Soldier of the Turke. For he being armed with a big strong Bowe, full of manie knotted Nerues; drawes an Arrowe of good roundnesse, after the *Tartars* manner, and his fall is almost deadly.

All these thinges being equally compared together, the armie of the Sophie, euen bounde and deuoted to the King, (by an opinion of a high and Diuine minde, and by a certaine Religious Sacramentall reason) not being fearefull of death in any place, although it bee inferior to the Turkes in number, might seeme inuincible, if it were not oppressed by Treacherous and vnworthie men of valour, furie of Artillerie, and vnusual multitudes of men.

I finde, that the principall occasion, why *Ismael* brought so many Prouinces (by glorious Armes) vnder one sole Emperie, yet with lesse number of Soldiers then others would beleue (especially against *Ottoman*, who ouer-ran the countrey so farre as *Armenia*, and wasted all things)

The *Persian* Lances varying from the Turkes.

The *Persians* Capparisons for their great horses.

The Bowes vsed by the Turkes.

The Sophies army seemeth inuincible.

The reason of *Ismaels* great successe in war

things) was onely this : Hee released all Tributes, and tooke away euery taxation (onely to purchase fame by liberality) euen vpon his very entrance. And it much imported this new King then, so to doe; because (by force of Armes) he expelled the lawfull heires, from the State and Empire, after *Vsan-Cassanus* the Grandfire, and *Iacoppo* their Father. In which respect, hee was euer needie of Money; and therefore, when any warre arose, he brought forth no Armies, combined by their strong and iust Nerues, albeit the countries of the East (abounding in manie things) beside such diuersitie of rich Kingdomes) benignlie and largely wold haue afforded supply of pay, for all necessaries belonging to life and warfare. Quite contrary to *Solymans* case, who continually was serued with Infanterie and Horsemen, Maisters of the Artillerie, Captaines of the Army, and all such beside, as were either Officers for the field, or attended in his Pallace, who were daily and monthly paid by the treasurer, that deliuered forth monies. Nor in this case is there any want of Treasuries, because that in *Constantinople* there are seuen Towers or Castles, which containe in them inestimable mountains of mony, both of gold and Siluer, with perpetual entrance yearly, of so many tributes and taxations, as do exceed all expences whatsoever, by the fourth part.

Among the *Persians* there are 3. sorts of Soldiers, to wit, of the Guard; of men vnder commaund; and of voluntarie assistants. Those of the Guard, are at a certain pay, and are dieted at the Kings cost, and he likewise (according to an auncient Custome) and at cerraine times of the year, obserued in writing, as an ouerplus of bounty; giues them Armor, horses, Garments, Pauillions or Tents for the field, and victuals. At these times, being attended with a goodly companie of Lords, as also the Soldiers at command, and brauest voluntaries: hee maintaines the reputation of a frequent Court, and Progracing vnto places of best maintenance, proceedeth on to visit the most Noble Citties of the Prouinces. When ther is no wars, the *Dinasti*, *Lords*, *Detrarchi*, and *Feudataries* of ancient Nobility (who enioy the Signories of the Castles and Countries, giuen by their elders, do find all the prouision in Prograce; or if

it be giuen them by the King, it is collected againe by Edict. They do also whatsoever else is commaunded them, according to the same reason, or equality in condition; as (vniuersally) al the Nobilitie in *Spain*, *Fraunce*, and *Italy*, doe vse to serue their Lord and King withall.

The number of the Soldiers is great, and when they are in Armes; they resort to their Ensignes: but if a diligent inquiry be made, they neuer amouit to 20000. Horse. Nor doe the third part of them, (furnished in such rich manner; as wee haue before declared) go so to battel, for all the rest are contented with their Helms, Mantles (of hard and thick-wouen stufte) wrapped about them, and cojered with sundry shields; their fight is onelie with the Lance and Bow. For they haue now learned to helpe those former kinde of Armes, and according as place & occasion requireth, do hurl the shield ouer the shoulder, to receiue the Launce of a pursuing enemy, and stands vpon his defence before, with his Bow and Arrows. Those Shields which are truely saide to come from *Persia*, and from the Royall City of *Sciros* (where Armor is made of most excellent temper, and verie worthy wormanship) are reputed to be of cheefest estimation.

Next vnto these, are the neighboring *Assyrians*, by authority of name; & therefore the Kingdoms of the *Medes* & *Parthians*, do afford the verie best and valiantest Archers, beyond all other, except the *Tartars*. But the *Armenians*, do couet most of all to fight on foot, & write them selues of the Infanterie. For they plant (vpon the ground) a long preparation of Shields, great and plaine, euen as if they had a Rampier before them, and so defend themselves against the furie of the Horsemen, fighting with Pikes, and very short Axes, as also Bowes and arrowes; yea, many times they fight both neer and far off, with Slings that haue short handles. People that come to helpe them, as voluntaries, are sent out of *Iberia* and *Albania*, who are their confederate Kinges, and neighbor vpon *Media* and *Armenia*, beeing (for the most part) halfe Christians, and therefore do maintaine equall hatred against the *Ottomans*; and warre against them.

Ismael alwayes very needie of mony.

Solyman was in much better condit. on.

Seauen Towers full of mony.

Three kinds of Soldiers in Persia.

Liberality to the Kings Guard.

In times when there is no warre.

The Persian Soldiers great in number.

The Persians are altered fro their first armes.

The Assyrians, neighbours to the Persians.

The fighting of the Armenians.

Voluntaries sent from confederate Kinges

CHAP. II.

Against Iulius Cæsar, because in his Commentaries of the Warres in Gaule, he oftentimes calleth the Gaules (at this day French-men) Barbarians.



That which I have purposed to handle in this Chapter, proceedeth not either from affection, or ouer-great animosity: but rather to defend (against the Spaniard, Italian, or Greeke) the famous Kingdome of France. For, when they are growne discontented with the French, or be chafed, and ouer-come by them in warre; they spightfully terme them Barbarians, Inciuill, and Saluages; and say, they learned it of Iulius Cæsar. Now, to discusse whether it bee true, or no, that the whole Ciuility of the world was amongst the Romaines, and that the Gaules hadde not as much or more then they; it remaineth vpon sufficient prooffe and triall. Although that Iulius Cæsar was a great Captaine, hauing all those good partes in him, which are required in an Emperour yet notwithstanding, it may plainly bee noted, that beeing vnable to effectuate his Conquestes in Gaule, hee therefore calles it a light Nation, inconstant and barbarous.

The first reason was (as I thinke) because they vsed humane Oblations in their Sacrifices, sacrificing sometimes their Children, other-whiles their slaues, and verie often themselues, vpon some Vow or solemne Oath taken: for vanquishing their enemies in Warre, or for som other speciall matter. Which I must needs confesse to be a great cruelty, and farre from all humanity: albeit that in those times, in al parts of the world, they vsed the same manner of sacrificing. And yet the Romaines did much worse heerein, then all other Nations whatsoever. For, from all Antiquity, in the Country of the Latines (where Rome is built) they threw manie men off a bridge, into the Riuer of Tiber, hauing their Feete and hands fast bound, to honour their sacrifices of Saturne. Nor would they otherwise massacre or dispatch them, in re-

The especiall occasion of this Chapter.

All Ciuility among the Romaines.

Iulius Cæsar was an excellent Captaine.

The Gaules and Romaines were both cruell in their sacrifices

gard of an ancient Oracle (as Varro saith) the last Verse, whereof contayneth thus much: *Send the cheefest to Hell, and the light to Father Saturne*, that is to say, the Liues of men.

Varros words concerning the Oracle.

10 Titus Liuius, a Romain Historian, who was from the time of Iulius Cæsar, hath left Written; That the said Romaines had a Custome, when they behelde themselues in any great perill, to vow and promise solemnly, that they woulde immolate to *Iupiter*, all creatures that receiued life in the next Spring time, calling the Spring time Holy. In these vowes, were comprized al the Infants liues that shold be born during this season. But at length, they conuerted this sacrificing of infants, by sending them into exile: which likewise seemed verie cruell, to banish poore and innocent Infants.

Verie cruell vowes of the Romaines.

20 For ought I knowe, there is not anie people or Nation, that can say of themselues, they haue stood cleare from these horrible Sacrifices. For, in *Chios*, a Grecian Island, thy vsed the same. In *Egypt*, in *Heiopolis*, where euery day they massacred three men, to offer them to the Goddesse *Iuno*. The *Lacedemonians* Sacrificed to God *Mars*. The *Phenitians* did as much to *Saturne*, when they were vexed with Pestilence, or persecuted with great warres. *Histrens*, an auncient Author, saith; that the * *Curetes*, a people of *Creete*, vsed to appease *Saturne*, by offering young Infants in sacrifice vnto him. In *Laodicea*, a Cittie of *Cælo-Syria*, they did the like, to make the Goddesse *Pallas* placable. The *Iewes* do stiffely denie, that they did not immolat their Infants to God *Moloch*. The *Thracians*, *Carthagerians*, *Scythians*, and (wel-neere) all the *Grecians*, did exercise such detestable Sacrifices. And it was common euerie where, vntill the time of the Emperor *Claudius*, who made an Edicte to the contrary. And yet at this day, thorow all the Great Prouinces of *India*, otherwise called the New-world, not onely do they still sacrifice men, but also feed on humane flesh.

Who haue bin immolaters of humane Sacrifices.

* Sybils Priests called also Corybantes.

30 40 50 If Iulius Cæsar reputed the Gaules to be barbarous, because (hauing promised & made vowes to their Gods) if they might win battailes against their enemies, they offered such Sacrifices to them: I should rather iudge it great Piety and Religion in them, towards their Gods and Country,

The Indian Anthropophages

These offerings reputed pietie and religion in the Gaules.

trey, because they made no spare of them selves, but Sacrificed also (with them) all that which they had conquered in warre, of what great value and estimation soeuer it were. For it is especially to bee noted, that wheresoever Religion & Justice is, there can bee accounted no barbarisme. Contrariwise, after victory obtained in some battaile, the *Romaines* sacrificed common Creatures, and made particular profit of the very greatest Riches conquered by them: as of Captiues, Gold, Silver, Horses, and such like, offering to their God *Iupiter Phere-trus*, moueables of small value; as some Armour, price-lesse Rings, and Garments. Moreouer, such was the vertue and magnanimity of the *Gaules*, as to endure so many tribulations, which time could lay vpon them while they liued. But the *Romaines*, to free themselves from all perils; would commonly kill themselves; if they were detained in prison, or otherwise, which is the act of men downe-falne in hart.

If he hold them for barbarous, because they haue eaten humane flesh; as it is very true: he must vnderstand, that it happened vpon an extreame necessity, when himselfe came downe vpon them with three hundred thousand *Cymbrians*, *Teutons*, or *Allemaignes* into *Gallia Sequana*, and besieged the City of *Sens*. For victuals failing them, by reason that all the Countrey was spoiled about them, and the Enemy kept a long and strict sledge vpon them: this poore distressed people (vnable to defend the City otherwise) consisting of aged persons, women and children, very young in yeares; did voluntarily expose their liues, to feede their bowels that defended their Countrey, and for preservation of the *Gaules* Commonwealth. But this was not ordinarily done, nor vpon any wanton or lickerish appetite; likewise, neuer was it euer heard to bee done; either before that time or after. Contrariwise, much more barbarously, and without any necessity at all; the *Romaines* made it a Iouial vse, to feed on mens flesh in their feasts and banquets, as *Galen* assures vs; that himselfe hath scene, in the time of the Emperor *Commodus*. Some *Spaniards* (euen in our times) haue done as much in the *Indias*, for, hauing no other victuals;

they would eate their owne companions, and *Indians*, that died on diseases, or famine.

Julius Cesar also makes a mockery, because there were certaine people, tearmed waged or mercenary Souldiers among the *Gaules*, who made a free gift of themselves to people of wealth, to do all such seruices as they would imploy them in; receiuing their whole nourishment and mainenance (from them) while they liued. But looke of what death soeuer their Maisters dyed; they would gladly and willingly follow them therein, to keepe them company, and do seruice to their Lords soules, in another world, because this was an Article of their Religion. But the *Romaines* had an inuiolable law, which was, that if a maister had few or many slaues, and he hapned to be slaine (albeit that some other had kild their Maister) yet all the Slaues must be slaine. Nay, they had worse customes, for if a Captaine were offended with his Soldiers, or some idle toy tooke him in the head: hee would haue euery tenth man in his Army culd out, and cause them to be hewen in pieces before him, by the other Souldiers of the same company. More, the great number of *Gladiatores* or Fencers, that they caused to kill one another (either in their open Theaters, or other publique places strewed with Sand) with very keene edged and sharpe pointed Swordes, before all the people, without any pittie or compassion, saying: Thus did the *Romaine* people, and more cruelly in war. Nor might these Fencers giue over the fight, what hurts or woundes soeuer they had receiued; except the people were so pleased. They would make their Captiues also fight with cruell Beastes; as Lyons, Beares, Tygers, and others, not in any small number; but by thousandes at a time; only for a pastime to the people, and to win themselves credit, that when they fought after any office, they might bee assured of their voyces.

Perhaps he called them barbarous, because that the *Gaules* (in his time) had no other food for their ordinary prouision, but Swines Flesh. I aunswere him, that it is one of the best and wholesomest meate, which can be vsed for any nourishment: for it verie

D d easily

Oblations of the Spoyle of the *Gaules* & *Romaines* compared together.

The *Gaules* neuer slew themselves but in aduersity.

Once (thorow extreame necessitie) the *Gaules* did feed on humane flesh.

Galen in *Lib. de facult. de Aliment.*

Spaniards haue fed on humane flesh.

Of hired & mercenary Souldiers.

Souldiers of *Gaule* wher to they were obliged.

Decimation of the *Romaine* Souldiers.

Gladiatores and Slaues slaine, or deuoured by cruell beastes.

Swines Flesh familiar food among the *Gaules*.

The Romaines
full of Glut-
tony and Lu-
xury.

Cornelius Cel-
sus in *Vit. Rom.*

The Gaules
(at all times)
used to lie vp
on the harde
ground.

The Gaules
used to weare
short garmets

Caesar termed
the Gaules to
be a light-
brained people

easily conuerteth into the substance of man, as being almost of the same temperature. The *Athletes* and *Wrastlers* of *Greece*, to make themselves sturdy, strong, and of the best habitude, would feed on no other Victuals, but bread and Porke. But the *Romaines* of *Caesars* time, enriched and made fat with the spoils of the world; were become Gourmandes, dissolute, and prodigall, as the like could not be found in any other Nation. One may serue for an example of the rest, who termed himselfe a great friend vnto *Caesar*, named *Lucullus*, that spent vpon one meale, twentie thousand Crownes. But by this kinde of badde life, multitude and varietie of Dishes, and extreame Gluttonie vsed amongst them: the Romaines grew to be verie vnhealthfull, according as *Cornelius Celsus* writeth. And no man is so ignoraunt, but knoweth verie well; that leading such a life, doth rather truly fauour of Beasts liues and barbarisme, then of the least part or iotte of Ciuilitie.

Hee should not call them barbarous, because when they were at rest in their houses, they slept not vpon soft featherbeddes, but ordinarily vpon the harde ground; which the Romaines (in those times) could not doe. Most certaine it is, that it is rather a Vertue to sleepe in such manner, then otherwise, for more easie support of such discommodities, as commonly doe attend on men of warre: who (as it should seeme) are sent of heauen, for defence of their Countrey, to subdue inciuill people for their sinnes. Nor, for wearing of short Garmentes, could he call them barbarous, because it is the nature of a Warlike people, rather to be clad in Garmentes which are short, then such as be long and troublesome.

Besides the Title of Barbarous, he accounts them to be a light-headed people, verie mutable in opinion and counsell. Hee speaketh these thinges, as a sworne enemy vnto them. For, when he had sowne diuisions and Quarrelles among them, hee would feigne to be on one side, and quite against the other. But they perceiuing his subtilty, disclaymed from his kindnesse, and brake the agreements which they hadde made with him.

He neither surmounted or went be-

yond them in open and faire warre, for indeed he could not: but only by trecheries, because his intent was, to possesse himselfe of *Gaule*, and be King thereof, if he had vanquished *Pompey*. Now, because they discerned his deuises, & knew the Dominion of the *Romans* to be more insupportable, then that of the *Allemaignes*, whom the *Gaules* of *Sequana* had called to their aide, against them of *Armeni*, and so leagued themselves together very gladly: therefore he calls them light and inconstant. I leaue to further consideration, whether hee had sufficient subiect to hold them for such.

If he conceited them (then) not to be Lettered, hee was much deceiued; for from all antiquity, the *Gaules* had knowledge in that part of Phylosophy, which we tearme Naturall, and of the *Ethique* or *Morrall* too, instructing pollicie and good manners, which ought to support a Common-wealth. Nor went they among the *Greekes* to seeke instruction, as manie haue immagined. For, whereas *Caesar* saith in his Commentaries, That they vsed Greek Carracters in their writings; hee meaneth not, that they spake the Greeke Language. But three hundred yeares (or thereabout) before that *Rome* was taken and sackt by the *Gaules*, it was (as their owne Historians haue recorded) both without Law and Iustice. True it is, that they were good Warriors, and that tenne men were sent from them into *Greece*, to seeke lawes, whereby to pollicie their Common-wealth. The *Gaules* on the contrarie, would neuer vse the Lawes of any other; but contented themselves with those, which they hadde received from eldest antiquitie, as manie people vsed by their example; yea, euen the Romaines themselves, immitated them in Articles (enow) of their Religion, hauing withdrawne some of their Phylosophers and Priestes, who could not followe those other *Gaules*, when as they departed from *Italy* to goe into *Greece*, by reason of the Dearth of Victualles.

The Reader, by conferring both manners and fashions in behauior of the one and other; will finde as much, or rather more Barbarisme in the *Romaines*, then in the *Gaules*. And although they haue changed their Name, for that braue nation of Warriors in *Franconia*, who are mingled

Caesars ambi-
tion apparant-
ly noted.

In what Phy-
losophie the
Gaules were
skilfull.

The first Ro-
maines begd
their Lawes
in *Greece*.

The Reader
to be an indif-
ferent Iudge
in this Con-
trouersie,

A long continued vice in the Romains.

mingled among them: yet doo they carrie (to this day) the Fame and Renowne, to be the Gallant, Ciuill, and most courteous Nation of the World, and where Learned men abound, more then in any other Prouince. But the Romaines and *Italians*, haue had this Vice for long time; to make estimation of none but themselves. For, it is plainly seene in all their Histories, that they make themselves to be euermore Conquerors, without attributing anie thing to others. As may be evidently noted in the very commentaries of this *Cesar*: but if it were so wel knowne by other Historians of their owne Nation, how often the *Gauls* did beat, vanquish and put him to his flight, ouer-throwing the Pallisadoes of his Campe, by their cunning Mines made Vnder-ground, wherein they were verie skilfull Maisters: the *Gauls* (as I haue saide elswhere) neede care for no other Written Histories; knowing that (for the most part) they are either Flatterers or Lyers.

Scalig. in Lib. 4 cont. Cardan.

Scaliger, borne at *Verona*, in his fourth Booke against *Cardanus*, sayeth; That there is not any Nation, which hath a more liuely spirit, in doing whatsoever themselves would, then were the French, be it in Armes, Learning, Merchandize, or Well-speaking; but, about all the rest, they haue (saith hee) a most Generous and innocent heart, keeping Faith most constantly, with anie people whatsoever. Beholde the Iudgement of a man, reputed the cheefest of his qualitic, against the opinion of the said *Cesar*,
Tacitus, *Trebellius*, & *Pollio*.

CHAP. III.

¶ How long time it is, since the Switzers were Cantoned: and vpon what occasion their Countrey was called, the Land of Leagues.



Efore we speake anie thing of the Switzers, I should describe the scituation, Ground-plotte, and confrontation of the country, which was giuen them; to bee Mountainous and strong (the onely benefit of begetting Liberty) to the end that the Reader may the better comprehend the History, purposely intended for his instruction, in knowing, why the people were Cantoned. To shew yee then, what the Country is, which is cald of the *Switzers*, or the Lande of *Cantons*, or of *Leagues*; ye must vnderstand, it is that which was called by the Romaines, *Heluetia*. It beginneth in the verie highest Alpes, and endeth (on the East side) at *Rhein*, descending towards the North, so farre as *Waltshut* and *Lansembourg*; and from thence it turneth towards the West, as in a direct tracte, by the Mountaine *Inra*, euen to the Lake of *Genoua*: and afterwards, remounteth vpon the Alpes againe.

An aduertisement to the Reader.

The length & bredth of the Countrey of Leagues.

A briefe Description of the Countrey.

The Country seemeth to be straight and narrow; as appearing, that the verie largest place, should not extend it selfe aboue forty Leagues, and (in some places) much lesse: the length also to consist of about an hundred and ten Leagues. It is verie Mountainy, populous, and yet more then other Countries; cannot nourish or maintaine men: They are a warlike people, able to endure all trauailes in warre. Manie of them (at this day) doe liue vpon such Wages, as they receiue of strange Princes that will imploy them: not that they take part with such as will giue them most Wages (as some think) but in willingnesse to serue whom most they loue.

Switzers take wages, not in regard of the money.

In this Countrey; there are manie goodly Citties and Townes, as also verie great Villages, and very well pollicied;

The reason & cause of Cantoning the Country. *Blondin lib. 9.*

Exaction by the Romaines vpon the Switzers.

Of the Governour of three Vales, concerning three yoaik of Oxen.

Cruell tyrannies and oppressions in the Governours.

whereof we meane to speake hereafter.

The occasion then, wherefore this Country was and is reduced into Cantons, and to become leagued, against those that oppressed them; was thus, according as *Blondus* maketh faithfull relation thereof. About the yeare 1305. the Emperours and Kinges of the *Romaines*, during the Schismes of the Empire, did place Governours good store in the *Switzers* Country, as to recompence such as had taken part with them, not hauing where-withall (otherwise) to reward them. They gaue them leaue to do whatsoeuer seemed good in their owne opinion, being as many of them there, as there were Citties, Townes, and Villages, or few wanting: who molested the people with subsidies and borrowings, extorting all thinges else whatsoeuer from them, according as it came into their fantasie. And yet notwithstanding, a great many of the Citties, Townes, and Comminalties, had long continued their immunity & franchise; eyther by especiall grace of the Emperours, or by buying such priuiledges with their Money, for which they had good & sufficient Patents to shew. Neuerthelesse, these *Harpie* Governours, by perswasion of some Noblemen of the Country; did manifold wrongs and iniuries to this people.

It happened, that the Governour of three Vales, wherein are three great Townes; to wit, *Vri*, *Suutz*, and *Vnderwalden* (that were free of long time) sent sundry of his Catch-poles or Sergeants to demand three couple of Oxen, which belonged to a man of *Vnderwalden*, & to bring them away perforce: vsing no other reason, but: that Country men should labour with their hands, and not with the help of staule-fed Oxen. The Sonne to the man, from whom the Oxen were taken, impatient at his Fathers oppression; laying hand on his Sword, chanced to cut off a Finger of one of the Sergeants. The poore youth was afterward apprehended, and the Tyrant (beeing extreamely enraged) commaunded his eyes to bee pulled out.

Another Governour of the said *Vnderwalden*, sent for an honest Woman, that should prepare a bath for him in his owne House; which she did accor-

dingly, as not daring to disobey the Tyrant. No sooner had she made ready his Bath, and purposing to part thence againe: but the Villaine rauished her, for which shee was slaine by her Husband, with the helpe of his Friends.

There was another Governour of *Vri*, who, beside his exacting on many meanes of the people, entred into such folly and presumption, that he erected (in a faire spacious place of the saide *Vri*) an high pearch or poule; on the top whereof was fastned a Hat or Bonnet, which he himselfe had sometime worne, commaunding the like to bee done in the Villedge of *Suutz*. Afterward, hee gaue charge, that the Country people should performe as much reuerence to the Bonnet, as if himselfe were there in person. There was a man of very generous Spirit, and borne in that Country, named *Guillaume Tell*, who refused to doe this frivolous reuerence. Whereupon hee was apprehended, brought before this proud and insupportable Governour, and sentenced with death: except hee could salue his disobedience, by taking a young Sonne of his owne (about five yeares old) and standing fifty paces off from the Childe; cleaue an Apple vpon his bare head, with an Arrow deliuered from a Crosse-bow, without any harme done to the Childe. The man was both famed, and knowne to bee an expert Crosse-bow-man, and being heereto thus rigorously constrained: he performed the deede, without any hurt to his Child; but it was more by the grace of God, then his owne industry.

The Governour beeing offended that the man had sped so well, and perceiuing that hee had another Arrow left vnder his Girdle; demaunded, for what purpose hee had that other Arrow, when he was enioyned to shoote but one? *Guillaume Tell* answered. If I had slaine my Son; this other Arrow should haue had thy life. In regard of these words, he was taken, bound fast with Cords, and put into a Boate, to be conueyed to prison. Now, it fortunated, that they were to passe a Lake in rowing thither, vpon which Lake hee escaped very strangely from them. For, hauing (by meere strength) broken

A notorious idle folly in a Governour.

Reuerence of the Hat or Bonnet.

A cruel imposition vpon a Father.

A further prosecution of the poor man by the governour.

The cruell Governour flaine.

ken his bonds; he threw himselfe suddenly into the Lake, and recouering certaine Mountaines not farre off; lyued there verie couertly, and awayting for the Governour (one day) in a verie narrow passage, there slew him with the forsaide Arrow.

Four Switzers enforced to eate their owne cares.

Another Governour, caused the cares of foure Countrey-men of *Switz* to be cut off; then commanding them to be roasted, he compelled them to eat them. The people of the Countrey, being not a little moued with these extreame iniuries, and manie other out-rages in the Governours: expelled them quite out of those three Vales; & (from thenceforward) entering into Confederacies, beganne to Cantone or quarter themselves, swearing a solemne League, with absolute promise to succor one another, if they should heereafter be mollested by any whosoeuer.

The rich Abbot of the hermits, claimeth an interest in Switz.

Within short time after, a rich Abbot, entituled of the Hermits, saide; That hee had right and Title, to leaue some Prouision of Come, and of Mōny also, vpon the Village of *Switz*, and summoned them to make payment thereof. They answered, that they neuer heard before of any thing due vnto the sayde Abbot, nor did anie such right (to their knowledge) appertaine vnto him: and therefore, they would pay him nothing. Hee growing verie angric at this answer, and being descended of a Great and Noble house: leaues an Armie, accompanied with *Leopold*, the Duke of *Austriche*, who had great Landes both within, and vpon the Frontiers of the *Switzers*. Besides, manie Barons and other Gentlemen of the Country, came vnto him (Voluntarily) from all partes, hauing already gone on, and vsed those places where they were to passe, more then Hostily.

The first victorie of the Switzers, against the Duke and Abbot.

The Armie of the three Vales, which could not amount vnto thirteene hundred men, charged with humble heads, (yet vnconquerable spirits and assurance) the Armie of the Duke and Abbotte; and hauing put them to flight, slewe verie manie of them, and a great number likewise were taken Prisoners, besides, the Dukes best safetie of his life, was speedie flight. This Victorie of these simple, but verie Warlike people, encouraged them to attempt and put in

pra rise much greater matters, and to stand vpon their best defence, in all ensuing occasions.

The second victorie of the Switzers, against the emperor & duke.

These leagued Vallies, within little while after, to wit; vpon the sixteenth day of November, according as *Murster* declarath, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and fiftene; ouercame another Armie of twentie thousand men, which the Emperour *Fredericke* of *Austriche*, and Duke *Leopold* his Brother had prepared, to rinate those three Villages, because they would not take the Oath of allegiance to the saide Emperour; at his newe creation; and yet they had formerly doone it to *Lewis* of *Bauiaria*, who called himselfe also Emperour, and lawfully elected.

The occasion of this second warre.

Ouer and aboue this reason, he was vrged on, and thereto vehemently perswaded, by a great number of Noblemen and potent Lordes, who had made great spoyles both of Castels & Towns. But, the Confederated Switzers, being aduertised of *FREDERICKS* intention, closely ambushed themselves (to the number of fiftene hundred men) vpon the craggie hie Mountaines, and narrow passages, full of great Rockes and Quarries of stone; whereof they chose the biggest, & rowled them downe vpon the Armie, as it came vppe from the Mountaines foote, and went along the strait waies.

A politike stratagem, of the Leagued Switzers.

For, from the bottome of the Mountaine, the one side of the Rocke seemed like an vpright Wall on the one side; and on the other, were great Lakes of Deepe Water, not easie to be waded: and the huge stones tumbling downe so fast vpon them, drowned no meane number of them in those Lakes, or did beate out their braines; and the rest being disfronted, Duke *Leopold* was glad and faine to thift for his life the second time.

Duke Leopold saueh his life the second time.

Notwithstanding these two sustained foyles and losses, Duke *LEOPOLDE* lost not a iotte of his Courage and Valour, but made againe vpon them with fresh Forces; perswading himselfe, that hee should get the Maistry of these Boores, Peazants, and Shepherdes, for so hee termed these Confederates. Calling the Men of *Strasbourg* vnto his ayde and assistance; with diuers other Townes, that tooke parte with the

The third attempt of Duke Leopold, vpon the Switzers.

The third victory of the Switzers.

Emperour *Fredericke*, and manie other great Princes: he entered againe into the Confederates Country, by the Valley of *Vnderwalden* amōg the Mountains. Now was he the third time well beaten and repulſed, by eight or nine hundred people, & yet his army conſiſted of aboute 1200. men.

The Switzers ſucceſſe, vpon theſe obtained victories.

Some Write, that the Duke himſelf; was not there in perſon; but the Count of *Haſpouge*, who went as his Lieutenant. From this time forwards, theſe three Cantons tooke hart and boldneſſe of ſpirit vpon them, ſeizing (by waie of Warre) the Caſtles, Townes, Forts, and Signeuries, of ſuch Gentlemen as had aſſiſted the Duke, quite ruinating the ſaide Forts and Caſtles, or appropriating them to their owne reuennues. For, before theſe fortunate ſucceſſes, they had not any thing in proper, but onely their Townes and Villages: but now adayes, they haue reduced thoſe lands into Bayliwickes, whereunto they depute Governours, which either they change yearly, or continue to further time; according as it is aduiſed by the Senate, belonging to each Village of the confederats, and ſome others, that haue (ſince then) Cantonned themſelues, and entred into alliance with them.

The death of the Emperour, and Duke *Leopold*.

Duke *Leopold*, and the Emperour his Brother, died within fewe yeares after theſe loſſes, without any Children, and their ſucceeding heires ſuffred theſe confederates to liue peaceably, till the yeare, 1390. Neuertheleſſe, they were moleſted by other great Lordes, whom ſtill they manfully withſtood, and ſtil got the better hand of all in their attemptes. At laſt, there came one, named *Leopold* alſo, deſcended of the ſame family of *Auſtriche*, an audacious Prince, ouer-light in beleefe, and ſcarſely aged xx. yeares. He was prouoked by thoſe Noble and Gentlemen, who either were expulſed from their houſes, or elſe had voluntarily forſaken them, and albeit there hadde paſt ſome tranſaction and truce between them: yet now they would breake their faith and promiſe made to theſe Confederates. All the pretence that this young Prince had for warre, was, becauſe *Lucerna*, which was a goodly Towne, had leagued and cantonned it ſelſe with the fore-named Villages, and many ſubiects of Duke *Leopoldes*, in regard of his often

Yong *Leopold* maketh pretence of warre againſt Cantonned *Lucerna*.

moleſtations, were now (by this means) become Bourgeſſes, and quietly enioyed the benefits of their Country. Theſe matters, intermedled with the Princes raſh furie, made him ſo violent in ſpleen againſt them: that ſo manie as hee could cauſe to be taken of *Lucerna*, or thoſe other ſubiects that had the office of Bourgeſſes, they were forthwith hangde and ſtrangled in the open fields.

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The leagued Inhabitants, not a little diſpleaſed at theſe cruelties, broght their armed troupes into the field, and (by a ſudden aſſault made vpon this yong Duke *Leopold*) tooke the ſtrong Caſtle of *Ptephicon*, and put vnto death all that were found therein. At the very ſame time alſo, they tooke two Townes of Duke *Leopoldes*, to wit; *Detlibouch* and *Sampach*, that gladly yeilded themſelues into the protection of the Confederates, and Bourgeſhip of *Lucerna*. The Duke being highly heere with diſpleaſed, hauing an Armie readie of ten thouſande men; entered into the Countrey of the Cantones. But notwithstanding all his heate and haſt, by the aduiſe of ſome: peace was made betweene them, vnder certain conditions, ſo that no battel was fought, or Towne taken.

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The yong Duke being returned home to his Court, with intent to ſport and recreate himſelfe, was perſwaded by many Noblemen, that he had greatly diſhonoured himſelfe in making anie contract of peace with his ſubiects, and that al Lords were diſpenſed withall, for anie oath taken in that nature. Moreouer, they objected, that this might prooue a principall cauſe, to hinder him from ſucceſſion in the Empire, whereto his predeceſſours had formerly attained. Being ouercome by their fooliſh perſwaſions, he employed a great part of the Empires forces; and moſt of the Nobilitie, beeing numbered twentie thouſand men, both horſe and foote, all verie expert and wel tried Soldiers, the greater part Noblemen, pretending intereſt in the cauſe, and accompanied with manie Princes of power. Thus came they vnto the field, with all kinds of munition, to beſiege *Sampach*: where the Armie alſo of the confederats met them, who were (in all) but a thouſand and ſix hundred men. But they being poſſeſſed of the moſt aduantageable place in the field, and where the Horſemen

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Violence done to the Confederates.

The Switzers honourably reuenged, vpon yong Duke *Leopold*.

A peace made of ſmall continuance.

Euill counſel is eaſily gauen.

A fourth preparation againſt the confederates.

The Switzers
fourth victory.

Young Duke
Leopoldic slaine

A fift victory
of the Switzers

Crantz Lib 10.
Munst. Lib. 3.

The Castles
ruined about
Bearne, and the
Noblemen
expelled.

The Army of
the Abbot of
S. Gal, van-
quished.

The great and
goodly Cittie
of Zurich, wher
the Earle of
Hapsurge was
taken prisoner

men could do no good for themselves, or prejudice to the *Switzers*: the Noble men were feigne to dismount, and battaile being giuen, the honor of the daie remained to the Cantons. It was such an extreame hot day, that the Noblemen were not able to endure any part of the paines (which the poore Rusticks were not so much enforced vnto, but could ably out-stand farre greater toyle) but were glad to flye. Albeit, young *Leopoldic* stood firme and courageous, vntill he was slaine, with manie other worthy men; as *Otho*, Marquesse of *Hoch*, *John*, Earle of *Fustembourge*, and diuers others: for very few escaped, but they were eyther taken Prisoners, or slaine. Two yeares after, some of the Gentle-men, which had then escaped, returned thither againe with sixe thousand fighting men: but two hundred men of *Glaronna* stood against the, and slew two thousand and foure hundred of them, compelling the rest to saue their liues by flight, according as I finde it recorded in the Books of *Crantzius* and *Munster*.

Now, these Noblemen and Gouvernors, did not onely molest these three Vallies and *Lucerna*; but likewise all them inhabiting about *Bearne*, pillaging all the goods in the fieldes of *Bearne*. Yet notwithstanding, by continuall waging War with them, the Cantons defeated all their purposes, ruinated their Castles, and appropriated all vnto their owne Dominions; except it were of such, as contracted amity and alliance with them. I forbear heere to set downe, the potent war which they had against the Abbot of *S. Gal*, especially those of *Appenzell*, because they vrged a right vnto their corne and other fruites: but they could get nothing of them but blowes, albeit, their Armies were verie great. *Glavis*, in short while after, being troubled by the Noblemen and cruell Gouvernours, which they of *Austriche* had set ouer them: entred into league with the men of *Bearne*, and other of the foure Cantons.

Zurick, a great and worthy City, seated vpon the Riuer of *Indmat*, had bene vexed aboue fiftie yeares by the Nobility, and a puissant Prince, who was the valiant Counte of *Hapsurge*, and extream in hatred to them; because

10 he was taken in *Zurick* (beeing entered thereinto in the night time) by meanes of the treacherous Inhabitants; with foure hundred men, he being made Prisoner, and all his men slaine. Yet, with in some few yeares, he was set at liberty, at the sollicitation made by his Cousin *Albert* the Emperour, and thence forward, *Zurick* came into the number of the leagued Confederats. This City called it selfe *Tyгурum*, and is the most rich and powerfull Cantone, aboue all the rest, next vnto *Bearne*; and holdeth precedence beyond all the other: because all Ambassadors resort thither, and the assemblies are most of all there made. Whereby plainly appeareth, that the Cantons doe not hold place of precedency, according as they were receiued into the league; and I confesse mine owne ignorance, not knowing how these degrees haue passed among them.

20 It is presupposed, that because there was (then) no Iustice for the people; but that all the Noble men (almost) in these quarters of the *Heluetians*, were (as we vse to say) cut out of one cloath, that is to say; had sworne the ruine of the third estate: Therefore, *Zoug*, *Basle*, *Fribourg*, *Soleurre*, and *Shaffonze*, (by laps of time) confederated themselves with the seauen before named. All which together, beeing in number thirteene, had many warres against the Emperors, and other great Lords, and were euermore Conquerours. It is therefore to be presumed, that they got not their libertie, nor the goodly lands which the more part of the do now possesse, in a day: but before they could haue peace with their Neighbors, they passed ouer (well neere) sixscore years.

30 40 50 This Countrey of the Leagues or Cantones, neither knew how to gaine their freedome, or conquer so many Countries as they haue done; if the Emperours had not bene busied in ciuill warres; whereof the Popes (for the most part) were the sole occasion, or *Germany* had bene vnited, as sometime it was. But the Nobilitie being become insolent by Ciuill wars, acknowledging no Superiours nor Gouvernours, that knew well enough how to fish in troubled Waters: enforced (by their tyranny) the people of the *Heluetians*,

Zurick Cantonned, and vpon what cause.

Almost all the Nobility of the *Switzers* were bately minded.

Ciuill wars the cause of rebellions.

ians, to shake off the yoke of their superiors also, and to expell them thence. At this present, and since the time of King *Frances* the first, they haue made confederation with the Crowne of *Fraunce*, receiuing both presents and pensions.

The Authors purpose in this breefe relation of the Switzers.

Mine intent was not (in this breefe discourse) to shew my selfe any Historian, neither to set downe all the gestes and warres, which this warlike Nation haue made, since they began to seeke their liberty; for, to performe that labour, it would require three or foure great volumes. Beside, I haue spoken but of three or foure, the most notable and chiefest in the Countrey, thereby to let the Reader vnderstand; wherefore the Region of the *Switzers*, is called the Countrey of Leagues, or of the Cantons. Wherein I haue followed the best Writers; as *Blondus*, *Crantzius* and *Munster*. By this discourse, I would gladly giue aduise to Princes and Noble-men, to deale better with their subiects, then these Lords did in the *Switzers* Countrey; least (by successe of time) Heauen frowne vpon them, and they be throwne into the like disauster.

Aduise to Princes and Noblemen.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the excellency and deserued commendation of Trauaile; And what great dangers are begotten, and doe ensue of idlenesse.

Trauaile first commaunded by God.



WE are enioined by the law and commaundement of God, that wee must trauaile and labour in this world: For the very first Man that euer was, hauing broken Gods commaundement, was throwne out of Terrestriall Paradise, and the Earth was giuen him to enioy; but yet with this condition, to labour therein with continuall Trauaile, without any limitation of time, but euen so long as he liued. And yet this was not imposed vpon the first man onely; but it came as an iniunction also, to all his posteritie. Now, notwithstanding holy Scripture tels vs, that Trauaile was laid on Man

as a matter of repentance: yet it appeareth likewise, to be a proper medicine, whereby to recouer and help some passed euils. For a man attaineth by Trauaile, to regaine that which he lost by feeding. And though this came as a castigation, yet God commaunding nothing, but what is good in it selfe; hath (in that nature) giuen man time to enioy the Land by labour, according as *Iob* saith; *Man is borne to trauaile.*

Trauaile is a Phisicall medicine for passed offences.

Iob 5.7.

The life of our blessed Sauour.

Looke vpon our Sauour and Redeemer *Iesus Christ*, our Soueraigne Maister, who, as an example to vs all; trauailed continually in painefull exercises, euen till his death. And beside, in his parables, he blamed and reprooued the sleepey Virgines, that were neglect and slothfull: euermore fauouring and commending such as trauailed, saying, in an especiall place of note; *Come vnto me all ye that Trauaile and are heauy laden, and I will ease ye.* If we would sit downe to read, we should finde, that the ancient Saints, imployed all their time in continual exercises and labours. Moreover, Trauaile is not onely healthfull for the Soule, but it is likewise as beneficiall to the body; for it causeth agility, strength, and quick disposition; it cheareth and encreaseth good Spirits, and consumeth all bad and offensive humors. And concerning the Soule, it cleanseth it from all occasions of euill doing, and conuerteth bad thoughts into better endeouours. Most certaine is it, that (without paine and trauaile) neuer did matter of any great consequence sort to good effect; but the paines seemed the sweeter, because no slothfull ease was interposed in the action. He that trauailes and takes paines, takes quiet repose and rest also, because to a weary man, all thinges are sweete and acceptable: his meate is fauoury to him, sleepe easie, and all pleasures are to him in truest contentment.

Math. 25, 34.

Trauaile is beneficiall both for soule and body.

Paineful men doe best take their rest.

The benefits ensuing to the body by trauaile.

But returning to the benefits of the body, trauaile maketh a man discrete, vigilant, well aduised, wise, & all goodnesse else proceedeth thence. It is trauaile that apparelleth and beautifieth a Man: it maketh lodgings for him to rest in; waies to walke in; Ships to saile in; Armes to defend him; in breefe, innumerable are the blessings thereby abounding. By trauaile, barren Landes are

The commen-
dations of
paine and
trauaile.

are made fresh, teeming, and fruitfull: to such as are dry, it giueth water, by opening the earths Wombe, to let forth her owne moysture. It exalteth humble Vallies, where neede requireth, and throwes down high Mountaines, whose steepe passage offendeth. It turneth foorth-right Flouds and Riuers; to take their more needfull course by dry landes without waters, helping (thereby) to adorne and polliſh Nature, compelling her sometimes, to engender such things, as in her own proper wil she would not. It tameth the wildest beasts, and maketh them familiar. It maketh mens Spirits prompt and subtile, hauing the like power in all the other senses of man: and he that makes due tryall, findes the vnualliable riches which is got by Trauaile.

Trauaile is a
help to nature

The way to
Heauen is by
paine and
trauaile.

Matter of ef-
peciall obser-
uation in this
case.

Plato; Aristotle,
Pythagoras,
&c.

Hercules Tra-
uailes.

Alexander and
Julius Caesar.

God would not haue his owne chosen Vessels to come to Heauen, but by the rugged pathes of paine and trauaile. If sumptuous buildings, goodly Pallaces, and populous Citties doe seeme mightie thinges: then know, that all those were performed by the labour, sweate, and trauaile of thy Predecessors. If likewise, Arts and Sciences doe highly content thee: why then remember, that they were the spirituall Trauaile of learned Men in times past. If thou looke vpon faire fields, beautiful Gardens, and plenteous yeelding Vines: say to thy selfe, all these proceeded from the workes of Trauaile; because idlenesse dooth not any thing, but rather destroyeth whatsoeuer is already done. By Trauaile, men attained to very great and famous renowne. It was that which made wise *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Pythagoras*, and the rest of those learned men, neuer cease to trauaile their bodies and studious Spirits; both in writing, enstructing, & disputing, without any care at all for sleeping, feeding, or cloathing their bodies: and yet, at such times as Nature compelled them to these necessities; they seemed much more sweete and pleasing to them, then they can doe to idle and sloathfull Gluttons.

What was it that made *Hercules* so famous and farre honoured; but onelic his twelue labourious Trauailes? What was it that gave such splendour to the Names of *Alexander* the Great, *Julius Caesar*, with all those excellent Kings and Captaines; but painefull exercise, and industrious Trauaile? Whereas on the

contrary, *Sardanapalus*, and other such like idle and lasciuious Princes, both ruined and oppressed their Countries, and themselues dyed very shamefull deaths. Whereby may easily be gathered, that if the World were deprived of Trauaile; all would turne to nothing. Offices in humanity, would fall into Decadence; Mechanicall Artes, Letters, Studies, Goods, Remembrances, Iustice, Lawes and Peace, no one of all these could continue without Trauaile. All the vertues are supported, only by meanes thereof, and (without it) they could no way be exercised: because, he that will minister Iustice, ought to trauaile and take pains. To conclude, no vertue can bee set on worke, without Trauaile, and therefore *Hesiodus* said: *By sweat and painefull Trauaile, Vertue is to be won.*

If wee would well and exactly contemplate all the things which God hath created; we shall find, that by how much the more they are perfected in a certaine means, by so much the more may we truly say, that hee hath giuen to them great Trauaile. Let vs behold his superior handy-workes; the Sunne mooueth it selfe continually; the Moone neuer standeth still; the Heauens and the Plannets haue beene, are, and shall be daily in continuall motion. The fire cannot containe it selfe, without some operation; the Ayre goes alwaies to some place or other. In the inferiour bodies, the Water, Fountaines and Riuers flow incessantly, and the Sea mooueth without cessation. For the Earth it selfe, albeit it were immouable (for it ought so to be, & vpon necessity, both that men may Trauaile whether they would thereon, and afterward take their rest) yet notwithstanding, it neuer enioyeth any repose: but continually bringeth foorth Hearbs, Trees, and Plants, euen like a diligent and painefull Mother, that counts her selfe obliged, to maintaine and nourish both men and Beasts. And therefore, if we would bring all these thinges to due consideration, we should then finde, that Nature is intenuate to no other thing; but onely to continuall labour and trauaile: in creating, forming, making, vnmaking, producing, corrupting, altering, or gazing and toiling, without the least respite of rest or repose, in any kind whatsoeuer.

That this which I haue saide, must needs

Sardanapalus.

The iniuries
ensuing by
lacke of Tra-
uaile.

The vertues
maintained
by Trauaile.

Contentation
on or the
workes of
God; & how
they labour
and trauaile
in their seue-
rall kindes.

Nature conti-
nually traui-
leth for Men
and Beasts.

The labour and trauaile the body. Virgill.

Horace. Euripides.

Menander.

Democritus.

Hermicon.

Pythagoras.

Salomon.

The onely meanes that made any man famous.

The fruits of idlenesse and sloth.

Ouid concerning idlenesse

Examples alleaged by the Author, for defence of labour and trauaile. Of the Fire.

needes be true, the wise Philosophers (in times past) signified by their daily labours, that they were neuer weary in commending the trauaile & exercise of the body. Virgill saith, *That continuall labour surmounteth all things.* Horace, the Lyricke and Satiricall Poet, saith in his workes: *That God gaue nothing to Man, but with paine and labour.* Euripides saith: *Trauaile is the Father of Fame: God helpeth him that trauaileth: without Trauaile, there is no true renowne, praise, nor happie aduenture.* The Poet Menander wrote very wisely; *a healthful man idle, is in worse condition then he that hath an Ague.* The saying of Democritus pleaseth me highly, where he saith: *Paines taken voluntarily, are neuer distastefull when they bee enforced.* When Hermicon was demanded, of whom he learned those deepe Sciences which he professed; he answered: *Of Trauaile and Experience.* It was the saying of great Pythagoras; *That a Man ought to make choise of a good life, and to let it appeare, by paine and Trauaile, which brings it to a sweete and easie custome.* Salomon saith; *The slothfull man should learne example of the Ant.*

I should neuer end, if I were to name heere, the plenty of testimonies to bee alleaged in this kinde. It shall suffice then, for me to say, that neuer was any man famous for Armes, Learning, example of good life, or any of the Arts; without great Trauaile. And, to speak truly, neuer were any idle people great, or knowne, but if it happened that a Man being borne great, liued neglectly or idle: most certaine it is, that (by slothfulnesse) his estate was ruined, or else hee lost his renowne, quiet or life, the losse being the true fruit of sloathes Tree, whereby all vices are multiplied, as the wise man wel witnesseth, saying; *Idlenesse enstrueth many mischies.* Ouid could affirme, that, *Without idlenesse, Cupid hath no power,* and hee spake truely: For in idlenesse, wickednesse is dreamt on, treasons inuented, and foule sinnes acted. Ezechiell numbred idlenesse among those sins, which were the caule that Sodome was destroyed.

To speak mine owne iudgement in this case, I neuer knew any thing, wherein idlenesse got entrance, but it came to vtter ruine. We see the fire, if it be not maintained, it quickly quench-

eth of it selfe. The Aire likewise, it must be continually moouing; for if it bee withheld and restrained, it will breake forth of it selfe. Water, compelled to any limitted place, and where it may not haue his course and free passage; it putrieth, corrupteth, and stincketh. If the earth be not opened and laboured; it will produce nothing but Brambles, Bryers, Thistles, and other vnprofitable Hearbs. It is euident to our eies, that Gold, if it be not much laboured and purified, it will neuer appeare in his perfect beauty. Iron likewise, and other Mettals, will meerey rust and canker of themselues; except they bee wrought to some kinde of seruice. Provinces and Countries, if they be not inhabited and laboured; they will proue barren & subiect to pestilence. Houses and dwellings, let them stand voyd and empty; they forthwith fal to ruine and decay. Common high-waies, let them not be trauailed and frequented; they will shut vp themselues into impossibility of passage, so that all knowledge of them will be vtterly lost. All things whatsoeuer, if they be not imployed, and made vse of by labor; they perish, and made vse of by labor; they perish, impaire of themselues. Yea, euen the very vitall Spirits of Men or Women, if they be not quickned and viuified by daily exercises; they will become lazy and slothfull; so that the hart and soule will consume themselues, the powers of the body be so wasted and weakned, that no vse or motion can be made with them.

I haue already (in this Chapter) told ye, that trauaile makes a man agile, and chearefully disposed: and now (on the contrary) I am also to informe ye, that sloath and idlenesse spoyleth the complexion, corrupteth all good humours in mans body, and giues Dominion to them that are bad and naught. Galen saith: *It is impossible for a man, to keepe himselfe healthfull, except he trauaile and labour.* And Auicenne is of the same mind, with Cornelius Celsus, and other very excellent Phisitions. Horses, and such kind of Beasts, if they be kept idle; they become vnprofitable. Ships rot and seemely vgly, if they be kept still in Ports and Hauens: but when they saile abroad, they are both beautifull and beneficiall, and keepe themselues from base

Of the Ayre.

Of the water.

Of the Earth.

Of Gold and other Mettals

Of Lands and Countries.

Of dwelling houses.

Of common rode-waies.

All things whatsoeuer.

The vitall spirits, Hart and Soule.

Idlenesse is the corrupter of all good humours in man.

The saying of Galen, Auicenne, and Cornelius Celsus.

Of Horses.

Of Shippes.

Of Souldiers.

base corrupting. Souldiers, and men inured to Armes; they grow out of heart, in the times of rest and peace. Beside, I finde it faithfully recorded, that *Hannibals* idleneffe at *Capua*, was the onely cause of the *Romaines* victorie against him. The sloathfull man hath no other Lesson; but that all imployment is painefull to him. He that marcheth best in Warre, fights alwaies in greatest security: but hee that abiderth still in one place, is apt to all inconueniences, and the Sunne burnes him with the more aduantage. The Archer herein serues as a Schoole-maister to vs, who neuer drawes his Arrow at a Bird flying; but when he findes her slothfully sitting.

Hannibals idleneffe at *Capua*.

The slothfull mans Lesson.

Example of the Archer.

Of instruments and voyces.

Of Wines.

Of pretious stones.

Of Iron.

Of brute beasts.

Plato, in *Lib. 7 de Legib.*

Of the Emperour *Adrian* & *Turbo*.

We do ordinarily behold, and finde it true in common experience, that both voyces and instruments, nor being imploied; they lose their vertue, sound hoarsly and discordant: whereas on the contrary, vs refineth, concordeth, and makes them most pleasing. There are some kindes of Wines, that must be rackt and roughly mannged, to preferue them in yeilding the better rellish. Pretious stones, if they bee not polished and purely cleansed, they cannot appeare in their perfect luster: but by painefull labour and trauaile, they are discerned in their highest excellencie. Rude Iron it selfe, the more it is vsed, the clearer it shineth. Among brute beasts, they that take the greatest pains, are most esteemed of men. To support this cause, I could alleadge to many authorities of Philosophers and Poets, al blaming and rebuking idleneffe: as would serue to compleat whatsoeuer is waating, for full confirmation of this needfull discourse. Saints haue curssed it; Philosophers condemned it; *Ouid*, *Plato*, *Horace*, *Claudian*, *Virgill*, and all other Poets haue sung against it. All Histories are full of the euils deriued from it. *Plato* and *Aristotle*, condemning idleneffe, doe highly exalt the Art that was called *Gymnastia*, whereby, all necessary occasions and matters for war were enstructed.

The Emperour *Adrian* had long time educated, fauoured, and (at last) exalted a man, named *Turbo*, who was a most diligent and labourious follower of his affaires, and the Emperour, noting him

one day, that (in his opinion) hee was too earnest in his businesse, he said vnto him. *Turbo*, doe not kill thy selfe, but be more carefull of thy health: whereto *Turbo* replied. My Lord, the Man that hath bene nourished, fauoured and aduanced by an Emperour, as I haue bene, ought to dye in Trauaile at his foote. *Quintus Curtius* declareth, that the diseases of idleneffe should be cured by Trauaile. The *Romaines* had a custome, to begin the day at midnight, to the end, that at the rising and apparition of the Sunne; they might all fall to labour together: for they were perswaded, that (already) a moiety of the day was past, and yet no good Act performed by them. A *Roman* sought to perswade the Senate, that *Carthage* could not be destroyed; least the *Romans* boasting of security, by want of imployment there, should become idle. Vpon which occasion, *Scipio Nasica*, perceiuing that some held *Rome* to be in safety, after that *Carthage* was made desolate, and *Greece* wasted; gaue them this answer. *I am of a contrary opinion, and doe thinke our selues now to be in much greater perill, because we now stand in feare of nobody.* Whereby this worthy man inferred, that idleneffe was the cause of more dreadfull daunger, then either warre or neighbouring enemies; because feare yeeldes more aduantage of safetie, then when we stand free from all doubtfull consideration. And therefore the *French* haue a pretty Proverbe: *Make Hollidaie when the times giue leysure.*

Apuleius saide, that nothing seemed more commendable to him, then Fencers, who had idleneffe in such abomination; that the Maisters would neuer suffer their Schollers to eate, till they had first performed some act of vertue and man-hood. *Cicero* declareth (to the same effect;) *That Men were truly borne to good deedes and aduentures; whereof our Soule is a sufficient argument, for it is neuer idle, or at rest.* *Draco*, the famous Law-maker of *Athens*; among the most notable Lawes which hee deuised, he had one deseruing the chiefest praise of all; which was: That such men were sentenced with death, as should be found idle, or walking at their pleasure or pastimes, when others were seriously and honestly busied. It deserueth

Quint. Curtius

When the *Romaines* began the day.

A *Romaine* perswasion to the Senate.

The words of *Scipio Nasica*.

Idleneffe causeth more danger then warre can do.

Apuleius concerning Fencers.

The saying of *Cicero*.

The Law of *Draco* against idleneffe.

Three Idols in great esteeme among the Gentiles.

ueth some consideration, to note in what account trauaile was among the Gentiles; in regard, that they had three Idols: the first was named *Strenna*, that is; dexterity, or agility: the second, *Agenoria*, which signified virility, or manlines: and the third, *Stimula*, which is as much to say, as a spurre and pricke to honour and vertue; and trauaile was (with them) in such precious reckoning, that they erected these *Ideas* to eternity.

The holy Scripture bindeth vs to trauaile.

But not to stay our selues (ouer long) on the Gentiles opinion, let vs come to the sacred Scriptures; where we are no lesse bound to trauaile, then restrained and prohibited from prophane things. *Salomon* in his Prouerbs, among those other places, where he so deeply condemneth idlenesse, saith: *That the sluggard or slouthfull person, which forbeareth to worke in Winter, shall be a Beggar.* Saint *Paule*, the Doctour of the Gentiles, taketh glory in nothing more, then in not beeing idle, commending labour and trauaile aboue all things. And writing to the *Thessalonians*, hee tels them, that they knew wel enough how to imitate him, for he was neuer idle among them, but it was foode to him both night and day, in that he had gained them; not by any indirect meanes or charge to them, but in giuing them good example. Saying moreouer, that hee that would not labour, ought not to eat. The like did he to the *Corinthians*, recounting his Trauailes taken for their example; and so in many other places beside. Let vs then (hence-forward) imploy our time in good and honest exercises, shunning sloth and idlenesse, that neuer can performe any act of estimation.

Prouerbs. 10. 5.

1 Thes. 2. 9.

1 Thes. 3. 8, 9. 10.

2 Corin. 5. 7.

In what manner trauaile is commended.

And yet wee are not commaunded, to follow labour and trauaile, with such extreamity or rigour; as to leaue our meate, drinke, sleep, or honestly taking our rest and quiet: for decent recreations, and honest repose is sometimes lawfull. In which regard, *Cicero* exalted and commaunded *Scipio*, who said: *That he was neuer lesse at rest, then when he was at rest.* Which *Cicero* maintaineth to be a notable saying: *Because* (quoth he) *he declared thereby, that in his idlenesse, he thought on his businesse, and so in solitude, he could take counsell with himselfe.* Moral *Seneca* alleaged; *That idle time, without*

The saying of Seneca.

Letters or study, is death and buriall to a Man, and onely they that are exercised in knowledge, know best what sloath and idlenesse is. *Plutarch* would haue a man to make some dispensation of his time, in exercising the difference betweene knowledge and experience. O that men (then) would but duely consider, how their time is to bee imployed; which glides away so swiftly, and remember withall, that they must render an account for euery word spoken vainely & idly. *Cato*, although he was a Pagan, yet he could say: *That great and worthy Men did stand as much bound to yeilde an account, for their time lost or neglected; as they that could best deliuer reason for their honest imployment.*

Plutarch in his Morralles.

The graue saying of Cato.

To conclude, we should make such good expence of our time, in honest, lawdable, and blamelesse exercises: that the fruites thereof may be aduantageable to vs, and we esteemed as hired Seruants for heauen; which is provided for none, but such, as are called to trauaile in the Lords Vine-yard, and shall haue their Wages according to their worke. And Saint *John* the Diuine saith. *The dead which dye in the Lord, are fully blessed, for they rest from their labours, and their werkes and trauailes follow them.* This authority doth well approue, that trauaile is the merchandise of this World; heere bought and sold; but rewarded in Heauen. For so Saint *Paule* testifieth, saying: *Euery one shall receiue his wages and payment, according as he hath trauailed here beneath.*

The Authors conclusion concerning labour and trauaile.

Reuel. 14. 13.

CHAP. V.

The reason, why the Palme was given as an attribute to Conquerours; and Lawrell obserued as a signe of victory.



Most certaine is it, that (in elder times) the Romaines gaue the Palme to Conquerours, in signe of Triumph; and it is so true, that by writing in Latine the word *Palma*, it is meerey vnderstood for victory. *Plutarch* also affirmeth, that for each kind of victory, there was a feuerall Crowne

Plutarch in Tract. de Computat.

Seuerall Crowns vsed among the Romaines for Conquerors.

Crowne designed, where-with their heads were circled, that had obtained such honor in field. One was made of Olive branches; another of Laurell; a third of Oaken Leaues, and others, of other trees: but among them all, the Palme was the general signe of victory. Those ancients do likewise say, that the cause why this signification (more then any other) was attributed to them: proceeded from an admirable propriety in the Tree it selfe, which (without any other prooffe to confirme it) is allowed to be most certaine, by authority of the that haue written thereon; as *Pliny*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Plutarch*. All which learned Writers do maintain, that the more the Palme-tree (or one of his branches) is charged with any heavy weight or burden; the more it resists and withstandeth the oppression. And whereas all other Trees doe yeelde vnder such lading, and are surmounted by the burden: the Palme only resisteth, and cannot be ouer-awed; because the greater the weight is, the more doth it still out-stand it. In this respect, both *Plutarch* and *Aulus Gellius* say: *That he which goes with an intent to Conquer another, must not suffer himselfe to be surmounted by feare of the perrill, nor waxe weake in the attempt: but rather trauaile on with height of courage, and (with resolute resistance) pursue victorie, as being a man, meete to carry comparison with that Tree, which hath the same naturall quality, both in resisting and overcoming any weighty oppression, and therefore it is giuen as a signe of victorie.*

Others say, that this honour was practised by the Gentiles, because the Palme was consecrated to *Phæbus*, long before the Laurell was, and was held to be a most auncient signe of victory. *Pliny* and *Theophrastus*, doe write of many other properties in this Tree, whereof we neede not speake, to auoide expence of time. And yet notwithstanding, I am very loath, to conceale that which is affirmed by so many; to wit, that as the Palme hath contrary effects to all other Trees: so is there of them both Male and Female, and the Females are they which bring forth dates; the Males onelic flourish, and when they happen to yeelde any fruite, they

are verie small, without good tast, and no profit is made of them. It is also to be obserued, that in what place soeuer the Females grow, if the Males be not neere vnto them, they will not beare any fruit: but if it chance, that the Male-tree bee cut or disbranched; the Female (like a Widdowe) thence-forward, will neuer yeelde any more fruit.

But ceasing further speech of the Palme, we are heere to remember, that in the Triumphes at *Rome*, the Triumphers vsed to bee Crowned with Laurell, and the Captaine that triumphed, carried a braunch thereof in his hand. So is the Triumpe described of *Scipio Africanus*, by *Appianus Alexandrinus*, and many others, whereof *Pliny* yeeldeth some reason, and saith. *The Laurell was consecrated to Apollo or Phæbus, because that on the Mount of Parnassus, there grew great store of them; And hee beleueth, that for this reason, the Triumphers Crowned themselues with Laurell.*

He deliuereth another reason, concerning a wonderfull propertie in the Laurell; to wit; that (naturally) it is an enemy to Fire, and Thunder, and Lightning (be it neuer so violent) hath not the power to touch it. Heereupon was it, that so often as the Emperour *Tiberius* heard any Thunder, and beheld the lightning flashes; hee tooke a Leafe of Laurell or Bayes, and laide it on his bare head, iudging himselfe (by that meanes) to bee free from the Thunder and Lightnings daunger. The Priestes of Diuination in *Rome*, vsed also to Crowne themselues with Laurell, and afterward burning them; would diuine (by the noise it made) of that which was to ensue: and therefore *Claudian* called this Tree, *The Diuiner of things to come.*

Pliny and *Suetonius*, in the beginning of the Emperour *Galbaes* life, doe declare a matter very strange, saying; that *Liuis Druilla* (who afterward was named *Augusta*, because she was married to *Cæsar Augustus*) going from *Rome*, to a place out of of the Citie; called *Vicetana*; she chanced to sit downe vnder a Lamell Tree, and very soone after, an Eagle flying ouer

Wreathes or Crownes of Laurell worn in the Romaine Triumphes.

Plin. Lib. 6.

A strange propertie of the Laurell.

The Emperour Tiberius.

The Diuinitours wore Laurell Crownes.

Plin. Lib. 7. Sueton. in vit. Galb.

Of Liuis Druilla, wife to Octavianus Augustus.

Plin. Lib. 6. Arist. in Prob. Theophrast. lib. 5. Aul. Gel. lib. 7. Plutar. in Simp

The words of Plutarch and Aulus Gellius.

The Palme was consecrated to Phæbus, before the Laurell.

Palme-trees that are both male and female.

her head in the Ayre (through the branches of the Bay-tree) did let fall into her lap, a Hen as white as Snow, that carried a branch of greene Bayes fast in her Bill. *Linia* being somewhat amazed thereat, caused the Henne to bee well kept, and of it came many more beside; wherefore, the name of the Graundge where shee kept the Henne, was euer after called *Gallina*. She commaunded also, that the branch (found in the Hennes Bill) should be planted, which grew so faire, and prospered in such plenty; as it was wonderfull to behold, what aboundance of Trees came of that one Plant. So that, from that time forward, both *Octavianus* and his Successours, (in a kinde of Custome, or superstitious Religion) when they triumphed: would cut branches of those Baytrees, and beare them in their handes; but when the Triumphe was ended, they would plant them againe by those Trees, from whence they had beene cut, and they prospered as well as the other did. This History is (in this manner) related by these two credible Authors. *Suetonius*, whose authority is of great reputation, addeth yet another matter, whereat I doe not a little maruaile. He saith, that at such times as any Emperour dyed; the Plant of Laurell likewise withered, and all the branches cut from those boughs, which had bin planted at the time of his triumph. And when *Nero* died, who was the last of the *Cesars* Linage, all the Bay-trees dried vp and withered, that had grown cheerefully before, and came of that one branch, which the Hen brought in her beake, and had bin planted by *Luia*. Beside, all the thriuing store of the white Hennes brood, dyed, not one remaining, and in the Imperiall Pallace fell such Lightnings and Thunder: as smote off the heads of the Emperours statues, erected there in their remembrance, and the Scepter which *Augustus Caesar* helde in his hand, was also smitten downe to the ground. Continually they placed Crownes of Laurell vpon euery Cornish of the Emperours houses. *Ouid*, among many other things in his *Metamorphosis*, saith; That the Romaines reputed the Laurell, to bee a very sacred Tree, and would make no vse therof, about things that were vile,

vn cleane; or prophane: but euer accounted it as a signe of peace, and therefore tearmed it the *Peacefull Laurell*. *Pliny* saith, that the Laurell hath a vertuous property against the Pestilence, & against all venemous Serpents. *Ouid* declareth, that the faire & chaste Nymph *Daphne*, was conuerted into this Tree, and in regard thereof, it was consecrated to *Phæbus*, who (among other vanities) was adored by the ancient *Romaines* as a God.

Plin. Lib. 9.

CHAP. VI.

Of the abhominable and most detested vice of Cruelty; How horrid it is to humane Nature: With many excellent examples depending on this Argument.

AMong all vicious pollutions, which are most repugnant, euen to common humanity, and make men to become abhominable; me thinks, that cruelty is the supream and Soueraign of all other. For, man is a most Noble Creature, made in the Image and similitude of God; yea, borne to exercise nothing but mildnesse: but being feruile to cruelty; he becommeth a brute Beast, terrible, furious, wicked, and an vtter enemy to God, who is the Prince of clemency, and would not haue one man to be bitter, or tyrannous to another. *Aristotle* saith, that fiercenesse, cruelty, and inhumanity, belongeth only to wild and furious beasts. *Seneca*, in his second Book of Clemency, termeth it Felony against the Soule, and from thence concludeth; that it is opposite and contrary to the vertue of Clemency. Cruelty is the greatest enemy to Iustice and reason, and is a more detestable sin then Pride or Anger. For it seemeth, that anger proceedeth from som conceiued displeasure, to behold any euill offered to another: but in a cruell disposition, there is found far other malevolent matter, because in smiles (and without any disdain, but only in meere mallice) mercilesse torments are inflicted on men; yea, euen to the depriuation of life. Therefore it is capitall enemy to Iustice, which honorably defendeth; and will permit no man to receiue any damage or harme; without some fault com-

The carrying of Laurell branches in triumphes.

Another History auouched by *Suetonius*.

Nero the last Emperour of the *Cesars* race

The Romaines estimation of the Laurell.

Man made a Noble Creature.

Arist. in Ethic.

Seneca. in Lib. 2. de Clement.

Anger compared with cruelty.

Cruelty the chiefest enemy to Iustice.

committed, and yet taketh order also, that offenders shal haue milde and temperate correction. *Seneca*, in his Booke of manners, saith; *If we call them Hangmen, that vse no measure in the correction of vices: what then may wee tearme them, that cruelly oppresse and murder Innocents?*

Examples of cruell men are infinite, among whom was *Herod*, King of the *Jewes*, who raigned at the time, as our Lord & Sauior *Iesus Christ* was born. For, after the slaughter of so many Innocents (purposely performed, in hope to haue slaine him among them, that came into the world for our Redemption) he would yet make further shew of his cruelty, not only while he liued, but euen at the instant of his death. And because he well perceined his end approaching, he called all the chiefe persons of *Ierusalem*, who being come before him: he caused them to be seazed on, and fast lockt vp in a place neere to himselfe, giuing strict charge to his Sister: that at the point of his Soules surrender, shee should see them euery one put to death; wherein she failed, in regard that God appointed the contrary. And what was his reason for his bloody intent? Onely this, as himselfe confessed a little before his death. He knew very wel, that al the people of *Ierusalem* would be very ioyful for his departure, because other matters had happened to the people, then they expected; and therefore (mooued onely by cruelty) to make this the saddest day that euer they endured, he concluded this bloody slaughter and horrible murder. The cruelties of *Abimelech*; the Son to great *Gedeon*, were as wonderfull, for, that himselfe might enjoy the Kingdome alone, he put to death threescore of his owne Bretheren: one onely escaping, named *Ionathas*, who fled (by the will of God) that the Traytour might liue in continuall suspition. Now, I know not whether this cruelty; or the other following, may be counted the greatest, acted by the same man, against the *Sichimites*, and in reuenge, because they had expulsed him out of their Citty. But he getting entrance againe by power, and in the night time: slew all that were therein, Men, Women, Children, great and small. And because some were fled into the Temples; hee caused them to bee round engirt with

Seneca in Lib. de Morib.

Herod King of the Jewes, at the birth of our Sauior.

The cruelty of *Herod* at his death, against the chiefe men in *Ierusalem*.

Herods reason for his bloody intent.

The cruelties of *Abimelech*, the Sonne of *Gedeon*, vpon his owne Brethren, and the *Sichimites*.

wood, & putting fire thereto; the heat and smoak was so great, that there they were all smothered. Then destroying the Citty, he caused the ground to bee ploughed, and gaue commaund, that it should be sown with Salt.

Very great also, was the cruelty of the *Carthagenians*, executed on *Attillus Regulus*, who being taken Prisoner by the, they sent him (vpon his owne word) to the *Romaines*, to worke the meanes of peace by the pernuptation of Prisoners and Captiues. But he, not regarding his owne life, but preferring the honour of his Country before all other respects: returned againe to *Carthage*, where (for conseruation of his faith) he willingly yeilded himselfe. They, in extremity of cruelty, made him vp fast in a Tun of wood, which was stuck thick with sharp pointed Nailes of Iron, not affording the least place, where any member of him might be free from torture: and so, rowling him vp and down their streetes, did put him to death in that miserable manner.

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All Tyrants haue a custome, to be cruell by nature; but aboue all the rest, the execrable and bloody Tyrant *Phalaris* of *Sicily*, carrieth the chiefe place of eminence. He slew infinite men, without any offence committed against him, and (if it were well considered) he was much more cruell in affection, then in action. For he had a Bull of Brasse, which *Perillus* (a cunning workman) had made for him, wherein the party was enclosed, whom he would haue to bee put to death. Then kindling an hot Fire round about it, the voyce of the poore patient (suffering this torture within) seemed to the Tirant, as if it had bin the bellowing of a true Bull: And this he did; to the end, that the cries of an humane voyce, in such extremity, might not mooue him to the least iot of compassion. Yet one thing is much commended in him, that *Perillus*, the intenter and maker of this terrible punishment; was the first (by the Tirants command) that made prooffe thereof.

Nor can I well aduise my selfe, with what kinde of cruelty, to compare that of *Tullia*, daughter to *Tarquine*, king of *Rome*, who caused her father to be slaine; because she might inherit the kingdome; which himselfe had willingly giuen her;

Of *Attillus Regulus*, the famous *Romaine* Captaine against the *Carthagenians*.

Of cruel *Phalaris*, the bloody Tyrant of *Sicily*, and his Bull of Brasse made by *Perillus*.

Injustice executed by a Tyrant.

Tullia slew hir owne Father, to enjoy his Kingdome.

she would but haue stayed a little longer. And that which is much more note worthy in her cruelty, was; that her father lying dead vpon the ground, & she being mounted in his Chariot; would needes ride ouer the dead body. And whereas the Horses that drew the Chariot, being fearefull at sight of the dead body, refused to goe on; as also the Coach man that guided them (moued with compassion of his murdered Master) would haue turned them another way, to the end, that the Kinges body might not be dismembred: yet took she pleasure in her cruell affection, & what the dumb beasts (in pittie) denied to do; she (in meere cruelty) would execute, compelling the Horses to obey hir wil, and trample vpon the body of her Father.

Extraordinary cruelty in a Daughter.

The horrible cruelty of the Scythians to liuing men.

The *Scythians*, a people very furious & valiant in warre, are likewise recorded, (by Historians) to be exceeding cruell: but among their other cruelties (which gaue much matter of maruaile) this one is especially remembred. They wold that their greatest beasts, as Horses & Bulls, and such men as they would haue to be tormented, must be bound fast within the opened bodies of the slaughtered Beasts, so that they could not possioly stirre any way. There would they giue them food to eate, that while they thus liued: the Flesh of the dead beastes might putrifie and stincke, and the Wormes issuing forth of the putrifaction, should feede on the liuing men, and they dye in this cruell torment.

The cruelty of Maximinus and Maxentius

We reade that *Maximinus*, Emperour of *Rome*, did as much, hauing deuised the most horrible cruelty, that euer entred into the heart of Man: hee caused liuing men to bee fast bound to the bodies of dead men, and left them in that manner; till the noysome smell of the dead had kild the liuing.

The cruelty of Alexander Phercus.

Virgill affirmeth the like of *Maxentius*. As strange horrid cruelties doe we read of, done by *Alexander Phercus*, who commaunded liuing men to bee buried, being bound face to face one against another. Others, he caused to bee cloathed in the skinnes of Beares, and other wilde beasts, and then threw them forth into the open fields, among *Wolues* and *Mastiuies*, that they might bee torne in peeces and deuoured of

them.

I know not, whether the cruelty done by *Astiages* (King of the *Medes*) to *Arpalus*, or *Harpagus* (one of the cheefest and dearest Friendes of his Kingdome) may be reported; without amazement and dreadfull astonishment. This *Astiages* appointed a young Sonne of his owne to bee slaine (in regard of a troublesome dreame, concerning the said Child) and gaue the charge of this bloody execution to *Harpagus*. But he, moued to compassion, by the moanes and teares of the young Infant (which was afterward called *Cyrus* the Great) and standing in feare also of the Childs Mother, she being daughter to *Astiages*: would not kill the Infant, but with all care and diligence, tooke order for the safety and education therof. Long time after, *Astiages* was aduertised, that the Child was not dead, which smothering inwardly to himselfe, with a countenance declaring no discontentment: he closely practised, how he might repay the pittie of *Harpagus*, in breaking his commaund, and preserving the life of young *Cyrus*. *Harpagus* hauing a young Sonne, *Astiages* (by secret meanes) got possession of him, and hauing inuited *Harpagus* to dine with him the next day, among the other viands serued in at the Table; the Father fed vpon the flesh of his owne Childe, with exceeding appetite and good liking, because the Kings cruelty was vnknowne to him. *Astiages* not satisfied with the bloody deceipt, did another most cruell deede: for, among the fruites and delicates to finish this dinner, vpon severall plates and dishes; the head, feet, and hands of the Infant was set vpon the table, and presented so apparantly before the father, that he could not auoyde the knowledge of his wofull dinner.

The History of Astiages & Harpagus.

The preservation of young Cyrus.

The cruelty of K. Astiages.

An extreme cruelty in a King.

Contention between Marius and Silla, to exceed each other in cruelty.

Betweene the two Warlicke Capitall Enemies to each other, were so many tyrannies exercised; as it seemed, they listned to nothing else, but contended which should exceede in the greatest Crueltie. *Silla* caused foure Legions of Souldiers to bee slaine in one day. Likewise the *Frnestines*, a people of *Italy*, that desired mercy of hiin, because they had receiued *Marius* into their safetie and keeping; they could get

no release from his tyranny, but were all generally flaine, and their bodies throwne into the fieldes, to feede Vultures and Rauens. The like, on the other side, did *Marius*, that he might not come a jot behind his enemy in cruelty.

Could the World yeelde an equall to the Emperour *Tiberius*, the Successour of *Octavius*? Hee, after a feigned clemency, at the beginning of his raig, suffered no day to passe him, without shedding the blood of poor Innocents. Moreover, he deuised a kind of cruelty, the like whereof (in mine opinion) was neuer heard: For he prohibited (on pain of death) that no one should be so bold as to weepe, or make any shew of sorrow, for them whom he had innocently put to death. Truly, this was a verie strange cruelty, for I am of the minde, that there can be no greater paine, then that which hindereth an afflicted heart, from easing his ouer-weighty butthen of woe, by sighes and teares, the poorest remedy that oppression can haue. That which he afterward did to young Maides and Virgines, deserueth no repetition, but onely to his endlesse shame. For, before their death, he would haue them violated and defloured by Ruffians and Hang-men, to the ende, that (with death) they might lose their chiefest honour and palme of victory. And such was his delight in putting people to death, that when newes was brought him, that one (whom he had condemned to death) had slain himselfe; he cryed out, saying. *Oh how could this Cornelius* (for so was the condemned persons name) *escape me? Hee should haue understood, I vse to torment patients in such sort before they dye, that death it selfe is the greatest grace I can doe them.* There then liued not any man, but he was amazed at his variety of inuentions, whereby he tormented and put men to death. When he was disposed to see some men dye, he would haue them first to drinke excessively, and when they were able to drinke no more; then should their conduct passage, for Urine bee so striclie bound, that the least droppe of Urine could not be voyded, and in this mercilesse Agony must they be left, vntill they dyed with extremitie of anguish. Beside, onelic for his pleasure, men must bee throwne head-long from an

high Rocke (named *Capraria*, neere *Naples*) into the Sea, and because he imagined, that (thus dying in the Water) was too easie a death: hee would haue armed men to stand beneath, to receiue the bound bodies on their Pikes and Harbardes, so to mangle and cut the in pieces, before they were thrown into the Sea.

After the death of this *Tiberius*, euen such a death as hee worthily deserued; *Caius Caligula* succeeded in the Empire, and in the violent affection of his Predecessours. He wished, that all the people in *Rome* had but one head; that (at one stroke) himselfe might smite it off. He thought himselfe vntfortunate, & complained of the felicitie in his time; because that (while he gouerned) there was no Famine, vniuersall Pestilence, Deluges, Ruines, and subuersions of Countries, for vnter desolation of the whole World together. A man was brought before him, that formerly had beene banished by *Tiberius*, of whom hee demanded; what he did all the time of his bannishment? The man made answer (in meere adulation) that he prayed to God, without intermission, for the death of *Tiberius*, & that his Maiessty might succede in the Empire. Which when *Caligula* heard, he remembered himselfe, how many thousands of men had bin banished, & thrust into exile by him, who (doubtlesse) might make the like Prayer for him: he forthwith gaue command, that they should be all repealed, and euery man of them put to death. Such as (by him) were sentenced to die, hee would haue the manner of their dying prolonged by little and little, and inflict (at first) but small woundes on them, that their paine might last the longer. For he vsed to say to his Tormentours; *Deale with them so, that they may feele themselves die.* He obserued also a saying of his predecessor: *People wish me ill, because they fear me.* After this *Caligula*, *Nero* succeeded in the gouernment, & in no lesse fiercenes and cruelty; because he was a Man, in whom (if possible it might be) all the others cruelties were enclosed, and all else that could (by Men) be imagined. For, without any regard of sanctified thinges, or persons (of like qualitie) priuat or publike: hee caused the Citie

The cruelty of the Emperour *Tiberius*.

An incomparable cruelty.

Violence don to Virgines.

The words of the Emperour *Tiberius*.

An abhominable torment.

Caius Caligula, his bloodie wish to the people of *Rome*.

Of a man banished by *Tiberius*.

Banished men repealed and put to death.

Death prolonged by little and little.

Nero successor to *Caligula* in tyranny and cruelty.

Rome set on fire, and not to be quenched.

Nero murdered his owne Mother.

Nero exceeded all other in wickednes and tyrannie.

The cruelty of Dioclesian against the Christians

Christians dragd at Horses tayles.

The limbes of Christians bound to the tops of Trees.

of Rome to bee set on fire, with expresse prohibition not to quench it, or any man to make safety of his owne goods. So the fire continued seauen daies, and seauen nights, burning the Cittie; and hee being on a high Tower, some small distance off, clapped his hands, and ioyed to behold this dismall spectacle, so far exceeding all humanity. He slew his owne Mother, and put to death the Husbands of *Octavia* and *Sabina*, which Ladies he married, and soone after deprived them of life also. Indeed this man attained to the verie height of all cruelty, for he was the first that persecuted the Christians: and in his time was the first & verie greatest persecution of the Church. And wel did he declare, that hee surpassed all the other in wickednesse, and was the Prince of all furious brutality: for he would often repeate a Greeke Verse, to this effect. *After my death, let heauen and earth confound themselves together.* Or I could rather with (quoth he) that such a generall dissolution might happen in my daies. For I had rather deriue mine examples from barbarous people, then anie touch of our precedent *Romain* Emperors. But the successours to these men, who imitated them in all vilenesse: barres my further proceeding, because they were such in tyranny, as no where else are they to be fellowed. And therefore I will leaue the liues of *Domitian*, *Vitellius*, *Commodus*, *Maximus*, and such others: but the cruelties of *Dioclesian* against the Christians, and whereof *Eusebius* maketh declaration in his Ecclesiastical History, I cannot well let passe, without some breefe note, to the end, that Blasphemers and bad people now liuing, may see what the Christians endured in the Primitiue Church, because they would not denie the name of Christ.

This wicked Tyrant, caused men to be dragd thorow the streets, at the tayles of Horses, and their bodies being thus fore bruised and broken, they were sent backe to prison againe, where they had no other beds to repose on, but broken Potshards, and such like vn-easie matter, whereon they were sure to taste no rest. He would also cause the lofty branches of trees, to be gently haled downe without breaking; and then binding the limbes of Christians vnto them, command their sudden exaltation, that so their bodies

might be rent and torne in peeces. In the City of *Alexandria*, he commanded many to be dismembred, their eares, noses, lippes, hands, and feete cut off, leauing only their eies, that they might beholde each others wofull extremitie. He caused sharpe splinters of wood to be made, and thrust into their naked bodies, betweene the flesh and bones, and likewise vnder the Nails of their Fingers and toes. Molten Lead and Brasse, in extremity of the greatest heat, he would haue throwne vpon their naked bodies, and into their Secrets: making Women also to haue burning Irons bound to their Breasts, and all violence else that could be deuised. By all which cruelties inflicted on their weak bodies, hee sent infinite constant soules to God, who made this Tyrant and his Tormenters, Instrumentes (thus) to aduance his glorie, and his seruants afflictions to shine more clearly. All these Cruelties are written by faithfull Authours; for, besides those recorded in Sacred Scripture, the rest are recited by *Iosephus* in his Antiquities of the Iewish Warres, by *Suetonius Tranquillus*, *Pintarch*, *Titus Linius*, *Iustine*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Eusebius*, *Pan'us Orosius*, *Iulius Capitolinus*, & others of no lesse authority.

Molten Lead and Brasse throwne on Christians naked bodies.

Ioseph. in' Antiq. de. Bel. Iudae.

CHAP. VII.

How that oftentimes wicked Kings and Tyrants are Gods Ministers, and yet neuerthelesse, they haue continually bad and euill endes, in open viewe of the world.

As haue beene, & yet are subiected to wicked Tyrants, ought to consider (for their consolation) that though they are oreawed by such oppressours, they are (notwithstanding) the Ministers of God. In many places of the Holy Scriptures, they are named the seruants of God, because (by them) God punisheth the wicked, & perfe'eth them that are good. The Hebrewes hauing beene gouerned by Iudges and Priests, *Samuel* growne into old yeares, and sinne and contempt of God encreasing among the people; Kings wer giuen

God maketh vse of Tyrants to be his Ministers of vengeance.

Saul was a good King at his beginning.

giuen vnto them, and the people themselves required the chastisement which they worthily deserued, in asking a King to be giuen them. This King was *Saule*, a good man at his beginning; but afterward a cruell Tyrant: for he tooke from them their goodes and libertie, and although he was tainted with many wicked vices, yet we cannot deny, but that hee was called the Lords annointed, by meanes whereof, God kept them all in feare and terror.

Idolaters named Gods Ministers.

Esay. 13. 3.

But let vs set aside, both him & diuers others, who liued vnder the law of God, and knewe him; and come to Idolaters, who likewise are named by the holy scriptures, Ministers of God; for so saith the Lord by the mouth of *Esay*. *Let the Captaines enter by the Port of Babylon, I haue commaunded my sanctified, and called the mightie to my wrath, to the end that they may glorifie themselves in my glory.* The Prophet spake these words on the behalfe of King *Cyrus*, and King *Darius*. Behold, how he called the *Medes* and *Persians* his sanctified, who (neuerthelesse) were neither holy nor iust, but only executioners of the will of God, for the punnishment of *Babylon*. In another place, by *Ezechiel* he saith, *I wil bring my seruant Nabuchodonosor, and because he hath serued me wel neer to Tyre, I wil giue him Egypt also.* And yet for all this, these men were no Seruants of God, because they neither knew him, serued him, nor beleued in him: neuerthelesse, they were executioners of his Iustice, and (in this vnderstanding) were named his seruants.

Ezech. 26. 7.

Totila called the Flaile of God.

Tamberlaine named the wrath of God.

Cruell *Totila*, King of the *Goths* was named the threshing Flaile of God, and iustly reputed so to be. Great *Tamberlaine*, who liued in the time of our Grand fathers, a most powerfull and cruel Captain, subduing and vanquishing numberles Prouinces; when he was demaunded wherefore he was so cruell and inhumane to men by him vanquished, Answered in great holler; *Thinke ye that I am any other then the wrath of God?* Hence therefore may we wel conclude, that (very often) cruell and wicked men are Instruments, whereby God punisheth the sinfull, and approoueth the vertuous. And yet notwithstanding, he doth not thereby cleare these men from beeing wicked still, and worthy of greater chastisement, euen for these actions of theirs: *Because*

Wicked men are said to be Gods instruments.

(according to our Saviours wordes) *it is necessary that scandals should be, but wo be to them by whose occasion they come.* Also, it is a case most certaine, that God neuer leauieth them vnpunished, euen in this world (beside perpetuall afflictions prepared for them in the world to come) and that by most straunge and cruell deaths, answerable to such, as they haue inflicted on others.

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Phalaris, the Tyrant of *Sicily*, died miserably in the Brazen Bull, which hadde beene the death of many of his subjects, and made like Musicke then to himselfe, as he had taken delight to heare from others. *Plutarch* declareth, that *Sylla* was miserably eaten with Lice, and by no possible meanes could get any remedie. Beside, *Pliny* tels vs, that he did bite & tearing his flesh with his own teeth. *Marius* his Capitall enemy, and euerie way as cruell, inhumane, and wicked as hee, was brought into such desperate condition: that flying to hide himselfe, he was glad to yeilde into the handes of *Pontius Thesselinus*, and entreat him to cut off his head.

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The Emperour *Tiberius*, was murdered by his owne people, being smothered to death with pillowes: and yet *Suetonius* affirmeth, that his death was wrought by poyson. *Caigula* hauing receiued 30 wounds by the handes of *Chereus*, *Cornelius Sabinus*, and many others sworne in the same Conspiracy, there ended his daies among them.

Cruell *Nero*, before he died, saw himselfe deprived of his Empire, & iudged a deadly enemy to *Rome*; by which means, beeing enforced to hide himselfe in hollow Vaults, which were wholly infected with humane excrements, he wold needs kill himselfe. But wanting power to execute his owne will, and calling others to helpe him in the action: three Villaines came and murdered him, mocking him extremely all the while, which they delayed so long as they could, for his greater torment, according as *Suetonius* reporteth.

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Dioclesian likewise, hauing left the empire, died by poyson, which he had secretly prepared for himselfe: *Domitian* also died, hauing receiued seuen woundes by *Stephanus*, *Saturnius*, *Maximus*, and others. *Tullia*, of whom we spake before, that vsed her owne Father so cruellie, be-

The death of the Tyrant Phalaris.

The death of Sylla.

The death of Marius.

The death of the Emperour Tiberius.

The death of Caligula.

The miserable death of bloody Nero.

The death of Dioclesian.

The death of Tullia.

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The death of Astiages.

ing banished from Rome, died poore and miserably. Astiages, Grand-Father to Cyrus, whom he would haue murdered in his Infancie, by the aide of Harpagus, and whom he made to feede on the flesh of his owne Childe, was despoiled of his Kingdome by Cyrus, and died wretchedly. Herod likewise, and many other wicked Tyrants, of whom to speake, would aske a tedious relation, died all the like infamous deaths. Let such then, as now do command & bear sway in the world; shun crueltie, and embrace clemencie, that they may the better be loued of their subiects. For the verie greatest and surest safety of a King, consisteth in the amitie and affection of his people.

CHAP. VIII.

The strange fortune, which happened to the Sonne of Cræsus, King of Lydia, and likewise to the Sonne of another King. In regard wherof, it is discoursed whether speech bee a thing natural to man or no: and whether man only speaketh, & no creature else.

Herodotus and Aulus Gellius.



Herodotus writeth, a merue- lous accident happening to the sonne of Cræsus, K. of Lydia: and in the same manner, is it reported by Aulus Gellius. This Cræsus was a Rich King, and the same that was vanquished by Cyrus, as many good Historiogra- phers haue declared. During the time that this King liued prosperously in his Countrey, he had by one of his Lawful Wiues, a goodly Sonne, healthfull and compleate in all his parts and vnderstan- ding. The Child hauing attained con- uenient yeares, to forme speech, & make vse thereof, was (notwithstanding) by the meanes of some vnknowne string, or o- ther hinderance in the tongue, debarred from speaking for long time after. Yet grew he to good stature, and aptly dispo- sed to diuers enterprizes, which caused him to bee much pittied, & this restraint of his speech, made euerie one to repute him dumbe, albeit hee had good know- ledge, and heard verie perfectly, which is against the order of Nature, for neuer

The son of K. Cræsus berefte of speech.

Dumbe men are also deafe by Nature.

was any man knowne to bee Naturallie dumbe, but he was deafe likewise.

It fortuned, that Cræsus was vanqui- shed, and the City wherein hee was, ta- ken by the enemies, so that the forwarde Soldiers pressed on to the Pallace wher- in the King and his dumbe Sonne were hidden together. But being found by a Soldier, who had perfect knowledge of them both: and lifting vp his sword, with full intent to kill Cræsus: his Sonne was so affrighted at the bloody proffer, and pas- sion had such a powerful working in him that he stroue for speech extraordinarily. And pressing the extreame Dominion, which the soule hath of the body, imme- diately the corporall Organes yeilded to the strong determination of the will, and breaking the strings that had so long re- strained his liberty of speech, he spake out alowd, saying; Oh do not kil him, consider that hee is King Cræsus, and my father. When the Soldier heard these wordes, he with-held his stroke, and woulde not smite the King: so he escaped death, and from thence-forward his sonne continu- ed in perfect speaking, even as if hee had spoken all his life time till then. Surelie, this was a matter verie maruellous, and I cannot imagine, what naturall reason may be sufficiently giuen for it.

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Aristotle saith, that men are born com- monly dumbe and deafe, because they are not formed with such disposition of these two apprehensions, neither in such perfection as is required. Afterwards, in further growing on, they dispose them selues, and sttue first of all, to begin with hearing; and after they haue heard (for many daies together) then they labour how to speake. Pliny saith also, hee that is borne and continueth deafe, is compeld likewise to bee dumbe. For, most cer- taine it is, that if a deafe man hearde, he would easily learne to speake, and speech is impossible to be taught him that is en- tirely deafe.

Aristotle also saith: It may well hap- pen, that a Childe may pronounce some words before ordinary time, and yet not- withstanding, he will begin to lose those words againe, vntill such time as Natures allowed houre (for Infants to speake) be come, and when (by her appointment) they commonly vse to speake. To this purpose, Pliny speaketh of this sonne to King Cræsus (whose History we haue in brieft

The strange extasy of a son, seeing his Father readie to be flaine.

A wonderfull recouerie of speech.

The Allegati- on of Aristotle concerning men borne dumb & deaf.

The saying of Pliny, Lib. 1.

Arist. in Hist. Nat. Lib. 2.

Pliny, Lib. 15.

briefe related) and saith; That at the age of five moneths, hee pronounced some words, which were reputed as Prognosticators of his Fathers ruine: and so it seemed, that such effect proceeded from that fore-telling, for he neuer spake afterwards, vntill the memorable accident which we haue already declared.

Another Historie of the like nature.

I call to minde another aduenture in the like case, recited by *Hiliben Ragel*, in his *Iudiciare*, wher he speaketh, as an eie-witnesse; and being present in a Kinges Court, who had a Son borne, that within foure and twenty houts after his birth, began to speake perfectly, and stirred his hands, wher at al the Beholders maruelled not a little, for with a strong voice, he deliuered these words; *I am borne unhappily, because I come to fore-tel that the King my Father shal loose his Scepter, & that his Kingdome must be destroyed.* At the ending of which words, the Childes life ended also. This accident (vndoubtedly) was verie dreadfull; and yet it seemeth to mee, rather as an Aduertisement sent from God, then any wonderfull woorke of Nature. Astrologers do tell vs, that the Child whose birth shal happen when Mercury is Lord of the Ascendent and Orientall; hee will speake much sooner then anie other, who speake not, but according vnto the ordinary course of Nature.

The strange wordes of a yong Infant.

The opinion of astrologers

I remember likewise another matter, conformable to the case now in hand, to wit; that some haue helde opinion, That speech is not a thing naturall to man; but is learned and gotten; as other Artes and Sciences are. Others hold directly, that our speaking Naturallly, is not a matter proper and peculiar to man only. The first, who are of the minde, that speech is not a thing naturall, do labour to prooue it, in saying: That that strength, which is naturally conuenient to one kind, should be, and is as meet to all of the same kind. As wee may perceiue by barking in all Dogges, by Lowing or bellowing in all Bulles; Oxen, &c. and so (in like case) to al other kinds of Beasts. And yet notwithstanding, wee behold in men, that some speake in one manner; and others quite contrary, so that they do not vnderstand themselves naturally; and therefore it seemeth, that speech proceedeth rather from Art, then Nature.

Whither speech be naturall to man, or no.

Speech not naturall, approved how.

Plin. Lib. 6.

Againe, according to *Pliny*, there are

some people that speake not all, but their speaking appeareth to be rather a kinde or forme of bellowing, then anie settled speech; which neuer could so happen, if all men did speake by the gift of nature, for, if it were so, then all men wold speake in one and the same manner.

Now, as concerning the other opinion, in such as say, that speech is not perticularly proper to man, they ground their iudgement on the words of *Lactantius Firmianus*, who tels vs: That wee haue some parts, which seeme to vs, proper to men onely; and yet neuerthelesse, the verie same are found to bee in other Creatures; as diuersitie of voice in Birds, by the seuerall tunes wee heere discern in one another; whereby we plainly perceiue, that they do vnderstand each other, so that it can bee no otherwise, but as a meere forme of Language among them. Moreouer, they maintaine their argument vpon this ground, in that manie Parrats, Pies, Poppingayes, and such like Birds, are heard to speake plainly.

But the truth of this matter is (albeit their opinions haue some apparance of veritie) that speech is the gift of GOD only to man, not that he purchaseth it by Art: but is proper and peculiar to him, and not to any other creature. True it is, that other Creatures haue voice, and yet notwithstanding, they haue no Speech: and such is the opinion of *Quintilian*, & likewise of *Aristotle*.

In like manner, wee haue good answers to these contraty reasons: As, to the first Argument we may well answer, That a thing may be Natural vniuersally, but in perticular, it may be exercised according to the will. It is naturallie euill done, and he deserueth punishment for it, that killeth another man, or robbeth him of any of his goodes; and yet neuerthelesse, to inflict one kind of correction or other (vpon him) for the offence, proceedeth from the will of the Iudge. Therefore, although that men do speake diuers tongues, yet is it not to bee said, that this their speaking commeth from Nature. And so much the stronger is the Argument, that such diuersitie and confusion of tongues, was for the punishment of their pride, that laboured to builde the Tower of *Babel*: for, as we haue already said, there was then but one language in the world, which could be said to be naturall. And

That speech is not proper to man onely

Birds do naturally vnderstand one another.

Speech, the gift of God, only to man.

Quintilian. Aristotle.

Answers to the former arguments.

Speech is not caused by nature.

The language of the Troglodytes.

Of Birds that speake, a Parrot that could speake all the Creed.

The diuersity of Voyces amongst all creatures.

Observations among beasts and birds.

Man onely hath the benefit of speaking.

And as for the *Troglodytes*, who are are said not to speake at all, it is reputed, that this infirmity proceedeth, by reason that their tongue is ouermuch barbarous and imperfect, and they feele nothing, as it were, of humanity; and yet notwithstanding, it is a kind of Language among them, whereby they seeme to vnderstand one another. And whereas it is further said, that there be diuers Birds that speake, as the Parrat, whereof *Lodouicus Caluus* maketh mention, that belonged to Cardinall *Ascanius*, which Parrat (in his presence) pronounced (word by worde) all the Creed in Latine, without fayling in any one fillable: We may lawfully answer, that this is no speaking, for they knowe not what they say; but it is a certaine custom taught them for many daies together, whereby to forme such a voyce; but a true worde is conceyued in the soule, before it is pronounced, whereof Birdes haue no such Capacitie.

And to that Argument, which implyeth, that wee knowe all creatures by the diuersitie of their Voyces, that they vnderstand each other, and call one another amongst themselves: wee may not heereby inferre, that such a Voyce is a word formed. For as *Aristotle* saith, the Voyce looseth it selfe, and so can wee, (without any formed word) signifie and giue to be vnderstoode, either ioy or discontent, and all vniuersall passions: as wee see by the Voice, when it thus expresseth it selfe in laughter, & with pleasure, or by sighes and laments, in deepe sorrow and anguish.

And for the respect of brute beastes, that haue difference either in their song or voice, and may be knowne when they are displeased or contented: and the like in Birds, either by motion of their winges, loftie flying, or some such other sign according to the effect: these are matters not incident to the case in question. For to speake and vtter wordes, whereby may peticularly be expressed, profit, necessitie, harme, Mallice, Iustice, Iniustice, honestie, goodnesse, and whereby also passed actions are deliuered, and for-sight of them to come, by solide reasons and words, in declaring themselves, and other things are done, answerable to the benefit ensuing by speech: this is a blessing bestowed onely vpon man, euen as

Hereditarie to him by Nature, & whereof no other Creature whatsoever, can any way be saide to stand in neede, or is so meete to merrite so gracious a benefite.

CHAP. IX.

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Of a Woman that was married manie times, And of a Man that had manie Wiues, and hapned at length, to ioyne in marriage with that woman.

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Haue many times noted that the honor of Widowes, vnder-went common and publicke taxation, if they had beene married three or foure times. Now, albeit it seemeth exteriorly, that men had good reason for this detection; yer notwithstanding, no man ought to iudge of another bodies secret Conscience.

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Marriage, was first instituted in Paradise, and is allowed by the Church to be Sacred and Lawful; in which respect no man should or ought vse any reprehension against it. And yet wee must not denie, but that a Chast life, without subiection to marriage, is the more perfect estate, and is to bee elected: as the better. Neuerthelesse, the bounty of heauen diminisheth no iot of eithers goodnes; but both estates are godly and commendable. If then a Widdow do marie, she offendeth not God therein; and besides, as concerning the World, it may very well be answered, that it is the smallest fault she can commit. And because I would no way be mistaken by the Reader, I will produce (vnto this purpose) what I haue read concerning a Widdow, and it is recorded by Saint *Hierome*: of whose Authority (I thinke) no one will make scruple, in regard of his Religion and great holinesse.

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He saith, that in the time of *Damasus*, he both saw and knew in *Rome* a woman, that had lawfully beene married to two and twenty seuerall men, and remaining a Widdowe, after the decease of the two and twentieth Husbände: there was a man came thither, that likewise hadde beene

Widdowes of ten married, subiect to taxation.

A chast life is most comendable.

A Widdow in Rome that had bin married to 22 men,

A man that had bin married to twenty Wiues.

bin married to twenty Wiues, and was then a Widdower of the last, and both of them at freedome and libertie: which being vnderstood to either, no difference in their degrees, but both of equal mean condition: they contracted Marriage together, which was a thing verie notable, and raised a generall desire in the people of Rome, to see which of this strange married couple should first die.

It fortun'd that the Woman first deceased, to whose obsequies, al the Roman people mainly flocked, to congratulate the Husbands happineffe, as beeing victorious in no simple Conquest: setting a Crowne of *Lawrell* vpon his heade, and placing him first in following the bodye of his Wife, bearing a branch of Palme in his hand, in signe of his victorie, and numberlesse people accompanying him in his triumph.

A Victorie of no mean moment.

Another History reported by S. Ierom

The same holy Father, recounteth another matter very notable, which he setteth downe for truth, because it was deliuered to him by such as deserued credit. The case concerneth a woman also, who to shewe her selfe some-what charitable, tooke a young Boy from verie poore parents, that had no releef but fro the Hospitall, intending to nourish the childe as if it were hir owne, feeding it at hir owne Table, and nightly lodging it in her bed. When the child had attained to x. yeares of age, the woman grew to be so incontinent, that she would needs haue carnall knowledge of the Ladde, and that in such manner, as at the terme of sixe moneths, she became quicke with Childe by him, contrary to the rule and order of nature, which neuer doth permit any such conception at ten yeares of age. But, it rather seemeth that this happened by the permission of God, to the end, that such turpitude and dishonesty in a Woman, (vailed vnder pretence of charity) should be apparantly discovered to the worlde. So that, although the other woman had married three and twenty severall times, yet are not we to iudge or conceite, that therein she sinned. For, I am perswaded, that in being so oftentimes lawfully married, in publicke confirmation of the Church, and without any iust cause of contradiction: she did much better then this other lustfull lewd Woman, in committing such a foule and inordinat sinne; for which, no colour or excuse can anie

A strange kind of conceiuing with childe.

The two women compared together.

way be made: whereas, on the other side the saying of blessed Saint *Paule* standeth in force: *That it is better to marrie then to burne.*

CHAP. X.

10 The strange fortune which happened to two Princes of Castile.



HE power of sodain conceite, or immediate apprehension of some inward dislike, is knowne to bee of such strong impressio; that

Sudden conceit is very powerfull on the life of man.

it is able to be the death of man, or Woman, and vnto this purpose tendeth our present discourse. *Don Alphonso*, eleuenth of that name, who was Father to *Don Peter*, hauing finished his raigne in *Castile*, left his Sonne *Don Peter*, a verie young King: In which regard, the kingdom was gouerned by two Princes of the Countrey (who were Vnckles to the King, the one named *Don Peter*; and the other *Don Iohn*) and likewise by *Queene Mary*, that was his Grand-mother.

Don Peter, and Don Iohn, Vnckles to the young King.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred and sixteen, these two Princes, who were Vnckle and Nephew, hauing manie times (like valiant and worthy men) made warre vpon the Moores, for exaltation of the Christian Faith, and returned with famous Victories, as well approued and vndauntable Captaines: concluded together to make Warre on the kingdom of *Granado*, with purposed spoyles & damages on the Countreyes belonging to the Moores; hauing ioyned with the *Alcantaro* and *Galitrua*, Great Maisters of *Saint James* in *Galicia*, and the Arch-bishop of *Toledo*.

Warre made vpon the Kingdome of Granado against the Moores.

The businesse being growne to full effect, and great numbers both of horse and foot assembled, they began to inuade the Country, and sped so well in the aduenture: that (with very successfull fortune) they came before *Granado*, where they fought valiantly, and surprized diuers Castels, among which, was that named *Eliara*.

When fitting time for retirement came, they returned backe againe by the Christians Countrey, and marching in good order,

Don Peter, and Don John, were sharply assaulted by the Moores, in their returning backe.

Don Peters soldiers wonder fully danted.

The strange and sodaine death of Don Peter.

The violent apprehension in Prince John of his Nephews death

order; Don Peter was in the Vant-garde, and the Lord Don John in the Rereward, when he was suddenly charged by a huge multitude of *Moores*, that had assembled themselves from all parts, and their assault was so furious, as he was constrained to send to Don Peter, to leaue his leading, & to come to his assistance in the Arriere. Don Peter verie gladly yeelded thereto, and marching back with admirable courage: founde his men to bee so daunted and weakened with dismay, as by no meanes possible, could he cause them to returne with him. By meanes whereof, he entered into such a sudden alteration and conceiued displeasure, that albeit he contended woorthily to essay a fresh march vppon the enemy, inciting both his horse and foot thereto, and by no reason could preuaile; hee drew forth his sword, and smote some, thereby to terrifie the rest, and that terror might make them become obedient. But all prouing in vaine, his trouble in minde was so excessiue, that perceiuing he could no way helpe his Vnkle, he was no longer able to manage his sworde, but speech presently forsooke him, & vnderstanding likewise, so that he fell downe from his horse dead to the ground, without either stirring or speaking one word.

This wofull accident, was (by some) too speedily reported vnto Prince John, who fought manfully against the *Moores*, and had (in a manner) quite vanquished them. When he vnderstood the occasion of his Nephews sudden death; as suddenly likewise entred he into an extreame passion, and gaue outward testimonie of such a violent inward alteration, that he fell also from his horse, losing the strength and vigor of all his members, and neuer after could vtter one word, so that he was taken vp by his people, and kept (in that strange maner) from midday to the Evening. In which time, the *Moores* being ignorant of these seuerall mishaps, were put to flight by the Christians: who marching onward in forme of battaile, at the instant, as the body of Don Peter was laid vppon an horse, Prince John gaue vp his latest gaspe. These accidents were verie remarkeable, and the like very seldome heard of: whereby plainly appeareth, that sudden conceit may cause the death of a man.

CHAP. XI.

¶ The strange and variable complexions of two Phylosophers: the one of them weeping, and the other laughing, at the gouernment & condition of the world.



IN the recitall made by *Diogenes Laertius*, concerning the liues & diuersity of Phylosophers: he speaketh particularly of two; the one being named *Heraclitus*, and the other *Democritus*, because each of them was in Nature and Complexion verie strange.

Heraclitus obserued (as a common Custome) that alwayes as hee walked along the streetes and publicke passages, hee would weepe and shedde abundance of teares, in regard of the compassion hee had on humane Nature. For, hee was absolutely perswaded, that all our life time, consisted in nothing but miserie, & that all the trauailes, labours, and endeauiers of men, seemed worthy both of pittie and compassion, both in their paines and afflictions, as also for the sins by the daily committed. This is much better, and more amply described, in a letter sent by this Phylosopher to King *Darius*, according as our fore-named *Diogenes Laertius* reporteth, and in these very words.

All men that walke vpon the earth, are verie farre off from Iustice: for they serue Auarice and Vaine-glory, with too much affection and losse of time. As for my selfe, I neuer thought any euill thing; and to the end that I might shunne the paine, which I feele by beholding and knowing these things: I haue euermore bene desirous, that I might containe my selfe in some such place, where I might neuer looke on men; because I can sufficiently content my selfe with that which is onely necessary for me. We read of this Phylosopher, that (in all things) he was conformable to this perswasion. For he liued the very greatest part of his time in solitude, and in the fields, contenting himselfe with hearbs and food of slender substance. All the while he was yong, he said he knew nothing; and when hee attained to greater growth, he saide, hee knew all things, and that nothing els had bin

Diog Laert. in vit. Philos.

The Naturall Disposition of Heraclitus.

The Letter of Heraclitus to King Darius.

The manner how Heraclitus liued.

beene his enſtructor, but contemplation onely.

The Complexion of *Democritus* was no leſſe ſtrange then this mans . For, although he would leaue his lodging, and frequent mens companies, yet would he laugh immeaſurably at al the actions and behauiours of men, tearing the life of man to bee vanity and folly, and that all appetites and deſires, were fooliſh, true ſubiectſ to ſuch Maſters, and meere matter of laughter. And ſuch was the imagination of this Phyloſopher, that it was only enough for him, to go laughing along the ſtreets, as the other went weeping: and conſidering the paines and trauals of men, it ſeemeth that ech of them had reaſon ſufficient to do as they did.

Seneca in his Booke of the Tranquility of life, ſpeaketh of theſe two Philoſophers, approving rather the Opinion of laughing *Democritus*, and aduiſing to imitate his merrie humour, rather then that of weeping *Heraclitus*. And it appeareth, that *Iuuenal* was of the ſame mind, when ſpeaking of them both, hee ſayeth, *That he was amazed, whence and how Heraclitus could receive ſo great quantitie of moiſture, as ſatisfied his liberall expence of teares.* And to ſpeake truly of both theſe follies (for I hold theſe two complexionſ to be no otherwiſe) that of *Democritus* is allowed for the better, becauſe wee read that he was a man taking no diſlike at any thing whatſoever, and liued an 109. yeares. I find of him, that he uſed verie often to feed on Hony, and beeing on a time, demanded whither it were good to preferue the health of man, or no, he answered; *Theſe are only fitteſt for mans Health, Hony taken inwardly, and Oyle outwardly,* giuing thereby to vnderſtand, that Hony was good for feeding, and Oyle for anointing.

Laertius reporteth many thinges of him, whereby is evidently diſcerned, how great his knowledge was in naturall thinges. He ſaith, that one day among others, a meſſe of milke was brought him, & after he had looked on the Milke, he ſaide; *This Milke is of a Goat that hath had young ones, & this is the firſt time of her Kidding,* and indeed it was ſo. Another time, hee met a yong maid vpon the way, and with doing reuerence to hir, he ſaid; *God bleſſe ye Maid.* Meeting her againe on the next day following, he made no reuerence to

hir, but ſaid; *Farewell Woman.* Such as had heard theſe ſeueral ſalutations, greatly meruailed thereat, and gathered thereby, that ſhee had companied that Night with a man, which *Democritus* knewe to be true, onely by the Womans countenance. *Tertullian* likewiſe telleth vs, that this *Democritus* did put out both his eies, becauſe he would not bee temptred with carnall concupiſcences, which ordinarily are occaſioned by the ſight of weomen. But *Aulus Gellius* ſaith, that he did it only the better to addict himſelfe to the contemplation of naturall thinges, for which, this Phyloſopher was very highly commended by the learned.

Cicero writeth the like of him, ſo doth *Pliny*, and many others. *Pliny* reporteth in diuers places, that hee was a great Aſtrogger, and a Magitian, and that to learne al the Arts, and practiſe them among the ſkilfull; he traualled through all *Aſia*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and many other Prouinces. And *Solinus* maketh mention of his Diſputations againſt Magitians. Concerning mine owne opinion of this man, I will conclude further ſpeech of him, with a matter inenailous, and not to be omitted, to wit; that by the means of naturall light only, he ſought for and beleued the immortality of the ſoule, and the reſurrection of all the dead, in which contentiption, and many other of like quality, he ſpent the length of life before remembred.

But as for *Heraclitus*, by his wretched Complexion, and feeding on nothing but heards, and ſuch like Viands, which continually kept him hungrie: Hee dyed conſumingly, and full of Cowtineſſe, being wrapt in an Oxe-hide, wherein hee had put himſelfe, in hope to bee cured. And ſome do ſay, that being thus hidden in an Oxe-hide; hee was deuoured by Dogges, that knew him not to be a man. Neuertheleſſe, he wrote Books of great Learning, but ſo difficult and obſcure, as few attained truly to vnderſtande them: which is a fault wherein many great perſons haue ſinned, only thorow preſumption and arrogancy.

The ſtrange Nature of *Democritus*.

Seneca in lib. de Tranq. Vit.

The words of *Iuuenal*.

The life time of *Democritus* an 109. yeares

Concerning Hony & oyle.

The great Iudgement of *Democritus*, in naturall thinges.

Tertul in *Apol.* Cap. vii. *Aulus Gellius*.

Cicero lib. 5. de *Tuſculana*, *Plin.* lib. 24.

Iul Solinus Po-
lib.

A rare vnder-
ſtanding by
Nature only.

The Authors
iudgement
concerning
Heraclitus.

CHAP. XII.

Of some perticuler notable occasions, which haue happened in one and the same manner, and rather in one place more then in another.



Hose things whereof wee haue spoken in our precedent Chapter, may vvell cause great meruaile in the consideration of men,

whose Conditions and Opinions haue beene so extreamey estranged from one another; that the verie same thing, which hath made one man to weepe incessantly, hath caused another to Laugh without any intermission. It is likewise a matter well woorthy of Contemplation, to obserue, that in such rarietie of humane occasions: and amongst so many of diuers difference, som are found that do seeme as if they were meerly constrained, and that it ought vpon necessity, that (in some places) aduentures shold perticulerly happen, as we shall discern by our ensuing discourse.

First of all, it was a matter very admirable (as wee haue already saide) concerning the Cittie of Constantinople, to witte; That the first Emperour which builded it, and made his abiding there, should bee named Constantine, and his Mother Helena. In like manner afterwarde, that the last Emperour there raigning, and during whose time the Cittie was lost, shoulde bee called Constantine, and his Mother also named Helena.

It deserueth likewise due consideration, that there should be two such most Valiaunt men, as were Hercules & Sampson, and that both of them began their great deedes of Armes, with each mans encountering of a Lyon, and both of them deceyued and vndoone by Women, euen as if the one were obliged to the others Fortune. It is yet a matter more notable, that in Arabia, sur-named Happie, Cham the Sonne of Noah, and his Successours, should forsake the A-

doration of the true GOD, to vndergo the Idolatrie of Men. And that in the same Prouince also, after so great and long reuolutions of yeares, shoulde bee bred and borne Mahomet, the persecuter of the true Faith and Doctrine giuen by our Saujour Iesus Christ, God and Man.

10 The Cittie of Carthage, a most powerfull Common-Wealth, had so manie seuerall forces in Armes, that no King or Captaine could resist against it. And yet notwithstanding, it was two seuerall times vanquished by two Romaine Captaines, both bearing one name, and called Scipios; so that it seemed, in that verie name consisted the power of Conquest.

20 It is likewise verie remarkeable, in the Historie of the Bishops of Rome, that al the Popes which bare the name of Alexander, were all Anti-popes, and that (in their times) grew the Scismes in the Church, as in the time of Alexander the second, third, fift, sixt, &c. Another meruailous matter was noted in Spaine, that commonly all the Kings which were named Ferdinands or Alphonsus, were very good and excellent Kinges. 30 Caesar and Pompey were two Captains of Rome, very famous and most puissant, great enemies and competitors one against another: yet it happened, that they both died on their very Birth-dayes, yea violent kindes of death, and by weapons. As worthy warriors likewise were Hannibal of Carthage, King Phillip, Father to Alexander, King Antigonus, Father to Demetrius, Sertorius the Romaine, Viriatus the Spaniard, and 40 in our time, Fredericke Duke of Urbine, and diuers others beside, resembling one another in behauour and Regiment of Warre; but in one thing, they were all truly equal, to wit, they halted euery one vpon one and the same leg, and each man lost his left eye by misfortune. The Emperour Charles the fift, was borne on the day of S. Mathias the Apostle, on which day also (in course of his life) vvas King 50 Fraunces taken by him in battaile, and the victory likewise woonne at Biccoque: Hee was also elected and Crowned Emperour on the same day, and many other great Fortunes befell him still vpon that day.

Yet I cannot choose but reprove such men, as in their woorkes and especiall actions,

Of the Cittie of Carthage.

Of the Popes of Rome named Alexanders.

Of the King of Spaine.

Of Caesar and Pompey.

Of other famous warriors, equall in their fortunes.

Of Charles the fift Emperour

Extreamitie in both kinds.

Variety of humane accidents.

Concerning the Cittie of Constantinople.

Of Sampson and Hercules.

Of Cham and Mahomet.

Of obseruation of perticular dayes, for vnder taking of our affaires as dayes of good or euill fortune.

Secrer causes are onely knowne to God.

actions, do obserue perticular dayes and names, wherein to beginne or vnder take their purposed businesse: neuerthelesse, seeing that such things haue formerly bin considered and read of, I make the lesse account of their humour. It hath bene noted, that not onely the French, but some others Nations beside, do holde diuerse dayes to be vnfortunate, and that no respect in the world whatsoever, can cause them then to vnder take any fight or combat, because vpon those daies) commonly some great mis-fortunes haue befallen them. And yet they esteeme some other dayes, to haue a kinde of happinesse attending on them, because that on them no losse or euill mischaunce hath happened to them. All these things may wel vrge amazement, in regard that the causes are vnknowne to vs, albeit neuer so good a rule or reason may therto induce vs: such secrets are onely knowne to God, and such hath bene, and is his appointment. Of Accidents that haue hapned, and actions of notable successe (ensuing by one and the same meanes) both vnto the *Romains* and *Gracians*, *Plutarch* hath Written a Treatise called his Parallele, wherein hee alledgeth manie excellent examples, which the curious Searchers of Nouelties, may there reade more at large.

CHAP. XIII.

That diuers men haue bene so really alike, both in shape and countenance, that they haue many times taken one for another.



A wonderfull secret in Nature.

Ccasion doth heere free lie offer it selfe, to make mention of some perticular persons, that haue (in figure & gesture) bene alike and semblable each to other. And indeed, it is one of the greatest secrets and wonders in Nature, to behold such an infinit number of men, the varietie of their gestures, and all hauing one kind of forme: yet notwithstanding, it seemeth a matter of much more meruaile; when (in

such a variable multitude) scarcely but two men can be culd out; that do truly resemble in all parts each other. Of which two severall matters, wee will relate the causes natural, after we haue first produced example of some, that haue held true and perfect resemblance vnto apparant Iudgement.

10 First of all then, we will speake of one named *Arthemius*, who lived in the court of *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, being (according to *Pliny* and *Solinus*) but of meane condition; albeit *Valerius Maximus* affirmeth, that hee was Kinsman vnto the King, and resembled him so truelie, that the Queen (hauing murthered *Antiochus*) concealed her Wicked Act by the meanes of this *Arthemius*, whom she had acquainted with hir purpose diuerse dayes before. *Arthemius*, was laide in the Kings bed, as if he had bene the Queens sickly Husband, for so shee then called him, and so was he reputed to bee, being visited by all the Princes of the kingdom, euen as if it had bene the King himselfe. Thus vnder shew and supposition of the King, hee made a Will, and named (as heire to the Kingdom) such an one as the Queene had determined: wherein hee was obeyed, for euerie one tooke him to be the true King indeed, which was a verie straunge and admirable deceipt. But (to this purpose) the aduenture of Queen *Semiramis* is much more notorious, of whom so many commendable Authors haue Written memorable actions: *Iustine*, and diuers others say, that hir sonne *Ninus* resembled her so perfectly, both in speech, gesture, and disposition of body, that after the death of the King her husband, shee cloathed her selfe in the habite of a man, and representing the person of her Sonne, held and gouerned the kingdom for the space of forty yeares; with absolute beleefe generally, that shee was her sonne *Ninus*, whom she so neere resembled, that in this maner was the State abused. In the time of *Pompey*, there were two men in *Rome*, the one named *Biblius*, and the other *Publicius*, who wer both so like to *Pompey*, as if there had bin no other difference, then in the plain figure, it was very difficult (as *Pliny* reporteth) to know which of them was *Pompey* or no, and euerie man supposed, that this resemblance cam from the father to the son by succession. In the time of *Pompeyes* father, there

Plin. Lib. 24. Solinus in Po- lib. 1. Valerius Maximus.

The History of *Arthemius*.

Of the great *Q Semiramis*, according to *Iustine*, Lib. 2.

Of *Biblius* and *Publicius*, that were like to *Pompey*.

Of Menogenes
that resem-
bled Pompeyes
father.

was in Rome a Cooke, called *Menogenes*, that so lively resembled him, as (for that very cause) the people imposed the name of the one vpon the other; and this is assured for trueth, both by *Pliny* and *Solinus*.

Two infant
Slaues broght
to Rome. and
bought of *Tu-
rannius* by
*Marke Antho-
ny*.

There was one likewise, named *Turannius*, that brought two Infant Slaues to Rome, of equality in age, and they both (in gesture and all other thinges) were of such resemblance, that people went to see them as a matter of meruell. *Turannius* also saide, That they were Twin-brethren by birth, but it was false; for the one was of *Asia*, and the other of *Allemaigne*. In regard of their so neere likeness to each other, *Marke Anthony*, Cozen vnto the great *Octavius*, bought them. But after hee had intelligence of the Deceite, and that they were not Naturall borne-Brethren: hee sent for the feller of them, and tolde him, that hee must restore the monie backe (which was a great summe) because hee had beguiled him, in making him beleue, that the Slaues were Twin-borne Brethren. But *Turannius* (very cunningly) auoyded repayment of the Money, in replying, that (in this respect) hee ought to haue a farre greater summe paide him; considering, that it was a matter of more meruaile, that the two Infants (being borne in diuers Nations) shoulde haue such a perfect resemblance, as if they had bene borne vpon one selfe-same day, and of one Mother. Which defence, was well accepted by *Marke Anthony*, the reason appearing to be sound and good; and therefore he held himselfe well contented.

The cunning
answere of
Turannius.

A pleasant ac-
cident happ-
ning to the
Emperour
Octavius.

Concerning this case of so meere resemblance, a matter of pretty merriment happened vnto the Emperour *Octavius*. There chanced a young Ladde to come and dwell in Rome, who had the feature of his face and bodie; so absolute in likeness vnto the Emperour *Octavius*, that no man in Rome could discern anie difference. This being brought vnto the Emperours knowledge, hee forthwith sent for the youth, and then the portrait of each other was more apparantly discovered. Which when the Emperour hadde well noted, hee being a man verie affable, pleasantly disposed, and moued (with the least occasion) to mirth, he saide to the young man, *Tell me Brother; did thy Mother use at anie time to come to*

Rome? As inferring thereby, that then his Father might haue knowledge of hir. The youth perceiuing the facetious and pleasant humour of the Emperour, replied to him in as merrie a Disposition, with these Wordes: *My LORDE, concerning my Mother, shee neuer came vnto Rome, but my Father resorted hither many times.*

A witty and
merry answer
made to the
Emperour.

Pliny writeth of a man, named *Surras*, Pro-Consull to *Sylla*, and borne in *Sicily*, to whom, there was a Fisherman of verie neere likeness, both in speeche and behauiour, for they both stammered in equall manner, and fashioned all their actions in one forme: so that when they were cloathed alike, it was impossible to make any distinction, neither could anie man dire stly say, this is the Pro-consull, and this the Fisherman; which was no meane meruell to the people. And yet *Albertus Magnus*, in his booke of beasts, declareth a much stranger matter. Hee saith, that he both knewe and behelde in *Allemaigne*, two Infant Twinnes, who resembled each other so truly, that when they were seperated assunder, the one could not bee discerned from the other. Moreouer, beside their iesture and actions, they had such a conformitie in all things els, as the one could not liue without the other. So that when they were sometimes for triall sundered, they indured verie straunge Agonies. They spake both alike in sounde of voice, and when the one was sicke, so was the other likewise: whereby plainly appeared, that they were two bodies formed of one Nature and complexion. For my iudgement in this case, I say, that this likeness must needs proceed, that they were both begotten in one instant, of one and the same matter strongly disposed: by reason whereof, all parts were equally and perfectly conditioned. *S. Augustine*, in his Booke of the Cittie of GOD, reporteth the verie like Story. And although these thinges doth seeme verie maruellous, yet may we not scornfully seeke to discredite them, in regard of Natures powerfull working, and vndoubted Authority of such as confirm them. For, we could speake of matters more lately happening, yea, euen in our times; as of the Lord Count *Iohn Giron*, who so absolutely resembled his brother, the Great Maister of *Calatryana*, that was flaine by the *Moores*, that by their owne parents

Plin Lib. 7.
Of *Surras* the
Proconsull,
and a Fisher-
man.

*Albert. Mag in
Lib. Animal.*

Of two infant
twinnes in
Allemaigne.

The Authors
opinion con-
cerning these
Twinnes.

*S. August. in
Lib de Ciuit.
Dei. 9.*

Like accidents
happening in
later dayes.
Counte *Iohn
Giron* in
Spaine.

rents and houſholde ſeruants, they were equally taken the one for the other. I remember that I haue read in the Hiſtorie of the Dukés of *Millaine*, that *Fraunces Sforza* (of whom ſomwhat hath bin ſaide already) had among his warlike troops, a Gentleman belonging to the company of his Light-horſe-men, that was of ſuch perfect reſemblance vnto the Duke himſelfe; as he was verie often both taken for him, and called by the name of Duke. I could alledge many other examples, which I am forced to forbear, becauſe I would not willingly offend anie Reader: wherefore, I will ſpeake of the occaſion of ſuch ueere reſemblance, wherof I find three principall, that (according to their degrees and places) ſhall ſpeak for themſelues.

The firſt is, that nature euermore traileth and ſtriueth, to make the beſt Workemanſhip that poſſibly ſhee can; and this reaſon is helde by all Naturall Phyloſophers. Hence it proceedeth, that ſhe eſſayeth to make the Male childe; rather then the female, and to faſhion him more like the Father, then the Mother; in imitation of the Painter, that portraieth one thing (according to Nature) by another. Now, if Nature be noted ſometime to faile heerein, wholly, or in part, it is alwaies by defect and debilitie in the matter: For, when a man hath not ſufficient perfection in him to procreat, then is he ſaid to forme a female childe. Likewise, concerning the geſture and figure, when that Vertue which makes the form (which the Phyloſophers call the Vertue informatiue) is moſt ſtrong and powerfull in the partes of man: the childe doth then more reſemble the Father, then the Mother. But when (in this Vertue) there happeneth ſome indifpoſition and defaillance in ſtrength, and that the Vertue and power of the Woman prooueth to be the ſtronger, the Child doth then reſemble the Mother. There are ſome other cauſes beſide, whereof wee ſhall ſpeake heereafter; and principally (in this caſe) the good or euill diſpoſition in the matter of the parties generatiue, is much auailable:

In the firſt place, it behooueth, that the Woman ſhould be as the partie patient or ſuffering, and the man as the Agent which maketh the worke, becauſe that (according to the diſpoſition) nature

buſieth hir ſelfe in the ſimilitude, and frameth not only the vertue of the Paternall or Maternall party, in the likenesse of geſture, and of the members: but likewise in the complexion, diſpoſition, ſtrength, and (beſide) in ſome paſſions, diſeaſes, & other things. As wee may and do manie times obſerue, that the Sonnes of Balde-headed men, doe likewise become balde theſelues, & deaf mens ſons, are deaf alſo

Very often (in like manner) as *Galen* affirmeth, the Sonnes do become heires to their diſeaſes, as to the Gout, the dropſy, Palfie, falling ſicknes, &c. *Auicen* addeth Leproſie, Tiſicke, and Melancholy alſo. And that which is yet much more admirable, Nature, in mee deceiuing hir ſelf, doth giue ſometimes to Children, ſuch hurts and woundes, as their fathers haue formerly receiud; which is plainly to declare, that ſhe continually laboureth to make true likenes. *Columella* maintaineth the ſame argument, and ſo doth *Pliny* the yonger likewise, in an Epiſtle which hee wrote; where ſpeaking of the wife to *Cornelius*, he ſaith; That ſhe died of the gout, which was the diſeaſe of hir father, & of all his linage. This Author further ſaith, that infirmities diſcend from the father to the ſon, and oftentimes from children to children: as it hapned to *Nicerus* the the Poet, borne in *Conſtantinople*, of who *Pliny* writeth, that his Father & Mother being white, yet he was borne blacke, becauſe that his Grandfather (by the mothers ſide) was black. Theſe accidents we daily behold by prooffe, in horſes & other creatures, that doe reſemble their Sires moſt of al, not only in colour, but alſo in greatnes and diſpoſition. This is the reaſon of *Ariſtotele*, and of *Empedocles*, as alſo of *Albertus Magnus*. In this maner is formed the variety of geſtures in men, the diſpoſition and ſhape of their members, according to them of father and mother, euen then in the generatiue action.

The ſecond reaſon, is likewise deriued from *Ariſtotele* and *Plinie*, and they ſay, That it is the imagination of the Father, euen in the inſtant, and likewise the preſent affection or paſſion then workeing in the ſoule. For, ſight, or preſent imagination, is greatly auayling in this caſe, and is a moſt ſtrong occaſion, being ioyned to the former; becauſe the Father or the mother then thinking on ſom beauty, it is a great ocaſio of begetting a beautiful childe,

Of *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Millaine*.

Three occaſions of ueere reſemblance.

The firſt reaſon of natures working, in maſle or female.

Concerning geſture and figure.

Of the parties patient and agent in their ueerall vertues.

Sonnes do grow as Heires to their Fathers infirmities.

Natures endeauour in forming like- neſſe.

Columella in Lib. 8. de Reb. Ruſt. *Plin.* ſecond. Lib. 1. *Plin.* Lib. 7. Cap. 12.

Plin. ſecond. Lib. 2.

Ariſtotele. *Empedocles.* *Albertus Magnus.*

The ſecond reaſon. *Ariſt.* in Lib. de Aria et Arqua. *Plin.* Lib. 7. c. 9.

Childe, and forming it answerable to the imaginéd subiect. And because it many times hapneth, that Fathers haue diuers imaginations; they do likewise engender diuersitie and difference of gestures, so that the Infant will resemble diuers persons. And this matter is reputed of such importance, that *Empedocles* saith, *Some Women haue bene noted, that they haue conceiued, and bene deliuered of Children, that haue resembled Statues, Figures, and Pictures, that hung in the chambers, at the time of their conception.* That this hath hapned in Beastes, is sufficiently probable in the History of *Iacob*, who layed the pilled rods (being White and Blacke) in those places where the flockes conceyued, by meanes whereof, partie coloured Lambes were also engendered. And it is further to bee obserued, that not onely this imagination hath power on the Corporall Members; but likewise on the Soules of Children. In regarde whereof, Naturall Phylosophers haue aduised, that when a man is angry, or Melancholy, or Drunke, he shoulde not companie with his Wife: Because (commonly) Children are of the same Complexion, wherein the Father was, at the generatiue action. And yet, it hath oftentimes come to passe, that a merrie-hearted Father, and deliberate of Nature, hath gotten a Melancholly Childe.

To this purpose, *Alexander Aphrodisiens* declareth a verie notable thing; that (manie times) Bastard Children, begotten in Adulterie, are wicked and vicious, in regard of the bad imagination, and fearefull terrour, wherein their Fathers were at the time of their begetting. From the verie same reason, may an answeré be framed to the case following. For, if it bee demanded, whence cometh it, that among men onely, there is so great diuersitie in figure? *Aristotle* replyeth, it is, because that Beastes haue no Cares, Thoughtes, or Imaginations, but onely in their present Action: whereas (on the contrarie) men haue their thoughts in many places, and on diuersitie of thinges; whereby ensueth, that manie children are borne, which neither resemble the father or mother.

Aristotle giueth (almost) the same answeré vnto the Question propounded: Wherefore are foolish Children begot-

ten by Wise Fathers? Hee saith, That men which know little (as wee haue formerly spoken of Beastes) are very intentiue in the generatiue acte: by meanes whereof, the matter being disposed, and without any alteration, children are then borne perfect, because nature (in the verie same instant) was busied about no other occasions. But in wise and learned men, it doth not alwayes so fall out: because they (commonly) hauing their spirits more subtile and penetratiue, haue also their thoughts otherwise busied most part of the time, which is a great hindrance, when the power is not wholly imployed in the action. From whence it proceedeth, that the matter being not perfectly disposed; Nature coulde not perfectly perourme her Workmanship.

The third reason, rendered for answeré to this doubt, is from Astrologye caused by influence of the Stars, according vnto the opinion deliuered by *Ptolomie*. For, by the disposition of heauen, and the signe or image ascendant, & the Aspects which the Planets haue, both in the Conception and Birth of man: the manners and Naturall disposition are infused, rendering themselves semblable or different to the Father, according to the proportion and conformitie of the Father, or of the Childe, at the time of Generation. Wee might heere rehearse the Influences of these Planets, by their feuerall proprieties; but it would require too long a time: Besides, *Ptolomie* hath spoken thereof sufficiently; so hath *Iulius Firmicus*, *Haly ben Rasel*, *Guy*, *Benatus*, and others: And the reason is so strong, as it cannot bee denied; Considering and perceyuing the influxion and power, which the Superiour Bodies haue ouer the Inferiour, with their Effects.

Now, in regard that this ensueth by motion or agitation, which is the cause of generation and corruption, and is that which first disposeth the matter, and afterwarde formeth it: it followeth, that as the motion of time dooth neuer cease, and that there are diuers times, and diuers Motions. And besides (as vee haue already sayde, that they haue diuers Natures; euen so, the matter disposeth it selfe diuersly: and causeth variable actions and dispositions in the creatures, some-

Empedoclit.
per. *Petrarch* in
l. b. de placitis
Ab. Mag. in l. b.
6. & 18. de
Anim.

Gen. 30. 40.

Aduise of naturall
Phylosophers.

Alexan. Aphrod.
concerning
Bastard children.

Aristotles answer
concerning
diuersity
in figure.

Aristotles answer why wise
Fathers doe beget foolish
Children.

The 2. reason
deriued from
Astrology.

Ptol. in *Catolog.*

Ptol. in *Quadrupart.*

The cause of
generation &
corruption.

These three causes concurring together

Goodly children proceeding from virtuously fathers

sometimes resembling one another, according to the conformity that was in Heaven, and in the one time, and in the other. Likewise, sometimes these causes and occasions are occurrent all together. Sometimes, one; or two: And (very often) the one proueth contrary to the other; from whence ensueth such diuers effectes, which daily offer themselves to our view. By the very same occasions, wee may easily discern, whence it cometh, that goodly Children are begotten by deformed and vgly Fathers, and likewise the contrary: wherein there can nothing else be alleadged, but the good or bad disposition of the matter, and the imagination of the parties agent and sufferant, with the Celestiall influence at the instant, all which we haue deliuered to be doubtfull, according as other things are of the like nature.

CHAP. XIII.

Of a very strange and memorable fortune, which happened in one kinde, though at sundry times, to two Knights of Rome.



He chiefe men in the conspiracy for the death of Iulius Caesar (according as Plutarch and others haue declared) were Brutus and Cassius, who afterward (with their Adherents) were profecuted, and proclaimed open Enemies to the people of Rome, by Octavius, Lepidus, and Marke Antonie, that had gotten possession of the City. Among the complices of Brutus and Cassius, Marcus Varro was a principall man, who (beeing present in the battaile, which Octavius and Marke Antonie had against the conspiratours, and when Octavius was the Conquerour) for safegard of his life, and escape of apprehension, chaunged his habite with a poore Souldier, and appearing as one of the common Prisoners, was rancked among them, and sold (in confused manner) as the rest were. It was his happe to be bought by a Romaine Knight, named Barbulas, who (within some while after) seeing his faire de-

The chiefe conspiratours of Caesars death

Marcus Varro a chiefe man in the action.

Marcus Varro sold as a slave

meanor, and honett carriage of life; began to suspect, that he was a Romaine borne; alben, he coniectured the same by no other relation. To be resolved in this doubt, he tooke him (one daie) aside, and instantly entreated him, to tell him of whence, and what he was, promising him wishall, to pursue his pardon to Octavius and Marke Antonie. But Marcus Varro, dissembling still his aduerse fortune, by no meanes would disclose himselfe: so that Barbulas altered his former opinion; and perswaded himselfe, that he was no Roman, according as his iudgement had before imagined. Soone after, Octavius and Marke Anthony returned to Rome, and Barbulas also with his Slave, who (perhaps) was a better man then himselfe.

It fortun'd afterward, that Marcus Varro being at the Senate-doore, attending for his Maister, that stayed within vpon some vrgent busines: was known by a Romaine, that presently aduertised Barbulas thereof. Barbulas, not seeming to know any such matter, and vsing no further speech thereof; so labored with Octavius (who gouerned then in Rome) that he obtained his pardon, by meanes whereof, Varro enioyed his liberty, and being brought to Octavius, hee was honourable entertained, and thenceforward respected in the number of his friends.

Within a while after, Octavius and Marke Anthony fell at discord and variance, & Barbulas taking part with Marke Antonie (who was vanquished in the triall of fight) grew to bee doubtfull of Octavius, and made his recourse to the same remedy, as formerly Marcus Varro was forced to vndergoe, by changing his habite, and feigning himselfe to bee another. Marcus Varro not knowing him, by some length of time since last he saw him; but especially by the poerry of his habite; bought him in like manner as himselfe had been. But coming afterward to knowledge of him, he wrought so with Octavius, that his offence was pardoned, and hee set at libertie. So that, in satisfiing what he stood bound to doe, and repaying the kindnesse which he had formerly receiued: hee left a liuely example to vs, of the inconstancy of our liues best condition, with a rule and enstruction to all men,

Marcus Varro not to be discovered.

Marcus discovered by a Romaine, and set at liberty.

Barbulas in the like distresse as was Marcus Varro, aduertured the same fortune.

Courtesie equally requirred.

men, that in what prosperous estate soeuer a man is, he should not forget to feare a fall; and in the greatest distresse likewise that can happen, not to dispaire of helpe.

CHAP. XV.

The Ages of Man seuerally distinguished, according the enstructions of Astrologers.



Y common deuision of Astrologers, Arabians, Chaldeans, Greekes, and Latines, and particularly by Proclus, a Greek Authour, Ptolome and Haly ben Razell; the life time of man is diuided into seauen Ages, ouer each one of which Ages, one of the seauen Planets is said to rule and gouerne. The first Age is called Infancy, containing the space of foure yeares, during which time, the neereft Planet to the Earth hath Dominion, that is the Moone, because the qualities of Infancy hath vrged men to say; that the influence of this Planet is wholelie conformable to this Age, wherein the body is humide, tender, weake, moueable, and altogether like vnto the Moone. For the very least matter causeth alteration, his members (by the smallest Trauaile) is weakned, and the body (in little time) encreaseth, euen plainely to bee discerned by the eye. These thinges doe happen generally in all persons, by reason of the Moones gouernment, neuerthelesse, more in some then in others, and not equally alike; in regard, that other particular qualities, which hold no subsistence of the Moone, doe receiue their originall, in manner as the Childe commeth into the World, according to the estate and disposition of other Planets.

The second Age continueth tenne yeares, vntill he attaine to the yeares of foureteene: this Age is called by the Latines Pueritia, or Child-hood, which giueth a cessation to Infancy, and proceedeth on toward adoloscencie. In this Age raigneth another Planet, named

Mercury, seated in the second Heauen. This is a Celestiall body, apt and easie to change, being good with the good, and bad by the aspect of euill. During this time, nature composeth it selfe, according to the quality of this Planet. For then doe young Children declare some principles, whereby to make relation of their Spirits: bee it in reading, writing, or singing, then are they docible and tractable, and yet notwithstanding, light in their speeches, inconstant and mutable.

The third Age, consisteth of eyght yeares, being named by our Auncients Adoloscencie, or Youth-hood, and it lasteth from foureteene, till two and twenty yeares be fully compleate: during which time, the third Planet, called Venus ruleth. For a man then beginneth to be prompt by Nature, powerfull, and able for procreation: as enclining to loue, to Women, and addicted to Musicke, sports, pleasures, bankets, and other worldly delights. This is to be vnderstood, of naturall prouocations in Man to any of these; for, hauing lost the benefit of his own free will and election, hee leaueth or taketh such inclinations by influences. And yet wee are to know, that neither the force of the Planets, nor power of the Starres, hath priuiledge on the liberty of the Soule; although they incline the sensitive appetite, the members and Organs in the body of man.

The fourth Age paceth on, vntill a Man haue accomplished two and fortie yeares, & is rearmed young man-hood, the course whereof continueth nineteene yeares; and hath Sol the Sunne for Gouernour and Commaunder, which is in the fourth Heauen, called by most ancient Astrologians, the fountaine of light, the principall eye of the whole World, King of the Planets, and hart of the wide vniuerse. In like manner, this Age is Prince of all other, and the floure of life, during which time, the faculties and powers of the body & of the Spirit, doe acquire and attaine to their strength, and man beeing then apprehensiuie, bold, and hardy; knoweth how to order and dispose of his owne affaires. He then desireth and purchaseth Treasures, he coueteth to be excellent, and well famed, and is still enclined

Mercury gouerneth the second Age.

The third age is cald youth-hood.

Venus gouerneth the third Age.

Naturall prouocations in man.

The fourth is young Man hood.

Sol gouerneth the fourth age

The Prince of Ages, and floure of life.

Mans life time deuided into seauen Ages. Infancy the first Age.

The Moone gouerneth the first Age of Infancy.

The second Age, is called Child-hood.

enclined to well doing. Briefely, in all thinges generall, he delaréth apparantly, that the Sunne raigneþ oæc him.

The fift Age, named Mature Manhood, hath (according to the said Authours) fifteene yeares of continuance, and therefore makes his Prograce so farre as six and fifty yeares, being subiect to the Planet *Mars*, which (of it selfe) is euill, dangerous, and hot, enclining men to Auarice; and making them cholericke, sickly; yet temperate in eating and drinking, and constant in their actions.

Afterward, in adding twelue to fiftie sixe, you shall make vp sixty eight yeares; which reach to the end of the sixt Age, and is called Old Age, whereof *Jupiter* is the great Gouvernour. This is a Noble Planet, the signifier of Equity, Religion, Piety, Temperance, and Chastitie; prouoking men to finish al pains and hazzards, and seeke quiet-repose. In this time, men addict themselues to holy works, affecting Temperance and Charitie; desiring honour, accompanied with due praise; they are honest, fearefull of shame, disgrace, and reproach.

The seauenth and last of these seuen Ages, is limited from sixty eight yeares, so farre as fourescore and eight, and few there are that attaine thereto. It giueth a true and apt name to it selfe, being called, weake, declining, and decrepitate Age, in regard whereof, *Saturn* commaundeth ouer it, as the most tardy, and yet the very highest Planet, and which enuironeth all the other before named. His Complexion is cold, dry, and melancholly, wearisome, and troublesome. By this meanes, he cloatheth aged men with solitude, choller, meagerness, disdain, and anger. He enfebleth their memory and their strength, then doth he ouercharge their bodies with griefes, long sadnesse, languishing diseases, endless thoughts, and with an earnest desire to enterprise secret & concealed matters; and, which is more, they will be alwaies Maisters; Superiours; and wholly obeyed. If any man chance to goe beyond this Age, which is more admired, then noted in many; you shall euidently perceiue, that hee will returne to his first condi-

tion of infancy againe, and haue a part of the Moone to bee his Gouvernour, which was his first Planet (as I haue already declared) in his first Age of all. In regard whereof, they are then vsuallie dealt withall, euen as we doe to young Infants, according to their conditions and daily inclinations.

The deuision of these seuerall Ages; in manner as formerly hath beene discoursed, was the inuention of Astrologers, whereto euery man may giue credit, as himselfe best pleaseth. Let vs now come to the deuision made by Philosophers, Phisitions, and Poets, who were of diuers opinions: yet because in this Argument there are some notable things, we wil enter into some part of their report, that young Spirits may exercise themselues a little. The great Philosopher *Pythagoras*, how long soeuer the life of man was; made but foure partes thereof, comparing it to the foure seasons or quarters of the yeare. He said, Infancy is the Spring-time, when al things are in their floure, beginning to encrease and augment themselues. Youth-hood, he compared to Summer, by the Ardour and strength that men haue in that Age. Manly Age is Autumne, because (in this time) a man hath experience, is ripe and apt for good counsell, with certaine knowledge of all thinges. Old Age he figured in winter, being a fruitlesse time, cumbersome, and hauing no benefit of any blessings, but what haue proceeded from the former seasons.

Marcus Varro, a learned man among the *Romaines*, deuided the life of man into fise partes, attributing the space of fifteene yeares to each one of them. The first fifteene he named *Pueritia*, Childhood, as being but an entrance into further growing. The second was *Adolescentia*, the springall or stripling estate of a youth, which hee tearmed the encreasing time, for then the body goeth on by encreasing. The third fifteene yeares, mounting vp to forty fise yeares, he called *Iuuentus*, as comming of the Latine word *Iuare*, to signifie the time of helping; because men doe then serue as helpers to their Countrey, eyther in warlike occasions, or other affaires fit for the Common-wealth, and this Age is held for the stability or firmnesse of life.

The fift Age is ripe manhood.

Mars gouerneth the fift Age.

The sixt Age is Old Age.

Jupiter ruleth the sixt Age.

The seauenth Age is decrepitate Age.

Saturn gouerneth the last Age.

Saturnes greatest kindnesse to decrepitate Age.

Old men become childre againe.

The Astrologians deuision of Ages.

The deuision made by Philosophers, Phisition, and Poets.

The deuision made by *Pythagoras*.

Spring-time.

Summer.

Autumne.

Winter.

The deuision made by *Marcus Varro*. *Pueritia*. *Adolescentia*.

Iuuentus.

Maturitas.

life. After forty five, euen to threescore, the Age of man is called *Maturitas*, maturity, full of ripenesse, because (in Latine) such men are named *Seniores*, that is to say; Ancient men, or graue aged men, in respect of the precedent conditions. Also, in these times men doe begin to decline, and walke on toward Old Age, which accomplisheth the last fiftene yeares, after threescore, and containeth the rest of mans life time. Behold how *Varro* deuided the life of man, according as *Censorinus* hath declared.

Senectus.

Hippocrat. in Lib. de Diet. Nat. And his deuision.

Hippocrates the Philosopher, he deuided it also into seauen Ages, the two first seauens, rising to foureteene; The third, ascending from foureteene, to eight and twenty. The seauens that make vp the fourth and fift, doe rise to forty two: The sixt, from forty two, to fifty sixe; And the rest of mans life, he attributeth to the seauenth Age. *Solon* the Philosopher, as the same *Censorinus* relateth, brought these seauen parts into sixe, deuiding the third, the sixt and the seauenth in the midst, so that each of the sixe parts should last seuen yeares; And the like description is made by the other Philosophers. But *Isidore* hath distinguished it into sixe Ages, agreeing in the two first with *Hippocrates*, making euery one seauen; naming the first Infancy; the second childhood. Afterward, from foureteene to eight and twenty, he tearmeth *Adolescentie*, or the encreasing age. From twenty eight, to forty, he nameth it *Iuuentus*, or the helping time, which is the 4. in order. The fift, which he calleth declination, or the beginning of Olde age he maketh to consist of 20. yeares, and amount (in all) to sixty. The remainder of life, he attributeth to Olde Age, and nameth it the sixt Age.

The deuision made by Solon

Isidor. lib. 11. de Etimol. And his deuision.

Horace in Art. Poet. And his deuision.

Horace, the excellent Poet, hath likewise made deuision of mans Ages; but it is into foure partes onely, according as *Pythagoras* did, to wit; Child-hood, Youth-hood, Man-hood, and Old age: all which he hath elegantly described in his Art of Poesie, with those conditions belonging to men, in all those seuerall times. Neuerthelesse, according to the rule of naturall Philosophy, the life time of man should not be deuided, but into three Ages: The first, the en-

creasing Age; The second, the continuing Age, or, while a man remaineth in one estate; And the third, the Age of Diminution: For, according to *Aristotle*, All thinges that doe procreate or engender, haue augmentation, retention of Essence, and diminution: so, in like manner, three Ages ought to be assigned to Man. The Phisitions of *Arabia* haue beene of the same opinion, and yet notwithstanding, *Auicenne*, a very learned man, distinguisheth our life into foure Ages, or principall partes. The first, which lasteth thirty yeares, hee calleth *Adolescentie*, because, during this time, all things go on by encreasing. The second, from thirty, so farre as forty five, he calleth the stayed and setled Age, or of beauty and comelinesse; for at this time, a man is in his best perfection. From thence onward, and so farre as to threescore yeares; he tearmeth, secret diminution; and the way to Old Age. The rest that a man liueth afterward, as being his fourth and last estate; he nameth it, clearly discovered Old-Age, or falling, and downe-stooping Age. Now, notwithstanding this opinion of his, it is to be noted, that albeit he haue made this principall deuision: yet hee forgetteth not, to deuide the first of these foure (which containeth thirtie yeares) and maketh three parts thereof. Whereby wee may well say, that hee consenteth with such, as deuided it into sixe.

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Now, after wee haue considered all these variable opinions, I cannot tell to which I should betake my selfe, as being the truest; and to speake vprightly, no man knoweth how to give an assured rule, or any certaine ayme; as well in regard of the diuers complexions & dispositions of men, as also their dwelling in sundry Landes and Prouinces, and their nourishing by good or bad foods; by meanes whereof, men arriue sooner or later at the state of Old Age. For which cause, *Galen* would haue no man to give any limited times to our ages: which being well considered, it maketh all these discordances of so many Authors, need no matter of strange maruaile, considering that each man had a seuerall consideration. According as *Seruius Tullius*, King of Rome had, who (according to *Aulus Gellius*) had

Deuision into three Ages onely.

Arist. in lib. 3. Anima.

Auicen in pars. 1. de Cap. 1. de Complex. And his deuision into four ages.

The first age deuided by Auicenne into three parts.

Doubt, how to be resolued in this case.

The deuision of Galen. Gal. in lib. 6. de Regim. Saniis

Seruius Tullius his deuision of the life of ma.

had no respect but to common benefit, when he deuided the people of Rome into five estates. And yet he distinguished the life of men, but into three parts, calling the first age (which he assigned to be seauenteene yeares) Childhood. From that estate to forty sixe; he declared them to bee men, able for the Warres, and so caused them to be set downe in writing. Lastly, from forty sixe onward; he called them, ripe and mellow men, fit for graue imployment and counsell.

This deuision doth not contrary any of the other, because it is vniuersall, and includeth the meanest particulars in it, and it seemeth, that he grew conformable to the common deuisions, when it was vsually obserued, to separate (in diuers kinds) the Greene Age, Ripe-age, and Old-age. The Greene-age, from the time of our birth, euen to the ending of our youth, which goerh so farre as forty five yeares, little more, or little lesse; according as *Virgill* saith, *Viridisque iuuentus*, that is to say; *Greenyouth*. The Ripe and Mellow Age, proceedeth on to threescore yeares, which time was attributed by *Seruius Tullius*, to men of Wisedome, meete for graue counsels and consultations. The rest is tearmed to be decrepitate Old-age. These three parts, may likewise be deuided into other proportions; and (by that meanes) be answerable to the varietie, which appeareth to haue beene (by diuersitie of coniecture) among so many good Writers.

CHAP. XVI.

That there be certaine yeares in the life of Man, which our Ancients haue iudged to be more dangerous, then any other; And for what cause.



Ancient Philosophers & Astrologers haue obserued, that there are certaine yeares in our course of life, of much more perill and danger, then others be; which they named *Climactericall*, by reason of the

Greeke word *Clima*, that is to say; a Ladder or forme of degrees, signifying thereby, that such yeares are limited, in the fashion of degrees or steps, but hard to passe, during the race of this mortall life. For, like as they maintaine in daies, that the seauenth, ninth, and fourteenth, are dangerous during mens sicknesses and infirmities: In like case, they haue especiall respect, that such a numberd limitation, taketh place also in the course and yeares of our fraile life; in regard of the members strength, whereof great account hath beene made by *Pythagoras*, *Themistius*, *Boetius*, *Auerroes*, and many others: Also, in regard of the influences and domination of euill Planets; as I may alleadge of *Saturne*, who reigneth in diuersity of seasons, and sundry Ages. Whereby they gather iudicially (according as *Marsilius Ficinus*, *Censorinus*, & *Aulus Gellius* doe testifie) that all the Septenary yeares, or those comprised of seauens; doe portend great alterations, changes; & impossible (as it were) that such tearmes can bee passed, without mighty hazzard, alteration of life, estate, health, or complexion. Vpon this occasion, the yeare seauenth, fourteenth, twenty one, twenty eight, thirty five, forty two, forty nine, and so for euery seauenth yeare, is to bee feared.

And because they defend the number Tenarie, or of three, to be likewise of great efficacy; they say, that three times seauen (which maketh one and twenty) is of maine imporrance. The like speech doe they make of the yeare forty nine, because it is composed of seauen times seuen. But the yeare (most of all other) to be feared, is that of sixty three. For, like as the number of one and twenty; ariseth out of three times seauen: so, likewise the number of sixty three, begetteth it selfe of three times one and twenty, or of nine times seauen, or of seauen times nine; which compleateth the number celebrated & recommended by the very wisest. When a man therefore commeth to the age, of entring into the year threescore and three; he ought to be carefull of his health and life, waiting (daie by day) for some change therein, or whatsoever else may happen vnto him, according

This deuision not contrarying the former.

Greene Age. Mellow Age. Old Age.

Viridisque iuuentus.

Yeares called *Climactericall*, dangerous to mans life.

Daies maintained to be dangerous.

Pythagoras. Themistius. Boetius. Auerroes.

Marsilius Ficinus. Censorinus. Aulus Gellius.

Of the number of three, in danger of yeares.

The dangerous yeare of threescore and three.

Julius Firmicus
in lib. Astrolog.

The Letter of
Octavius to
Cassius.

The death of
Aristotle.

The death of
Diuine Plato,
&c.

The Authors
defence for
this argument

Man ſubiect
to the will of
God.

ording as *Julius Firmicus* affirmeth in his Books of Astrology.

To this purpose, *Aulus Gellius* maketh mention of the Emperor *Octavius* his Letter, whereby he signified to his Nephew *Cassius* (having escaped this yeare of so much danger) how carefull he ought to be of the yeare sixty foure, because he had preuented the yeare sixty three; so that he declared a good intention, to celebrate his second Natiuity. For these reasons, our Elders made doubt of this yeare threescore and three, perceiuing many worthy men to die, euen at the arriuall thereof: for in the same yeare dyed *Aristotle*, and diuers other notable personages. And, as I haue formerly said, the number of nine was also feared, because they said, that he which escaped the yeare sixetic three, could not passe the boundes of fourescore and one; in regard that this age was composed of nine times nine: at which age died diuine *Plato*, the great Geographer *Eratoſthenes*, *Zenocrates*, the Platonicall Prince of the auncient *Academie*, *Diogenes* the *Cinick*, and other famous persons.

Gentlemen, I was willing to make some obseruation of these matters, more for curiositie and exercise, then for any credence giuen to them: albeit they are not viterly impertinent, nor voide of naturall reason. For, as wee may behold, that some sicknesses and humours doe end in a man, and, that in other Creatures, the change of teeth, encrease of Beard, the voyce augmenting, and nature worketh other effectes and notable changings, on such complexions as are knowne by the tearmes of yeares: wherefore should not wee credite, that (by the same meanes) limited times doe make other alterations and impressions? Why should we not beleue, that our humane body hath communication with the Celestiall influences, as with humours; by some especiall meanes, which is hidden from vs? Because, man is subiect to the will and gouernment of God. And God, although he hath formed all things miraculously, and super-naturally: yet notwithstanding, he will haue his works to be naturall; onely such excepted, as were created by him against the Lawes of Nature, and according to his owne

secret and inscrutable iudgement.

CHAP. XVII.

That *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and other of the auncient Philosophers and Poets, did read the Books of *Moyſes*, and haue taken many particuler points out of them.



It is not to bee found, that any man (before *Moyſes*) hath left any thing written; except it were *Abraham* and *Enoch*, whose learning, *Moyſes* (as their lawfull Inheritor) hath comprehended in his Bookes, adding thereunto, those things which he heard from the mouth of the liuing God, by Oracles daily received from him. At such time as *Pythagoras* and *Plato* learned the Sciences in *Aegypt*; they would (first of all) study the Doctrine of *Moyſes*, whose name (in those times) was in great admiration through all *Aegypt*, & out of his Bookes they conceiued the reason of God; to wit, of the first cause. After whom, *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*, wrote down in his Bookes, many things concerning *Moyſaicall* Doctrine, as *Basile* the great witnesseth; and the same *Numenius* saith, that *Plato* was no other then *Moyſes*, speaking in the Greeke Language. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, doe both say, that the Gentiles received their very greatest Mysteries from the *Iewes*, wrapping & enfolding them in their Fables. That of *Deucalion*, was taken from the Historie of the Deluge: The fixation of *Phaeton*, from the retrogradation and going back of the Sunne, which was in the time of *Ezechias*.

They that would behold the building of the Tower of *Babel*, which *Nimrod* and his pertakers vnderooke, meaning (by Ladders) to climb vp into Heauen, and see what was done there: shall find it vnder certaine Allegories, amply described in *Homer*, vnder the Fable of the Gyants *Oetus* and *Ephialtes*, Sonnes to *Iphimedia*, where hee describeth their height

Whether any man wrote before *Moyſes*.

Pythagoras and *Plato*.

Numenius the *Pythagorian*.

Clemens Alexandrinus and *Eusebius*.

The Tower of *Babel*.

The Gyants *Oetus* and *Ephialtes*. *Homer Odyf. Lib. 11.*

Ouid, Homer, Hesiodus, Linus.

Saturnes golden Age.

Fran. Georg. in lib. de Hermo de Mund.

height and wonderfull greatnesse, and how they would lay the Mountaine *Ossa*, vpon that of *Olympus*, and *Pelion* vpon *Ossa*. The Poet *Ouid*, borne in *Sulmo*, tooke that which hee singeth, of the beginning and Creation of the World (like as *Homer*, *Hesiodus*, and *Linus*, borrowed their Songs, of sanctifying the seauenth day) from none else but *Moyfes*. Many haue sung the golden Age and raigne of *Saturne*, hauing gathered it from the most happy estate, wherein *Adam* was before hee sinned. Many more before them; as *Orpheus*, who learned diuers things from the doctrine of *Moyfes*, especially in the Book which he made of the sacred word; he confesseth, that he took out of the Moysaicall Tables, that which hee singeth concerning God, knowne to the onely *Chaldean Moyfes*, by these Verses, which *Frances George*, in his Hermony of the world, hath reduced into Latine.

*Vnus perfectus Deus est, qui cuncta creauit
Cuncta fouens, atque ipse fouens super omnia in se:
Qui capitur mente tantum, qui mente videtur:
Qui nullum, ne malum mortalibus inuehit unquam:
Quem preter non est alius: tu cuncta videto:
Hic ipsum in terris melius quo cernere posses.
Hic etenim video: ipsius vestigia fortem:
Hicque manum video: verum ipsum cernere, quis sit,
Nequaquam valeo, nam nubibus insidet altis.
Nemo illum nisi Chaldeo de sanguine quidam
Progenitus vidit: quem caelorum arca sedes
Sublimisque tenet: cuius se dextera tendit
Occani ad fines: quem de radicibus imis
Concussisque tremunt montes: nec pindere quamuis
Immensis sint, ferre queunt: qui cubina celi
Alta colens: terris nunquam tamen ille sit absens,
Ipse est principium, medium quoque, et exitus idem,
Priscorum nos haec docuerunt omnia voces:
Quae binis tabulis Deus olim tradidit illis.*

Some haue been of opinion, that *Orpheus* meant by this *Chaldean*, *Noah*, others, *Enoch*, and the *Platonists* tooke him for *Zoroastres*, who was the Sonne of *Cham*: but to none of them were the Tables of the Commaundements giuen, but to *Moyfes* onely.

CHAP. XVIII.

A Mysticall signification, concerning the body of Eliseus, and of the dead man raised to life in the Prophets Graue.



It is written in the second Booke of the Kinges, and the thirteenth Chapter, that as they were burying a Man, they espyed the Souldiours of the *Moabites*: wherefore, they threw the dead man into the Graue of *Eliseus*, and the man beeing downe, and hauing touched the bones of *Eliseus*, he reuiued, and stood vppon his feete. This History containeth in it, the figure of our Lord Iesus Christ, and vnder the superficies thereof, is hidden a very great Mysterie. Dead *Eliseus*, is mysticallie vnderstood to be Iesus Christ, who died for vs; and the Souldiers or Theeues of *Moab*, doe represent wicked Spirits, and the finnes of the world.

The Men that espyed the *Moabites*, and threwe the dead bodie into the Graue of *Eliseus*; doe signifie the Apostles, who provided for the peoples sauing health, against the mallice of wicked Demons, and against the burthen of finnes: and therefore plunged mankinde (being dead) into the Sepulcher of Christ, that is to say, into the Water of Baptisme, because the Water of Baptisme is Christes Graue or Sepulcher, wherein wee are sanctified three times in the name of the blessed Trinitie, in regard that Iesus Christ continued three dayes and nights in the Sepulcher. Whereupon, Saint *Paule* saide to the *Romaines*: *We are buried with him in his death by Baptisme*. Concerning the dead man, that hauing touched the bones of *Eliseus*, reuiued, and rose vpon his feete: read but the same Apostle, in his second Chapter to the *Colossians*, and there you shall finde him perfectlie described.

*It is the fourth booke, in the vulgar edition.

The mysticall application of this History.

Rom. 7, 9.

CHAP. XIX.

The Interpretation, of the Dreame of the great King Nabuchodonosor.

Nabucadnezar, otherwise called *Nabuchodonosor*, King of *Babylon*, beheld

Dan. 2.

Nabuchodonosors Image.

beheld (in a Dream) a very great Image or statue, the glory whereof was high, and it had a terrible regard. His head was of fine Gold; his Breast and armes of Siluer, his belley and Thighes of Brasse; his Legges of Iron; and his Feete were partly of Iron, and partlie of Earth. He saw afterward, that a little stone (came of it selfe) out of a Mountaine, and descended from such an height; as by the very blow of his fall, the Image was broken in all parts, and beaten into Powder. Daniell Interpreted this statue, and gaue the signification thereof in the Kinges presence, as is contained in the second Chapter of his Booke: but heere it is more amply interpreted, and in a larger manner.

The signification of the Image, which Nabuchodonosor saw in his Dreame.

The Image or Statue, denoted the Monarchies of the World; the head of Gold was the Kingdome of the *Assyrians*; the Breast and Armes of Siluer, the Empire of the *Persians*; the Belly & Thighes of Brasse, the Monarchy of the *Grecians*; the rest remaining (consisting of Iron and Earth) the State and Dominion of the *Romaines*. The stone is Iesus Christ, who descending from the Celestiall Mountaine, hath humbled al these Kingdoms, & brought them to nothing. By this it appeareth, that we are in the last age, and that smal time of passing hence remaineth: because, this world must be ouerthrowne and ruined, all the Kingdomes hauing already passed, and all Prophecies fullie accomplished. All which, if we were not able to coniecture; yet might wee easily comprehend by good reasons.

Good reasons to perswade that we liue in the latest age.

In the first place, wee cannot deny, but that vertue is at her chiefeft height, and all Vices at their pitch of extremity. In the second place, who euer beheld Diuinity and Learning more exalted, then it is at this day? Philosophy, Musicke, Armes, Caruing, Painting, and Eloquence more common, then now they are? very children neuer grew so soone to be perfect. We daily behold, that men do not now reach to the yeares of an hundred, or if they do, it is very sildome; as in former times they did. And we may perceiue withal, that at the age of 18. yeares, a young Springall shewes himselfe of as good shape, and prouided of as able strength; as a

Exaltation of the Arts and Sciences.

Shortnesse of life.

Forwardnesse in growth.

young man at the age of thirty in elder daies. I cannot deliuer any reason, why men doe liue in this World so short a while; except it be thorough their bad gouernment, and that dissolutions and vices are the maine cause thereof: or rather, that God being willing to hasten the end of the World, would haue all these predictions, to be as warning pieces of his neere approach. We can deliuer another Allegory, or Exposition of King *Nabuchodonosors* Dreame. The Statue or Image, is this World, wherein we are Inhabitants, and where the more part of Mortall Men, are called Rich, Noble, and Mighty, vnder which Titles, we comprise the head of Gold. The cleare shining Siluer, and of very good sound; is the Learning of Men, tearmed wise, religious, and vertuous. By the Brazen part, wee vnderstand inuented Artes, by which ensue the benefits of life and maintenance. As for the feete of Earth and Iron, wee may well admit them to be our bad actions, the very best whereof, will scarce allow any boasting: because they are full of filthinesse, soyled with hatreds, enmities, and rancours, that (too soone) get possession of our harts. Our stupidity and vnaptnesse to good workes, and our iniquity of life, which is all made of Earth; both gouerneth and supporteth this huge masse, this vaine corruption, despoiled of all this, euen by it selfe, by this ouer-burdening and loading it selfe. But our Lord will descend from Heauen, the little Stone, euen that (I say) which became so great; and at his second comming, he shal cast downe to the ground, all humaine Estates, and shall iudge (in the last day) the Gold, the Siluer, and all the rest of the actions of our life.

Reasons for the breuity of life.

Another exposition of this Dreame.

Gold. Siluer. Brasse.

Earth & Iron

The little stone.

CHAP. XX.

When the ending of the world shall come, by the coniectures of diuers learned Doctors, and other great personages.

Some haue deliuered their opinion, that the Worlde is to endure sixe thousand

The world to continue 6000. yeares.

Genebrad in Chron.

The coniectures deliuered by Rabbi Isaac.

The coniectures of Nicholas de Cusa, Cardinall.

The trauailes of our Sauior in this world.

Math. 7, 9.

Math. 25, 40.

The Church is the mystical body of christ

thousand yeares, to wit; two thousand without the Law; two thousand with the Law; and another two thousand after the first comming of the Sonne of God. This was not the Prophecie of Helie the Thesbite, but rather the inuention of another Helie, a Rabbe of the Iewes, vpon the Talmud; in the tract Sanedrin; Chapter Helec; in the tract of Idolatry; Chapter Digne; and in the Tract of the Sabbath. The coniectures of whom, are reported by Rabbi Isaac, vpon the first Chapter of Genesis, the principall whereof are these that follow.

The first Versicle of Genesis, containeth the Summary of the workes of God, expressing six times the Letter N. Now, Aleph signifieth a thousand. Moreouer, God perfected the World in six daies, the seauenth hee ceased from his works, and sanctified the Sabbath: And, a thousand yeares are with God, euen as yesterday which is past, so saith the Psaimist. Finally, the six first Fathers, Adam, Seth, Enos, Caynam, Malaleel, Jared, are dead; the seauenth, to wit; Enoch, was transported aliue vp into Heauen. After six thousand yeares then, during which time, trauailes, and death will be in their vigour: shal begin the seauenth thousand of repose, and of the life immortall.

Nicholas de Cusa, a very wise Cardinall, gaue many other coniectures of the last times, which I wil relate here at large. If wee desire (saith he) to haue knowledge of the time (how little foener it be) concerning the ending of the world, and the last daies: wee haue iust cause then to meditate on the trauailes, which our Sauior Iesus Christ endured in this World. For, as himselfe hath taught vs, if we will liue as Christians; we ought to follow, and learne of him. Learne of me (saith he) for I am humble & meeke of heart. In like manner, himselfe hath giuen vs example; to doe as hee did, if wee desire to bee his followers. Moreouer, hee assureth vs, that all the faithfull are his members, when hee saith; that which is done to the least of his, hee reputerh it as done to himselfe. The Church then is his mysticall body, and shee, in her totall perigrination in this World; imitateth her head Iesus Christ, who opened Heauen by his as-

20 cension. He hath gone before, as her rule and example; his Church followeth after, as his Image and resemblance. Moyses behelde the truth, in the flaming Mountaine Sinay, by vision of the verity, and after the Vision was vanished, hee did according to the example which he had seene. Iesus Christ entred into this World; in the forme of a young Infant, hee increased in age and Wisedome, became a man, enstru- 30 cting the truth, and walking in it; vntill such time, as (to bee a Testimonie thereof) he was taken from this world, by the mallice of the Iewes, who made him to suffer death vpon the Crosse. Neuerthelesse, hee hath left his seeede, which is his Church, in whom he abideth, as Adam in Eue, his Wife formed of his Flesh, and brought forth of his side: to the ende, that his Spouse, the Church (full of his Seede) should after- 40 ward be nourished in the House of his heauenly Father, by her glorious assumption vp into Heauen. The Church was regenerated from hir Infancy, euen like an Infant; shee hath increased in yeares and diuine wisedome, and (by little and little) she shall accomplish and finish the time of her Trauailes in this World.

50 Now, if we would haue a liuely example, we may say by coniecture, that the time which Iesus Christ liued vpon the Earth; is represented and declared by his Militant Church. We know, that hee is called the Sonne of Man, and the Lord of the Sabbath. Likewise, in him was accomplished, that which was prophesied by Esay, to wit; The yeare of the Lord, which yeare of the Lorde, is the yeare of Iubilie and freedome. (For Iobell in Hebrew, is as much to say, as the fiftith yeare, at which time of Iubily in Israell, euery seller might (by right) recouer againe the things which he had sold, without restoring the price receiued.) All this time is reuolued by the septenary number, to wit; from seauen dayes, from seauen yeares, and from seauen times seauen yeares, which are fortie nine yeares. After which, the fiftith yeare following this laborious reuolution, is the yeare Iubilie, free and full of liberty, in which all seruitude ceasing, liberty returneth freely againe. And it is to

Christ his entrance into this world.

The Church the Spouse of Christ.

The time of Christs being on earth, figured by the militant Church.

The yeare of Iubilie.

This Parenthesis is not set downe in Nicholas de Cusa.

be noted, that fifty yeares of common account by the Catholique Church, do make one yeare of Iubily of the Lord our God. And the Church, who (as his owne Image) followeth her Lord and Patrone; doth both demonstrate and explicate by the number of fiftie, onely one of the yeares of Iubily of her Spouse. So that, the reuolution of one yeare of the Lord, made in peregrination of his Church, is answerable to one sunny reuolution of Iesus Christ, the true Sun of righteousnesse. By which reasons, wee make coniecture, that the Church cannot trauaile in this World, aboue fifty Iubilies, which are 2500. wherof already we haue had 29. * which are past; considering, that since the ascension of our Sauour, euen to this present, 1452. yeares haue runne their course. This is the allotted space, and very greatest continuance of the Church, after her Bridegroom, wherof there is much to be abridged.

Now if we will consider further, the things which our Lord & Sauour hath done, and those which he suffered after the twenty ninth yeare of his age, vntill the day that he arose, triumphing ouer Sin, Death, and Hell, and then, if wee extend those yeares into Iubilies: wee may (by coniectures) foretell what shal happen to the Church. So that, in the foure and thirtith Iubily, after the resurrection of the Redeemer of al mankind; she may well hope (by the goodnesse of God) to be raised vp into the glorie, to the ruine of Antichrist. And this is thought, that it will happen, after the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ into the World, 1700. and before the yeare 1734. And as in the time of *Noah*, the consummation of sin came by the Deluge, the 34. Iubily after the first *Adam*, according as wise *Philo the Iew* hath written: we may also fore-tell by coniectures, that in the 34. Iubily after the second *Adam*, both sin and the World shall be consumed by the fire of the holy spirit. And then shall the Church be transferred out of this corruptible world, into the glory of the liuing, by the comming of her Spouse to Iudgement. And yet the houre of this second comming will be vncertaine, for come he will, & when least doubt is made of him; like as a Thiefe commeth in the

night, and as the deluge came vpon the earth. *Philo* the Iew declareth, that *Moy-ses* (at the houre of his death) desired God to reueale vnto him; how much of the time was passed, and how much (as then) remained: whereto God answered, that two had already passed, & two wer as yet to come. And so *Moy-ses* being full of vnderstanding, yeilded vp his Soule. Heerein then (saith he) God reuealed four times to *Moy-ses*, two past, and two to come: of which, from *Adam* to the Deluge or Floud, passed the first time. The second, after the floud, vntil *Moy-ses*. The third, from *Moy-ses* to Iesus Christ. And the fourth, from Iesus Christ, to the end and consummation of the world. Now, the last time took beginning at the Resurrection of the Son of God, and continueth to the ending of the world, vpon which good reason, the Saints (oftentimes) called them the latter daies, and the ends of the world.

Now, notwithstanding that these supputations of yeares are very diuers, according to the truth of the *Iewes*, according to the 70. *Greeke* Interpreters, as also according to *Iosephus* & *Philo*: I am of the minde (neuerthelesse) it is much more true, that there hath passed so many Iubilies from the death of *Moy-ses* to Iesus Christ; as from *Adam* to the time of *Noah*, and as many from the floud vnder *Noah*, vnto the death of *Moy-ses*. In like manner, as many Iubilies haue and shall run their course, from the resurrection of our Sauour, to the end of the last times, and of 34. Iubilies. *Moy-ses* died (according to that diuine reuelation) in the midst of these 4. times, wherof two were finished, & two were then to come. * There are many other coniectures of the latter daies, which are found written, and yet are so diuers; as no one agreeth with another. And to speak truly, the ending of the world, and the generall iudgement is vncertaine to any creature: for it is onely in the hand and power of God, whose secrets are concealed to himselfe, and he being God reserved them to his owne peculiar knowledge. So that, if those auncient men would needs vndertake to write thereof som perticularities; yet they al deceiud themselues by abusing coniectures, far off from all verity. We then of these daies, who haue much lesse learning & iudge-

Philo the Iew, of a reuelatio made to *Moy-ses*, concerning the times.

Concerning the supputations of these yeares.

* All hitherto is out of *Nicholas de Cusa*.

The ending of the world onely known to God.

* This is out of *Cusa*, who liued & spake this, in the yeare 1464. made Cardinall vnder Pope *Pius* the second. So that, in perfect account, the instant yeare, is the 31. Iubily, since Iesus Christ.

This is onely conceiued in opinion.

A comparison betweene the first and second *Adam*.

2. Pet. 3, 10.

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judgement then they had, without any comparison, and enjoy not a sparke of the like sanctity; ought to cease and desist, frō ouer-curious search into things to come, especially daies, houres, and moments, which God hath so restrained to his owne power, that the Angels in heauen do not know them. For so himselfe saith; *Of that day and houre, no Man knoweth, no not the Angels of Heauen, but my Father onely.* But sure and certain are we, that the world shall perish by an vniuersall flame, and shall bee reuiued: which the Spirit of God deliuered by *Moyse*, in his Song in *Deutronomy*: *Fire is kindled in my wrath, and shall burne vnto the bottome of Hell, and shall consume the earth with her encrease, and set on fire the foundations of the Mountaines.*

Sophocles the Pagan Poet, seemed to touch with his finger (as it were) the ending of the World, in diuers verses, translated by *John de Maulmont*, the meaning wherof briefly folowes thus. *The Age shall come that wil bring vs riches from the high Heauens, when they shall be filled, and round engirt with fire. All places on the earth the flames shall enclose, and burne all things, as well in the water, as in the Ayre. Not any thing in this world, vnder earth, or in the deepest Sea, shall scape from burning. When then, by so cruell a flames fury, all things shall be consumed: the springes of all waters shall be without course, like a bottomes gulfe. No fields shal produce any more fruits, nor the earth be inhabited: No ships shall floate vpon the Sea: No Birds fly in the Ayre: But a cruell tempest of fierie thunder, shall hurle Heauen and Earth into eternall ruine; burning the Earth and all things into Cinders. Then shall her great backe resume no other essence, or yeelde any nourishment, for all is brought into putrifaction.*

Saint Peter writeth; *That Heauen and Earth which is at this instant, are reserved for Fire at the day of Iudgement; and the Elements shall resolve themselves into fire.* *Saint Augustine* answered a demand which might he made, as thus. When after the Iudgement is ended, this World shall bee burnt, before (instead thereof) a new Heauen be created, and a new Earth: in what place shall the Saints be, when this burning is performed? Considering, it followeth necessarily, that they should be in some corporeall place, because they all haue bo-

dies. *They shall be* (saith he) *in high places, wherevnto the flames can neuer mount, as likewise the Waters of the Deluge could not. For they shall then haue such bodies, as they may bee where they will be, without fearing the Fire of burning, being made immortall and incorruptible: as the corruptible and Mortall bodies of the three Men, Sidrach, Misack, and Abednago liued, without being offended in the fiery furnace.*

Now, if we will be Christians, we ought to beleue, that the Resurrection of the dead, is in Flesh, and that it will bee done in a moment, or in the twinkling of an eye, saith the Apostle: but our Faith heerein is not vnprofitable, although our vnderstanding doe not perfectly comprehend, howe, and in what manner it shal be done. Let vs leaue then to God, the causes and reasons whereby this is to bee done, and let not vs enquire (ouer busily) after his admirable secrets. I could continue on this discourse, with diuers other Chapters, and handle in them this Resurrection, setting downe the solution and answers of Doctors in Diuinity, touching those high questions and demands, which may be made in this matter. But I will faile no further in so high a Sea, nor enter into an ** Eurypus* of reasons, where the Billowes may cause the sincking of my poore Spirits ship; therefore here shall be my Hauen and landing.

CHAP. XXI.

The Conquest of the Kingdome of Naples, by Charles the eight, King of France.



Phillip de Comines, a worthy learned Gentleman, who was Counsellour to King Charles, and serued him in the action: giueth notable testimony thereof, and therefore I think it not amisse, to vse his own words, in regard of his grauity and authority. He relateth first, the cruelty & tyranny of *Ferdinando*, King of Naples, and of his Son *Alphonso*, in causing 24 Noble-

Actes 1, 7.

Math. 14, 36.

Deut. 32, 22.

Sophocles related by John de Maulmont.

2 Pet. 3, 12.

August. in Lib. 10. de Ciuit. Dei.

Dan. 3, 24.

1 Cor. 15, 23.

* A narrow sea betweene the hauen *Aulis* and *Euboia*, which ebberth and floweth feuen times a day, and so violently, that it carryeth (with it) ships with full saile against the winde.

Phillip de Comines in Carolo 8.

The Iudgement of *Phillip de Comines*, of the Conquest of *Naples*, for the finnes of the Kings thereof

The tyranny, crueltie, and vicious life of the Kings of *Naples*.

Bishoppicks and Abbaies sold for money

Noble-men (their Subiects) to be most cruelly murdered in Prison: then, discourfing of their vices and wickednes, he afterward speakeh of Gods iudgements vpon them, proceeding in this manner.

No man (saith hee) was euer more cruell, more wicked, more vicious, nor a greater Glutton, then *Alphonso*, though his Father *Ferdinando* was more dangerous then he: for, in making men faire weather (as we tearme it) and good cheare; he commonly betrayed them. As he dealt by Count *Iaques*, whom he murdered villainously, though hee were Ambassadour with him for *Frances Sforza*, Duke of *Milaine*, and so he dealt likewise with many other, neuer vsing mercy to any, no, not so much as to his owne Kinf-man. Besides, he neuer had any pittie or compassion on his poore people, for hee made a very merchandize of his Kingdome, insomuch; that hee forced his Subiects to feede and fat his Hogges, and pay for them if they chanced to die. He bought vp all the Oyle and Graine in the Countrey, before it was ripe, and sold it afterward extreamely deare, compelling them to take it at his price, and, while he sold, no man else might sell any. If any Noble-man or Gentleman were richer then the rest; hee forced him to lend him great summes of Money. He tooke from his Nobility their races of horses, or else made them keepe them for him, whereby he had many thousands of Horses, Mares, and Coltes. Both the Father and the Son tooke many Women by force. They neuer had reuerence or respect to the holy Church; but sold Bishoppicks, as for example, that of *Taranto*, which *Ferdinando* the Father sold for 12000. Ducates, to a Iew for his Son, who (he said) was a Christian. He gaue Abbaies to Faulconers, with charge, to keepe him a certaine number of Haukes at their expences. *Alphonso* the Sonne neuer kept any Lent, nor made so much as any shew to keepe it. He neuer made conscience of any committed sinne, nor euer communicated: and, to conclude, it is not possible to doe worse, then they both did.

Thus saith this Authour, of the liues and manners of these two Kinges, and

then hee further addeth, concerning Gods Iudgements vpon them. It may (saith he) seeme to the Readers, that I haue spoken this on some particular passion, or hatred towards them. But (in good faith) I haue not said it to any other end, then to continue the course of my History, and that it may appeare, that this voyage to King *Charles* to *Naples*, proceeded onely of the will of Almighty GOD, who ordained, that so young a King, destitute of Councell, Mony, and all sufficient meanes for such an enterprife: should be his Comissary (as it were) to chastice these Kinges, who were wise, potent, and rich, and had many wise Counsellours and graue personages about them; yea, many subiects, friends, and allies, abroad in *Italy*, whom it imported to conserue and defend that Kingdome. And yet neuerthelesse, though they fore-saw the storm long before: they could not find meanes to auoid it, nor make resistance any where. For, excepting onely the Castle of *Naples*, there was not any place, Town, or Fort, that stayed King *Charles* at one whole day. Insomuch, that Pope *Alexander* said very wel; *That the French-men came with Chalke in their hands, like Harbingers to make and take vp their lodgings wher they pleased*: For they had not occasion, so much as to put on their Armour, in all the Voyage.

Therefore I conclude, according to the opinion of very many good and religious men, and other sorts of people (& the voyce of the people is the voyce of God) that GOD did punnish these Kinges visibly, and in such eident manner; that it might serue for an example and admonition to all Kinges, to liue well, according to the commandement of God. For these Kinges whereof I haue spoken, lost their Honours and Realme, great riches, and moouables of al sorts; yea, and their owne persons in the ende, three of them in the space of one year, or little more. And, as I haue vnderstood of some (that were very neere them) they found (in pulling downe an olde Chappell) a Booke, whereof the Title was; *The Truth, with her secret counsell*; in which Booke, was contained all that had happened after vnto them: And when they three (onely) had read it, they burnt it.

Thus

Phillip de Comines Ibid.

Charles the 8. king of *France* the Comissary of God to chastise the kings of *Naples*

The admirable facility of the Conquest of *Naples*.

The eident punishment of God vpon the Kings of *Naples*.

A Prophecie of the Conquest of *Naples*.

Thus much I thought good to set down in the words of this wise and grave Author, to the end, that not only the bad liues of these Kings, but also his iudgement may appeare concerning Gods Iustice shewed vpon them and their whole Kingdome for the same. And this may also bee confirmed by other perticulers, which *Guicciardine* recounteth of them, and of the successe of that warre, signifying, that *Ferdinando* the Father being verie wise, and vnderstanding of that intention of King *Charles*, to come and inuade his Kingdome; he feared so greatlie the successe (in respect of his owne bad life and his sonnes) that hee laboured by all meanes possible, by Ambassadours and Friends to diuert him from his purpose, offering to pay him yearly Tribute, of 50000. Ducates, and to holde his Kingdome of him, by fealty and homage. And when hee saw that nothing would preuaile, hee fell sicke with sorrow, and died before King *Charles* entred into *Italy*.

And *Alphonso* his Sonne (who then succeeded him in the Kingdome) though he bragd long before that he would go so farre as to the Mountaines, to meete King *Charles* if he came forwards (which he said, he would neuer beleue he durst do) yet afterward, when the *French* were in *Italy*, and came so farre as Rome, hee tooke such a fright, that he cried out eue-ry night, he heard the *French*-men coming, and that the verie trees and stones cried *France*. And, as *Guicciardine* affirmeth (who was not a man either easily to beleue, or rashly to Write Fables) it was credibly and constantly reported, that the spirit of *Ferdinando*, his father, appeared to one that had bene his Physiti- on, and bad him tell his sonne *Alphonso* from him; that he should not bee able to resist the *Frenchmen*. For God hadde ordained, that his progeny should (after many great afflictions) bee deprived of their Kingdome, for the multitude and great enormity of their sinnes. And especially, for that which he had done (by the perswasion of *Alphonso*) himselfe, in the Church of *S. Leander*, in *Chata* neere to *Naples*; whereof he told not the perticulers.

Furthermore, the same Author signifieth; that *Alphonso* was exagitated with suspitions and feares, whiles he was waking, and in his sleepe, with the represen-

tation of the Noblemen, whom hee had caused to be secretly murdered in prison, (as I haue declared before) and that being in this miserable perplexitie, he resigned his Crowne vnto his sonne (that was called *Ferdinando*, after his grand-fathers name) and ranne away into *Sicily*, in such hast, that his Mother in-law (with whom only he communicated his intention) being desirous to flie with him, coulde not perswade him to stay for her so much as three dayes, which she earnestly desired, to the end, she might haue that comfort at least, to be Queen of *Naples* a full year. But he told her, that if she would not go presently with him, he would leaue her: protesting (as *Phillip de Comines* testifieth) that if any sought to stay him by force, hee would cast himselfe out at the Windows. Asking hir further, if she heard not enery one crie *France, France*. Thus being tormented with the horrour of his owne Conscience, and the terrour of Gods Iudgements, alreadye false vpon him: he fled into *Sicily*, taking with him diuers sortes of delicate Wines (which he had alwayes loued ouer-well) and som Garden seeds to sowe, and a few Jewels; and a little mony, without taking any order in the Worlde, for his goodes and Moueables, which he left in great quantitie and aboundance, in the Castle of *Naples*.

But being arriued in *Sicily*, and touch- ed with Gods grace, he fell into the account of his bad life past, and of Gods iustice executed vpon him, he became verie penitent, gaue great almes, and entered into Religion, in which estate, hee dyed soone after of the stone, with the extreamest torments that could be immagined, as some of the Religious, with whom he lined, tolde after to *Phillip de Comines*, as himselfe writeth. And to conclude the Tragical History of the Kings, his sonne *Ferdinando*, to whom hee resigned his Crowne, hauing assembled al his forces, durst make no resistance any where vnto the *French*, but fledde before them from place to place, vntill at length, almost all his subiectes forsooke him, and rebelled against him; whereupon, he fled also into *Sicily*, and within awhile dyed there. Loe heere the miserable calamity which (for the sinnes of these Kings) fell not on- ly vpon them, but also vpon their whole Kingdome, seruing for many yeares af- ter;

Guic lib. 1. hist.

King *Ferdinan- do* of Naples, died for sor- row.

The idle brag- ging of King *Alphonso*.

Guicciard. lib. 1.

The spirit of King *Ferdi- nand* appeared after his death

The Kings of *Naples* depriv- ed of their Kingdome.

Guic. lib. 1. The torments of a guiltie Conscience.

Phillip de Co- mines in Carolo 8.

K. Alphonso be- ing strangely tormente d with the hor- ror of his own conscience, fled into *Sicily*

King *Alphonso* died in *Sicily*; very repen- tant.

Ibid. Cap. 19.

K. Ferdinando, forsaken of his subiects, fled into *Sicily* and died there.

ter, for a prey and spoile to forrain Nations, vntill at length it inioyed the repose, which now it hath vnder the K. of *Spaine*.

CHAP. XXII.

Of a Courtier; And what manner of man he ought to be.



He reason inducing mee to write of a Courtier, is to take away a false perswasion, imprinted in common and popular Iudgement, in thinking; that a Courtier is none other, the an afronter of Merchants, a Dissembler, a Flatterer, Inciuil, a Lyer, a ruffian, a Swaggerer, a troublesome fellow: In briefe, a man made vp of all Viccs, because that in the Kings times, the Sonnes to late King *Henry* the second, raigning in young yeares, many then were such, which being well obserued by that worthis and great man, the Lord *de Pybrack*, in his Poesie of *Quatraines*, hee sung thus:

Go not to Reuelles. if thou loue no dancing,
Nor venter on the Sea, if thou feare danger:
Go not to Bankets if thou canst not eate,
Nor to the Court, if thou speake what thou thinkest.

Now at this present, liuing in such a time, when wee haue a King of a constant age, of a ripe vnderstanding, and Princes and Princeesses, that will haue none in their Courts, but people of vertue; I purpose to propound, what manner of man a Courtier ought to bee, and his ends. To qualify this error of the people, wherein they haue beenc led full manie yeares. Moreouer, such as would or else pretend themselues to be Courtiers, may heerein marke and learne, by what meanes, and with what great facility, they shall attaine thereto.

First of all, he that desireth to followe the Courts of Emperors, Kings, Queens, Dukes, Dutcheesses, Marquesses, and Earles, or other illustrious persons, ought to be a Gentleman by birth, and of a noble house of Antiquity: because it is lesse reproachfull for a Ycoman, to fail in the

exercise of Vertuous actions, then for him that is Noble borne; who erring from those steppes which his predecessors walkt in, soyleth the name & honor of his house and race. Before hee go to Court, he must be past the age of Adolescencie, which is about twentie or five and twenty yeares of his age: for beeing much older, he will not finde it to his liking. Hee must bee well featured and formed, both of his bodye and countenance, least he be misprized and scorned. He must bee of an indifferent stature, to wit; neither extreamly high nor low: for men of such sort, are lookt on like things of monstrous shape. Beside, men of so great stature, ouer and aboue their common addiotion, to dull vnderstanding are verie vnapt to all exercises of agility, matters verie commendable in a Courtier.

He must be expert in all kind of arms, to helpe himselfe, as neede shall require, both at all times, and in all places. He must be a good Horseman, and actiue in managing him; that he may bee knowne (among others) to be hardie and valiant. He must be loyall and faithfull vnto him whom he serueth, and addicted to acord quarrels and contentions, his own honor safely kept, and his for whom hee maketh the agreement. Besides, as hee ought to be skilfull in Wrastling, Leaping, dancing, and playing on some or manie Instruments of Musicke, so should he likewise readily sing any Poet or Historian. He must be exquisite in speaking diuers Languages: if he be French, English, or what else, he ought to speake Latine, Italian, Spanish, yea the Germaine tongue tongue also, if it be possible. And for his better attaining thereto, before hee practise any of them, he must haue visited the Countries where the Languages are naturally spoken. For, to learne them by Bookes, he shall neuer pronounce them truly. I meane the like of other Nations, in regard that the *Frenchmen*, *Italians*, *Spaniards*, and *Germaines*, do ordinarily conuerse together.

He must not vse any sottish presumption, nor bee a reporter of wearisome Nouelties, or so vnaduised, as to speake Offensue speches, in steade of such as may better please. Hee must not bee Opinitue, or Contentious, as some doe seeme to haue no other delight, then in being

Popular opinion concerning a Courtier.

Le Sien de Pybrac in son Quatrains.

The Authors determinate Proposition.

A Courtier ought to be Noble by race

Of what yeares.

Of what form

Of what stature.

Of skill in armes.

A good horseman.

A loyall Seruant.
A Peace-maker.

Active in exercises.
A good Musitian.

A ready speaker of manie Languages, by visiting Countries.

No learning of Languages by Bookes.

Concerning his good parts

No troublesome person.

Bad and vn-decent qualities.

Fame pursueth Vertue.

No vanter or Iuster.

Iests comended for wit & reading.

The Historie of a Mason of Lymosine.

Habit oftentimes makes the man.

*The Spanish pieces of sixe pence Value.

A kind of dealing scarce commendable.

being crosse and troublesome, like Flies or Wasps, and make it their profession, to gainsay euery man despihtfully, without any respect at all. He must bee no prater, Vaine-glorious Boaster, Lye, Flatterer, or Knaue; but moderate and peaceable, vsing euermore (especially in publicke) reuerence and respect towards his Lorde, which is most commendable in a seruant. Fame and renoune do follow all good parts, if they appeare in action, both in due time and place, and he cannot faile in these things, but to his own great dishonor. He must make no vanta of himselfe, except he be truly valiant, & haue acted some great enterprizes, or done some memorable Stratagem. Neither must he vse any iests, that may offend his Prince, or others: except hee order his iests, and so fauor them, as the Prince may speake their woorth for wit and discretion, and not reprove them with want of Iudgement; but, insted of displeasure, thinke them to deserue both respect and recompence.

To this purpose, wee may alledge the Historie of a Marshal of France, tearmed of S. Andrew, who knowing that King Henry, second of that name, could hardly finde an Architect to his liking, to forme him a model for two bodies of lodgings, which he purposed to build at *Fontaine-bleau*, brought him a man of *Lymosine*, a Mason by his trade, yet ignorant. But hauing fitted him with sufficient habite, he made the King beleue, that hee was a great Architect, verie deeply experienced in that Art, & that it was the same man, who had proiected al the buildings which *Charles* the fift, Emperour and king of *Spain*, had caused to bee made. And indeed, this poore man had bin in *Spain*, in his yonger years, to gaine some knowledge by Trauaile, for his best practise could not maintain him in his own countrey. And hauing gotten in *Spain* (in the compasse of sixe or seauen yeares) some fiftie *Reals of siluer; thinking himselfe to be the richest man in his Countrey, hee returned home againe. Hauing spent a good part of his Money, he had married another Wife; for all *Lymosines*, or people of those parts, vsing Mechanical professions, when (for lucre sake) they trauaile into *Spain*: they marrie there (for the most part) to weomen that doo but lend themselues (as it were) for that time,

and comming into their owne Countrey, there they are at libertie againe to take other Wiues.

This poore Mason came to dwell at *Orleance*, hauing spent well-neere all his Reals, and eaten vp his Wiues Dowrie beside, which might amount to twentie pounds; he heard uere of som other Masons, that earned daily seauen or eight *sols or *Sous*, and in his Countrey, they had no more but two *sols*, or six *Blanks. The Lorde Marthall meeting with this Mason by chance, as hee walked one day abroad in the Fieldes, to passe awaie the time pleasantly: he fell into Conference with him, and found that he had a verie proude and over-weening presumption of his owne sufficiency. So much the rather, because hee was a workeman at the building of the new Conuent of *Nostre Dame de Monferrat*. Wherein indeed he holpe to supply the Masons with Morter, which made him of opinion, that he was the verie best Architect of his time: Albeit hee vnderstood little or nothing, scarcely knowing howe to order or lay a stone in a wall in his right place.

The King crediting the Lord Marshals wordes, spake a long time together in good French to the Mason, and yet vnderstood nothing backe againe from him: for he stood with his Hat on, without vsing any reuerence to the King, or respecting him any more, then if he had beene his daily companion. Sometime, hee called his maiesty *Monsieur*, or my Lord the King, speaking one while *Limosine*, then again thrusting forth a word or two of *Spanish*: the King perceiuing nothing all this while, but continued his speeches earnestly to the Mason, that hee might at full vnderstand his mind.

At length, the King beholding that all the standers by smiled, and aboue all, the Lord Marthall, desired to knowe the reason of their Laughter; which beeing disclosed to him, himselfe fell into a verie mirthfull humour and laughed heartily, because he had no better noted the Language, the Crispe countenance and ignorance of the poore Mason. Nor did the King any way take the iest offensively; but contratywise, was well pleased, & much commended the Lorde Marthall for it. The like maner of iesting, inuented by a quicke and apprehensue spirite; with obseruation of time and place; may bee

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*The French shilling, ten whereof doe make one English. *Halie a Sol is a Blanke.

Presumption neuer wanted feilly.

The foolish impudence of the Mason.

The King seriously speaking, discerned not the iest.

An aduertisement vnto a Courtier.

Of mockes, girds, & taunts	<p>be permitted in a Courtier, not offending his Prince, but vsed with such discretion, as may rather procure recompence, then any disgrace.</p>	<p>with men of esteeme, Noble by Nature and birth, and such as are truly knowne to be men of Honor and Honesty, rather then Villaines, or people of no credite.</p>	Not too much esteem of himselfe, or Vili-pending others.
of the Princes Chamber.	<p>In these pleasant behauiours, he must vse no bitter or vnsauoury mocks, girds, or taunts, neither towards poore or Rich, and especially not to women, who (in regard of their imbecility) are to be respected.</p>	<p>His care likewise must be, to be beloued and honoured of them, which he cannot faile of, if he be courteous, humane, liberall, affable, and kind in company; ready to pleasure any, diligent in seruice, & carefull of his friends honor, eyther absent or present; supporting their naturall and tollerable defects, without breach of amity betweene them, for small matters, correcting such errors in himselfe, as shall be louingly shewne him, without esteeming himselfe aboue others, or affecting the highest and most honourable places.</p>	Austere life vndecent.
Of Speeches to the Prince.	<p>He must forbear entrance into the Princes Chamber, except he be called, or commaunded thither. If the Prince haue retired himselfe, to recreate his spirit, beware of vsing any speeches to him, that may fauour of irkesomnes, but rather of Delectation. Let him not request any thing for himselfe, that formerly hath beene moued by another, and may be to his aduantage, euermore shunning importunity in such proceedinges.</p>	<p>Let him attend the fauors of his Prince, and not demand them; auoiding solitude least either he be thought vain-glorious, or weake spirited.</p>	Of the Duello or single combate.
Of Requests.	<p>Let him attend the fauors of his Prince, and not demand them; auoiding solitude least either he be thought vain-glorious, or weake spirited.</p>	<p>And he must not imitate some humours, that seeme to despise the world, & striue (by a kinde of troublesome austeritie) to prescribe Lawes or directions to others: so that, besides their mollestuous and quarrelling condition, euen for the least Trifles in the world; they will reprehend where they should not, and seeke all occasions to complaine of their verie best Friends, which is an odious and bad behauiour.</p>	Of sports and Pastimes.
Of Princes fauours.	<p>By foule and vnsitting actions, neuer seeke to compasse fauour, as seruing in murderous or Bawdy employments; but if such occasions be offered, let a dissembled deafenesse excuse it, or some other priuate matter, cause present retirement, which may returne answere, without any other reply.</p>	<p>For a Courtier that falles into such employments for his Prince, vpon ouer-much pressing, may well declare the case to be dishonest: and if hee still persist, let wisdome giue direction to withdraw from his Court: For, reprehensions may not bee giuen to Princes publickely, but priuate and apart, albeit he exceed his Prince in yeares. For, a Courtiers aime only should be, to teach his Prince.</p>	Violence in sports.
Of vndecent seruices, if they be vsed	<p>A Courtiers Garmentes ought to be of blacke colour, or of such darke decencie, as may rather expresse grauity, then giddinesse or glory. Except it be in Armes, Maskes, or Triumphes, where gay and goodly colours are more fitting, and Imbroideries, Jewelles, and Magnificent pompe.</p>	<p>If it happen that he bee called or challenged to the <i>Duello</i> or single fight (as oftentimes it fals out in the courts of Princes) and by indiscretion or rashnesse, he must not ouer-violently and vnadvisedly present himselfe thereto, but with a cool and temperate carriage, euen as compelled or enforced to his aunswere. And if the businesse can fall out no otherwise, but he must needs proceede to the acte: for safety of his honor, he may boldly vndergo it.</p>	Of Drunkenesse.
Of reprehensions.	<p>For a Courtier that falles into such employments for his Prince, vpon ouer-much pressing, may well declare the case to be dishonest: and if hee still persist, let wisdome giue direction to withdraw from his Court: For, reprehensions may not bee giuen to Princes publickely, but priuate and apart, albeit he exceed his Prince in yeares.</p>	<p>It is also absurde and vnsightlie in a Courtier, to carry himselfe extreamely or enragedly in any sport or recreation: for then hee resembleth rather a furious Madman, then one of ciuill and setled condition. His conuersation must be sober, and (aboue all things) hee must auoid drunkenesse, and beware of those trickes, which are too ordnariely vsed in Courtes, in striuing who shall soonest make a man drunke, onely to shame and disgrace him.</p>	
A Courtiers aime and end	<p>For, a Courtiers aime only should be, to teach his Prince.</p>	<p>In being a man of such behauiour, euery one will bee sure to note and scorne him; and the Prince himselfe will stande doubtfull of his honestye: or, how he should trust him with any case of Consequence, for Drunkardes are vnapt</p>	
Of Garments	<p>A Courtiers Garmentes ought to be of blacke colour, or of such darke decencie, as may rather expresse grauity, then giddinesse or glory. Except it be in Armes, Maskes, or Triumphes, where gay and goodly colours are more fitting, and Imbroideries, Jewelles, and Magnificent pompe.</p>	<p>per-</p>	
Election of friends.	<p>Let him entertaine one only Vertuous friend, and not two (for two will carrie themselvs better together then three) conformable to himselfe in life and manners. Neuerthelessse, hee must loue, honor, and respect all other friends, according to their worth and merit. He must also endeouour daily, to consort himselfe</p>		
Companie keeping, and behauiour.			

persons for State affaires.

If he bee invited by his Prince to anie play or pastime; he may safely yeild thereto, not in hope to make gaine of him, but only to yeild him contentment. And let him be careful, that he be not too opini-tive in any accident against him: but giue way to him in all, and by al meanes; in regard of so great inconueniences, that thereby do daily happen.

Likewise, let him not imitate some; who will spare no time (either daie or night) from playing, but thereby do lose many faire occasions, of performing som good Offices vnto their Prince, whence might be deriued great merit and fauors. Some haue beene noted so assiduate and earnest, that they would play away lands, houses, Garments, yea, their verie Hor-ses and Armours: and afterwards, bor-row (by importunitie of their Friendes) without any re-payment, whereuppon, haue ensued Contempts, Quarrels, and Bloud.

Let him not speak of any thing which he vnderstandeth not, wherein hee shall expresse more Wisedome to bee silent: for it is an honest shadow and cloake to his ignorance. Likewise, if he haue anie imperfection in some part of his body, let him hide and conceale it by all possible meanes. As did *Ferrand King of Naples*, who would neuer plucke off his Gloues; because his hands were not white. *Iulius Caesar* also did daily weare a Chaplet of Bayes, because he was bald.

He must keepe his credite with Mer-chants and others, not following the deal-ing of many, who are beholding to such as lend them: yet must be daily importu-ned to make repayment, euen vnto such enforcement, as their goodes and landes must be seized on, yea, sometimes their bodies confined to prison. These beha-uiours, do rather relish of a man vtterly lost and forsaken, then of a Vertuous Courtier.

In his talke and discoursing, hee must report no Myrales, that is to say, things that are not likely, nor neuer were. They that make profession of relating such no-uelties, are euermore held for Lyers; and euery man that is a lyar, will cary the like credit of beleefe, when he speaketh truth. Laughter likewise, except it light vppon good ground, is no vway commendable: For any man, that is subiect vnto long

laughter, and without some sounde sub-iect, deliuers no better vnderstanding of himselfe, then of a meere Foole.

Now, because no Court appeareth to be compleat, except it be accompani-ed with Ladies; let vs admit the case, that our instant described Courtier, bee in such a Court so worthily furnished, and where he may bee become an amorous seruant to some beauty, and to an honest end: for (otherwise) he will find his own perill. He must not immediatelie make knowne his passions by parlaunce; with furious gestures and obstinations, as ma-ny vnaduised Courtiers haue done. But the best bewrayer of his affections, are continence, a sigh, respect, fear, & hum-ble meekenesse, which auaille more then a thousand fond words can do; and hee may so order his carriage, that his eyes may serue as his best messengers, & beare the true Embassie of his heart, to his dea-rest esteemed.

Afterward, by equall degrees, he may attaine to speak with his Goddesse, when a touch, or kisse of the hand, and such like honest fauors, may ciuilly be deriued from any Ladie of respect, honourable affected. Wherefore, hee that hath not lost the restraint of reason, will Go-uerne himselfe wisely, obserue fit times and place; and (when neede requireth) will containe due regard verie diligently, although it bee in neuer so sweete a pa-sture, because publick and apparant loue, is a matter of great difficulty to order.

The ends then of a perfect Courtier, such an one as I cannot heere sufficiently describe; is (in mine Opinion) to win by the meanes of those qualities which I haue set downe to him, the fauour and affection of his Prince in such sort: that his seruice may bee alwaies commenda-ble, and to tell him the truth in all things that are conuenient for him; to wit, with-out feare or danger of displeasing him, & so to order himselfe, that when he kno-wes his mind enclined to matters incon-uenient for him, to bee so hardie as to gainsay them. Seruing him in gentle ma-ner, and gaining fauour by the good parts in him; to the end, that he may pre-uent all bad intentions in him, and con-duct him the pathes of Vertue. And so, our Courtier hauing nothing but good-nesse in him, accompanied with promp-titude of spirit, chearefulness, prouidence, wife-

Playing with the Prince.

Too much de-light in play or sport.

Extreanities to be auoided

How to couer his ignorance and imperfe-tion of bodie.

Ferrand King of Naples.

Maintenance of credit.

Report of no-uelties & lies.

Behaviour in case of Ladies and loue.

The best Or-naments in an amorous Courtier.

The respect of good Go-uerment.

The end and aime of a per-fect Courtier is to make his Prince Ver-tuous.

The qualities of a compleat Courtiers

wisedome, knowledge, in learning, and all other vertuous qualities: hee shall (in all occasions) woorthily make apparant to his Prince, what profite and honour commeth to him and his, by meanes of Iustice, Liberality, Magnanimity, Affability, Familiarity, and all other Vertues which are conuenable for a good prince. And contrariwise, what infamy and losse proceedeth from those Vices, which are sworne enemies to these Vertues. And for a full conclusion, as manie times it happeneth, that a Vertuous Courtier maketh the Prince good; so a vicious Courtier maketh his Prince wicked and detestable. Of this mind were all such, as haue medled in Writing of a Courtier; and among others, *Balthazar the Castillannois.*

A Vertuous Courtier maketh a good Prince.

CHAP. XXIII.

How a man may give praise and commendation to himselfe, without impeache or prejudice to others.



Cicero, in the third Booke of his Oratour saith; *That no man can honestly commend himselfe, but others will conceiue enuie thereat, and re- proue him for it.* Concerning this saying, albeit it hath beene allowed by many; yet it is not generally receyued and warranted. For, a man may lawfullie commend himselfe, without attraction of enuie vpon him: especially, if hee be a worthy Soldier, or a man of such merit, as can speake of generous actions, or valiant employments, if they beene performed by him, and their Carracter apparant. *Iulius Caesar* may serue for an example, who hath spoken great matters of himselfe, and yet (for al that) no way discommendable therein. His Commentaries which discourse of nothing, but his braue and generous exploits in the *Gaulish* Warres, were seene and read of all men in his time, yet no way blamed or despised, so farre as we know: but on the

The saying of Cicero, in lib. 3. de Orat.

An exceptiō against the saying of Cicero.

Of *Caesars* Commentaries.

contrarie, were highly praised, both in regard of his eloquence, as also his singular expeditions.

But, if he had attributed to himselfe, or made vaunt of more then was performed by him: hee could not haue stood cleare from mallice, yea, in great men, who durst and would haue boldly tolde him, that hee lyed. And all such persons as doe make vaunt of small matters, or of any thing done by the meanes and helpe of others, attributing such actions soly to themselves: they cannot doe it, but with great shame and infamy.

In men of good and worthy respects, it hath beene, and is permitted (euen for the benefit of others) to speake deseruedly of themselves, and to their owne advantage. As, if in procuring to be credited, we render a reason of an honest integritie, by some effects of our owne past before; to the end, that hauing the meanes to continue our Vertuous actions, for the profit of manie: we may embrace their praise, in despite of their owne spleene (as we tearme it) and constrain them to receiue both profite and pleasure from vs, euen such as would else shun all like occasions.

This was it, which made *Themistocles* vse these wordes in the Counsell of the *Athenians*, euen when he sawe them fully glutted with his good deedes. *O poore people* (quoth hee) *why doe you suffer your selus to receiue so manie benefits from one and the same person?* At another time hee vsed these Wotds to them. *In time of Raine and Tempestes, you make your recourse to me, as vnder the spreading armes of a Tree: And when faire weather comes againe, you teare downe each branch as you passe by.*

Homer maketh *Nestor* to speake his owne Valiant deedes, to encourage *Patroclus*, and nine other Knightes, in attempting the Combate (bodie to bodie) against *Hector*. In like maner, the words of exhortation, action of the hande, and example with the Spurre of emulation; is liuely, and pierceth meruailously; yea, it bringeth (with courage and affection) hope to attaine vnto the heighth of anie thing, which otherwise woulde appeare impossible.

A man may also commend himselfe before an ingratefull person, to shewe him

Shame gotten in Coueting praise.

Of persones permitted to praise and commende themselves.

Themistocles to the *Athenians* in his own behalfe.

Homer of *Nestor*.

The Vertue of words well deliuered.

Against ingratitude.

A stranger may commend himselfe, and the reason for it.

him his fault, in forgetting former benefits receiued. A stranger, to gaine the good opinion of Inhabitants, amongst whom he is newly arriued; may attribute some honourable Title vnto his present condition, and speake well of himselfe. As it is to bee noted in *Virgil*, that *Aeneas* did, after the Destruction of *Troy* his native Countrey, wandering by Sea and Lande, to seeke a newe dwelling, vsing these Wordes (when Enquirie was made of him) *Sum pius Eneas*, that is to say; I am *Eneas* the *Trojan*, full of Pietie and Religion; shewing the Goddess his aged feeble Father, and his verie young sonne, whom (with great perrill) he had sau'd from the ruine and destruction of his Countrey; and this was not vnfitting in him.

Cicero approved to be forgetful of himselfe.

I haue many times beene amazed at *Cicero*, who Writes (as I haue sayde in the beginning of this Chapter) that a man in praising himselfe, dooth but attract Malice and Enuie on his own head. And yet notwithstanding, there is an Epistle of his owne, which (in verie vehement affection) he wrote to an Historiographer; wherein hee entreats him, not to bee vnmindfull of inserting in his Histories of memorable actions, what hee hadde written perticulerlie of himselfe. In mine opinion, there was neither manners nor Modesty, but excesse beyond al reason.

Men shoulde not couet their owne praise.

Chrysippus and Diogenes.

There is nothing more vaine, or further off from equity, then for men to pursue the Quest of their owne praise & renowne. *Chrysippus* and *Diogenes* were the first Authors, and firme of al other, in the contempt of glory; for they saide, *That among al desires, there is none more dangerous, or with greater care to be auoided, then that which commeth to vs from the approbation of others. And all the glorie of the world, is of no such merrit, as that a man of vnderstanding, should so much as stretch forth his finger, onely to gaine it.* There are manie men in these dayes, that will neuer aduenture in the perrilles of Warre, or where their duty most commandeth them: if they thought that they should not be seene, or it should not bee publickely reported, that they haue performed some perticuler deed of praise, beyonde the honour they pretended to enioy, only because they are couetous of glory and reputation.

The vanity of such as seeke after praise.

If this might be allowd for good, then men needed not to bee vertuous, but in publicke; and the operations of the soule (where is the true seate of Vertue) should serue vs to no other end, but to vse them as a rule and order, without any endeour to attain the knowledge of them in other persons: Vertue then should bee a verie vaine and friuolous thing, if shee deriued her commendation from Glorie. For, what is more casuall and accidentall then reputation? To cause that our Actions should be seene and knowne, belongeth to the Handie-woke of Fortune. Oftentimes, the reputation of an action well performed, continueth (it may bee) but three or foure dayes: Other-whiles, so long as hee and his liueth; and yet soone after, no more memorie remaineth of either.

The powerfull operations of the soule.

Not to be noted, is to do well continually.

False honour soone gotten.

Some there are, that will rashlie and willingly fall into daunger, to purchase false Honor; and dying so, he is neuer after so much as talkt of: whereby, both he and his renowne dooth perish together. It hath been meere hazard, that is reported of some Captaines, *Gracians*, *Romaines*, *Persians*, *French*, *Germanes*, and others; as also of an hundred thousand men, that are dead, in execution of worthy enterprizes, or hindring of them, yet none spoken of, because all depended on Fortune. Wee reade, that *Caesar* was neuer wounded; yet was he present in more then fiftie battailes, and at infinite Citties surprizing. Whereas others, vpon much lesse occasions, haue bene maimed and slaine: and what can be said of *Caesar* heerein, but that it was his good Fortune?

Fortune much auaideth in purchasing commendation.

It hath beene, and yet is an ordinary Vice, that we are more desirous of great then of good Reputation: And it appeareth to be sufficient, that our names run thorowe other mens mouthes, as receyuing there both life and lasting, and must bee there kept, out of our owne possession. But Wise men do propose vnto themselves a more iust and certain end, in any important enterprizes, to wit; actions of Vertues, which are so Noble of themselves; as there needs no other praise or recompence to be sought for; but eue their owne worth & value, and Namely, not to seeke for their esteeme, in the vanitie of humaine iudgements. And yet notwithstanding, this false opinion ser-

The common vice of these times.

The duty and endeauor of a vertuous man

For women of
what degree
foeuer.

ueth to containe men in their deuoure,
that it may bee executed with a certaine
caution and modesty. In this manner,
Women of what degree foeuer, may be
aduertised, when they are sought after by
lasciuious men; not to make refusall, by
saying, they holde their Honour in ac-
count: but rather to tell them, that it is
their dutie to gouerne themselues chast-
ly.

Of *Lyfander*
the famous
Lacedemonian
Soldier.

Lyfander, the great *Lacedemonian* cap-
taine, answered a certaine odde Fellow,
who told him; That he would commend
him euerie where, and counter-checke
all his Dispraisers. *I haue two Oxen* (quoth
he) *in the fælde that cannot speake, and yet*
neuerthelesse, I know that which is good for
labour, from the other that is not. Heereby
he gaue to vnderstand, that vertue stood
in no neede of mens Commendations,
considering shee carrieth with her selfe
good renoune and honor: but such men
as do not performe any Vertuous acte,
they (indeed) haue need of popular prai-
ses.

Of *Antisthenes*
the *Athenian*.

Antisthenes the *Athenian*, made a moc-
kerie of such, as by sumptuous buildings,
Statues, Trophies, and composition of
Books, promised vnto themselues an im-
mortall reputation: for he taught them,
that the true and only means of compas-
sing praise, was to liue iustly and Religi-
ously. It was also one day told him, that
certaine scelerous and bad persons com-
mended him: whereto he replied, *If such*
men praise me, I feare that I haue commit-
ted some foule offence: perswading him-
selfe, that such kind of people can neuer
giue any good reputation.

Of *Erethron*
the Sophister.

Erethron the Sophister, hearing that
he was ordinarily commended by *Alexi-*
nus, answered; *That is a great meruail, for*
I do nothing but detract and speake euill of
him in all places where I come. Declaring
by this answer, that he would not haue
his renoune to be wronged and baffeld
by such an one as was worthy of nothing
but reprehension. And to speake the
truth, this *Alexinus* was a man of no re-
coning, or deserued to haue anie good
speeches vsed of him. For, vpon a time,
as hee was verie vehemently deprauiing
Stilpo the *Megarian*, reputed in those
times for a great Phylosopher, one sud-
denly told him, that it was not long since
that *Stilpo* had spoken verie well of him,
and with great respect, giuing him extra-

The praises
of bad & wic-
ked persons,
are worth no-
thing.

ordinarie Commendations: *By Iupiter*
(answered *Alexinus*) *I say at this present,*
that Stilpo is a very braue & excellent man.
Thus yee may discern, what vanity and
inconstancy was (in an instant) apparant-
ly discovered in *Alexinus*.

The Reader may gather by this Dis-
course, that hee should neuer giue anie
praise of himselfe, except hee haue done
something that commendeth it selfe, and
may thereby incite others to Vertue, al-
though thorough want of Modestie, he
shall otherwise bee blameable. In like
manner, not to deferre or keepe himselfe
from dooing well and Vertuously, when
any occasion shall aptly offer it selfe, and
where his owne perticuler dutie both
bindeth and commandeth him, albeit no
Witnesses, Beholders, or Scriueners
stand by, to Register or set downe his ac-
tions in Writing. So banishing from
vs all such vanity, wee shall well content
our selues with that recompence, which
Vertue draweth after her continually;
because it is immortall, and subiect vnto
no perrishing, as that Renoune is,
which dependeth wholly on mens iudge-
ments.

The Auhors
Conclusion
on this Argu-
ment.

CHAP. XXIII.

By what varietie of meanes, Frances Sfor-
za, and Nicholas Pichinius wonne the
renoune, of being the most skilful men
in the Art Military, that liued in their
dayes.



It appeareth, according
to Naturall Reason, that
he who hath attained to
any degree, in anie Art
or Facultie whatsoever
it bee, ought whollie to
accomodate himselfe thereto, following
his beginning, thereby to purchase his
Fame and Reputation. Neuerthelesse,
we do daily see, that (by diuers meanes)
men reach to one & the same end, wher-
of we haue infinite examples: Among
which, it likes me to nominate *Fraunces*
Sforza, who afterward was Duke of *Mil-*
laine,

Pursute of
Fame and re-
putation.

The time when they liued.

laine, and *Nicholas Pichinine* the *Italian*, men verie singuler and expert in Armes: who were in the time of King *Alphonfus*, of *Arragon* and *Naples*, and of *Lewes Maria*, Duke of *Millaine*. These two Captaines were very contrarie and enuious against each other, because they feuerally pretended, to beare chiefe honour in Armes about his competitor. In which respect, they both declared such courage and dexterity of spirit; as for a long while it was vehemently doubted, whether of them merited most to be preferred. This equall contention so long continued, till after expence of many yeares, and sundry well fought battailes on both sides; *Pichinine* was Conquered: by meanes whereof, *Sforza* hauing the right apparently on his part, got the glorie, was made Duke of *Millaine*, and was the sole Maister, or (at least) the more fortunate man.

long contention concluded at last.

The reason of *Pichinine* name.

The description of *Pichinine*.

His martiall courage and disposition.

His manner of seruice.

His fortune & succession in warre.

uers parts of *Italy*, that he was renowned for a singuler good Captaine.

Now, as concerning his Competitor, *Frances Sforza*, his qualities and dispositions were quite contrary to those of *Pichinine*. He was bigge of body, well proportioned, and strongly limbd, of gentle countenance, a quicke stirring eye, bald-headed, a good presence, copious in discourse, and well ordered, a liuely spirite, and well aduised; desirous to reach high enterprizes, and patient in aduersities. He alwayes auoided the meanes of breaking Warre, labouring more to vanquish by besiedging, or temporizing, then present fight. He would neuer giue battaile, except he were enforced thereto, or that he saw himselfe vpon a great aduenture. He would haue his men march in good Order; and by the best meanes to be valiant, and yet gracious: making more account of his Infanterie, then his Compleatest Horssemen, continually preferring them to the greatest stratagemis, because hee placed best trust in them. He was firme and constant in all his enterprizes, quick and wise in beguiling his enemie; and discovering his Fallacies in all Brauadoes made vpon him. In Nouell inuentions, he would stand vpon his guard; being a man of readye counsell, and aptest spirit in all occasions.

By which Rules and Obseruations (although they were so different from those in the other) he was esteemed as a woorthy Soldier, attaining (by diuers meanes and deuises) to the Dukedom of *Millain*, and to be one of the cheefest men in the world. Of these two men, so deseruedly famous, manie Moderne Historians haue largely written: especiallie *Trenus Syluius*, Pope, in his *Cosmography*, and *Antonius Sabellicus*, in his *Eneades*, where such Readers, as are desirous to bee further informed, concerning these men, may read more amply their liues and actions; for in this place (according to our method in all obseruations, which barres vs from full report, and bindes vs to breuitie) we are perswaded, that we haue spoken well and sufficiently.

Of *Francis Sforza* quite contrarie in manie respects to *Pichinine*.

His description.

His warre seruice, and marshalling his men.

His minde & resolution.

Historians that haue written of these two worthy men.

Hh2 CAP.

CHAP. XXV.

*That the Lyon naturally feareth the Cocke:
with many other notable matters con-
cerning the Lyon.*



OD hath not made any creature in this Worlde so strong and powerfull, but there abideth in him some cause of feare or terror, and

something is ordained to offend him. In like maner, there is nothing in this world firme and assured, for one thing is destroyed by another; and the same also afterward, ruined by some other thing: so that we know not what may bee warranted, or which thing can bee kept from corrupting.

Hence it ensueth, that oftentimes we shunne such thinges as are likely to hurt vs, and fall (some other way) into perils, which we least suspect or imagine. Moreover, among Beastes and other thinges created, there is a kind of naturall Loue or Hatred, by a secret and conceald propriety; by meanes whereof, some seeke and pursue, and others shun and auoyde each other. What Beast is more strong then the Lyon, the Prince of Beastes? Not any, and therefore beares he that name, because (according to som Iudgements) the worde Lyon in *Greeke*, signifyeth a (King): Or, according to others (*Sight*) & that in regard of his perfection in seeing, he is so named. But bee it howso-
uer, this powerfull Beast which euerie one feareth, so soon as he espieth a Cock, he fearfully gets him gone: and that by a secret propertie in Nature, euen as the Hare shuns the Hound: and not onelie doth the sight of the Cocke cause this auoydance, but the verie smell, if he feele it far off; or hearing him Crow, it makes him maruailously affraid. Nor doth hee shun this creature only, but also the noise of a Charriot or Waggon running on the way: and by no meanes can hee bee compelled to stay, if he see a man bearing any light in his hand. Which seemeth to bee an incredible matter, that a Beast

Nothing in
this World of
assurance.

Naturall loue
or hatred a-
mong al crea-
tures.

The Lyon
dreadeth the
sight, smel, or
noise of a
Cock, or any
light in a
mans hand.

so furious, should stand in awe or dreade of so small a thing: and yet notwithstanding, it hath been noted by experience: Besides, that which is Written by *Plutarch*, in his Booke of the difference betweene Hate and Enuie: *Pliny*, *Saint Ambrose*, and *Albertus Magnus*, who sayeth and maintaineth, that if the Cock be of a White Colour, hee maketh the Lyon stande much more in feare of him. Nor can there any assured Reason bee yeilded in this case, but euen (as I formerly saide) that it commeth by a secret propertie in Nature. And yet *Lucretius*, the Auncient Poet, sayth; That the Cocke and his Feathers haue a certaine propertie or qualitie, which the Lyon seeing, hee receiueth great terror thereby, and is not able by anie meanes to endure it.

Some others do attribute the cause of this feare, vnto the supream and celestially Influences, and not vnto the Beastes Sight, Smell, or the matter it selfe. For, (say they) these two Creatures are subiect vnto the Sunne, the Vertue whereof toucheth the Cocke more then the Lyon: and thence it ensueth, that the Inferiour and lesse Vertuous in this kinde (albeit the bigger and greater in strength) feareth and obeyeth his superiour. And they say moreouer, that in regarde the Cocke is of the Sunnes Nature, hee reioyceth and singeth in the morning at the coming and rising of the Sunne. But be it howsoeuer, we know that the Lyon is more strong, and of greater spirit then all other Beastes; also, extreame in fury & crueltie, against all other of the like Nature. Neuerthelesse, wee haue infinite plain and manifest examples, of his great Mildenesse and Clemencie, whereof it shall not bee amisse to alledge some, according as I finde them credible recorded.

Appion the *Greeke* writeth (according as *Aul. Gellius* declareth, of a matter seen by himself, & the same is likewise affirmed by *Ælianus* in his Book of Beastes) that in certaine feastes, solemnly obserued in the Citie of *Rome*, it was vsed as a custome in the great Theater (where diuers kinds of Saluage and cruell beastes were kept, as Lyons, Leopards, and others) men condemned to death were brought and put in, to the end that either they might bee deuourd of them, or to deserue life by valiant

Plut. in lib. de differen. Inuid. &c. Plin. lib. 8. S. Ambr. lib. 9. de Examer. Alb. Mag. in lib Animal.

Lucretius the old Poet.

The opinion of others in this case, concerning the Celestiall influences.

why the cock singeth at the Sunnes rising

Ælian in lib. Animal.

Men exposed to wild beasts in the Theater of Rome.

The history of *Androdus* & his Lyon.

A wonderfull vertue in a Lyon to a mā in misery.

Androdus cometh to take knowledge of the Lyon.

The Emperour sendeth for *Androdus*, and vnderstandeth by him his former knowledge of the Lyon.

hiant defence of themselves, a Spectacle (indeede) verie cruell and inhumaine. It happened vpon a day, that among other offenders thus brought thither, a man named *Androdus*, Seruant to a Romaine Senator, was to take his Fortune, and amongst the other Beasts in the Theater, there was a Lyon of insigne power and greatnesse, as also verie cruel, which had bin brought lately out of *Affrica*, and the eyes of all the Beholders were fixed on this Lyon. The Beast walking Maiestically about the place, beganne to looke aduisedly vpon *Androdus*; and seeming to consider, or take some acknowledgement of him; went steppe by step toward him verie gently, albeit, in opinion of all the By-standers, to rent and teare him in peeces. But their expectation was deceiued, for the Lyon bowing downe his head, came curteously to *Androdus*, who (trembling) awaited nothing else but immediat death; and walking along very lovingly by him, stroked his bodie on the legges and thighes of *Androdus*, kissing and licking his hands and feete, Leaping familiarly & gently on him, euen as yong Whelpes, and other waiting Dogs are wont to doe; when they haue not seene their Maisters in a long time.

Androdus perceiuing the perticular affability of the Lyon vnto himselfe, without any shew of the least kind to any of the other condemned persons: cheared his dismayed Spirits; and made much of the Lyon, smoathed his head & hayre with his hand, and looking aduisedly on him, came to former knowledge of him, deliuering manifest signes of ioy and gladnesse, conceyued by this notice taken. Whereat the people were not a litle amazed, & stricken with great astonishment, giuing forth straunge and variable speeches, according as each fancie made coniecture. By meanes whereof, the Emperour caused *Androdus* to be sent for thence, and being brought instantly before him; desired to vnderstand som reason for this priuate and familiar acquaintance, and where hee had formerly seene that Lyon. Whereunto he answered, that hauing beene in *Affrica*, at such time as his Lord was Lieutenant Generall, and great Governour there and of that Prouince: in regard of some wrongs & outrages done to him by his saide Lord, hee was enforced to become a fugitiue, and

10 hauing no other place of shelter or safe-
tie, went secretly into a great Forrest,
where he tooke vp his lodging in a Caut
or Den. Not long had he staid there,
but this Lyon entered in vpon him, and
not only abstained from doing any harm
but lying downe before him, shewed him
one of his pawes, which was wounded
and bleeding, euen as if hee would haue
desired helpe and remedie of him for his
griefe. *Androdus* dreading no danger by
this milde behaiour, tooke vp the Lions
legge, and looking vpon the bleeding
wound, found a great sharpe Thorn stic-
king in the foot; which plucking forth so
gently as possibly he could, hee stenchd
the blood, so that the paine appeared to
be indifferently appeased. This beeing
done, the Lyon laying his head in the lap
20 of *Androdus*, slept verie soundly; & from
thence-forwardes, the Lyon walking a-
broad daily, would bring the best preyes
he could get (by his hunting) to *Andro-
dus*, who drest his food in the Mid-dayes
Sun, because hee had no other fire, and
was well contented with such prouision.

30 After hee had liued thus continually
with the Lyon, for more then the space
of three yeares; he grew to bee wearie of
this kind of life. Wherefore vpon a day,
when the Lyon was gone abroad about
his wonted game; *Androdus* departed
thence, to take such fortune as might be-
fall him. Not farre had he trauailed from
the Forrest, but he was met by some, that
knew him to be a fugitiue seruaunt: and
therefore brought him home to *Rome* to
his Maister, who iudging him worthie of
death, as others in the like case were vsu-
ally sentenced, sent him with the other
40 offenders; to the publicke Theater, there
to be torne in pieces by the wilde Beasts;
and there the Lyon tooke knowledge of
him, as formerly hath bin related. When
the Emperour had heard this admyrable
History, in his owne gracious Nature; &
at the peoples importunity: *Androdus*
was deliuered and set at liberty; so was the
50 Lyon likewise; because he had extended
such fauor to him. Thenceforward; and
a long time after; the Lyon daily walked
thorow the streetes of *Rome*, in the com-
pany of *Androdus* onely, without dooing
harne to any body, which was the cause,
that manie *Romaine* Cittizens affected
Androdus greatly, and bestowed diuers
liberall giftes on him, tearing him the

The first mee-
ting of *Andro-
dus* and the
Lyon, and the
cortely done
by him to the
Lyon.

Androdus liu'd
with the Lyon
more then 3.
yeares.

Androdus is
brought to his
Maister, and
sent to death.

Androdus and
his Lyon, are
both set at li-
berty.

The Lyon wounded, comes to man for remedie.

Plin. lib 8.
Of *Mutor* the Syracusan, that help another wounded Lyon.

Plin. lib. 9.
Elpis of *Samos*, who cured another Lion wounded.

Lions Physition, and the Lyon the host to *Androdus*. Thus the Lyons misfortune, to bee wounded in the foote by a Thorne: instinct of Nature taught him, to make his recourse to man for helpe. And this appeareth to be verie true, because we haue manie more examples to the same effect, alledged by Authors worthy of credit.

Plin, in his Booke fore-named, speaketh of a *Syracusane* named *Mutor*, who being in *Syria*, mette with a Lyon, that presented himselfe gently before him, & couching downe on the grounde, made signes (as it were of entreaties) to him; but the *Syracusane* being fearefull of his life, fled away from him, with all the hast he could vse. The Lyon still followed, and got againe before him, fawning on him, and licking him verie kindely, till at length the *Syracusan* perceiued the Lyon to bee wounded in the foote: which the Lyon lifting vp vnto him, euen as if hee desired to be eased; *Mutor* tooke forth a sharpe splinter of Woode, which (by treading thereon) was runne farre into the Flesh, and so the Lyon was released. This Historie, being painted in a goodly Table by the same *Mutor* in *Syracusa*, continued there long after, as a true Testimonie thereof.

The same Authour speaketh also of another man, named *Elpis*, borne in *Samos*, who being disimbarqued in *Affrica*; espyed somewhat neere vnto the Hauen, a Lyon roaring, making towardes him, moaning and complaining verie grieuouly. The man being fearefull, for safetie of his life got vppe into a Tree, at the foote whereof, lay the Lyon flat vpon his backe, deliuering manie cries and moanes, lifting vp and shewing his paw all bloody, euen as to mooue the man to commiseration.

Elpis looking more aduisedly, with better courage descended from the Tree, and drew a great Thorne out of the Lyons foote. In acknowledgement of which good turne done vnto him, so long as the Shippe remained in that Hauen: the Lyon brought him and his men daily, great store of Flesh, which hee hadde kild in hunting, in a neere neighbouring Forrest, wherewith they were long time releued.

These Histories, are the better to be credited, by that which (in like manner)

happened vnto Saint *Hierome*, who healed a Lyon, that hadde received the like hurt; in recompence whereof, the Lyon kept companie with Saint *Hieromes* Affe, that was Laden with Wood, euen till he brought him home vnto his Hermitage.

Wee read moreouer, that *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, after hee had Conquered the Holy Land, rode vppon a day on hunting in *Iudea*, where hee found a Lyon fighting with a Serpent: which Serpent had so writhed and knit his taile and body about the Lyon, that he was in verie great danger of death. But the Serpent being slaine by *Godfrey*, the Lyon in remuneration of this benefite, followed and accompanied him daily, without departing from his guard: and euer when he went on Hunting, the Lyon serued in stead of his Grey-hound.

It chaunced afterwardes, that *Godfrey* sayling vpon the Sea, the Lyon was lefte behinde him, and his Maister returned not, to take him with him in the Shippe: yet such was the Loue of the Lyon vnto his Maister, that he would needes swim after him in the Water, and was drowned before he could be succored. Concerning those Lyons of *Babylon*, that did no harme vnto the Prophet *Daniell*, and diuers other besides, that (in the times of *Dioclesim* and *Numerian*, Emperours of *Rome*) not so much as touched those Christians, which were nakedly throwne vnto them, for foode and sustenance: I set not them downe as examples of the Naturall loue or qualitie in Lyons, because God had a woorking power in so high a businesse; and those blessed Favours proceeded only from his appointment.

Amongest other notable thinges of Noblenesse in this Beast, one Writeth; That he will neuer do anie hurt to man, except hee be thereto constrained thorough great necessitie and Hunger. If hee then chaunce to meete a man and a Woman together. hee addresseth himselfe rather vnto the Man, then vnto the Woman; and neuer (or verie seldome) doth he anie hurt to Children. It appeareth, that the Lyon (in imitation of man) hath some Audacitie in thinges that concerne honour, with a kinde of feare to derogate from it. For, if hee finde himselfe to bee pursued, and knowe

S *Hierom* cured another wounded Lyon.

The Historie of *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, and a Lyon succoured by him.

The strange Loue of a Lion to his Maister

Of noble nature in the Lyon.

The Lyon in some imitation with man regarding honor.

knowes that he is seene : he goes with a slow and tardy pace , to declare no want of courage in his flight. But if he know himselfe to bee in the thickest Woodes, and where no eye can catch hold of him : his flight is then to his vtermost power. It is further saide, that when hee flyeth in this manner, he neuer looketh behinde him, to declare thereby, how much hee contemneth them that follow.

The Lyon, by meere instinct or motion of nature, is of such great and perfect knowledge, that if any man wound him with a Lance, or any other kind of Weapon : let him bee in the company of neuer so many men, yet length of time is no hindrance to him, but he will select him out among them all, and be reuenged on him, if he can. To this purpose, *Aelianus* declareth the History of a young Infant, nourished and brought vp by *Iuba*, King of *Mauritania*, who growing further in years, and riding on hunting with the King; wounded a Lyon with his Launce. But the Lyon recovering his hurt, within some long while after, the King passed by the same Mountaine where the Lyon was wounded, accompanied with the same young Gentleman that did the deede, and a great many more in the same assembly. The Lyon knowing him that formerly had hurt him, came with great fury and animosity, and entering into the thickest of them; vsed his sight and sauer in such sort, as, if the young Gallant had not bene strongly defended, the Lyon had torne him ther in pieces.

The same Authour, and sundry others beside doe assure vs, of matter (in my mind) very maruailous, to wit; that if a Lyonesse haue companied with another Lyon: her Male doth take knowledge of it by her smell, and then will beate and punnish her very grieuouly. Likewise, when the Lyon waxeth so old, as he can fight no longer, neyther chase any other Beastes: his young Lyons, that are more strong and able, doe helpe to prouide for him, and killing their seuerall preyes, they bring it to him where he is, to feede thereon. The Authours to approue al these things; are *Pliny*, *Aristotle*, *Albertus Magnus*, and *Iulius Solinus*; who doe write many

other matters; which now I speake not off. Onely I thought it good to set downe these examples, for to confound cruell and vnthankfull men; in shewing them, that among brute and sauage Beasts, clemency is not only found, but also acknowledgement of good turnes receiued.

CHAP. XXVI.

Who was the first Man that tamed the Lyon; And of *Lysimachus*, a Capitaine to great *Alexander*, what hapned between him and a Lyon.



He powerfull Beast, whereof we haue discoursed in our precedent Chapter, although he is so cruell & furious; yet notwithstanding, he hath bene tamed and made gentle, by diligence and dexterity in Man. The first that euer vndertook that labour, was a *Carthaginian* by birth, and named *Hanno*; but the reward he receiued therefore, was bannishment from his Countrey. For they said, that this act of taming the Lyon, was a presaging of such a Spirit in him; that hee would make himselfe Lord of the countrey. But *Plinie* saith, that the reason why the *Carthaginians* banished *Hanno*, was; because he hauing thus qualified the fierce Lyon; he might the more easily perswade the Cittizens, and worke with them what himselfe pleased. He maketh report also of *Marke Anthony*, Cozin to *Octavius*, who caused Lyons in such sort to be tamed, and brought to gentlenesse: as hee would put their neckes into yokes, and make them draw his Chariot where soeuer he rode. We finde that the like was done by *Helio-gabalus*, of whose prodigalities and lubricities, we shall finde fitter place to discourse. King *Iohn* of *Castile*, second of that name, had a Lyon so domestick and familiar; that at all times when he saie in his State, the Lyon would lye downe close at his feete. *Messire I.ques* of *Deffa*, Arch bishop of *Senle*, had the like. *Lodouicus Caelius* writeth, that hee read in a good and approued Authour,

Hanno of *Carthage* first tamed the Lyon

Plin in *Lib. 16*

Marke Anthony caused Lyons to be made milde.

Helio-gabalus.

King *Iohn* of *Castile*.

Lod. Caelius in 7. lib. de *Art. Lect.*

Wonderfull knowledge: the Lyon by instinct of nature.

Aelianus in *lib. de Animal.*

A strange story of a wounded Lyon.

Of a Lion and his Lyonesse

Plin in *lib. 8.*
Aristot. in *lib. 8.*
Et 9. de *Anim.*
Albertus Magnus in *lib. 22.*
de *Animal.*
Solinus in *Polihist.*

of an Ewe, which conceiued and eaned a Lyon, a matter very monstrous in Nature. We likewise read of men, that with their hands haue slaine Lyons, as *Sampson*, *Dauid*, *Hercules*, and others.

I remember also, I haue read that *Lysimachus*, one of the Captaines to *Alexander* the great, slew a Lyon in this manner following. *Alexander* had then in his company *Calisthenes* the Philosopher, who was a man free, learned, and wise; and (according to the true quality of such a man) would oftentimes giue him good enstruptions, and reprehensions also, when hee did not as became a King. Whereupon, *Alexander* growing into displeasure against him; caused him to bee put into a Cage among his Dogs. This was such a shame and ignominy, as so free and vertuous a Spirit as *Calisthenes* had, was no way able to endure: but rather would voluntarily haue embraced death, and wherein he was holpen by his Scholler *Lysimachus*, who grieued not a little, to see his Maister so dishonorably dealt withall. When *Alexander* was aduertised thereof, in a great rage; he caused him to be throwne before a Lyon, that the Beast furiously might deuour him. But *Lysimachus*, beeing a Man of excellent courage, secretly armed his right arme and hand, afterward, when hee was exposed to the Lyon, and saw him come running (greedily gaping) to deuoure him with a bold and vndaunted Spirit: hee thrust his Arme into his throat, and held him by the root of the tongue so strongely, that albeit the Lyon did him much harm with his pawes, (whereof he was afterward in daunger of death) yet would he not let goe his hold, vntill the Lyon seemed as quite choaked and strangled, by keeping his Arme so long in his throat. *Alexander* hauing intelligence thereof, desisted from all further anger and rage against him, and commaunded him to be carefully recovered: holding him (thenceforward) for one of his very chiefeft fauourites, yea, and in such account, as (after the death of *Alexander*) hee was one in the number of his Successors, & a most powerfull King. The Authours that doe auouch the truth heereof, are *Iustine*, and *Plutarch* in the life of *Demetrius*.

The History of *Lysimachus*, and *Calisthenes* the Philosopher.

Calisthenes cast among Dogs

Lysimachus exposed to the fury of a Lion

The admirable courage of *Lysimachus*.

Lysimachus killed the Lyon.

Iustine in lib. 5. *Plutarc.* in vit. *Demetri.*

CHAP. XXVII.

That the most and greatest part of people in the world, spake at the first but one language onely, which was giuen them by the will of God: And after the destruction of *Babell*, then it was changed.



Orphyrus, *Julian* the Apostat Emperour, and other enemies to sacred letters, do confesse with the learned, that from the beginning of the Worldes Creation, as there was but one Man and one Woman: euen so there was likewise but one Language onely, which continued to all the people on Earth, vntill the Deluge; yea, till the destruction of *Babell*, for seruice of the people which made their abiding thereabout, and (by presumption) had made a Tower, or rather a high mounted causey, to warrant and defend themselves from another flood, if so be there should any other happen. But me-thinks, that the people of those times were very grossely conceited, in seeking to fortifie themselves by such cunning: because it had bene much better to hinder, then to whet on the anger of God.

There was neuer any man found, or heard of, how great an enemy foeuer he was to the holy Scriptures, that could euer render any reason of the variety of Languages, which are spoken in so many Nations: but onely that which *Moyse* alleadged; to wit, that it was done by the will of God, to the end, that the Earth might be wholly inhabited, as it was before the flood, and the great race of *Noah* (finding themselves dissemblable in tongues) might therefore disperse themselves abroad. For men deuided not the tongues, but the deuision of tongues deuided Men, neither was it any intention of men, vsed then sufficiently by necessary knowledge of Nature, and by the inuention of Artes and Sciences; but a punishment of God inflicted on mankinde. It is a case very cleare and eident, that Languages are not profitable, but in their diuersity, and

One language proceeding from one man and one woman.

Grossenesse in men of the first Age.

Variety of languages the work of God.

The deuision of tongues deuided men.

and if there were but one onely vsed in the World, it would bee meere vanity to know many: for all the first tongues had diuers originals, and depending (in any thing) one vpon another.

Neuerthelesse, after that Warres began to be moued through the world, the people that were brought into subiection, receiued the Language of the Conquerours. And it is a true marke of Soueraignty, to constraîne the subdued to change their Language; which the *Romains* much better executed, then any Prince or people whatsoever: wherby they seeme (as yet) to commaund in the most part of Europe. Likewise, the last King of the *Hetrurians*, being vanquished, did all that the *Romaines* pleased, but yet he would neuer receiue the Latine toong. And by the like reasons, the *Gaules*, who spake as the *Heluetians* (as *Glareanus* and many other Authours thinke) in the time of *Cæsar*, as by coniecture may bee gathered in the Commentaries of the saide *Cæsar*: did afterward learne the Latine Tongue, because they were conquered by the *Romaines*. After that againe, they spake the language of the *Franconiars*, a people of *Allemaigne*, who were mingled among them, by their victories gotten ouer the *Romaines*. In following time, the *Gothes*, *Vandals*, *Hunnes*, and other people, that ranged thorow the world; left them also their tongues. In brieft, of all these seuerall languages, the *Gauls* (at this instant called the *French*) builded and framed one perticuler tongue, euen that which to this day they enioy. So that all the fore-said tongues, haue had their variant changes, in lesse then fiftene hundred yeares, very neere three times each seuerall tongue: for at this day, and so hence-forward, it will bee impossible to vnderstand the language, that hath bene spoken for the space of foure hundred yeares in *France*.

This hath happened in the very same manner at *Rome*, and in *Italy*, since the time of *Cicero* and before, for he saith; that no man can vnderstand those Hymnes, which the Priests called *Salijs*, or *Saliens* sung in their processions; which were composed in Latine, that Language being then there spoken; and very soone after the foundation of *Rome*: As also the *Sibyls* Verses, and ma-

ny other ancient bookes of those times, that contained very sacred things: But being fearefull to offend the Gods; or to induce any novelty in Religion; a matter which draweth after it daily too many calamities: the Senate would haue no other Hymnes to be made; nor that any one should mingle other matter among them, or comment or correct those Bookes of the *Sibylles*.

It is generally knowne, that the ancient Language which *Rome* vsed first of all, was pure, delicate; and most eloquent Latine: and now at this day, there is hardly any one word thereof truly retained. The *Italian* tongue now spoken, declareth in plaine apparance, to haue taken originall and encreasing from Strangers, vpon the Empires declination; especially from such as did most harme to *Italy* it selfe; to wit; the *Gaules*, *Prouncials*, *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandals*, and other barbarous people, all voyde of humanity; who instead of Trophees, haue left them nothing but words and names, euen the most excellent that they had. It is not vnknowne to vs also, that the *Arabians* had planted their Language throughout *Asia* and *Affrica*; and yet within few yeares, *Phillip* King of *Spain*, hath constrained the *Moors* of *Granada*, to change both their habite and Language. *Peru*, commonly tearmed the golden *Castile*, a very great Prouince, now speaketh no more her naturall Language: for the *Spaniard* hauing conquered it, hath there planted his Language, although it bee distance thence the space of a thousand and five hundred leagues; euen as hee hath done the like, in all his other conquered Countries, in those Prouinces tearmed the new World.

In the Isle of *Malta*, they were wont to speak the *Punick* tongue; to wit, that vsed by the *Carthagemans*, when they would needes hold superiority ouer the *Romaines*: and now at this day, the *Greek* tongue is spoken there, but very corruptly, mingled also with *Sicilian*. That they had no other Language but the *Punick*, is easie to be prooued; because it is not about thirty yeares, since there was found engrauen in olde Marble, this which followeth, written in Greek Letters, and yet notwithstanding, the Language seemeth for to bee Hebrew.

E L O I.

Conquerours do giue language to the conquered.

Glareanus concerning the Gaules and Heluetians.

Whence the language of France had originall.

Italy hath also changed her language.

Salijs, the Priests of Mars.

By what people the Latine tongue became to be changed.

The new conquered Indians haue changed their language.

Of the Isle of Malta.

Antiquities
found in the
Ile of Malta,
vpon graue
stones.

Arabs and
Iewes best vn-
derstanders
of tongues.

The language
of Egypt
changed.

The Arabian
tongue a per-
fect language

sectio xi. de
ult. Lib.
The request
of Mercurius
Trismegistus

E L O I. EFFETHA CVMI,
and many other auncient Epitaphes.
Also, as the Foundation of Castle *Angelo*
was laying, there was found vpon
an olde Stone of Marble-Iasper, these
words engrauen; IEHIEW IEPH-
DAIA, and others, which (by the ini-
ury of time) were quite defaced. And
these latter wordes, were written (for
the more part) in Hebrew Letters, and
hardly was there found any one, were
he *Arabe* or *Iew* (who doe surpasse all
other Nations in the vnderstanding of
Languages) that could deliuer the in-
terpretation thereof.

Egypt, from the time of *Mercurius
Trismegistus* (Author of that worthy
booke tituled *Pimander*.) that was be-
fore *Abraham* and *Moyfes*, had a perti-
cular Language: a thing yet to this
day to be seene, by Bookes written in
the *Egyptian* hand, and in many pla-
ces of *Palestine*, in the tongue vsed
in those dayes, which (I say) was in the
time of the first Kinges that were na-
med *Pharaohs*, wherein nothing is to be
comprehended, neither reade, albeit
the Letters are very visible, and not de-
faced.

Neuerthelesse, at this day they doe
not speake that Language, but the *Ara-
bian* Tongue, without retaining any
one word of her auncient tongue:
which is saide to bee graue, brieffe, ac-
companied with goodly tearmes, and
proper to comprehend all Sciences, as
all the Easterne partes (well neere) are,
and apt to discourse of Diuine matters;
much more then the Greeke, full of
ostentation and vanity. Which be-
ing well perceiued by that worthy *Æs-
culapius*, the fore-named *Trismegistus*:
he desired of GOD and the King, that
his Bookes and Writings might not
passe through the *Grecians* handes, ney-
ther bee translated or commented by
them.

Heerewe are to note, that if (at this
day) wee haue any Bookes of the an-
cient *Egyptians*; they came from the
Greekes and *Iewes*, who traduced them
into their Language, when they kept
their Schooles, where they taught all
Sciences: witnesse *Socrates*, *Plato*, *De-
mocritus*, *Xenophon*, *Philostratus*, *Iambli-
cus*, *Apollonius*, and diuers other great
personages, who went purposely thi-

ther, to be instructed in good Sciences,
whereof great account was made in
those times. And let vs not forget *Mo-
ses*, the great Law-giuer, who was
learned in all the wisdome of the *Æ-
gyptians*: as we may gather by the
words of Saint *Stephen*, in the seventh
Chapter of the Actes of the Apostles.

In *Palestine*, and in *Ierusalem*, they
were wont to speake the *Syriake* toong
now a dayes they speake the *Arabian*.
Belonius, in his second booke of Singu-
larities, hath noted, that at this day
there are spoken twelue feveral toongs
in *Ierusalem*; and yet notwithstanding,
as I haue formerly saide, the *Arabian*
tongue is the most common. *Greece*
hath lost her auncient Language, for in
the Citties and Townes, the Primitiue
tongue is now not spoken: but a new
kinde of Language, which the *Turkes*
(since they began to bee Governours
there) brought thither with them.
And yet neuerthelesse, in some perti-
cular places, they speake *Greeke* verie
vsuallic. But by little and little, as the
naturall borne *Greekes*, by reason of
their Princes tyranny, became Vaga-
bonds, and went to seeke out other
Countries: euen so they (for the more
part) hoping there to meet with better
entertainment, made themselues *Ma-
humerists*, that is to say; they forooke
Christian Religion, and (by the same
meanes also) left their Mother tongue,
enclining wholly to the *Turkish* and *A-
rabian*; and therefore, before an hundred
years can be expired, they wil not speak
any more *Greeke*.

In the Kingdome of *Tremissem*, other-
wise called *Telesin*, seated on the Coast
of *Barbarie*, in the *Mediterranean* Sea,
they were wont to speake the *Phœnici-
an* tongue: now-a-daies they doe not
retaine any one word thereof, but
speake the *Morisco* Language, because
they had beene formerly subdued by
the great King *Mansor*. The cause
why this people spake the *Phœnician*
tongue (although they were distant
from the Countrey of *Phœnicia*, verie
neere foure hundred Leagues) I will
briefely declare, according as *Procopius*
setteth it downe in the Historie of
the *Vandales*, leauing a verie notable
marke thereof, in these wordes. All this
Countrey (saith he) which reacheth from
Sidon,

Moses was
learned in the
Egyptians
sciences. Acts
7. 22.

Palestine and
Ierusalem haue
changed their
language.
Belon in lib. 2.
Singular. cap.
84.

The alteratiō
of *Greece*, and
vpon what oc-
casion.

The reason
why the king-
dome of *Tele-
sin* changed
her language.

Pracopius in Hist. Vandal. The situation of Phœnicia.

Sidon, so farre as Ægypt, was heretofore call'd Phœnicia, and such as haue written the History of the Phœnicians, do declare; that sometime one King onely raigned there. In these Countries dwelt the Gergesites, Iebusites, and others, who when they beheld Iosua's great Army comming against them: they passed into Ægypt, but soone after, that Countrey being not able to support the, they went thence into Affrica, where they builded many Townes and Villages, and peopled the Countrey, euen so farre as the Pillars of Hercules, and their language was Phœnician. In Numidia likewise they builded, and (among other Citties) that most strong and firmly seated Citty of Tingitana, where two Colomnes of white stone are to bee seene, neere the great Fountaine, whereon (in the Phœnician tongue) are engrauen these wordes. We are they, who were before that great Brigande Iosuah, the Son of Nun. Such (saith he) was the originall of these people, who are (at this day) called Maurusians, or Mauritians. Their Languages then became wholly changed, by the comming in of other people.

The ancient strong Citty of Tingitana in Numidia.

England was wont to haue a particular Language by her selfe, according as Caesar testifieth: but beeing afterward conquered by the Saxons, a people of Germany, they long time kept the Saxon tongue. In following time also, growing frequent with the French, hoping to ouer rule them: they well neere quite changed the Saxon tongue, begetting one Language, consisting partly of French, Danish, Saxon, and Pictish. So that out of all these tongues, they forged one intirely new, and that little aboue three hundred years since. Which hath beene well obserued by venerable Bede, a great Duine, and Sir Thomas Moore, sometime Lord Chancellour, and a very learned Gentleman, and both these Men of the English Nation.

The Conquests of England.

Venerable Bede, and Sir Thomas Moore.

The Polanders, Vandales, Bulgarians, Seruians, Dalmatians, Croatians, Bosnians, Rusians, Valachians, Bohemians, Lituanians, Mescouites, &c. spake the Germane or Tentonticke tongue: but at this day, they speak the Sclauonian language, that is to say, Illyrian, witnesse Ladislatus King of Lituania, who about the yeare 1399. hauing espoused a Virgine, named Anne, the Heire of Poland, that could speak no other Language but the

Great nations speake the Illyrian tongue.

Allemaigne, as then in those times it was spoken in Poland: would neuer leaue her company, vntill she had learned the Lictuanian tongue, which shee easily attained vnto in eight months space. The Allemaignes also say, that the language which by them is now vsed, is not their auncient tongue; but is very diuers, and hath borrowed great store of wordes, from people by whom they haue hitherto beene foyled, or ranaged, or by beeing imployed in Warres, as among the Gaules in Italy, Spain, Greece, and the Eastern Countries. Neuer should I growe to any conclusion, if I were to set downe those feuerall people, that haue changed their Language since the Deluge: or prooue, that there is not any Nation at this day, which speaketh the Language of our first Father Adam and Noah. All haue changed, and yet will change, so long as the World endureth; for such is the Nature of vicissitude, in thinges of this world.

The Allemaigne language changed.

The Authors conclusion.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of Grauing or Caruing, and of Painting: which of them is most ancient and excellent.



IN these times I haue heard of very many different opinions, concerning these two Arts of Statuary or Stonecutting, and Painting; to wit, which of them is most commendable, and best worthy of praise. Very pertinent reasons are alleadged both for the one and other, for in the Statue or Sculpture, there is discerned an artificiall imitation of Nature, representing therein the members wholly, round, well formed, and fully measured, euen as if Nature her selfe had shaped them, and much better imitated then in a Table; where we but behold the superficies and colours, which beguile the eye. For the substance is much neerer to truth, then the resemblance. Beside, Sculpture or engraving, is more difficult, because if a fault be therein committed, very hardlie

Variety of opinions in Caruing and Painting.

The commendation of Caruing.

Statues esteemed in ancient times, and for good occasions.

An ancient custome for offenders and Bond-slaves.

The commendation of painting.

Plin. in lib. 12.

Histories concerning Painting.

Parrhasius a cunning painter of *Ephesus*.

ly can bee amended: in regard, that the Marble or other matter is not to be pieced or patched, but another figure must of necessity be made. Which falleth not out so in painting, for it may be altered a thousand times, adding thereto, or diminishing, by daily amending. Statues were (in elder times, & yet are to this day) esteemed sacred things, to beautifie Temples or publike places, for the commemoration of famous persons, and such actions of theirs as were heroycall: especially such as we see in the Porches of Temples, and diuers within; which are placed to no other end, but for a remembrance of holy Men or women, that performed many pious deedes, and stood for plantation of the Faith. And for the great respect then made of them, it was permitted (by Emperiall Edictes) to Offenders, and Slaues badly vsed by their Maisters; to haue their enfranchisement, and ease from further persecutions, by holding fast vpon some of those Statues, till audience might bee graunted to their oppressions.

Such as do hold Painting to be more excellent, make their allegations; that thereby is imitated much more truly, the very Nature of the thing so represented, then it can be by the Statue. And that it must needs be so, they produce (for example) that which is written by *Plinie*, concerning one *Zeuxis*, a Painter of *Heraclea*, who presented a Table, wherein hee had painted bunches of Grapes so naturally: that Sparrowes flying by it, stroue to rest on them, and pecked at them, as taking them to be true Grapes indeede, so that his workmanship was reputed to bee both famous and singuler. At another time, the same *Zeuxis* painted a young Man in a Table, carrying like bunches of Raisine Grapes in a Dish, which were so liuely made: as the Birds were thereby againe deceiued, the Birds likewise descending from the ayre, to peck at them as if they had beene very Raisins, without any feare at all of the young man.

They say moreouer, that *Parrhasius*, a Painter likewise, and an emulatur of the foresaid *Zeuxis*, painting a Partridge vpon a Collonne in *Rhodes*, drew it so naturally according to life: that (in the iudgment of euery beholder) it seemed

to be alieue indeed. Nay more, the perfection of painting this Foule was such, and so compleate, that bringing other Partridges before it (such as now adaies are kept in Cages:) they would call vnto it, flutter their Wings before it, and vse their kinde of singing, taking it for a liuely Bird indeede. They yet goe further, saying, that *Apelles* painted a Horse according to life, and other Painters making prooue in their skill of the like; would needs vrge tryall of the most ablest workmanship. Wherevpon, it was thought fit to bring liuing Horses before him, for better approbation of the experiment, and beeing brought before those figures painted by the other Painters; they stood still, without any shew of account or motion. But when that which *Apelles* drew was presented before them; they began to stirre, tread, and whinnow, which they did not at the sight of any of the other: whereby, the greatest honour and aduantage in Art, was adiudged to *Apelles*, and he reputed to bee the most excellent Painter.

Now to speake mine opinion heerein, I say, that (for all these Fables, lesse seeming true, then *Pliny* writes them) Painting cannot be accounted to be the more excellent Art: For all Creatures that fly in the Ayre, or feede on the earth, or liue in the Water, do nourish themselves, and are more moued by the sence of smelling, then by sight. To approoue the truth hereof, let any man paint a Rat, and draw it neuer so artificially according to life: then let it bee presented before a Cat, to try if she wil stirre, or offer to take it. Let any man also set a Table before Fowles, with painted Capons, Hennes, Cockes, Pigeons, or such like; let there be likewise painted in the Table, Barly, Oates, or any other Corne fit for them to feede on; and try if they moue or come to touch it. Let any Painter portraite a Ginne or Snare, with either a Goose, Lambe, or any other prey surprised in the Snare, counterfeited by Art most naturally; and then make triall, if a Wolfe or Foxe will offer to lay holde on it, which indeede they would doe, if they had life.

In like manner, let there be painted in a Table a goodly Mare, formed with all

Apelles a famous Painter of the Isle *Cos*

The Authors refutation of the former Histories,

Similitudes cannot pervert or alter nature in living Creatures.

Painters of ancient times did not surpass the men of these daies

Another History of Parrhasius and Zeuxis.

The Authors answer by apt comparisons.

all features neereſt to life, then bring a Stallion before it, and try if he will offer to cover her. Let there be also in the same Table a goodly fielde, with diuers Horses feeding at pasture; and try if he will beare them company. Shew to any Horse painted Prouender, and try if he will whinnow to haue it: which naturally he will do, if he be in his Stable, although there be none at all offered to his sight. By these Allegations I would plainly shew, that Creatures (of these kinds) do not so much moue themselves by sight, as by sense of smelling; and that all which *Pliny* hath saide of these Paintings, are meere fables, for these Creatures haue no knowledge of Paintings.

It serueth to no purpose, to say, that the Painters of these daies, are not so sufficiēt, neither do make such exquisite workes, as those in former times did. I answer, that there are men as excellent euery way, & that wil not giue ground in any iot, to the very best before them. For, there are yet to be seene in these daies, both Paintings and Statues of ancient *Grecians*, *Romaines*, *Egyptians*, and other *Leuantines*; which come nothing neere (by much) in perfection to things done by Painters and Statuaries of our time. I dare make them my Iudges, who, being curious in the sight of such thinges, and trauiailing thorow lower *Germany*; haue visited the Chambers and cabinets of many famous houses, as also in *France* and *Italy*, and what else is to be seene in Churches.

There is another History alleadged, borrowed likewise out of the same *Plinies* shop, that *Parrhasius* deceived *Zeuxis* by a Table, whereon nothing else was painted but a Curtaine, and it beeing presented to *Zeuxis*, to yeeld his iudgement of the workmanship; he offered to draw the Curtaine, to behold what was figured vnder it. I answer, that this History, how true soeuer it be, & whether it so hapned or no, may make painting to be much more commendable; then all the other Fables formerly deliuered from *Pliny*. For as man is the least of all creatures, in exquisite perfection of sense, and that often deceiueth himselfe, in the senses of sight, touching, tast, and smell; yea, euen in iudgement, especially when he is detained by a pre-

cipitation, or passion of Spirit, and then apprehendeth one thing for another: euen so might it then fall out with *Zeuxis*, in regard of the enuy he bare to *Parrhasius*.

Having confuted these fables alleadged by *Pliny*, which serue onely for the praise of Painting: I will now set down some reasons of mine owne, whereby I wil approue Painting, beyond Caruing or Grauing. In Statues or Carued Figures, there are many thinges defectiue, which cannot faile in Painting, and principally day-light and shaddow; because flesh yeildeth a different light, from that which Marble or stone affordeth, and that the Painter imitateth, with clearnesse or obscurity, more or lesse, according as the thing requireth, which the Image-maker cannot performe. And yet notwithstanding, though painting doth not make the Figure round: yet it sheweth the muscles and members in rounded shape, so that they are discerned; as ioyned to those parts which cannot be seene, & by such apt meanes; as it is easily knowne, that the Painter vnderstands and perfectlie knowes them. And heerein is required another artifice more great, in forming the members that lengthen or shorten, according to the proportion of sight, by reason of perspective; which by the power of lines and measure of colours, day-light and shaddowes, doe shew in their superficies on a plaine wall, neere or farre-off; more or lesse, as himselfe pleaseth.

Nor is the true imitation of naturall colours, a matter of such smal moment as some do imagine, in counterfeiting flesh, shape of Garments, and all other thinges requiring colours. And yet the Caruer cannot doe this; much lesse expresse and represent the gracious sight of the eye, black, green, or otherwise, with the splendour of amorous beames, or in Colour full of reuenge. The Caruer also knowes not how to discover the beames of the Sunne, Lightning, Thunders, and other such like thinges; as faire Lockes of Haire; nor the goodly troopes of armed forces, nor a darkesome night; nor a tempest on the Sea; nor a flath of Lightning, nor stormie Windes, nor the besieging of a Citty, nor the Suns rising

The Authors reasons, why Painting precedeth Caruing.

For forming the true proportion of the members.

Of the vse & handling colours in their true Nature.

Admirable imitations in Painting.

Painting a
more Noble
Science then
Caruing.

Painting no
mechanicall
Science.

Noblemen v-
sed the Art of
Painting.

Fabius a No-
bleman of
Rome a skilful
Painter.

Painting not
onely Noble,
but pleasing
& profitable,
especially for
warre.

in the morning, or *Aurora* her selfe, (bringing bright day) in her colours like Roses, disparkled with radiances of gold and purple. Briefely, he cannot represent Heauen, Earth, Seas, Mountaines, Forrests, Fields, Gardens, Riuer, Cities, nor Houses, all which the Painter can perfectly shew. It is also wel known, that if a Painter apply his colours vpon a carued statue, whatsoeuer it be; it will appeare so much the more commendable. In this respect, me thinks that painting is a more Noble Science, and of much greater artifice, then Caruing or Grauing, and I think that our ancients held it in great reputation, & as highly as other things: albeit, both these Arts do seeme to issue out of one & the same fountaine, because that in both the one and other; Geometry is very requisite, for the vnderstanding of perspective. This Science appeares to me, not to be mechanicall, because it is very conuenable, & may well be vsed by any Gentleman. I remember I haue read, that our auncient predeceffours, especially throughout all *Greece*, would haue Noble mens children enstruced in schools in the art of painting, as a Science most honest, and very necessary. It was admitted in the first degree of the liberall Arts, and soone after defended by publicke Edict, that it should not be taught to Slaues or Seruants.

Among the *Romaines*, Painting was held in great honor, and thence it deriued a most Noble sir-name, euen from the House of the *Fabij*; for the first *Fabius* was sir-named the Painter, because he was (indeede) a very excellent Painter. And so much was he addicted to painting, that hauing painted the wals of *Templum Salutis*; he placed there his owne name; as thinking, that although he was deriued of a noble house, honored with many Titles, Consulships, triumphes, and other dignities; albeit he he was learned, well read in the lawes, & numbred amongst the best Orators: yet he was of the mind, that hereby he might (neuertheless) encrease his renowne, by such an especiall splendour and ornament, and left it to memory, that he was a Painter.

Moreouer, many other are recorded of noble houses, that haue bin famous in this art, in which, beside the Nobility

& Dignity therof; many commodities are thence deriued. Especially in the time of wars, for designing and portraing Countries, scituations of Riuer, Bridges, Castles, Fortes, and such like thinges: which thus may be described to others, euen as if they were exactlie imprinted in memory, which otherwise were a difficult thing to do. I conclude then by this discourse, that the Art of sculpture or caruing, is much inferiour to painting: yea, and it will be of much longer continuance, if it bee kept in a dry place, and wel sheltred from winds and raine, and the longer it lasteth, so much the more pleasing it is to behold.

CHAP. XXIX.

Against such aged persons, as think nothing to be well done, but what was performed by themselves in their youth; blaming extremely the present times, and what is now done, in respect of the former; And what is the cause thereof.

HAuing many times considered, (and not without great admiration) whence such an error ensueth, which verily may be beleued, to be proper and naturall to aged people; because it is commonly noted in them, that they doe wholly (as it were) commend times past, condemning the present, and blaming our maners, actions, & whatsoeuer else they themselves did not in their younger daies; Affirming also, that all good customes, behavior of life, all vertue, and all thinges grow worse and worse: Truely, it seemeth to me a matter farre off from reason; nay more, very maruailous, that mature and ripe age should wander so strangely. For long experience begetteth custome, & (in sollemne allowance) presumeth to iudge perfectly of men. And yet herein their iudgments were so much corrupted, as they neuer perceiued, how the world began daily to impaire, and that the Fathers were better then their children; a very long time remaining, to arriue at the vttermost degree of wickednes, times still declining from better to worse. And yet notwithstanding all this, we behold it daily, a vice proper and

Aged people
do oftentimes
loole both
reason and
iudgement.

Our fore-fa-
thers more
happy then
their children

and peculiar to age, euen as it hath bin in former daies; so to continue still among vs lining. Which hath bene knowne and made manifest, by the writings of many very ancient Authours, and especially by the Comicks, who (much better then any other) expressed the true Image of humane life. Therefore I conceiue, that aged people hold this false opinion, because our yeares coasting away so swiftly, as they carry hence many other commodities; so (among others) they rob vs of our blood, and a great part of our vitall Spirits. In regard wherof, our complexion changeth it selfe, and the bodies Organes become feeble, that should exercise the vertues of the Soule.

And this is the cause, that in these our instant daies, the delicate and sweet floures of contentment doe fall from our heartes, as Leaues doe from the Trees in Autumne, and, in stead of clear and free thoughts; obscure, troubled, melancholly, and sad conceits get entrance, accompanied with a thousand calamities. So that, not onely the Body, but the Spirit also becometh sick, which retaineth not any iot of our passed Spirits, except a long remembrance, and Image of that acceptable time of youth: which wee perswading our selues to finde againe, it appeareth then to vs, that Heauen, Earth, and all things else are glad therof, and do smile at them (verily) in our sight; resolving our thoughts, that in them (as in a faire and goodly Garden) the sweet Spring time of ioyfulness still flourisheth. In which respect, perhaps it would proue profitable, when (already) in a cold and backward season, the Sunne of our life beginneth to decline to wardes the West, in despoyling vs of our pleasures: that we would also (there-with) loose the remembrance of them, and finde (as *Themistocles* said) *A Science instructing how to forget them*. Because the fences of our body are so fallacious; that oftentimes themselves do beguile the iudgement of the spirit.

And therefore it seemeth to me, that aged people are of their condition, who setting forth from any Port or Hauen, doe still fixe their eyes vpon the Land: whereby they conceit, that the Shippe moueth not, but that the land & houses

are in motion, which neuertheless is quite contrary. For the Hauens, as also the time; and former or present pleasures, continue still in their wonted estate, and we (with the Ship of mortality) saile away; we coast on one after another, thorow this impetuous Sea; that deuoureth all things. Nor are we euer permitted to take landing againe; but being continually tossed by contrary winds, our vessell runs and breaks it selfe against one Rocke or other.

The Spirit (then) of a man waxing old, a subiect contrary to all kind of pleasures; it cannot apprehend any tast of them. And, as all sorts of Wines, although they be neuer so good, seeme bitter to such as are troubled with a Feuer, in regard that the tast is changed, onely by the meanes of corrupted humors: euen so in aged people, by reason of their indisposition (albeit there is no defect in desire) all pleasures seeme vntauory, cold, and far differing from such as they remember once to haue essayed; and yet those pleasures (in themselves) are the very same which they were wont to be. And because they finde themselves to be deprivied of those pleasures; they complaine and blame the pretime, as if it were naught, neuer considering, that this mutation proceedeth from themselves, and not from the time.

On the contrary, when they sit down, & call to memory their passed delights; they then likewise remember the time wherein they enioyed them, and (in that respect) repute them to be good, because it appeared then, and so doth yet, that they brought a sweete relish with them; which they (yet) remember to haue felt when they had them. For, in effect, our thoughts doe hatefully condemne all things, that haue bin companions with our displeasures; and loue all them that haue suted with their likings. In which regard, it happens sometime, that we see an amorous Fellow, take great delight to behold a Window, although it be shut against him: yet hee conceiueth a liking thereof, because (in former time) he had the fauour thereto gaze on his Lady, or loues Mistris. In like manner, to see a Jewell, a Letter, a Garden, or any other thing whatsoever; that seemeth (as yet) to be a testimony, to former effected pleasures:

I 2 where.

A reason for the inconueniences before alleaged.

The cause of our generall instant discontentment.

The wise saying of *Themistocles*.

A similitude answerable to the argument of aged people.

The Spirit growing aged, loatheth pleasures.

Another excellent comparison.

No defect in the time, but in our selues.

Pleasures appear to be good, according as we tast them.

Comparisons not vntitting the present purpose.

whereas on the contrary, a goodly, faire, and rich adorned Chamber, will appeare hatefull to him, that hath been imprisoned therein, or that there hath suffered any disliking.

Strange humors in some Men and women.

I haue knowne some, who (by no meanes) would drinke in a Cup that resembled some other Cup, wherein (being sick) they receiued a medicine. For, as the window, or the Ring, or the Letter, representeth to the one party, a sweete remembrance, which to him is the more acceptable, by how much it appeareth still a pertaker of his former enioied pleasure: euen such is the other parties conceit, that the Chamber, or the Cup, are still fresh Ensignes of his imprisonment, or sicknesse. I think, that for the very same reason men (in years) are moued to commend passed times, and throw blamefull asperitions on the present. By means whereof, in speaking of Watres, Courts of Iustice, or those belonging to Princes, & such like, they affirme: that those in their time, and wherof they do yet bear remembrance; were much more excellent, and filled with more singuler men, then they are which at this instant they daily behold.

The reason of aged peoples reproving present times.

So soone as such cases doe come in question, they presently begin to exalt infinitely, the people that liued in their former times, and declare, that (in those elder daies) it could not bee found, but very rarely, that a man committed a murder; that then were any combats or fights, ambushes or treacheries: but an assured honesty and faithfulness, an amiable and loyall iustnesse among al Men. That in Courts (in those times) reigned so many good manners, & such a perfect honesty: that all Courtiers were then religious, and Saintes; that they would not take part with any man, who had offered a bad word to another, or had vsed any signe of dishonesty to a Woman of Honour.

The prayes giuen by aged people to former times.

On the contrary, they say, that now in these daies, they behold all things to bee quite opposite to the former, and that not onely among Courtiers, men of warre, and young people, brotherly affection is lost, and al laudable manner of liuing: but also in Courts and Cities, now raigneth nothing but enuies, euill will, wicked manners, and a life most dissolute, abounding in all kindes

The cōplaint of aged people on these instant times.

of vices. That Women are lasciuious, haue lost all shame, and men (for the more part) are become effeminate. Moreover, they blazon their garments to be dishonest, and ouer pompous. In breece, they reprehend a number of things, among which (truely) there are some that wel deserue reprehension, because it cannot be denied; but that there are (among vs) many bad and wicked men, by whose meanes, this present world must needs be fuller of errours, then that which these good people so highly commend.

Some faults that merit reprehension.

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It appeareth to me, that they doe ill discern the cause of this difference, and declare themselues to be meere fooles; in that they would now haue the world to be wholly good, without any euill remaining in it, which is a matter vtterly impossible. For, euill being contrary to goodnesse, and goodnesse to euill: it appeareth euen necessary (as it were) that by a certaine kinde of repugnancie and contrariety; y^a, by a manner of counterpoise; the one should sustaine and strengthen the other. In such sort, that the one failing, or encreasing; the other likewise should encrease, or run to ruine, because there is no contrarie, without another.

An answer made to these complaints.

No contrary, but it hath another.

A reason for the present annoyances.

Who doth not know, that no Iustice could be found in the world, if ther were not grieuances, iniuries, & oppressions? No magnanimity, if there were not pusillanimity? No continence, if there were not incontineny? No health, if sicknesse had not his course? No truth, if ther were not lying & falshood? Nor any felicity or happinesse, if there were not fals and misfortunes? For this cause *Socrates* said well with *Plato*; *He meruailed very much, that Æsop had not made a Fable, feigning therein, why God did not write pleasure and greefe together, tying them to such extremities, as the beginning of the one, might be the ending of the other.* For we doe euidentlie behold, that no pleasure would at any time be acceptable, if sorrow had not gone before it.

The saying of Socrates and Plato.

The goodnes of al things is approued by the harme of their contraries.

What is he that could discern, how precious quiet rest and repose is, if first he haue not felt the pain of trauaile and wearinesse? Who could tell, what the benefit is of eating, drinking, and sleeping, if first he had not endured hunger, thirst, and watchings? Let mee tell yee then,

then, that passions and diseases are giuen to men by nature, not principally to make them subiect thereto, for it would seeme very inconuenient, that she who is the Mother of all, should (by her counsell and wisdom) send vs many harms: But nature hauing made health, pleasure, and other good things: sends after them sicknesse, displeasure, and other annoyances. For all vertues being first graunted to the world, by the free gift and fauour of Nature: afterward immediatly, all vices, by a contrary concathenation or combination, follow as their companions or attendants. So that the one encreasing, or decaying; she is compelled to grant (in this manner) that the other also shall encrease, or grow to defaylance.

Wherefore, when old men do extol the passed times, affirming, that no men were then so vicious, as now they are in these daies: they may also alledge their ignorance, whether then such vertuous men were to be found, as many are well approoued to be at this day. Nor is there any matter of maruaile heerein, because there is no euill so great; as that which springeth from the seede of corrupted goodnes. And for this cause, Nature producing now great store of Spirits, of much better temper then before they were, as such who of themselves haue turned to goodnesse: hath performed a better workmanship, then in those times (shee did) whereof they talke so much, euen as they that turne to euill, doe so much the worse. We may not then say, that such as cease to doe euill (because they know it not) do in this case deserue any praise: for although they haue sildome committed any harme, yet (notwithstanding) they would haue done much more if they could.

Now, that the Spirits of those precedent times in generall, were much inferior to them lately or now liuing: may sufficiently be knowne, by all matters obserued of them: as well in learning, as in Painting, Statues, Buildings, and in all other things. And yet Men of yeares, doe reprove and blame many things in vs, which are not (of themselves) cyther good or euill, onely because that they (in those daies) did them not. They say, it is not fit for a

young man, to ride on his Foot-cloath Nagge thorow the Cittie, but especially not on a Mule; or to weare any skinnes of Furies in Winter; or a long Gown in the Spring time; or any bonnet, vlesse the Man haue attained to the age of eightene yeares. And other such like things, wherein (truely) they greatly discontent themselves, because that such Customes (beside the commodity and benefit they affoord) haue been brought in by vse, and are as pleasing now to euery one, as then men delighted to goe in Cassockes or lackets, with open shooes, and close Breeches. And for a man to shew himselfe a Gallant, he must carry a Hawke on his Fist all day to no purpose; daunce, without holding his Mistresse by the hand; and vse many other fashions, which were then much esteemed: but now doe appeare to be grosse and vnbesitting. These are most of their foundest reasons, why the customes of these times should not be obserued, but remaine still to the calumnies of aged folke, extolling themselves, by saying: Twenty yeares and more were past with mee, and yet I slept with my Mother and Sisters, and knew not (in long time after) what a Woman was. But now, Boyes, almost as soone as they be borne, know more naughtinesse, then the tallest Men could reach vnto in those daies. When they vtter these speeches, they doe not perceiue; how strongly they confirme, that the very Children of our time, haue much more spirit, then aged Men had in those daies. And that was well noted by *Horace* the Poet, in his time, speaking of our auncients, to this effect: *They commend whatsoeuer themselves did in their youth; and will haue young people to forme their liues by their Age.* But I purpose to shew more pericularly in the following Chapter, the grossnesse of people in those forepassed times, and the subtilty of braue Spirits in young men of these daies.

The inuencions of aged people against younger.

Ancient bravery in a Gallant.

Obiections vfed by the aged.

The saying of Horace.

Vices doe alwaies attend the Vertues.

No euill so great, as that which groweth out of goodnesse.

Former spirits inferior to the of these daies.

CHAP. XXX.

A comparison betweene the Buildings, Feastes, Garments of Men and Women, Armes, and manner of making warre, in the daies of our fore-fathers, and those that are vsed in these our times.



Ourpredeceffors forme of building, very grosse & rude

WE will begin, without vsing any other preamble, with those Buildinges, which were made in the daies of our fore-fathers; consisting of nothing but very thicke wals, bad Windows, continually beaten with winds and stormes; chambers subiected one to another; the vaults or houses of Office, euermore in the most eminent places of the House, which ought to be much further off, both from the nose & eyes: imitating nature, who hath placed those partes in our bodyes, through which our vncleannesse is to be auoyded, farre enough off from the eyes and Nose. Of this fashion, and in such manner of building, it is no long time since, that the more part of Mafons and Worke-men shaped Castles, being places of pleasure, and Countrey houses of pleasure, in no other kinde of constructure. But within an hundred yeares, or there-about, a great part of them are demolished: and (in stead of them) others erected, after our Moderne manner, much more commodious, and of lesse cost, in regard of the time.

The Feasts & Banquets of our elders.

The first seruice.

The second seruice.

Some-what let vs say, concerning their Feasts and Banquets, and obserue in what manner they were ordered. The meate serued into the Table, was alwaies in great Chargers, filled with Pease and Bacon; Gammons of Bacon; huge Neats toongs salted; great pieces of Beefe, boyled Poultry, with pottage about them; boyled Mutton, Veale, & other grosse food, common (almost) in euery ordinary family; and they gorged in these Victuals, so long as they could cram any more into their bellies. Afterward, they brought in other meats, answerable to the former, but roasted and larded (oftentimes) with vnsauory lard,

but it would serue for Pigs and Hares. After this second seruice had stood awhile on the Table, well-neere to no effect: then came in more dainty meats of Foules; as Mallards, wilde Duckes, Ringdoues, young Pigeons, Partridges, woodcocks, Quailes, Pheasants, woodhennes, Plouers, Turtles, and others of like kinde: which are carried away (like the second seruice) almost neuertoucht, for they (good men) had filled their stomackes with the first course meates, feeding hungerly on them, and drinking sower wines, such as Summer marreth, so they left the best and daintiest meates indeede, for their Varlets and base Seruants to feede on. Was not this a verie lourdery and blockishnesse, to vse their meates in this grosse manner? The Maisters ate nothing but the very heauiest meates of all, and their Knaues did feede on the lightest, most exquisite, and best for digestion. Let it then be helde no matter of maruaile, if those men had grosse and heauy Spirits, because, according to the opinion of Plato: *Our manners do follow the temperature and quality of the Chylus, or white iuyce, of the digested meates which we vse to eat.*

The third and best seruice comes last of al, and serueth for none but base groomes to feede on.

The saying of Plato.

Feasts vsed now adaies.

But in these daies, this manner of furnishing the Table at Feastes and meetings, is no more vsed: for in well gouerned houses, they serue in both boyld and roasted meates, grosse and delicate together, that each man may eat according to his appetite, or what he best liketh vpon the boord. For (vnder submission to better iudgement) I thinke it no way fitting, that the seruant should feed on the finest, and his Maister on the coursest; the Knaue serued like a Lord, and his commauder like a Buffone.

Bonnets vsed in auncient time, of very heauy weight

Proceed we now to mens garments. First, the head, hauing bush naturall (as they tearme it) a huge deale of haire on it; must haue as big a Bonnet to couer it; which (in those daies) were cald *spanish* Bonnets, hauing a turning vp behind, double fringed with red, and this turning vp contained halfe an Elle of woollen-cloath. I haue seene one of the in *Paris*, that weighed foure pound and sixe ounces. Another fashion they had, more honest and lighter, tearmed the *Crosse-Bow-Cap*; yet with seauen or eight Elles of Riband about it: This ponderous wearing (in my minde) did nothing

nothing els but dull the braine.

Their Doublets (I meane for the better sort of men) were of leather or course Linnen Cloath behind; and before, of Woosted, or Serge of Arras, which serued halfe the Breast, and so on the armes likewise; yet some (from the Elbowe to the Wrists) vsed to weare Veluet or Satin. This kinde of Doublet, the *Frenchmen* tearmed *Nichil-au-dos*, *Nothing Behinde*, and it was cut according vnto the fashion of Weomens Gownes nowe adayes, that shewes their Breastes naked. The Weomen also in those dayes, had their plaited Collors, wrought with silke, either Blacke or Red, and they were fastened behinde the necke and Shoulders with Silke-Laces: so that they hidde and kept close that which was fairest, & wold haue made them most gracefull. Mens Hose or Breeches, answered in length to their short skirted Doublets, being made close to their limbes; wherein they had no meanes for Pockets. But in stead thereof, they hadde a large and ample Cod-piece, which came vpp with two wings, and so were fastned to eyther side with two Pointes. In this wide roome, they had Linnen bagges, tied with like Points to the inside, betweene the Shirte and Cod-piece. This serued as the receipt for Purse, Hand-kerchers, Apples, Plummes, Peares, Orenge, and other fruits. But did it not seeme verie Inciuill, that sitting at the Table, hee should make a present of such, preferud (for some time) in so sweet a Closset, euen as now adayes, some (as mannerly) vse the like out of their Pockets? As for papers, Letters, and such like, which they ordinarilie receiued, they were to put them in their Hat-bandes, or weare them at their Girdles, like Gloues: wher hung also a great Pouch, made fast with a Ring and Locke of Iron, waighing three or foure pound waight, and oftentimes no money at all in it. Surely, in my poore opinion, the fashion of Pockets made in the Doublet Sleene, or in the hose, is much more honest and commendable.

Leauing their high and vnhandfom Shooes, let vs speake a little of weomens habits then vsed wherein I meane not to be tedious. The Attire on the Head, was of great broad Wollen Cloath, of Red or Violet colour, set out with stickes of Woode, and made in the forme of a

Suger-loafe. Her Gowne was verie large and plaited; and the Sleeues thereof so wide, that a Lambe might easilie leape into them. A Traine also was fastned to this Gowne, which commonly contained six paces in length. At assemblies and meetings of Weomen, as the rest, so did shee let fall her Traine, dragging it after her in Halles, Churches, perhaps ouer Dunghils, and other vnfaoury filthines. Preparing to Daunce, or some other delight, it was taken vp againe, though it serued to no purpose; and then made fast behind, either with a Tach-hooke of Siluer, or a Buton of Golde, or of Iuorie. This Garment was not made without great charge, and was verie painfull also to her that did weare it. For, I haue heard aged Weomen (of very honorable houles, that liued in those times, and vsed the same habite) credibly report; that they haue knowne and seene some weomen, who were meerly stifled vnder such long trained Gownes.

Moreouer, were it Winter or Summer, in regard of honour, they also were furred with Ermins, Martines, or Sables. I forbear to speake of their heauie Vardingales, worne vnder those long & waighty Gownes; the Fore-part whereof, was couered with Silke, or Cloth of gold or Siluer, & all the rest was course Buckram or Canuas. At Night, when they haue gone to bed, their bellies and thighs haue bene greenously chafed and flaid, by reason of so heauie a waight; and extremity of heate.

As for the defensue Armes then vsed, which was Harnesse; were they not (beyonde comparison) more massie and heauie, then those that now adayes wee warre withall? Neuerthelesse, they were commonly pierced with Arrows, Darts; and Quarries of Crosse-bowes, which in those times were their best weapons. But in these daies, they are so well made and yet not (by three parts) so waighty, that they will resist a Musket shotte. The like is to be vnderstood of their Swords, and other Weapons of Defence: for, in one Sword of their vse, there was more stufte, then now we haue in three; & yet they will perfourme as much, nay more, then theirs then did.

It hapned inanie times, that in their Sword-fight, the one man stepping aside for aduantage, the other smiting at him; the

Their wearing Doublets and the fashion of them.

Womens Collors.

Mens Hose or Breeches close to the body.

Hard meanes for Pockets.

Wearing of Letters.

A great Leather Pouch.

What Garments womē vsed to wear.

Long trained Gownes.

A painfull pride.

Furred Garments worne at all times.

Great Vardingales.

The Armour then vsed Harnesse and Cuirasses.

Swordes and weapons of defence.

The harme
ensuing by a
heavy weapon

Their time
when they
warred.

Winter is the
fittest time
for warre, and
some reasons
therefore al-
ledged.

A fault to en-
force the eni-
my to the
fight, such
was the opi-
nion of our
fore-fathers.

The custome
of battailes in
old time.

the verie waight of the Swords fall, hath smote it into the ground, so that he could not easily recover it, but stode vnto the mercy of his enemy. If we trauele yet thorow some partes, in auncient Castles or Fortresses, or Armories of long continued Citties; some of these vnwealdie weapons are daily to be seene.

They neuer made Warre but foure moneths in the yeare, or sixe at the most: after which time, both the one side and other withdrew themselves till Winter was past and gone. This course is quite contrarie vnto that which is to be done in the time of Warre: For, in Winter is the fittest season, and then doe our best warlike spirits performe the best exploit of Warre. Then are surprizals aptest, in regard of long Nights, when Ri- uers and Ditches (being filled with Waters) are strongly frozen. Then dooth a good Captaine take occasion, to make his attempt vpon some place, either to surprize it by scaling, or otherwise. For, then the Spies, Sentinelles, and Watch, are more subiect to sleepe, then at other times. And so much the rather, because (vsually) that mens Bellies are better fed in this season; then other-whiles they are, in regard of the plentie of Victualls, which makes the bodie sleepe and sloth- full. Likewise, by the fauour of Long Nightes, a great deale of Ground is easily ridden, and the Enemy set vpon, when himselfe least surmizeth it, without much effusion of Bloode, with lesse Companie of Men, and weakest Charges.

In those Elder dayes, they thought it a great offence and dishonor, to surprize an Enemy vnprouided: but he must haue a day assigned him, when hee pleased to accept the Battaile: and this was the reason, why wars continued so long a time. But we see quite contrarie, that Warre now commeth sooner to an end, by compelling the Enemy to come to fight, and prouiding polliticke Ambuscadoes for him: in imitation of Hunters & Woodmen, when they chase wilde and vnruely Beasts, that will neuer yeild, except they be enforced thereto. For, if they escape, they wil continually returne to their first bad Nature.

It was a Custome helde in those former Battailles, and verie often obserued, that when men were wearie with Figh-

ting (beeing oppressed with the heauie load of troublesome Harnesse, Coates of Maile and Brigandines, where-with their bodies were couered, besides their maksie and waightie Swords) they should go repose themselves to take breath, yea, (many times) to eate and drink, and then returne to the fight again. As the *French men* did on the day of battell, before the City of *Alexandria*, about the yeare one thousand three hundred ninety one, which day they then lost, with Count *John John d'Armignac* their chiefe.

In those times, battails continued the space of a day; and if they were not then concluded, they went to it again the next morning, to know who then should be Superior. This was more for honor many times, then any profit ensuing therby, and to haue Songs afterwarde made of their sloth and negligence. But in these dayes, within two or three houres (commonly) the battell is won or lost, as I my self haue obserued in five fought battels, where I stood not as an ydle spectator: & the like haue I heard in other places, performed by the best and most approoued Captaines of these times.

What shall wee say of their *Duello*, Combate, or single fight, betweene man and man? It was commonly performed with Swordes, teamed two-hand swordes, without standing vpon anie warrantable Guard; but both parts meeting resolutely on foote; the one receyuing a stroake, while his Enemy stood waiting for another, without any couerture. For, euen like two Smiths beating vpon an Anuile, euen such was their behauiour, smiting alternatiuely; vsing then nothing but cut and slash, without any foine or thrust.

In our daies, this kinde of fight endureth but a moment of time, for nothing is vsed but Estocados: so that vwithin three or foure thrusts, the deadly combat is concluded. For Breuities sake, I omit many other remarkeable thinges: as that they would eat no kind of flesh, except it had some strange fauor, like Venison and wilde beasts. Now albeit these viands were dangerous to health, yet I refer it to all mens iudgments: for it is most certaine, that vse of such foode infecteth the heart, and is the cause of dissenterie. Wherefore such as entend to haue and keep an honest table, and to cloth or arm them-

Long conti-
nuing in fight
no way bene-
ficiall.

Ancient sin-
gle fight or
combate be-
twene man
and man,

Eating of
strange smel-
ling flesh.

themselves respectively : must Learne much better directions, and imitate the worthy inventions of these daies, leaving those grosse absurdities (for the most part vnprofitable) of our Elders, which themselves approved and esteemed, but verie slenderly to any purpose.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Antiquity of Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Fellowships, Societies, or Companies: And to what end they were at first instituted.



THE first Princes and Law-makers, that had not as yet discovered the difficulties, how to maintain their subjects by iustice; permitted fraternities, Colledges, & Communities, the end, that the partes and members of one body (in a Common-wealth) beeing at Vnity, the whole Common-wealth it selfe might be the more easily governed. As wee may perceiue *Numa* did, a King and Law-maker amongst the first, who established Fraternities and Colledges, of all Trades and Occupations, and to each Brother-hood, he appointed certain Patrons, Priests, and perticular Sacrifices, after the *Sabines* name was abolished, that deuided it selfe somewhat from the *Romaines*.

Lycurgus also, not only gaue the same permission, but likewise strictly commanded the good entertainment of such Communities, aswell generall as perticular, & that all the Subjects should take their refection in those Colledges, from fifteene dayes, to fifteene dayes: and he cald such Assemblies in Greek, *φιλιτια* or *φιλαιτιω*, a *Parsimonia*, that is to say, of living Friggally, in regard of the amity they hadde sworne one to another, as also in all the Citties of *Greece*.

There were likewise of the like Fraternities, which were called *εταιριαις*. As in *Italy*, the selfsame Colledges were called *Sodalitia*, for Vnion, Frequentation, and Amity, which they helde together, eating and drinking (in one Assembly)

the most part of their time: and hauing no other Iudges but themselves. If there grew any difference among these Companions in Society: they knew that amity was the sole foundation of all Societies, and to be much more requisite amongst men, then Iustice. For Iustice who is neuer pittifull, but holdes on her direct course: oftentimes maketh friends enemies, and Amity giuing way to her Seuerity, establisheth true naturall Iustice. Considering, that the sole aime of all lawes Diuine and Humain, is to maintain loue amongst men, and the loue of men towards GOD, which could neuer be compassed, but by frequent and sociable Conuersation, and ordinary vnity.

The verie same we may see in the law of God, the Feast of Easter to be recommended in the company of ten, to tenne persons; beside the Feast of Tabernacles and ordinary bankets of sacrifices, which God commanded to be solemnized with all ioy and gladnesse, which were entertained in the Primitiue Church of Christians, who oftentimes made such Feasts, which they called *ἀγαπαί*, for the Kisses of Piety and Charitable embracements, which one gaue vnto another: besides the fraction; and ordinarie Communicating.

This Order is yet better kept in *Swetia*, then in any place of the world: For, in all Citties and Townes, Fraternities and Occupations haue their Common Houses, where they keepe their Feastes and Banquets; and there is no Village so little, but it hath a Common house only for this purpose, wher (continually) suits, Quarrels, and Contentions, are louingly concluded; and the sentence is Written downe with White Chalke, vpon the Table where they haue Banketted, in token of a white & pure ending of all strifes whatsoeuer. It were very necessary, that such an honest Custome should be euery where vsed: for it woulde prevent great expences and charges, bestowed in frivulous and idle pleadings, whereby infinite persons are vtterly vndone.

And euen in like manner as at Roine, according to the Institution of *Numa*, artificers, Merchants, Priests, Bishops, & all sorts of men had their Fraternities, and certaine Gods for their Patrons (as *Mercury* was assigned to the Merchantes, *Apollo* to Priests, and the like to others, after

Amity is much more worth then Iustice.

Con-fraternall Feastes commaunded in the law of God.

Brotherhoods in the Primitiue Church.

Kind Brotherhoods kept amongst the Switzers.

An honest custome deserueth furtherance.

At Roine, and in Greece, euery companie of Artizanes, haue their brother-hood.

The reason of instituting the first fraternities.

Numa Pompilius the second King of *Rome*.

Lycurgus gaue both approbation and Institution.

The *Sodalitia* in *Italy*.

Fellow-ships and brother-hoods of Philosophers.	ter the example of <i>Solon</i> , who ordained by his Lawe, that all Communities and Brotherhoods should be permitted, with power to make such Statutes as they pleased. Euen so in like maner, Phylosophers had Fraternities among them, especially the <i>Pythagorians</i> who assembled together ordinarily, and liued (for the most part) in common.		
Brotherhoods of whippers.	<i>Herodotus</i> (who liued before <i>Rome</i> was builded) writeth, that there were certain Societies of men in Egypt, who would beate and whip themselves so long as the Sacrifice endured, when they immolated a Cowe to their God <i>Apis</i> . <i>Romulus</i> hauing entered into alliance with <i>Tatius</i> , K. of the <i>Sabines</i> , instituted a number of Priests, which were cald the <i>Tatian</i> Fraternity. The said <i>Romulus</i> made himselfe one of a Brother-hood, which was called <i>Amaux</i> , that is to say, belonging vnto the Fielde, whereof hee was the Twelste man.	10 thus to the <i>Lupercall</i> Brother-hood, to be made fruitful. <i>Marke Anthony</i> the Emperor, he was one of this fraternity, in the yeare, 700. after it was instituted, & ran starke naked through the Citty, as the other did. <i>Iulius Copiolinus</i> saith, that many Brotherhoods were made at <i>Rome</i> , after the decease of Emperors, whom the Senate (in a manner) deified. As, in regard of <i>Augustus</i> , the Fraternities were called <i>Augustales</i> , and <i>Flauiales</i> , after the Family of the <i>Flauians</i> . <i>Aurelians</i> and <i>Antonians</i> , in respect of <i>Aurelius</i> and <i>Antonius</i> , Emperors.	<i>Plut. in vit. de Cesar.</i> <i>Tertul. in Apol. Cap. 39.</i>
<i>Cornel. Tacitus.</i>	About the time of <i>Romes</i> first foundation, because manie <i>VVolues</i> liued then thereabout, which destroyed the Cattle, so that great losses were dayly receyued: the <i>Romaines</i> , who were onely but fillie warlicke Shepherds, instituted a fraternitie, and associated many men together, electing God <i>Pan</i> to be the chief Patron, to the end, that vnanimately, and with one consent (when occasion required) they might oppose themselves against the <i>VVolues</i> ; this was their first foundation. Not long after, neere vnto Mount <i>Palatine</i> , they founde a Litter of younge <i>VVolues</i> , which hauing destroyed: they afterward builded there a field Temple, dedicated to their God and Patron <i>Pan</i> , according as then their power and ability serued them. This Fraternity kept their Celebration anually, and the Brothers went naked, running thorow the Citty, holding long strappes of Goates skines in their handes, wherewith they vsed to lash their bodies. The women among them, such as were barren, would (in like manner) strike themselves on the palmes of their handes; and verily beleued, that these superstitious Ceremonies would cause them to become fruitfull. As may be noted in <i>Iuuenall</i> , thus mocking a woman:	20 <i>Tertullian</i> , Byshop of <i>Carthage</i> , in the time of great persecutions and of Paganisme, beholding certain Brother-hoods to be made among the Pagans, carrying meats into the Temples, performing of Sacrifices, eating together, and giuing to the poore: hee admonished the Christians to doe the like, but not to meddle with any reuerence to the Gentiles gods, only they should continue firme in the Christian Faith. And it is verie likelie, that Popes, Byshoppes, and other holy men, haue perswaded the Christians to immitate those Assemblies and Fellow-ships: for continuance of praier to God, and censuring and separating one from another, when it should truly be known, that some one among them, had doone an acte vnbeseeming the name of a christian. Also, to conferre amiably amongst themselves, if any strifes or contentions had happened in the Company; then to accord such differences by their Pietie and Loue, rather then to plead those distastfull matters before Iudges; keeping purposely an Informer among them, onely to accuse such delinquentes. They would conclude amongst themselves, to redeeme prisoners for debts, and pursue the deliuerance of prisoners for their Faith; leuying a Collection of such sums of money, as should easily compasse this businesse. Also to giue aide and assistance to Christians, being in persecution, and forced from place to place: contributing for reliefe of the poor, comforting helpleffe <i>VViddewes</i> and Orphanes, giuing them food, cloathing, and maintenance, To marry and lend helpe to poor maids, in some competent and reasonable dowries; prouiding for the Funerals of needy people, dying in necessity, or beeing martyred, not hauing any thing lefte to burie	Good examples are worthy imitation.
<i>Plin. in Lib. 17</i>		30	
The Lupercal Fraternity of Shepherds.		40	Holy and Religious care in our Ancestors, for auoyding of bad and scandalous inconueniences.
The yearely celebration of this Brother-hood.		50	
The idle opinion of Women.			
<i>Iuuenall.</i> <i>Marke Anthony</i> a Lupercal Brother.	<i>Nec prodest agili palmas prabere lupercis.</i> VVhich is as much to say, as, <i>It serues thee to no purpose, to present thy handes</i>		

burie them withall, but onely referred to their care and mercy.

Some Brother-hoods learned of those saide Pagan *Aegyptians*, to whippe themselves; and do practise yet to this day, yea euen to effusion of bloud, to subdrie their bodies (as they say) enclined to voluptuousnesse; and this they do twice or thrice weekely: Others more rarely, according to their Deuotion. These Fraternities haue stiled themselves *Niniutes*, because they finde in the Sacred Scripture, that the Inhabitants of *Niniuy*, being warned by the Prophet *Jonas*, that they should be destroyed for their sinnes: heereon they became verie penitent, put on sackcloath and ashes, and chastised their bodies, to appease the wrath of God.

The first Society or Fraternitie made among Christians (so farre as my iudgement reacheth) was in *Ierusalem*, where the euer-blessed Virgin *Marie*, the Mother of *Iesus*, all the Apostles, and many other, as well weomen as men, Disciples of *Iesus-Christ*, met together, and were in number about fixe score, after he was exalted vp into Heauen, where they receyued the Holy-Ghost, and afterwards, remaind long time in their Brotherhood and assembly.

I will not say, that both Holy and vertuous assemblies haue not bene abused, vnder pretence of Piety and religion, because it is long since, that it hath bin too well noted in *Italy*, when the factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines* were vnder full faile, labouring with one consent (vnder the pretence of fraternity) quite to exterminat one another. As much is found to be done in *Germany*, especially in the Diocesses of *Treucs*, *Cologne*, *Liege*, *Mayence* and elsewhere, during the troubles of their Countreyes.

This miserie also made way into *France*, gathering vp Monopolies, in sted of congregating like louing Brethren; yea, bandying and eleuating themselves against their King, and against the Catholicke Church, which succeeded to nothing els; but multiplicity of seditions, only to support the part they had taken. But such vnlawfull assemblies are reprooued by the Church; and no such Fraternities should be permitted in Communion of the Sacrament, prophaning holy things, & the peace of the Church. For, they ought not to intrude into such matters as apper-

taine only to the Prince, vnder colour of reforming, but they should bee taken as seditious, factious, and scelerates; yea, to be quite cut off from the bodie of the militant Church.

Thus you see, what I thought good to discourse, concerning the Antiquity and Vtility of Fraternities or Brother-hoods. And that they were not instituted by the first Christians, for Sporting, Dancing, and Drinking, as many ignorant and detracting persons haue thought, and so laboured to perswade the simple people.

CHAP. XXXII.

20 Of *Polybius* the Romaine Ambassador, and his opinion of the Iewish Commonwealth, when hee was at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*.



30 **P**olybius the great Historian, a most elegant orator, and learned Phylosopher, School-maister, or (as some will haue it) companion vnto *Scipio* the *Affrican*, being sent by a Senat on an Embassie, to *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, hauing heard of the ciuill warres that then were in *Iudea*, made a mockery of the Iewes, and such as held opinion that the church and Doctrine of God, should bee constituted by the Iewish people. For then, all that Nation was full of troubles and intestine broiles, the great sacrificing Priest being violently dispossessed of his estate by another, and this man slain or murdered by another. Euen as *Iason* did, who expelled his Brother *Menelaus*: & then, his Fellow afterward caused his Brother *Onias* to be murdered. In briefe, by Ambition of the Sacrificers, who raised 40 ciuill warres, they prophaned the bloud of their Fellow-Cittizens, the Dead bodies of their elders were scattered in the streets, yea, hurled into the Porch of the Temple.

50 During which time, *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, called thether by one of the factious, exercised cruell theeneries in euerie

Sedition in *Ierusalem*, who should be the Sacrificer.

Antiochus knew how to Fish in troubled streames

Christians learned of Pagans to whip themselves.

Where the first Fraternity of Christians was made

Acts 1, 9.

The factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*,

The harms in *Germany* and *France*.

Unlawful fraternities prohibited & accounted as no members of the Commonwealth.

Cruelties vsed
towards
women, and
their Chil-
dren.

Three contra-
ry Sects in Je-
rusalem.

Happinesse of
the Romains.

The Church
of God can
neuer lose hir
selfe.

Gods church
alwayes per-
manent in
this life.

ry City. He placed his Garrison in the Temple, celebrated the Feast of *Bacchus* in the City; in which City only, stood the Temple of the true God. Circumcision was interdicted, and because two Weomen had caused their Children to be circumcised, they were led naked thorough the City, bearing their strangled Infants at their Breasts; and (at length) themselves were throwne over the wals. Another, who had seauen Children, was flayed, dismembred, and fried in a burning Caldron, because shee would not eate Swines flesh, contrary to the Ordinance of the Law.

Beside this, during these Calamities, there were risen three different Sects, of the *Essees*, *Saducees*, and *Pharisees*; who more tormented the Church, and her true Doctrine, then all the massacres committed by the Iewes. In the end, *Polybius* to behold this so much deformed estate, thought then, that the *Romain* Senate (where there was a *Scipio*, a *Lelius*, a *Scauola*, a *Cato*, a *Fannius*, and others, that gouerned in the World wisely) was the place where God delighted most to be; & that he fauoured the *Romans* most. For, they prospered more in all their conquests, then all other Princes or people of the world did: and hee iudged the affaires and condition of the world, according as hee saw people in their good or bad estate.

Now, albeit it was verie strange to see the Church in such a dissipation and deformity, yet notwithstanding, there were (euen then) some good members that cleaued fast to her: Such were *Simeon*, *Zachary*, and many others, both Maisters and Disciples in her Diuine School; and after them, the *Almonees* or *Machabees*. I alledge these things for many Reasons: First, to the end, that we should hold this Consolation, that God hath euermore his Church truly permanent, especially in this mortall life: to the end, that alwayes some part of mankind should truly know God, call vpon him, and celebrate his name, and that part need not doubt, but that they are preserued, counter-garded, and heard of God.

If *Polybius* had seen some hundreds of yeares afterward, when the Popes were expelled out of *Rome*, and persecuted, he would haue said as much of the Catholicke Church. As we read of Pope *Alex-*

ander, third of that name, molested so many wayes by the most potent Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa*, finding no place in all Christendome for safety of his life: that (in the end) hee was constrained to retire himselfe to *Venice*, in the habite of a poor Priest, hiding himself in the church of *La Charita*, where he was receiued as a poore Chaplaine, and relieued for the loue of God. But at length, being known for the man he was indeed, hee found assistance, and was re-seated in his place. Pope *Clement* fift of that name, in regard of the factions in *Italy*, durst not abide at *Rome*, but was compelled to hold his See at *Auignon*, where (after him) it was continued by his successours; the space of threescore yeares and more. Likewise, because there happened about three and twenty Schismes in the Church, some whereof, lasted seauenteene yeares and more: sometimes three Popes were elected at one time, who made most cruell Warre one vpon another; One, defending Emperors; Others, som other Princes. I cannot expresse the Cruelties, Insolencies, Disorders, and Wickednesses, which (during these troubles) were committed in the Church. And yet neuertheless, in these hot times of Molestations, there were many good people, full of Piety, as well women as men, among whom Gods true Church was stil preserued and manifested.

For prooffe whereof, while these three Popes were thus in contention, to wit; *Symmachus*, *Laurentius*, and *Petrus Altinus*; there flourished great store of worthy personages, that were of Holie and vertuous life, of whom I wil name some. *Fulgentius* Byshop of *Hispalis*, a Monke; *Theodoret* a Græcian Priest; *Isidore*, Byshop of *Auuergne*; *Eusebius* of *Carthage*; *Dionisius* the Abbot; *Auitus Vniencis*; *Seuerinus*, Bishop of *Treues*; *Ægissippus* the Diuine; *S. Patrick* of *Ireland*; *Pommerius* and *Honoratus*; *Cassiodorus* the Monke; *Fridolin* of *Basile*, and many others. If an hundred yeares after *Polybius* liued, he could haue seene the *Romain* Commonwealth wholly dissipated by the factions of *Pompey*, of *Cæsar*; then of the *Triumveri*, all the World being filled with Ciuill Wars; to attribute that which those famous *Romaines* (in his time) had conquered, by so great prouidence and discreet preseruation, hee would then haue said,

Pope *Alexander* the third
banished out
of *Rome*.

Pope *Clement*
the fift forced
to flie *Rome*.

Three Popes
elected at
one time.

A number of
holie persons
in the time of
the Schismes.

The Com-
mon-wealth
of *Rome* dis-
sipated.

said, that God did not respect *Rome* more then he did any other nation. He should also then haue well noted the Pagans, among whom, Vertue, true Doctrine, and Honesty, was daily persecuted and despised: for then, if a man did but faigne to haue the truth, he was sure his Throate should be cut.

Polybius knew not God, but was a Pagan.

His Countrey and place of birth.

Polybius his Bookes lost & burned.

Titus Linius beholding to *Polybius*.

Polybius was a true Historian, not subject to the folly of some other writers

But *Polybius* is excuseable, for he had no knowledge of God, but was a Pagan. He could not comprehend, that the passage to the Kingdome of heauen, is thorrow infinite Tribulations. He beleeued, that there was no other Paradise, but onely to liue happily in this world. Hee was an *Acadian*, borne in the Cittie of *Megalopolis*, a great Phylosopher and Historiographer, verie wel skilled in militarie Discipline. He wrote fortie Bookes in the Greeke tongue, containing the gests and pollicies of the *Romains*. Of all which Bookes, at this day, hardly is any more to be found, then five: the rest were lost and burnt by his Maid-servant, being ignorant what they were. But a yong man, that sometime attended on him, knowing the merit of his writings, hindred the Maids follie, and preferued those which wee haue, from hurling them into the fire.

Titus Linius hath beene much beholding to him, for it plainly appeareth, that he followed him (word by word) in many of his passages, without altering anie thing: and yet it was the space of an hundreded years, or thereabout, between him and the saide *Titus Linius*. He was not so superstitious as some other Historiographers; who mingled false miracles of their Gods among their woorkes: as apparitions of Gods, Goddesles speaking with Captaines, or heads of armies; that they rained downe Blood, Milke, Stones, and such like; that Beasts did speake, Riuers conuert their Naturall colour into Blood, and other thinges meereley incredible. Nor did he write the Orations of Ambassadors, Captaines, and Kinges, wholly at large, without forgetting any iot, as many other Historians (both before and after him) haue done, laboring to perswade their Readers, that those affaires whereof they discourse, passed according as they are set downe, which is not easily to be credited.

Now, as concerning the cause why he went into *Egypt*, it was not to learne

there what God was, or any of his woorkes: as did *Plato*, *Democritus*, *Chrysippus*, *Anaxagoras* and others; for he had read what those Phylosophers had Written, and many more beside. But the *Romaine* Senat well knowing him, although a stranger, and that he had done very much seruice to *Scipio*, in giuing him good aduise and Counsel, for his conduct in the wars of *Affrica*, and of *Carthage*; deputed him their Ambassador, to negotiate and accord some matter of peace, between *Ptolemy Euergetes*, King of *Egypt*; and *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, and of manie other great Prouinces, who formerly had ranged ouer the Egyptian Territories, and *Polybius* accorded them verie worthilie. Hauing ended his Legation, he returned to *Rome*, where (it is said) he died, deeply charged with yeares.

The cause of *Polybius* his Embatsie into *Egypt*.

He taught and instructed that Noble *Scipio*, in many Vertues, and among other precepts which he left him: that he should neuer remooue from the place, whereto occasion called him, vntill hee had won himselfe a friend there. In brief, euerie man of good iudgement, will not iudge rashly, of good or euill persons, by outward apparence, beholding them to be fortunate, rich, or poore, nor seeing them afflicted; but rather, by their good actions, vprightnes of life, and purenesse of Doctrine.

The death of *Polybius*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of a strange conceit or opinion, in the Women of *Moscovia*, to wit; That if they be not beaten by their Husbands, they thinke that they are not loued of them.



Imagined (for a long time) that that which is reported of the Women of *Moscovia*, should be a meere Fable, to wit; that if they were not very often beaten by their husbands, they presently supposed that they did not Loue them; although it is vsed as a common Prouerbe: *Hee that loueth*

Few women (I thinke) of this minde.

Women in
our countries
hold this to
be erroneous.

most; correcteth most. But such as are subject to Discipline, Correction, and Chastisement, as are Slaues, Seruaunts, and Children of a Family, being vnder the power of Maisters, Tutors, or Parents, they will hardly confesse themselves, to be beloued more then any other, because they are beaten more then other. Neuethelesse, the Women of *Moscouia* doo hold this opinion quite contrary vnto all other else-where, that if they be not beaten, they are despised, and no way esteemed.

I am well assured, that no man can perswade this for allowable, to the women of *France, Italy, Spaine, England*, nor to the *German* women, or that they would accept, and let it passe for currant Doctrine: although, if it happen that they should bee beaten, even when they haue verie iustly deserued it; yet notwithstanding, they will striue to cry first, yea, and to beate their Husbands too, if they could; or otherwise iniurie and abuse them. And Women-Neighbours to impeach the entraunce of so bad a Custome, would helpe such women as complained, both in their maledictions and imprecations, against such as (deseruedly) do strike their Wiues, aledging *Saint Pauls* saying; *That no man should hate his owne Flesh.* The Women of *Moscouia*, do neuer go out of their owne Houses, not so much as to the Churches, and do nothing else but spin. And to giue assurance of what I haue already said, I will declare three Histories, which very good Authors haue left Written, and which I my selfe haue heard credibly auouched by men of worth, that haue bin in those parts.

Laurentius Surius, a Religious Char- treux of *Cologne* in *Germany*; Writes in his Booke of memorable matters, as well Ecclesiasticall as Secular: how it happened (in his time) that a *Germane* traui- led into those parts, and married with a Woman of that Countrey, and his wife made a great complaint to him, that hee did not loue her, neither bare her anie kinde of affection, because he did not at any time beate her. The *Germane* hearing this, made answere; that hee loued her entirely; and perswaded himselfe, that blowes could bee no true signes of Loue. Afterward, he vsed to beate her so extremly, and so often, that he found

*Laurent. Sur. in
Lib. de Rab.
Mem. tant. Ec-
cles. quã Secu-
lar.*

(by good prooffe) his Wife did loue him much better then she did before. But his beating was such, and so immeasurably, as (at length) the Hangman brake both his legs and necke.

I was verie familiar with a *Germane* of *Lunebourg*, whose father was Amba- sador for *Ferdinando*, Emperour, first of that Name, not long since deceased, de- 10 puted to *Basilus*, Duke and King of *Mos- couia*; and hee assured me, that this Opi- nion was a Custome, and still in vse with the Women of that Countrey; & heard his Father faithfully report it. For he being lodged in the house of an honorable 20 Burgesse in the City *Moscouia*, about the businesse then referred to his trust, sawe his hoste oftentimes beate his wife vpon no occasion; and yet notwithstanding, shee left not to loue him; and they spake 26 still kindly each to other, without the verie least shew of discontent: and yet the said woman was very often beaten, some- times with his dagger, or a staffe, or kickt with his fecte. He said moreouer, that there was a Gold-Smith in the same Ci- 30 tie, with whõ this Ambassador often fre- quented, because he knew him before in the Towne of *Lunebourg*. This Woman sent word by one of her young Children to her husband, that hee had not beaten his mother (so much as once) al that week 40 time: but if he would not beate her, she would neuer loue him, neither would she prouide any more diet for him. The Goldsmith being very busily imployed about his worke, regarded not his sonnes words, neither remembred this custome so generally in vse, as those (Naturally 50 borne in the Countrey) had great respect vnto it for their owne quiet. For hee was a man humane enough (for a *Germane*) and allowed not this barbarous behavi- our, to smite his dearest friend and wife, or so much as to shew her any vnkinde countenance: yet afterward, vpon her importunity, and to discharge his dutie, hee gaue her halfe a dozen blowes with a Cudgell on the backe and shoulders, & 50 puld off her Head-attire, wherewith she was well contented, and called him pre- sently to an excellent prepared Dinner. Otherwise, if a whole week should passe, and he not beate her, there could be no quietnesse in the house, nor should he get one good looke of her. This is an ordina- ry custome among the Women in the great

Another Hi- story for fur- ther confir- mation of this custome.

Another Hi- story of a Goldsmith & his wife.

great Prouince of *Moscovia*.

In brieft, this manner and custome of men beating their Wives, could not arise but out of Sathans shoppe; for the Christian Church hath euermore condemned it. There are none in these parts, but Knaues, Fooles, lealous Coxcombs, Drunkards, or men voide of vnderstanding, that will exercise such Barbarous behauiour on their Wives: yet let mee not be mistaken, for I do not excuse some Weomen, that deserue to bee beaten for their vices and badnesse, and wil giue extraordinary occasion to be sharply handled by their Husbands. But my meaning is, of vertuous, discreet, and well aduised women, whose merits are not meanly to be cherrished, but highly respected by their Husbands.

Whence this Barbaous cultome grew

Somd women do deserue beating.

CHAP. XXXIII.

¶ That those things, which some Authors haue left written, concerning the Destruction and ruine of great Troy, performed by the Greekes, are true.



Cannot choose but meruel very much, at the wilful pertinacity of some men, who rashly haue esteemed, that those things written by many good Authors, deseruing credite and faithfull opinion of the warre and ruine of Troy in *Phrygia*, should be mere Fables, and ydle vanities. This error happeneth, because they haue not read some Bookes, Written by parties present at the Warre on either side, as well *Greekes* as *Troyans*: as *Dichys* of *Creet*; and *Dares Phrygius*, and others, who collected also their Writings out of sound Authority, liuing not long after the time when those things happened. As *Herodotus* and others, that heard them reported by Captaines & Commanders, who had charge in the said Warres: among whom, was *Phalstus* the *Greeke*, and some others beside, that selected them out of verie ancient Authors. As namely, *Quintus Scipius* the *Romain*; *Damasceus Sigiernus*; *Emilius Macer* the Poet; *Euclide* the

Authors that haue written of the war of Troy.

Megari in *Phyllosthet*; and *Homer*, who was about eight score yeares after.

Many Monarkes, Kinges, and other Princes, took the paines, comming from farre Countries, to see the City of *Troy*: as *Alexander* the Great, that found it ruined by the *Persians*, who likewise destroyed all that part of *Asia*, wherein it was seated. But *Penthyllus*, Nephew to *Agamemnon*, builded it againe, after that the *Greekes* had sacked it: raigning there, & his successors (as is affirmed) vntill such time as the *Persians* ouerthrew it. *Alexander* the Great, then hauing read manie Heroicall actions, performed at the besiedging of this Cittie, and finding it laid desert, caused it to be re-edified, & gave great immunities and Priuiledges to the inhabitants, whom hee exempted from ordinary tributes; instituting there *Free-Fayre*, *Martes*, and *Markets*, for all such as would dwell there, or *Negotiate* with them: in regard whereof, it was named *Alexandria*. *M. Aurelius*, *Dioclesian*, & *Claudius*, *Romaine* Emperours, potent and mighty, tooke paines to trauell thither from *Rome*, not without much cost and labour. And to leaue a memorie to posterity, of their beeing there, they caused a goodly Columbe to be erected, (which is yet (at this day) to be seene) of white Marble, very great, and placed in it being called *Troy*: but in regard of the great Antiquity thereof, it standeth not directly vpright, but leaneth some-what towards the sea; and thereon is engrauen these words following.

Imperator Caesar. Mar. Antonius pius, Felix, Parthicus, Maximus, Trib. Pl. Imp. P. XV. Cons. III. Prouinciam, Asiam, per viam, & flumina, pontibus subiugauit.

And on the other side of the said Piller, was likewise written:

Imperator Caesar Augustus, Diocletiano, P. Cos. II. regnante Tribunicia vice potestate. M. F. T. et Claudius, C. VIII. P. R.

In the time of the Warre which the *Romans* had against *Mithridates*, this City was againe destroyed to the verie foundation by a *Roman* Captain, named *Fimbria*, because *Mithridates* was possessed thereof, and had planted there his Garrison, which did much harine to the *Romains*: Yet it was new builded againe,

Alexander and other Romaine Emperours went to see Troy.

The name of *Troy* changed and called *Alexandria*.

Inscriptions vpon a Pillar in *Troy*.

Another destruction of *Troy*.

Galen a Studentiu Troy.

Acts 20, 12.

Troy again destroyed by the Gothes.

The ruines of Troy which are at this day to be seene.

The greatnes and circuit of Troy.

Iliou Castle.

(but I know not by whom) because in the time of *Marcus Aurelius* the Emperour, there was an excellent Vniuersitie in the same place, of all Sciences, and *Galen* the Physitian was then a Student there.

Likewise, *Saint Luke* testifieth, that *Saint Paule* passed thorough it, and that he raised vp there, a young man, named *Eutichus*, that fell downe deade out at a Window, from the third Loft of the house: Also, that he preached there, and celebrated the holy Communion, where there remained a great number of Iewes. Three hundred yeares after, or thereabout, this Cittie was once again destroyed by the *Gothes*.

I thinke it was yet againe re-built afterward, and that the Inhabitants were Christians, because (at this day) manie crosses may be seen Engrauen on stones, enclosed in the walles of diuers temples therein, that stand (as yet) most part of them, being not wholly destroyed.

At this present, no person dwelleth there, nor within a Leagues compasse round about it; I know not whence this differtion should proceed. The neere Neighboring Inhabitants do say, that before the Turkes got their enterance into *Greece*, it was then to be seen in the same condition. The six ancient Gates, are yet there (almost) intire, with their Posternes. The Towers about the walles in many places are yet standing vpright; and the height of the VValles are (verie neere) firmly standing; against which, are erected strong Piles and Spurres of two Fadomes breadth, to sustaine them vpright.

The wals were builded of Free-stone, blacke like Iet; hard, but spungy; asking a large time to goe about them: and the Ditches are not (as yet) filled vp. There are two Castelles, verie ancient, within the circuite of the Cittie, builded vpon the pendant of a Mountaine: one of the which, being much higher then the Cittie, as hauing command thereof, and was called *Iliou Castle*. The other beeing much lower, had command of the Sea; both of them beeing builded of bright Marble; and so excellent in their construction, as it is impossible for anie man in the world, wholly to demolish them.

Concerning matters within the Cittie, there are yet to be discerned the marks

and tracts of such goodly buildinges, as exceed my capacity to expresse. There are yet to be seene strong Conduits and Cesternes, without any water belonging to them. The streets are verie confused, by reason of the houses ouerthrow which (for the most part) was flat forward. Of Welles or Fountaines, there is no more but one now to be seene, and that is neer to the Sea side. Naturall Baths are there yet to be noted, holding their nature dry and hot, builded by excellent Art, and Artificially couered with fine Bricke. But be it howsoeuer, it must be much greater matter, then as yet I haue heard of, that shall or can cause mee to beleue those things for Fables, that are written and reported of the greatnesse, wealth, and power of this Cittie.

There are yet many Sepulchres to be seen, both within and without the Cittie, of Captains and Princes, aswell *Troians* as *Greeks*, that were slaine during the warre, made (in Anticke maner) of Marble, all in one peece, after the fashion of a Chest, the couers whereof are whole & sound. Halfe a League or a mile from *Troy*, is the Isle of *Tenedos*, where are the most part of the Greekes Sepulchres. As that of *Achilles*, who was the terror of the *Troians*, yet slaine by *Paris*. He was so highly esteemed, that many of his blood were afterward carried thither, to lye by him in his Tombe, so much did they admire his memory.

This was the Tombe that *Alexander* went to visit, weeping ouer it, and much complaining, because he was not so happy, as to haue a man that could so well publish his praises, as *Homer* had doone those of *Achilles*; it remaineth yet entirely whole, with diuers *Greeke* Verses thereon engrauen. And about the yeare of Iesus Christ, 1379. when *Baiazeth* the son of *Selim* raigned ouer the Turkes, there was found in the saide Isle of *Tenedos*, the Sepulcher of an *Amazon* Queen, named *Marpesia*, who after many booties, being richly laden with spoiles, made hir return to this Island, verie sore hurt and wounded, and there ended her dayes. This Tombe is yet to be seene, betweene two hilles of indifferent height; and a litle before one of them, there is a *Greeke* Epitaph on the couer of the Marble Chest, and there her name is comprized in faire Carracters.

The markes of goodly buildinges in Troy.

One onely Well as yet remaining.

Naturall Baths yet to be seene.

Tombs and Sepulchres yet to be seen

The Isle of *Tenedos*.

The Tombe of *Achilles*, & many more, visited by *Alexander*.

The Tombe of *Marpesia*, an *Amazon* Queene.

At

The Tombe
of valiant A-
jax.

The Spirit of
Homer said to
walke yet in
the Islands a-
bout Tenedos.

The Riuers
of Simois and
Xanthus.

Theuets de-
scription is to
be doubted.

Bellon. in Lib. 2
de Observat.

At any time, with opening verie little ground, or passing not aboue a foote in depth, many other famous tombs might be easily discovered. As the Tombe of *Ajax* was, in that quarter where *Achilles* encamped his men. About this Isle of *Tenedos*, there are many other little Islands, of as good ground as that of *Tenedos*, but vn-inhabited, except by some poore Fisher-men, that make their retirement thither sometimes. And it hath beene immagined, to be haunted with spirites, which speake to men: in regard whereof, the men that resort thither, and abide there any time, do say, that the spirit of *Homer* wanders in those Islandes, where he did (in former dayes) Phylosophize; and that he shewed himself to certaine Shepherds, as they passed that way to feed their Cattle. Thus you may heare the opinion of such as doo now dwell about *Troy*, and neere the Isle of *Tenedos*, touching visions and spirits that appeare in those Islands.

As for the Riuers of *Simois* and *Xanthus*, so much renowned by many Poets which watered the fields of *Troy*, we can now say no otherwise of them, but that they are small Brookes or Gulletts; scarce able to nourish a Loach or Minnow: for they are dried vp in Summer, and in the deepest of Winter, a Duck cannot swim there. But our Poets haue published so many Fables of these Riuers, as they should seeme to haue beene much greater, then now they are. Yet must we not (for all this) say, that the History is not true, because Painters and Poets are Licensed to embellish their woorkes with more then their infant subiect requireth; and we must likewise vnderstand, that vnder Poeticall Fables, there is vsuallie a morrall sense conuayed.

As concerning the Scituation of this Citty, *Theuets* maketh a quite contrarie description thereof, and saith; That these two fore-named, are great Riuers: and that it is seated in a good soile. I would be loth to contradict such a person, but that which I write, I haue gathered from *Bellonius* a Physitian of *Mans*, in the second Booke of his Observations: and I my selfe haue heard him often report, being at *Paris*, at *Postell*, that foure years he frequented that Country. Afterward, a man of *Rohan*, named *Albert le bon*, declared that he had bin in those parts, and

remained there a whole Winter; agreeing in all things which *Bellonius* had written. I thinke verily, that *Theuets* was neuer there, but what hee hath recorded, was onely by heare-say.

That which hath giuen occasion to some, not to credite the destruction of *Troy*, is (as I haue heard) the iudgement of *Paris*, concerning the beautie of the three Goddesses *Diana Phrygius* writeth, that it was nothing but a Dreame which *Paris* had as he slept vnder a Tree, being wearied with Hunting in the Forrest of *Ida*: and Poets making vse of this dreame; haue aduised young Princes, not to imitate the folly of *Paris*. For hee refused Riches, which *Iuno* presented him; and wisdome and vnderstanding in all things, offered him by *Pallas*, if to eyther of them he would haue giuen the Golden Ball. But suffering himselfe to be swayed by voluptuous desires, hee chose rather to giue it to *Venus*, the Goddess of loose and mis-gouerned affections, that hee might liue (alwaies after) in such licentious liberty. And, as an especiall note of his skilfull progression, hee made a Rape of faire *Helena*, wife to *Menelaus*, King of *Lacedemon*; that entertained him in his Court as a kind friend. A matter which caused the ruine of all his family, and of all the *Trojan* Kingdome beside.

Secondly, they alledge also as a fable, that *Priam* commaunded his son *Paris* to be slaine, because *Hecuba* (his Queen) being great with childe, had a dreame that she should be deliuered of a Fire-brand. And hauing conferred with interpreters of dreames, the King was informed, that the infant then in hir womb, should be the cause of his ruine, and of the whole kingdome. This dreame might very likely be dreamed by *Hecuba*, in regard, that verie often, Princes and Princesses are (by especiall grace) forewarned of God, both in dreames and otherwise, concerning diuers things which are to happen; to the end, that they might prevent them. For accidents good or euil do not only touch them, but all the people likewise. In briefe; *Paris* from his infancy was so vicious, as his father could neuer afford him a good looke. And when he was in his youthfull dayes; without any aduise of his Parents, he married a Nymph of the Fields; but yet shee was verie faire and vertuous, Named *Oenone*; and afterwarde for-

Matters that
cause distrust
of the destru-
ction of Troy

The iudge-
ment of *Paris*,
concerning
the three
Goddesses.

Iuno vsuallie
only offer
-reioice him

A second rea-
son the dream
of *Hecuba*.

Princes haue
many adu-
isements in
Dreames.

Paris made a
clandestine
marriage.

A third reason for the plague in the Grecians Campe.

Diana cause of the plague and wherefore.

A meere practise or Conspiracy against Agamemnon.

fooke her, when he had enjoyed her virginity.

Thirdly, they affirme for a fable, that which *Dicitur Cretenfis*, *Homer*, and other Authours haue Written, of the Plague dispersed in the Campe of the Grecians, when they assembled to plant their siege before *Troy*, the Armie consisting then of no lesse, then twelue hundred thousand men. Every man knoweth, that contagious Diseases doo seldome cease from pursuing great Armies, because men liue there vnwholesomely, in regard of Corruptions by dead Bodies, and other annoyances amongst Men: Besides; Welles and Waters abused or corrupted; for men and beasts drinke all together, whereby the ayre becommeth infected.

The people then perceyuing so great a Mortality, without finding any Remedie for it, had re-course to their Goddes, and consulted with Oracles. The Priests being then verie subtle and crafty, made aunswere; That this Pestilence ensued by the anger of *Diana*, and this was the reason thereof. *Agamemnon*, Brother to *Menelaus*, elected Chiefe Leader of the Armie, had slaine a goodly Hinde, which was Priuate and Sacred, and was kept by the Sacrificing Priests (for pleasure) in some Fielde or Forrest, Dedicated to the saide Goddesse. They made them also beleue, that they had oftentimes seene *Diana*, to take great delight in sporting and playing with that Hinde. Wherefore, if they would haue the plague to cease, they must Sacrifice the Daughter of *Agamemnon*, King of *Mycena*, who was the onely cause of all the euill.

Now, it is well knowne, that this ydle practise or Gullerie, was expressely prepared against *Agamemnon*, by some of the other Kinges, who were malicious and enuious (esteeming themselues aboue him) because he was chosen chiefe Soueraigne, and commaunded ouer so great an Armie, wherein were no lesse then thirtie nine Kings. And this was deuised onely to discontent him, and giue him occasion for to depart home againe: yea, and the Oracle being entrusted to this Coosenage, returned that answere.

Being on the verie point of constraining him to deliuer his Daughter to bee

Sacrificed, *Achilles* and some other of his Friends, who had Credite sufficient with the other Kings, found the meanes to redresse this extremitie. For, they being asisted by some of the Priests and Sacrificers, that re-consulted with the Oracle, hauing receyued a good summe of Money, returned a report, that *Diana* would be contented with the sacrifice of another Hinde, and of a Bull, which accordingly was performed.

Then the Grecian Armie entered into their prepared Shippes, which amounted to the number of eleauen hundred and fortie Saile, or there-aboutes: and dislodging thence, chaunged the Ayre. So, by Naturall Reason, that Contagious infection ceased: and thus should that part of the Historie bee vnderstoode.

For the *Palladium*, which was an Image of Woodde, representing *Pallas* falne from Heauen, with a mighty thunder, into a Temple newly made, which the *Troyans* had builded in the Cittie; which being finished, and they not knowing to what God or Goddesse they should make their Vowes, or elect as their Patron, this happening in the Night time, the Gates of the saide Temple being fast shut. This was nothing else, but onely a meere inuention of men, and principally of the Sacrificers, and Couetous Idolatrous Priestes, who found the meanes (one Night) when there was great lightning, Thunder, and Raine, to bring the saide Image thither secretly. And coming the next morning to open the temple Gates, in the presence of manie people; they made them beleue, that in this terrible time of night, the Image was descended from Heauen. Whereuppon, the *Troyans* admyring this deceitful wonder, sent some of their Noblest Cittizens (with the Sacrificers) to *Delphos*, there to consult what was to be done with this statue descended from heauen. The Priests of *Delphos*, vnderstanding the drift of the subtle *Troyans*, conspired one with another, to aunswere by the Oracle (which was a Virgine closely concealed in the Vault, and well instructed in hir answer:) That the Image of *Pallas* had not bene sent from Heauen, but for the more assurance and preservation of the *Troyans* estate; and that so long as shee remained within the Temple, the Cittie of

A remedie found against so great an inconuenience, by retracting of the Oracle.

A fourth reason, the *Palladium* or image of *Pallas* in *Troy*.

Simple people are soonest decciud, especially vnder the cloud of Holinesse.

Troy

Both sides abused by a false Oracle.

Troy could not be surprized by Warre. The *Trojan* people tooke this Oracle for an Article of Faith, and so did the *Grecians* also: for it brought them into dispaire of euer taking the Citty, and gaue the other side vndoubted assurance, that they should neuer be surprized or vanquished; and the better to countenance their perswasion, the *Trojans* placed strong Guards (ordinarily well payed) about the *Palladium*.

Troy brought into wofull extremitie.

Now, it fortunedy that by long delay of time, many rough battailes and skirmishes, and all places of entrance into the Citty so strongly besiedged, that *Troy* could no way bee supplied with victuals. But being thus seuerelie beleagerd, themore part of the best men of warre; yea, euen the most resolued and valiantest *Trojans*, dyed with hunger: and none remained, but tyred weake men, wearied with sustaining so long a siedege, and voide of any hope of succour. Some Princes, and other men of marke, fore-seeing that the *Palladium* could not bee preserued; without speaking to *Priam* their King, (who was then very old and feeble) or *Hecuba* the Queene: conferred closelie with the *Greekes*, (who were as much weary and tyred as they, desiring nothing more, but to raise their siedege, & returne home to their owne Countrey) yet made an outward bold shew, of stil continuing the siedege. When they met to capitulate, among others were *Anthenor*, *Aeneas*, and some else, who promised, if they might haue their liues and goods saued, they would admit the Enemy benefit of entrance. Promises past on both sides by sollemne oath, in a place very secret and free for the purpose; the people (in meane while) supposing, that they treated of a truce among themselves, of the reddition of Prisoners, and recouery of worthy mens bodies, slaine in the skirmishes. But aboue all thinges else, the *Greekes* strictly held, that the *Palladium* should bee deliuered to them: for they were perswaded, that they should neuer get entrance into *Troy*, so long as the Image continued there; so farre did the deuill (then) preuaile with men. This fortish light beleefe, *S. Augustine* verie exceeding wel mocked, when he said: *The Trojans were keepers of the Palladium, but*

Conspirators in Troy against themselves.

August. lib. 9. de Ciuit. Dei.

not the *Palladium* of the *Trojans*. The Guards were won with Mony, and the *Vestales* that were there destined; contrary to their Oath and Vow, suffered their *Palladium* to bee lost, and another Image put into the place, very neerelie resembling it, couered with the same ornaments and lewels, whereof none was then mindfull.

The *Palladium* stolne, & how.

10 The *Palladium* being now in the besiedgers power, they were highly contented; and sent great presents to the Traytors, with reiteration of their Oathes. Whereupon, in the dead time of night, the Traytours opened the Gate called *Scea*, whereon was embossed the head of a Horse, and by a flaming Torch, gaue signall to the *Greekes* for entring the Citty, which they did, hauing yet the Traytours Children in their hands as hostages. Thus was the Citty taken, King *Priam* slaine, his wife and Children led away Captiues, and such as remained of the Royall Issue, were murdred, and almost all the people massacred: Faith was kept with the betrayers, but yet with great difficulty: neuerthelesse, after the reduction, they were exempted from spoile. To wit, 20 *Anchises*, Father to *Aeneas*, *Anthenor*, neere Kinsman to King *Priam*, *Polydamas*, *Vcalagon*, *Amphidaimas*, *Dolon*, and diuers other; to whom Ships were giuen, for conueighing thence their wiues, children, & whatsoever else they could carry away. After the sacke had continued the space of eight daies, the Citty was wholly burned, but they had great difficulty to destroy it: for the 30 buildings were all of Marble, or of free Stone, strongly couered and tarrassed. But the *Greekes* were very great in spleen against it, because the most part of them (in this long siedege) had lost many of their Kinred and deere Friends, beside their owne hard sufferance in the warre. There dyed in this besiedging, eight 40 hundred, eighty and six thousand *Greekes*, vntill the reddition of the Citty; and sixe hundred, seauenty, sixe thousand; as well of the Citty, as such succours as was sent them, by Kinges, Queenes, and their Allies abroad, without making any account of both Men and Women, that were led thence captiues.

Troy betrayed, surprized, and destroyed

The betrayers of Troy saued, and their names.

The number that dyed in this warre.

As concerning the Horse of wood, which

A fift reason,
the table of
the Greekes
horfe of wood

which is said to be made by the *Greekes*, within whose belly men were hidden, and whereof they made an offering to *Pallas*, to compasse the meanes of breaking the wals thereby, and so to overcome their enemies: these (truely) are Poeticall Fables. But yet we are to observe, that the Citty was surprized at that gate, whereon there was the head of a Horse (very bigly) embossed, and of blacke Marble, as before wee have said, and it remaineth yet to be seene.

A sixt reason,
the Fables of
the *Amazones*.

Next, for the *Amazones*, which are said to come to the succour of *Troy*, conducted by their Queene *Penthesilea*; this is a Fable too. But yet we must credit that this Woman was a Queen, and commaunded ouer many Countreys; a Friend and neere Ally to King *Priam*, in whose aide she came: bringing with her eight or ten thousand men, and not Women, that were flaine in severall fights; and she her selfe (at last) in a single combate with *Achilles*. For, there was neuer any Countrey, inhabited onely by Women, nor is at this present, which I purpose else-where to shew.

A seauenth
reason, the
tenne yeares
siedge of *Troy*.

It is also held for a Fable, that the *Greekes* should abide at the siedge of *Troy*, the space of ten yeares: this is not altogether incredible, because as much hath beene done in our time. The siedge which *Baiazeth* brought before *Constantinople*, lasted eight yeares and some moneths, in the yeare 1373. and yet (for all that) was not taken. That which I haue written, concerning the subtilties of the Priestes in those daies: I protest, I saw them in the hand of *Monsieur Pelerin*, a *Parisian*, Schoolemaister to the children of the late Lord *De l'Aubespine*, in a Booke being a Manuscript, & in the *Greeke* tongue, which a man of the Church had given him, who was a follower of *Monsieur de Fumell*, Ambassadour in the East. This man had the Booke of a *Caloere*, or religious *Greeke* at Mount *Athos*; and therein is the Interpretation of the Fables, which I haue alledged in this Chapter, and many more beside. The Authour thereof was one *Temison*, a *Smyrnian*, who (I thinke) was a Sacrificer, and afterward became a Christian.

There is a certaine Booke, intituled, *Troy not taken*, it is in the *Greeke* toong,

Whence the
Author tooke
his interpre-
tation of the
Poeticall Fa-
bles.

and translated likewise into *Latine*, which is saide to be composed by one named *Dion* the Sophister, that liued in the time of *Traiane* the Emperour, and neuer vsed any other Garment, then the skinne of a Lyon. But he alledgeth such poore reasons, to proue that *Troy* was neuer taken, nor besieged by the *Greekes*: that a Childe of tenne yeares olde would set downe better. Therefore, such as doe yet hold that error, and are perswaded, that what hath beene written by many oculary Authours, and others beside of good credit, concerning the *Troyan* History, is no way veritable: let them see (to their shame) the ruines of that famous Citty, which yet (to this day) doe make shew of themselves, as I haue described them in this Chapter. The round neighbouring places, ports of the Sea, which doe (yet) retaine the very same names, that then they had. The Toombes of such famous men (with their inscriptions) that died as well on the one side, as the other; being all of Marble, with the couertures whole; but no bones in them: for neuer was any thing put into them, but the ashes of the dead, because (in those times) the bodies were all burned.

Dion the So-
phister decei-
ued in his
writings.

CHAP. XXXV,

How a Man may easily know, what kinde of drinke will soonest make one drunke: As with Wine, Beere, Ale, Cider, Perry, and other drinckes.



Wine is not the only drinke that causeth drunkennes, when it is immeasurable taken, or when it is receiued by Men or Women, whose braines are weake and feeble. For, there are many other arteficiall Beuerages, made in those Regions, where no Wine hath encrease or growth; as in *Normandy*, *Brittaine*, in the more part of *Piccardie*, the lower *Germany*, and other Northerly Countreys. But they make vse of Cider, Perrie, Beere, Ale, Rassis, and other drinckes, which procure drunkennes more then

Wine

Wine onelie
doth not procure
drunken-
nesse.

Countries
that yeild no
Wine.

Drinckes prohibited from drinking wine

The drinke of the Caribes & Anthropophages

A kinde of drinke issuing out of a tree.

Metheglin made in Turkey

Artificiall drinckes hurt more then wine.

Diversity of actions and behaviour in drunkenesse

Wine doth. In *Turky*, it is forbidden to such as are of the *Mohometane* Law, to drinke Wine vpon paine of life; and there are likewise Drinckes arteficiallie made.

The *Caribes* and *Anthropophages*, people that feed on the flesh of Men, make a kinde of drinke, which they call *Canonin*: it is made of certaine roots called *Aypie*, and grosse Millet, champed in the mouths of Women, and then boyled in some quantitie of Water. Of this drinke they make vse after their repast, for they drinke not at all in the time of their feeding, as wee doe in these partes: but rather imitate nature, as other Creatures do. This *Canonin* causeth drunkenesse, more then Wine doth here, if too much be taken thereof.

In the Kingdome of *Narsingua*, *Tarangonor*, *Calecut* and *Peru*, they drinke a kinde of liquor which cometh forth of a Tree, that is therefore purposed cut in the Spring time, like vnto the Palme; and it inciteth drunkenesse also. Many Countries in the *Asian* *Indiæ*, do make diuers drinckes of Rice and spiceries, which will procure drunkenesse likewise. In *Turky* they make a certaine *Hydromell* or *Metheglin*, which troubleth the braine much more then Wine. In breese, there is not any Nation that will content it selfe with drinking Water onely: but haue deuised one or other arteficiall beuorage to please the Pallet, and delight their tast. I my selfe hauing frequented those Countries; where no Wine at all is made, but other arteficiall drinckes daile vsed, as hath before bene declared: I haue apparantly perceiued, that such as receiue their drunkenesse by wine, haue quite contrary behaviour to others, that are ouercome with Beurages; as of Beere, Cider, Perry, and the rest.

And although those men that are drunke with Wine, do commit a thousand follies, and counterfeit diuers anticke sopperies: yet it is most certaine, that none can declare the like sottishnesse, and yeelde more argument of ridiculous laughter (when wee behold their faces, eyes, and gesture;) then such as are drunke with made drinckes, and (among the rest) with Beere. For

they neither reele or stagger on any side; but onely backward, and fall downe flat on their backs: but such as are drunke with Wine, reele forward, and alwaies fall or lye vpon their face and nose; whereas the other do bruise their shoulders, and breake their heads behind. As likewise may be discerned when they are ouercome with sleepe in drinking, for they that are drunke with Beere, Ale, Cider, and other drinckes arteficiall; doe sleepe on their backs, with their bosomes open. I haue bene credibly assured, that euen such is their behaviour in *Turky*, the *Indiæ*, *America*, and other Regions, when they are in like case.

Where men doe become drunke with Wine, they sleepe vpon their faces, the Chinne enclining into the bosome. The reason is, because the fumes and vapours proceeding from Wine; do gaine possession in the heads formost part, and the anterior parts of the body also. But those fumes which mount aloft by other drinckes; doe incline to the head behind, and the posterior parts also: which is a reason, that they are very obliuious, euermore sleepey, and no great praters or brablers.

The *French*, that (during the States Warres in the Lowe Countries) trauailed thither as Souldiers; would make their boasts: that they had familiaritie with many Women there; when they found them to bee made drunke with Beere: for then they would fall downe backward, at which time, their pudicity might easilie be attempted, finding them in such vnwomanlie readinesse. Let them (therefore) that haue care of their Chastity, take heede how they become drunke. And as for men, ouer and beside, that many doe then disclose their owne secrets: they enter also (oftentimes) into quarrels, destroying their health, and vndoing themselues. Our Lawes do hold them for infamous persons, that are addicted to drunkenesse.

The difference in drinking wine and other beurages.

Wine seizeth on the foremost part of the braine.

French Souldiers are apt at all occasions.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Against the Axiome, which maintaineth, that all Repletion is naught, by what sustenance soeuer it be; But of Bread most pernicious.



Could neuer vnderstand the reason, although I haue enquired of many learned Phisitions, who (neuerthelesse) haue published the same also: that Repletion of bread, is more dangerous and pernicious, then all other nourishments beside. For not onely it seemeth to me voyd of all reason; but it hath bene so accounted, by all them that I haue conferred withall. Because all other foods, as the flesh of Oxen, Kine, Murton, Veale, Goat, Hare, Hart, Hinde, Boare, Swine, of Fowles, and also of all Fishes which we vse, and any Fruit whatsoever; doe corrupt easily of themselues, if they remaine any while in the stomacke and be not digested: the like doth Egges, and all things prepared with Milke, except Cheese, which is saide to be (almost) indigestible. All such as vse these meates without Bread, haue neuer any good colour, but are much subiect to vnfaoury breath, and sometimes (of their owne bodies) a smell scant pleasing: neither are they so wel nourished, nor so strong; as they that eate more Bread, then any other meat beside.

To prooue that it must needs be so, we may behold, that the most of other Viandes, how acceptable soeuer they seeme to the tast, well prepared and seasoned with good Sauces: they doe yet (very often) bring a dislike and contempt of themselues. Bread only neuer distateth, be it in health or in sicknesse; it is the last appetite lost, and the first recovered in sicknesse. In health, it is alwaies the first and last eaten, pleasing and most agreeable to nature, beyond all other kindes of repast. Againe, it is most certaine, that Bread

(by a wonderfull blessing in Nature) is endued with all those fauours; which perticularly doe incite and allure each meates to bee fed on: pleasing some in their sweetnesse, others in their sharpnesse or tartnesse; some in their saltnesse; others in their sowrenesse, and all in their due apprehension. Bread containeth in it, whatsoever any Man can tast, or is acceptable in other meates. For, albeit other foodes haue neuer so good rellish of themselues: yet can they not bee suitable, or profitable to feede on for health, except they be accompanied with Bread. To speake all in a word, Bread, by his goodnesse correcteth the vices of other meates, and helpeth their vertues; whereon it is vsed as a common Prouerbe: *That all meates are good and beneficiall, when Bread is their companion.*

Some *Spagirickes, Alchymists,* and Extractors of Quintessences, haue told and assured me, that hauing put Bread into their Limbeckes or vessels of glasse, as meaning to deriue an Essence from him: they haue diuers times found the Bread conuerted into Flesh. We doe daily note (as already I haue said) that the most part of them, which doe eate their meate without Bread, be it Flesh or otherwise, they haue continuallie stincking breath. The *Athletes* or stout Wrastlers (as I finde recorded in the Bookes of *Galen*) such as were esteemed the very best, and strongest in habitude among other men: had neuer any other nourishment but Bread, accompanied with a little Hogs Flesh.

When the *Scots* vsed to warre out of their owne limits, as in England and other places, if they thought to finde the Country ruined where they should passe: they droue with them a great number of Beasts for slaughter, and liued (by the way) vpon those Beastes. And because they had liued sometime by Flesh alone, their stomackes a long while would be sickely, by not hauing had the vse of any Bread. For remedie of which stomachall disease, each man perticularly carried a Sachell of Meale, weighing about some pound & a halfe at the most, and a little Iron Plate, thin and slender. Then mingling a litle of the Meale, in a wooden dish with water, and driuing it into a Past: they laid it

Bread comprehendeth in it all kinds of tafts.

Without Bread no food auaileth

A lye proceeding from the Extractors of Quintessences.

Athletes or Wrastlers their breeding.

An inuention of the Scots, to make Bread in warre.

Great vse of flesh without Bread, causeth stinck.

Bread maketh men strong and robust.

Bread exceedeth all other meats in tast.

Imitation of our Wafer-Bakers.

it on the Plate over a small fire; and in this manner (immediatly) they made Bread. This doth in some manner resemble our Waferers making of Wafers. The Scots having eaten of this Bread; found their stomackes well refreshed, and their bodily strength sufficiently restored; after which, they would begin againe to vse flesh onelic, according to their wonted custome.

An argument to approue the power of good Bread.

I alleadge this History, to demonstrate, that if so little bad made Bread, neither leavened nor kneaded, could restore the languishing strength of men: what then is good Bread able to do, being kneaded and baked to full perfection? This benefit of baking Bread upon a Plate of Iron, brought much commodity to that Nation: for they needed little search after Brakes or Mills, which commonly are beaten downe and destroyed (before all thinges else) that in the degastes of warre, the enemy may haue no benefit by them.

Arabes and Moores become Theeves for Bread.

The Lord of Villamond declareth, that being gone forth of his Ship, and likewise all those in his company, at the Port of Iaffa, and putting themselves on the way, to trauaile by Land to Ierusalem: the Moores and Arabes entered vpon their vessell lying at Anker, and robbed them of nothing else but Bread. Other Theeves also, of the same sect and kinde of men, meeting with the same company the day following: tooke also nothing from them but Bread. All Nations haue not Bread, nor the vse thereof, and such as neuer had (as many Countries but lately discovered) when Christians giue it them to eat, although it be but a Bisket, and of the very coursest: they make great account of it, they finde it so sauourie.

Sauages doe highly esteeme Bread.

I am of the minde, that he which saith, satietie and Repletion of Bread, is more dangerous then all other nourishments: his meaning is of such bread as is not fast kneaded, and well baked, or without Leauen, because it is the more hard to digest. As for my selfe, my meaning is of such Bread, as is made of good and pure graine, wel cleansed, kneaded, raised, baked, and fresh. I speake not heere of Fish-bread, which is made in *Hirland*; among the people which dwell on the Lake of *Barcena*; & that in the Isles of *Imangla*, *Inebila*, and

Bread not well prepared, is indigestible.

Bread made of Fishes in Hirland.

and an infinite of Countries on the red Sea, and else-where. Nor also of that which is made of the barke of Trees, vsed in the Country of *Vendenao*, which is called *Sagu*, and is saide to be very sauoury; being reduced into Meale, and afterward into Bread; As fruite also of the same Tree is, in the Isles of *Moluquises*. By the reasons fore-alleadged, I would perswade all persons, not to forsake the vse of Bread, for fond or licentious desire after other meats: if they couet to haue good strength, a chearefull complexion, and health.

Bread made of the barke of Trees.

The vse of Bread very ancient in the East parts.

Concerning the inuention of Bread, since what length of time it hath continued, and who was the first inuenter thereof; there is not any thing found for certaine. In the East Countries, the vse of Bread is very ancient, for we finde, that it was vsed in the times of *Abraham*, and of *Jacob*, when his Sons descended into *Egypt*, onely to buy Corne, to make Bread. But neerer vs, the vse thereof is not found so ancient; because the *Romaines* vsed no kinde of Bread, but onely Corne boiled (as likewise the *Gaules* and *Germanes* did) till they brought it a perfect risting in sunder, and then they did eat it among their other meates, euen as at this present as we do our bread. This continued thus till the *Persian* Warres, which was in the yeare (after the Cities foundation) 520. And then came Bread-makers, or Bakers of Bread, out of *Asia* to *ome*; who gaue instruction, how to multure or grinde Corne, then to knead it with Leauen; and lastly, to bake it in Loanes.

In Italy a long time after.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the excellent and profitable properties of the Swallow; And the Nature of the Bird.



Because the Swallow neuer nestleth in Citties, nor on their Wallles; which are subiect to be taken and retaken by war; because by her comming and presence, she assureth those places where she is, not to be subiect

The Swallow fore-telleth many excellent things.

The Swallow knoweth the seasons and temperature of Climates.

The great memory of the Swallow.

The Swallow cleaneth the ayre of Flies.

iect to the rigour of Warre; as also the House or Wall where she buildeth her nest, not to be threatned by any neere ruine: Because, that by her comming, she resolueth winter to be past, and the Spring time beginning; because (likewise) she hath in her many especial properties, by diuers benefits and other things arising to man, whereof we shal discourse hereafter: it seemed meet (in my iudgement) that this Bird well deserued to haue a perticular Chapter written of her, in her iust defence against such as labour to depraue her.

The Swallow abideth ordinarily, in Regions temperately hot, shunning the extreamity of heat, and of cold likewise. *Pliny* saith, that this Bird, feeling the extreame heat, of *Affricke* approaching; she flyeth thence in the prime, to delight her selfe in a temperate ayre: And when she perceiueth Winter ensuing, which is about the midst of September; she then returneth to the Countries extremely hot, where winter is in the same manner, as Summer is here with vs. This Bird hath such an absolute memory, that hauing re-pas- sed the Sea, and many other Regions, which are two thousand miles off, at the least: yet shee well knoweth to returne to the place or lodging, where (in the precedent yeare) she made her Nest, and where shee had young ones. This I haue seene, and made prooffe of by one Swallow, hauing tied a red Silk twine about her Claw; and she fayled not the yeare following, to returne and build her nest, where she had done the yeare before, bringing the Silke fast tyed at her foote. She neuer lodgeth two yeares together, in one and the same nest.

She is not affraid of a man, and (willingly) buildeth not her nest in Houses. It is saide, that God hath done this in his great prouidence, to the ende, that such Creatures, as haue no other feeding but on Flies, which doe so much molestation to men all Summer, and in the beginning of Autumne; might thus be deuoured. It is the onely Bird which feedeth in the Ayre, and there catcheth a prey, to carry to her young ones. But some people, not knowing what they do; will breake downe their Nests, shut their windowes and doores

of their Chambers, to the ende, they may not enter in or out, to carry feeding to their young. Nay, they do them all the iniuries they can, breaking their Egges; yea, sometimes they kill both He and She. But if a man knew the good and commoditie, which these pretty Birdes doe bring vnto vs; they would be more milde, and let them liue in peace.

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I know very wel, there are some who will alleadge, that the Dung of these Birds is so pernicious, as if it fall into a Mans eyes (as it did to *Tobias*) it will then, without all question, make him blind. But they that haue alleaged this History, were not skilful in the tonges; albeit *Mathiolus*, a man learned, hath a- uouched the same, following their opinion. For the Iewish Theologian Doctors, wel skild in the *Syrian* and *Hebrew* Languages, say: that it was not Swallows that dinged on the eyes of *Tobias*, but Sparrowes, which is confirmed by *Dioscorides*, when he saith, *Swallowes being eaten, doe cleare the sight, like as the Beccicus, or Gnat-snapper*. The Ashes of them, as well of the great as smal (their bodies being burned in an earthen pot, and Hony applyed to them) doe take away al impeachments that trouble the sight. It may then well be discerned hereby, that the dung of the Bird which tooke away the sight of *Tobias*, was not that of the Swallow, according to their iudgement. And *Galen* is of the same mind with *Dioscorides*: I refer it then to better censure.

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She hath instructed man, how hee ought to bulde, for with Straw and Morter she buildeth her Nest, and with such cunning; that hardly can any Man make the like. When she desireth propagation, the Male medleth with his Female; but not in mounting, or reading vpon her, but by ioyning both their hinder parts together, for which to yeilde a reason, *Alianus* saith, that he neuer knew any rendred. They fly abroad in the fields, to seeke for Wool, which they plucke from the backs of Sheepe with their claws, and carry into their Nests, whereon they lay their Egges, to preserue them from breacking, as also the enclosed young ones from hurting.

The Male and Female, supplying the place

The barbarousnesse of some people, in abusing this poor bird

By not vnderstanding the Hebrew, this fault was committed.

The learned *Iemes* write in their Bookes, that *Tobias* became blind not by Swallows, but by Sparrowes.

The Swallow buildes with Morter as man doth, and prouideth for her young.

The manner of feeding their young Birds.

Cleanfing their nests, and defending their Egges.

Swallows are hatched blind like our Whelps.

Celandine, or Swallowort.

Swallows are no way hurtful to me.

place of Father and Mother, give feeding to their little Birdes, beginning at the first which is hatched, and first breaking forth of the shell. Then they seeke another feeding, & give to the second, and so to the rest following, euen to the fift and last: for they lay and sit no more but five Egges at each brood. Thus we may see, how this Bird instructeth man, how to carry himselfe in nourishing, exalting and distribution of his goodes to his Children, aduancing alwaies the first borne or eldest. They daily cleanse their nests of al ordure and dung found therein, and are very skilfull in defending themselves from vermine, which are enemies to their Egges, and will bite them. But nature hath endued them with so much knowledge, as they can well preserue their Egges from harmefull vermine: for they seeke out the Hearbe called Smallage, in Latine called *Apium*, and bring it into their Nests, and by the strong sent or bitterness thereof, the vermine dye.

Their young Birdes doe resemble whelps, that continue for a time blind: but the Male flieth abroad, and findeth a certaine Hearbe, by meanes whereof their sight quickly commeth. Very long and diligent inquisition hath been made after this Hearbe, and the Birdes very narrowly watcht for it; yet could it neuer bee knowne what Hearbe it is. If a man open the eyes of the young Birds, they recouer their sight without any other help: but some do assure vs, that (by meanes of that Hearbe) their sight is the clearer. Which being known to men, the Plant would serue to make their sight more perfect: and therefore (guessing at the true Hearb) they call it * *Chelidonia*, or *Hirundinaria*.

For so many benefits, which men receive by means of this Bird, beside those recited in the beginning of this Chapter; instructing how to build, keep our Houses cleane, delighting vs by her singing, preseruing sight by that kinde of Hearbe, and detroying hurtfull vermine: me thinks no man should molest her, but rather peaceably converse with her, as a guest or friend that cometh but to see him. She eateth not any thing of ours, but she frees vs from a multitude of flies, as she flyeth in the Ayre: and she should bee entertained,

(as *Homer* saith) chearfully, like a good guest at her coming: and when she is willing to depart, not to withhold her.

The Ashes and Flesh of this Bird, as we haue formerly said, doth not onely serue to cleare the sight, and recouer it if it bee lost: but it is a remedy also for many much greater euils. For, if we take the Swallows first young ones, in the Moones encreasing, and cleane them: we shal finde diuers litle stones in their bellies, whereof two are to bee taken; to wit, one that is of many colours, and another which is but of one colour onely. These stones, wrapt in the skin of a young Hart, or Heifer (before it haue toucht the ground) and tyed about the necke or arme: is much auailable for such as haue the falling sicknesse, and maketh them very chearfull. *Galen* giueth assurance, that Swallows ashes, incorporated with Hony; doe helpe the Squinancy, and all other defects or Impostumes in the throat, as also the Almondes, or Pallat or Vuula.

Pliny saith, that there are three kinds of Swallows, whereof, one buildeth her Nest vnder Houses; the second, in old ruined buildings, in holes and Caernes of Rockes and clifts on the Sea side; and the third, buildeth in the bankes of Riueres. In the Isle of *Samos*, there are Swallows naturally all white. Behold what I haue gathered out of good and approoued Authours, concerning the properties of this Bird; in whose imitation we may well order our Oeconomy or Household government.

I cannot sufficiently wonder at some Men, who haue compared these friendly Swallows, to scarce faithfull and dissembling Friendes; who are no Friendes, but so long as there are meanes remaining, to deriue any commodities from them. For they haue imagined, that these Birdes doe liue on the Seedes, Graine, and Fruites of the fiede; and that so soone as they are lockt vp, they flye away into some other Countrey. But it is a matter most certaine, that these kinde Birdes doe not liue vpon any kind of Graine or Fruites: but on Flies; which (by very great agility) they take in the Ayre, being very molestuous to men,

The Ashes & flesh of the Swallow.

Stones found in young Swallows, good against the falling sicknesse.

Plin. in lib. 10. Three kinds of Swallows.

Impertinent comparisons made of Swallows.

and our household creatures. And therefore many men are deceiued, by the sayings of some fabulous Authors, slenderly experimented in naturall things.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Paradoxe in defence of Hard-Lodging, approouing it to be more healthfull and commendable; then those in great Pallaces, and houses of pleasure.



The benefit of poore and homely buildings.

Heauen no enemy to humble dwellings.

Great houses are fittest for great persons

Lready we haue discoursed of poore and meane descent, now come we to speak of the humble cottage, the dwelling wherein I haue and will maintaine. The building of such honest houses of harbour, doe require little expences and charge, in lesse time are they erected, more easily furnished, and with far greater commodity kept and frequented, then state-ly Pallaces, and houses of pleasure. The proportion of a handsome little house, carrieth good correspondency, and no outward wanton appearance. It is lesse subiect to the danger of Theeues, then is the large and spacious Pallace; compassed about with rare deckings, great & base Courts, Offices, Stables, Dog-kennels, Hearnries, Hauk-mewes, and other such superfluous delights.

The poore and simple house; is not easily toucht with lightning and tempests from Heauen, and a man may dwell there more quietly, then in the fairest prospected Lordship: garnished with so many Gardens, Arbours, Turrets, Vaults, Mountaine-like wals, and other curiosities, which doe nothing else but tire and weary men. The poore house is sooner provided, and with lesse cost then the greater. It excuseth the Maister from making Feasts, to such as (commonly) returne but mockes when they are inuited. The smal house is free from the Harbingers marke; of the Marshals of Princes, Cardinales, and Lords, that cannot be entertained but in pompous dwellings. Let vs but consider, where such States haue made but

the least sojourning; how many things haue need of new mending? And their passage that way, resembled a storme and tempest of raine, washing all good order for a long while after. See if your Sernants become the better instructed thereby; your Household in any more ciuill manners, or your house furniture in such good sort as it ought to be. I had almost forgot, that (many times) they put their Host to the perill of borrowing, inciting great Lords to affect his Liuing. So that, if they can cunningly compasse the meanes in recompence of their kinde entertainment: the Host is brought to the hazard of confiscation, for the very least word inconsiderately spoken, eyther against the Prince or Religion.

This is the reason, why I cannot sufficiently meruaile, at the great follie and poore iudgement of some Men, who couet huge Pallaces, and sumptuous Houses for their abiding and lodging; being much grieued and offended, if they should take but one nights rest in a meane, poore, and populer house. As if our Soule (full of all excellent noblenesse, and endued with infinite priuiledges, which God hath thereto assigned;) should imagine the body too strait and narrow a roome, for hir to abide in. Or as if (in how short time God best knoweth, whether wee be willing or no) we should not render the bodie into a much lesse Lodging, to finde out one farre more excellent and magnificent for the Soule. Can a meane House, a hard Bed, or a narrow roome bee any hindrance: but that our Spirit (freely, and at her owne ease) may make discourse thorow all Celestiall pleasures, much better delights then can bee wished for in this world? It need not (there) stand bound to so many inconueniences; as the dwellers in faire and Lordly places, are euermore subiect vnto.

When Warre had his beginning, and entred into consultation, to burne and destroy the Countrey on all sides, as it proued most to yeelde disadvantage: the Soldiours, and men appointed for spoyle, receiued no charge to meddle with little Hamlets, or poore Shepherdes Houses; but the most magnificent and beautifull habitations of

Great persons are but sorrie guessts in meane houses

Mean houses are no harbors for great guessts.

The spirit is at liberty in the least Cottage.

Soldiers can make but smal booty of poor places, their aime is at greater benefit.

of great Lordes and Princes. Beside, if neede required to make a Fielde. assembly, in what place soeuer it were: the fayrest Castles & costliest buildings were sure to bee first taken vp and v. fed.

But let vs admit, that a poore mans Cottage suffers spoyle among the rest: yet the Man hath this comfort left him (a priuiledge beyond the large capacity of Castles) that his House will (well nere) be as soone builded againe, as a Captaine can commaund and set his fiede in order. But when a great Pallace becommeth ruined, many years are required to erect it againe; beside, it serueth (a long while after) as a receptacle for Rascals and Field Run-awaies, or as a warren for Toads and Serpents, or as a Garden for Fresh-water Souldiers.

I cannot chuse, but take pittie and compassion on such mens affections, that place their whole felicity on such thinges, whereby they can receiue no praise or honour. For it oftentimes commeth to passe, that the glorie of a goodly building, beareth not his name that caused it to bee made; but of the new Purchaser, or the cunning Architect, who deseruedly is stiled Maister of the worke. But say, that the party himselfe, who was at the charge of the building, doe carry Name and Title thereof: what a sillie glorie is it (but farre greater vanitie) to couet honour by beeing a Lord ouer Stones, which are thinges sencelesse and voide of life? To be Maister of a peece of Wood? Or, when all is said, a Lord of Chalke and Dust? Were it not much more famous for him, to bee entituled a Lord of many faire Artes and Sciences? Or to win honour by some heroycal, worthy, and vertuous actions.

That it ought to be so, ancient Princes and potent Lords, who more esteemed valour and vertue, then matters earthly & transitory; were neuer wont to set their affections on sumptuous buildings: but were altogether studious, and addicted to the excellencie of vertue and prowesse. Was not the house of great *Euander*, little, mean, & poorely built? And yet notwithstanding, the fame of the vertuous Maister thereof, made it esteemed of no lesse va-

lue, then other great & royall Pallaces, and deserued to entertaine the famous & highly renowned *Hercules*. *Iulius Caesar*, neuer builded but a little house; because he would not be hindred from so many singuler vertues, as brought him (at length) to gouern the great *Romaine* Empire. Mighty *Scipio*, that conquered most stubborne *Affrica*, had neuer any perticuler Lodging: but abroad in one poore village, then in another; to shake off wearinesse, and with-draw himselfe from the mollestation of great affaires.

Diogenes, the graue Philosopher, that was of such an excellent Spirit, as euer any man was in his time: made his dwelling in a poore Tub, to defend himselfe from the raine, and heate of the Sunne. *Billarton*, that good and deuout man, day very hardly in the Eastern Deserts, in a poore little Cell, which he had (as *Saint Hierome* reporteth) more truly made as a Sepulcher, then any House to dwell in. *Galba* lodged in a House so rent and torne on all sides, & open about so many places, that being (one day) desired by a friend of his, to lend him his Mantle: he answered that hee could not spare it, because it serued to counter-guard his poore lodging. This he spake, beholding a great hole in the rooffe ouer his head, which had been lately broken; and perceiuing a darke cloud not farre off, that threatned a present shewer of raine. *Iulius Drusus Publicola*, had (in like manner) a house so broken and shucred: as whosoeber was without, might easilie discern and count the moucables within, and behold what the good man did in his house.

To speake truly, we thinke they haue a great portion of folly and ambition, that couet to dwell in goodly Pallaces, holding little Cottages & meane Houses in contempt and scorue: as if those gaudy places, and built with such beauty, were more defensiu then the other, from meeting with the assaults of death, and infinite mishaps and diseases that befall vs in the World. Such as are read in Histories, or conceiue in the any pleasure, can say with me, that when *Tullius Hostilius* was smitten with thunder, he was then most merry in his Pallace royall. When *Tarquinius Priscus* was slaine, he was in his most magnificent

The poertie of dwelling doth not disparage the verrue of the mind.

A great Pallace is no safe Bulwarke against death or sicknesse, for the mightiest persons in the world.

Great houses ruined, aske long time to rebuild.

One man easily purchaseth anothers honour.

The Titles of vertue are truelie famous.

Great persons haue lodged in poore mens houses.

nificent Lodging. How many other Lords may we speake of, both Ancient and Moderne, that haue beene flaine in their braue Castles, by diuers accidents and misfortunes? The Duke of *Vrbine*, who builded a Pallace most faire and rich: did it defend him from danger, or being the most wofull example of calamity to euery eye, that happened in his time? The goodly Pallace of *Trent*, said to be without comparison, for the infinite Roomes contained in the round: was it any priuiledge to the Builder thereof, in exempting him from as many miseries and mishaps, as the wretchedst Varlet in the World could haue no more? To what end serued so many and excellent rare Buildings, created by *Lucullus* and *Metellus*? wherein were *Caligula* or *Nero* more happy then others, though they had houses of such spacious circuit, as comprehended (wel neere) the whole Citty? The braue worke-man that builded the Pallace at *Paris*; could he warrant himselfe from stretching on Mount *Falcon*, which hee likewise made for Malefactors?

We wil conclude then, that he is to be accounted a meere Foole, that disdaines to dwell in a poore or meane house, or take quiet rest in a good hard bed: coueting with heat and greedy desire, to make his aboad in stately places, wherein (for the most part) lurketh all misfortune, fraud, dissimulation, slander, treason, and misery. He that is loth to credit what I say; let him make but one moneths experience; and he will finde it too true to his cost. For assuredly, these are the places, where commonly hapneth most secret mischiefes; either by broaths or drinkes, seasoned otherwise then they should bee, or by the power of too keene a Weapon; or other Stratagemes of like nature. They are safe shelters also, for wanton and libidinous pleasures: where a false friend may soonest graft hornes on his companions head, and where fire is soone kindled, but slowly quenched.

Let vs then shunne them so diligently, as (with our best meanes) we may, and let vs delight in simple habitations, fit and aptly furnished with all peace and tranquility. In so doing, we shall not stand obliged, or be any way beholding to cunning Builders, highly

praised and esteemed by their Worke-Maisters; and yet can purchase good Liuinges out of their vanities, where afterward they sit and floute at their follies. Rather let vs content our selues to imitate the workes and Buildings of *Doxius*, Sonne to *Celtus*; who first found out the inuention, to crect his House after the manner of Swallowes. Then will wee remember, to frame our Houses, according as Mortall men ought to doe, not as if wee should continue in them perpetuallie: but as hoping (one day) after our short voyage in this world, to inherit & haue part in another manner of dwelling, builded after a much better fashion and compasse; then those that are framed, by the fraile and earthlie hands of men.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of some that haue beene punished, for hauing done better then they were commaunded: And others, because they did well, without commaund.



HE that dependeth on another mans will, ought to be careful of himself, not onely in well-doing; but also in doing better then he is commaunded. For, I will declare by some Histories in this Chapter, that of these two sorts, of doing well, and better then well; there haue been some seuerely punished. As it happened to an ingenious Maister of *Athens*, to whom *Publius Crassus*, a *Mutian* (being Proconsull in *Asia* for the *Romaines*, and being ready to besiege a Citty) gaue charge, to seeke for two Shippe Mastes, which he had seene in *Athens*, to make an Engine for battery of the wall, telling him, that he would haue the greatest. The skilfull Maister, beeing a Man of great vnderstanding, well knew, that a Mast of such greatnesse, would not be apt for any such effect: in regard whereof, because a meaner was much more conuenient for the battery, and easier for

A little Cottage (with content) is a poore mans Kingdome.

Great Houses are the places Tubiect to most dangers.

Loue is a lord in gay buildings.

The Authors conclusion of this Paradox.

The History of *Publius Crassus* a *Mutian*, Proconsull in *Asia*.

A cruell act in Publius Crassus

The History of Papyrius the Romaine Dictator.

Miserable correction before death.

The cruell constancy of Papyrius against Rutilianus.

for carriage; he sent such a one to Crassus. When he perceiued his purpose to be thwarted, hee caused the ingenious man to be brought before him; and demaunded of him, why hee had not obeyed as he was commanded? And being willing to hear no reason or excuse; gaue charge to strip him naked, and to be whipt with Rods, as he was; and so long, till he dyed. For it appeared so Crassus, that in stead of obeying, hee sought to counsell him. So, it was not without cause, that there arose a common Prouerbe; *A Man shall haue worke enough to gouerne himselfe well in this World.*

Long time before this Mutian dealt so hardly with this skilfull man, one Papyrius, a Romaine Dictatour, did no lesse: but rather proceeded further, or more rigorously (in regard of qualitie among persons) towards a Noble Romaine, Colonell of the Romaine Cavalery. This man gaue battaile to the Samnites, without his expresse command, and slew twenty thousand of the enemies. Neuerthelesse, though he had done well and valiantly: yet hee was condemned to death (beeing named Quintus Fabius Rutilianus) without any respect of his merit, or race. And, as the custome then was, before the stroke of death, the condemned person must be seuerely bearen, which while the miserable Rutilianus endured: the most Honourable Lords in the Armie, entreated Papyrius, to deferre his death till the next morning, which (with much ado) at length he granted. In meanwhile, night granting means to the condemned man to saue himselfe, he fled to Rome, and implored the ayde of the Senate, for safetie of his life: but it was in vaine, for Papyrius still stood resolute for his death. Whereupon, the condemned parties Father (who had formerly bene Dictatour, and three times Consull) was constrained to make his recourse to the people, and (by way of supplication) to sollicite the Tribunes of the people for his Son; all which could not diuert the rigor of Papyrius. Finally, he was entreated of all the people, and by the Tribunes of the people, protesting, that he should not pardon Fabius the punishment hee had deserued: but to deliuer to the Ro-

maine people, and the Tribunes, the power of his correction.

The people of Carthage would not haue laboured so much, to saue the life of any Man, that had committed such an Act as Rutilianus did: For, the Captaine or Generall, that had giuen battaile to the Enemy, without expresse commaundement of the Senate, although he had won the day; was sure to be hanged. And to speake truth, it hath euermore bene obserued, in all Militarie discipline; yea, from all antiquitie; that the Souldier or Captaine, that fought or gaue battell, against prohibition made vnto him, deserued death.

In like maner, Caesar speaking of one of his Captaines, named Syllanus, said: He did well and wisely, not to giue battaile, albeit he was sure to haue had the victorie. *Because* (saith hee) *it is not in the Captaine, to goe beyonde the prohibitions giuen him.* For it is most certaine, that nothing should be done in matter of warre, contrary to commands: nor a Captaine or Liutenant ought not to giue battaile, except he bee expresselie commaunded. And this was the cause, that the Counte of Aignemont was in danger, and had at length (by especiall fauour) onely as punishment, a reprehension publikely giuen him, by Charles the first, Emp. for going battaile to the Marshall de Termes, although hee had the victorie, because the danger of all the Low Country lay at the stake, if he had lost the day.

But this last point is to be vnderstood of Captaines, that haue no charge of command in title of offices, for the Officer, as the Consull, Constable, the Captaine erected in Title of Office, to haue full command ouer the Army, and make the war: may (by vertue of his office) without attending especiall command, giue war to a published enemy, pursue him, bid battaile, besiedge, and (if he can) take Fortes, and dispose the Army at his discretion; if hee haue not perticular prohibition from his Soueraine, by whō his power is appointed. But hauing taken strong holdes, or the chiefe of the enemies; he cannot re-deliver them without especiall command. True it is, that in the populer Common-weales, these points are not obserued,

Obedience is the chiefe in Military discipline.

The iudgement of Caesar in this case.

The Count of Aignemont censured.

How far, and to whom this limitation extendeth.

Concerning populer common-weales.

neither can they bee kept with rigour: but often it happeneth, that Captaines doe dispose the very greatest affaires, which they cannot doe in a Monarchy, for the difference of aduise and will of a Prince, or the people, of one man, or thirty thousand.

Of *Heliodorus* the *Mytilenian* and his banquet.

We read in the *Greeke* Histories, that one *Heliodorus* a *Mytilenian*, made a banquet, in midst whereof, deliivering demonstration, that his guests should not make spate of any thing: he comanded two of his Slaues to goe buy two Sep-tiers of Wine, of a Man that sold wine neere to his house. The Slaues finding the Wine to be bad, went and bought else-where, such as was excellent good,

and liked all the company, saying, they neuer dranke better. Whereon the Slaues said, that it was not of the wine which their Lord sent them for, for it beeing naught, they were faine to buy in another place. Whereat *Heliodorus* grew offended, because they brought not according to his commaund, although the wine was better: when the company was departed, he so tormented the poore Slaues that they dyed. Thus you see what ill fortune it is, to be in subiection to people ouer seuerer, and without any temperance: punishing such as they haue command ouer, rather for doing well, then ill.

The end of the fourth Booke.





The Fift Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Emperour of Æthiopia, called Prete-Ian, or Prester-Iohn: Of his Originall, and Customes of his people.



THe Great Emperour of Æthiopia, vnto whom we corruptlie giue the Name of *Pres-biter-Ian*, is neither Priest or sacrificer, though he be (by some) called *PRETE-IAN*, and (by his owne people) named *Belaugian*, that is to say, *Toy of incompareable excellencie*, or of most value; and by others of them, he is also called *Ian*, which (in their Language) signifieth *Mightie*. He commandeth ouer seauenty and two Kingdomes, which are all of different languages, hauing their diuersity of Customs, and the colour or complexion of their Faces; are much disagreeing. He is able to leuy in preparation for warre, a Million of fighting men; five hundred Elephants with their Armour and Munition for encounter, with an infinite number of Horses and Camels. His Knights or Warlick Soldiers, enter armed to the battell, each wearing a long Coat of Maile, stretching downe closely to their Thighes, a Sallet

or Head-piece on the head, a crooked Fauchion by their side, and a Lance with two Steele points or Pikes. Such as haue no Sallets or Head-pieces, do wear thick quilted Caps on their heads, plaited after the manner of *Mameluke* Soldiers. The yonger sort, carry Darts, Arrowes, and Slings, obseruing the same Discipline, & be as obedient or well-gouerned, in ranging their battaile, as wee are. They vse Drummes of Brasse, and Trumpets also, to encourage their Soldiers to the fight, which is performd with great hardiment, appointing also, sundry honours, and respectiue rewards, to such as declare themselves to be of highest merit. They doo daily pay the families of their Warriours, and marke the Children that are born of them, with a Crosse, which they imprint suddenly in the flesh with an hot Iron, so that the signe remaineth, as if it were naturall vnto them.

The King himselfe (most commonly called *Prete-Ian*) after he hath bestowed some houres about State-affaires, when he perceiueth that he is indifferently eased of them: he employeth almost all the remainder of his time, in the study of holy Readings and Histories; which being done, he useth a little exercise of the body; and then entering into his Bath, hee taketh (afterward) his refection alone by himselfe (as most of our Kings vse to do) vpon a little Table of Gold, without any cloath or Napkin; and it is set in such a place as there are diuers degrees or steps in ascending to it. He is serued by Pages, who are of Noble birth; and they bring him his meate (ready cut and prepared) in little Baskets or Pannier. He drinketh

Wine

the Knights (belonging to Prete-Ian) haue in fight.

The King's Ceremony to their Children.

The exercise of the King Prete-Ian.

The order of his table-seruice, his dyet and maner of life.

Sabel. in lib. 8. de Suppl. chron.

The power of Prester-Iohn.

His soldiers Armour for their defence, and such as

Wine in a Cup of Golde; but he hath another kinde of drinke, made of fower Apples, and mingled with Sugar, which he receiuet in a cup of Chrystal. While hee feedeth, three hundred lustie young men (chosen out of the seuerall kingdoms vnder his Dominion, hauing the place of Archers, and of his Guard) doo stand about the Tent-royall. For, by an ancient custome it hath been kept, that the King liueth continually out of any City, wherein he neuer abideth but two dayes only; and those Tents are erected in such manner, that the back-part is euer placed to the East, and the doore opening is opposite to the West.

The vsual Armes or weapons of these Guards, are Swords, Daggers, and Iauelins, their neckes and shoulders beeing gurgerted with thicke skinned Beasts. Four Kings, who (by commandement) do attend the Court, follow (each after other) the Table-seruice, accompanied with many Barons, and meaner Officers, euen from the Kitchen, vnto the Tent of *Prete-Ian*, all cloathed in Silke, Seudale, and Scarlet: and there they deliuer it to the Pages, who come forth purposely to receiue it. The King and al his Court fare deliciouly, with Fowle, Fish, and al kind of Venison. So soone as he hath dined (for hee neuer sups, but in Feastiual dayes) his Eunuchs goe to fetch diuers Queenes (according vnto their seuerall quarters) being Wives of the forenamed Kings, to waite on the Queene, and wife to *Prete-Ian*, conducting her vnto his Tent, to giue him pleasure and contentment, and there they sing and Dance in his presence. He hath foure Wives, who are the Daughters of his neighbor-kings, yet he lodgeth but with one of them, to whom he is solemnly married with many Ceremonies; but if it chaunce that hee haue no Children by her, then he calt to his bed one of the other.

When he purposeth to shew himselfe in publicke, his face is couered with a vail of Taffata, which hee listeth vp, and pulleth downe, that hardly can his face be wholly discerned: but if it bee, it is verie quickly couered againe. Hee vseth to shew himself vnto the people three times in the yeare, that is to say, on the daies of Christmas, Easter, and the holy Crosse in September; and (for this purpose) is a goodly high Scaffold duly prepared. The

cause of this Ceremony, receiued Originall from *David Prete-Ian*, fir-named *Alexander*, whose death was three whole yeares concealed by his chiefe Seruants, that gouerned the Kingdome in his time. Therefore to auoide all the like succeeding inconueniences, the Father of *David Prete-Ian*, at the earnest entreatie of his people, began first to shew himselfe on these ordained daies; which hath continually (euer since) been obserued, euen to *Panuscius Prete-Ian*, now raigning in *Aethyopia*, only excepted when he goeth in warre, for then he marcheth daily discovered. He is crowned with a precious Diadem; the one part whereof is Gold, and the other Siluer, and carrieth (instead of a Scepter) a Crosse of Siluer in his hand: All his Seruants are marked with a Crosse, in the verie flesh on the right shoulder. He is cloathed with rich Garments of frizeled Cloath of Golde, wearing a shirt of Silke, with verie large and wide sleeues, as Dukes in elder times were wont to doe. And from the Girdle downward, he weareth a wide Kirtle of Silke and Cloath of Gold, with a Linnen couerture, after a Bishops manner. On either side of him, goe two Pages, each holding a Crosse of Siluer in the one hand, and a naked Sword in the other.

His Lords, who are as Kings, and carry that Title, do pay him tribute of Gold and other Mettals; of Horsses: and great Cattell of diuers kinds: likewise of cloath of Golde, and of Wooll, according to the quality & best Nature of those countries vnder their Government: Which rights and Tributes they haue from their Subiects, although they be Vassalles (indeed) to none but *Prete-Ian* himselfe, and to whom they yeilde the greater part of their substance. Some do pay him large quantities of Corne, and of Salt, for the maintaining of his Armies. Others do bring him Pepper, which is a rare Commodity in that Countrey; and some do pay him Slaues.

The Rustrikes, and Country Boores, who liue in the wild and field-frequented Forrests, do bring vnto the Court great store of Lyons, Tygers, and other liuing sauage Beasts, which are afterward shut vp into apt appointed places, to yeelde pleasure and delight to him and his Princes. As for such as dwell further off from the Court, it is sufficient for them to bring

The Original of the Ceremony of shewing himself.

The Emperors Crowne, Scepter, and habite.

The Emperors Tribute, paid him by his kings.

Tributes in generall of his people, duly paid him

Wild Beasts kept for the Emperors pleasure.

An Ancient custome still obserued.

The attendants vpon the Emperor

The King fareth delicately.

The wives of the Emperor

His manner of shewing himselfe in publicke.

bring the skinnes of such Beastes onely, wherewith the *Abyssines* do (in a brauery) cloath themselves when they goe to warre.

Prete-Ian, is greatly honoured and loved of his people, who are verie rich in Gold, not Coined, and other Mettalles: and his Landes being well peopled and inhabited, he deriueth from them verie great Reuennewes. They cloath themselves with Linnen, Wollen, and Silke: addicting their minds much to Husbandry, and Tilling the ground.

In the Realme of * *Secua*, where the King most abideth, they haue two crops or Haruests each yeare, for they haue also two Summers. They gather all things necessary for the maintenance of life, and in great abundance; especially, the grain of Barley, and all kinds of Pulse, Pease, and Beanes, &c. Millet and Panicke, or *Indian Oat-meale*, groweth there so hie, as it ouer-toppeth a man riding on horse backe. The Vines do yeelde an infinitie of Grapes or Raisins, whereof they make great plentie of Wine: but beside, they do ordinarily make Beuerages of Beere, and other of Peares & Apples well compounded with Barley, Millet, or Wallwort, whereof the verie meanest of the people do daily drinke. They vse to set forth their Bankets yearely, with greene Figges, and Apples that are very fauoury. They haue great store of Wood, called *Ibonie*, and diuers kindes thereof: They vse to hunt Lyons, Leopards, Rhinocerotis, and Elephants. They haue great store of Cattle, goodly Horses, and gallant Mules, which they sell (at great price) to Barons of the Court.

The first dignity among them, is that of the Priest: the second; of prudent and wisemen, whom they call *Balsanats* and *Tenquats*; Bounty and good Conuersation is highly esteemed amongst them: The third degree is of Noblemen, and then that of Soldiers. Such as are established to render right and reason to euery man, do punish greuously the delinquements. They plucke out the eyes of Theeues, and then afterward, giue them a publick Slaue to keep them company, and lead them thorow far remote Countries and Kingdomes, getting their liuing by playing on the Harpe; to the sound whereof, they accord their voices, and so go singing from doore to doore:

and if they chauce to stay in one place more then a day, they are both put to death, the Theefe and the Slaue. They deliuer a Murtherer, into the handes of his Kindred whom he hath slaine, to the end, that they may take such vengeance, as to them seemeth good, for the outrage committed on their blood. If anie deale with Children, in the abhominable sinne of Sodomy, the offender is iudged (by them) to be worthy of death. And who-soeuer doth rashly reuolt from his Religion, is stoned to death before al the people. Also, hee that transgresseth the Ceremonies and Commandements of Religion, wickedly blaspheming God, the glorious Virgin, or the Saints, is burned aliue in a publicke place. Other delicts of lesser Nature, are iudged according to the will and Arbitrage of the Interpreters of the Lawes.

The *Abyssines* haue a perticular Language, and Characters of Letters proper to themselves, wherein the New Testament was imprinted at *Rome*. The Holy Scripture hath also bene translated into their *Abyssine* tongue; and * I my selfe (being then a young Lad at *Rome*) began to learne the Language; of one Frier *Peter*, an *Abyssine*, and of the order of Saint *Francis*, a man of excellent gifts, good life, and greatly beloued by Pope *Paule* the third, and all his Court. This Fryer dwelt behind the Tribunal of S. *Peter*, in the house and Church dedicated to the *Abyssines*, where they celebrated after their maner, and were maintained at the Popes charges.

The *Abyssines* do not stamp anie money, but make vse of that which cometh from others; which is of gold marked with *Strabesque* Letters, and they call those pieces of mony, *Pardals* & *Syraphs*. They pay their Soldiers in certain pieces of Gold and Siluer, of diuers waights; and with them also, they buy such things as are sold in the Markets. They celebrate their weddings with meats very solemly, and if the man or woman be taken in Adultery, they doo repudiate both the one and the other. They are baptised, and yet notwithstanding that, they adde some marke vpon the fore-head; with a hot Iron, and will not wholly leaue the *Hebrue* vse; for they cut the Prepuce, and take a little flesh also from womens secrets. The children most in yeares, are heirs to their Fathers

How they deale with murderers.

For the sinne of Sodomy.

For reuolt from Religion, and for Blasphemers.

Of the *Abyssines*.

*This is spoken by Hierem Gigo an Italian whom I translated this whole Chapter.

Coin used by the *Abyssines*.

Their Celebration of marriage.

Their Baptisme and circumcision.

The Emperors Subiects are very rich.

*Or *Xoa*, as some call it.

Two haruests euerie yeare, and great plentie of all things.

Their Wine and other drinckes.

Their Bankets.

Their woods.

Their Hunting.

Their Cattel.

Their order of Dignities obserued among them.

Their punishment of Theeues.

Fathers, thorow the Kingdome; and by want of Males, one of the Kinred, being the most vertuous, doth next succede. This *Prete-Ian* gouerneth many Countreyes, and boundlesse Seas.

They haue greatly erred, that in their Maps and Tables, haue placed his seate in *Asia*, beeing ignorant that there is a double *India*; the one in *Asia*, and the other in *Ethyopia*. His Kingdome confineth (on the Leuant or East-side) the Red and Barbarian Sea: And on the South, the Sea called *Agisimbe*; and on this side, the Region goeth like a Promontorie towards the South, to the Cape called *De bona Speranza*. Almost at the end of *Prete-Ians* Land, in one of his Kingdomes called *Goyanne*, is the source of *Nilus*, a Riuer that runnes bathing all *Ethyopia*; and hauing made a long course, trauesing many Islands (whereof *Meroe* is the greatest) it passeth swelling along *Egypt*. It confineth on the North side, *Egypt* & *Lybia*; and on the West, the lower *Lybia*, and the *Moors*. But the Father of *Prete-Ian*, being a warlike man, and expert in Armes; amplified and enlarged his Empire; and among other difficult and perillous Wars, he vanquished the *Trogodites*, who vsing poysoned Arrowes, he tooke (by the way) King *Casant*, conquered in battell, and smote off his head, as an infamous and cruell Traitor. This man raigned also in that countrey, which looketh plainely Southward to the Sea, called *Maagambizique*, and is face to face with the great Isle of *Saint Laurence*. He ouercame likewise the King of *Municongo*, who afterward became a Christian; and *Thermeda* Prince of the Blacke-people. He vanquished also King *Selan*, Lord of the *Mahometan Moors*, whose passage was a long time out of *Arabia Felix*, by the strait of the Red sea, into the firme Land, neighboring on *Ethyopia*.

These *Abyssines* (for so are they called of all *Prete-Ians* subiects) haue a Patriark, whom they name *Abuna*, that is to say, [Father;] hee hath the gouernment of spirituall things, and soueraigne Authority ouer the Priests, which are infinit in number, and distinguished by their churches and Monasteries. To persons badly complexioned in manners, contumacious, and corrupted in the right rules of Discipline: hee exerciseth a seuerer Censure, and excommunication; so that be-

ing expelled and abandoned of all men, they wander and dye miserably starued. This Patriarke maketh residence (with his Senate) in the Cittie of *Bovvaya*, situate in a Mountaine verie austere and full of Woodes, enuironed with perpetuall umbrages, for his better recreation: and there the braunches of the broad-leafed Trees are so plyant, & twine themselues in manner of an Arch, that though the Countrey be most hot, yet in the midday Sun, little or no heate at all is there felt: for their continuall dewing with healthfull and liuely springes, compleateth the grace of their freshnes and verdure. This Patriark receiueth a great leuy of tenths; as also the Reuenues of the King *Prete-Ian*, who is greatly giuen and affected to Religion, as appeareth by his liberall pietie and deuotion.

He distributeth these Treasures to the poore, and to Hospitals, maintaining infinite Monasteries of Friers of diuers orders: of *Saint Anthony*, of *Saint Frances*, of *Saint Augustine*, of *Saint Dominick*, of the *Calaguritains*, and of the *Macharians*, many whereof he sendeth yearly to *Ierusalem*, to visit the Sepulcher of our Lord Iesus Christ. When the Patriarke dyeth, such Riches of his as is found remaining, returneth to the Exchequer Royall: and then they proceed to new election of another, that shall be indged to be the most vertuous. Hee liueth chastly, although it be lawfull for a Priest to take a Wife in Marriage; and yet he may haue no more but one.

The only glories of *Prete-Ian* and his *Ethyopians*, are, that they do repute themselues to be the verie ancientest Nation among men, because they haue alwayes liued in their innated libertie, and were neuer conquered, either by *Semyramis*, nor *Hercules*, nor *Dyonisius*, nor the *Romaines*; but they themselues vanquished King *Cambyses*, and ouer-threw his potent armie. Heereto they adde a more true and eminent glorie indecde, which is, that they were one of the first nations, in receipt of the christian Faith, wel-near from the verie beginning thereof. By meanes of the Eunuch, vnto the famous Queene *Candace*, who was baptized by *Saint Phillip*. And that since their Conuersion, they haue constantly kept the same Religion, for so many hundreds of yeares: Albeit, that during this time, they haue

The Patriarckes place of abiding with his Senate.

The Patriarckes maintenance and liberalitie to the poore.

Order when the Patriarck deceaseth.

Marriage law full to Priests

The glories of *Prete-Ian* & his Nation.

King *Cambyses* conquered by this Nation.

A famous note of Antiquity.

The error of some Cosmographers, in situation of his kingdom.

The head or spring of the Riuer *Nilus*.

The Father of *Prete-Ian*.

People in the farthest part of *Affrica* beyond *Ethyopia*.

The conquest of *Prete-Ians* Father.

The Patriark of the *Abyssines*; and his Authority.

haue beene generally (euen as yet they are at this day) mollested, assaulted, and enuironed with *Moores*, *Sarazins*, & the Idolatrous Worshippers of *Mahomet*. And yet, notwithstanding all those cruel Tempests (which heerebefore destroyed the *Romaine* Empire, and the very greatest part of Christendom, *Ethyopia* could neuer hitherto be spoyled, either of their Dominion or Religion, albeit some Idolatrous mixture hath crept thereinto: which is the lesse to bee maruelled at, if we may credit their own saying, in alledging their constancie and Antiquity, because they deriue their Noble Originall and continuance, from the royall Kings, *Dauid* and *Salomon*; of whome, the blessed Virgin *Marie* (Mother to our Saviour) descended, and he himselfe, according to the flesh.

The people of this Nation, doo hold our Lord God in great reuerence, & the Redeemer of the world; Next, the most Blessed Virgin, and Saint *Thomas* the Apostle more then any other of the Saints. Pope *Eugenius* the fourth, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and forty, sent an Ambassadour vnto the *Prete-Ian* then liuing. And afterward, in the yeare one thousand siue hundred thirtie three, Pope *Clement* the seauenth, and the Emperour *Charles* the fift, being met together at *Bologna*, an Ambassador came to them, from valiant *Dauid* King of *Ethyopia*, being named *Don Frances Aluarez*, a *Portugualis*, to whom audience was giuen in the publicke Consistory, the 29. day of January: There hee presented the Letter (ensuing) to his Holinesse, & (in name of his King) he gaue the obedience obserued from Antiquity, and likewise in his name, presented a Crosse of Golde, waighing a pound; hauing first kissed his foot, hand, and mouth. The Letter was written in the *Ethyopian* Language; afterward translated into the *Portugual* tongue, then into *Latine*, and againe into *Italian*, and it was read by the Secretary to his Holinesse, in the publick presence.

Ethyopia could neuer be conquered.

Whence the Ethiopians do deriue their antiquitie.

The Religion of this Nation.

Ambassadors sent to Prete-Ian.

Letters sent from Prete-Ian to the Pope.



A Letter sent from the most Mighty David, King of *Ethyopia*, to the most Holy Father, Pope *Clement* the seauenth.



ost Happy and Holle Father, ordained of God to be the Consecrator of men, and to sit in the seat of Saint

Peter; to whom the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen was giuen, and whatsoever he bound or loosed on earth, the like should be done in Heauen, as *Iesus Christ* himselfe spake, and Saint *Matthew* hath written in his Gospel: The King to whose name Lyons doo reuerence, and (by the grace of God) named in Baptism, *Atanatingil*, that is to say, *Inspired by the Virgin*; but after I tooke the royal Scepter, was named *Dauid*, Beloued of God, a Pillar of the Faith, of the Line of *Isaac*, the sonne of *Dauid*, the sonne of *Salomon*, sonne to the Pillar of *Sion*, sonne of the seed of *Jacob*, sonne to the hands of *Mary*, by carnall succession, and son of *Naku*, Emperor of high *Ethyopia*, of manie great Kingdomes, Iurisdictions, and Lands; King of *Xoa*, of *Cassata*, of *Parigir*, of *Angota*, of *Baru*, of *Beilerguanana*, of *Adear*, of *Pangua*, of *Gizama*, whence issueth *Nilu*, of *Amara*, of *Burghamedit*, of *Amben*, of *Tigremalton*, of *Sabaa*, where raigned the Queen of *Saba*, of *Bernagaps*, and Lord so farre as to *Egypt*. All these Landes are vnder my power, and manie others, great and small, which I neither number or expresse by their names, as induced thereto by any pride: but onely to the end, that the soveraigne God may be praised, who hath bestowed Christian Religion on so many great Kingdomes, and hath enlarged to me so great a grace as continually I may do him seruice, hauing made me a Capitall enemy to the *Moores*, and such as worship Idollies. I send to kisse the feete of your Holinesse, as other Christian Princes vse to doo, to whom I am not the meanest both in power

Of Goyanna

wer and Religion. I am in my Realmes, a strong Collumb of the Faith, and have no neede of any other, but put in God my whole hope and succour, he hauing alwaies sustained and gouerned me since such time as the Angell of God spake to Saint *Phillip*, when hee taught the true & sincere Faith vnto the Eunuch, belonging to the potent Queene *Candace*, Qu. of *Ethiopia*, when hee returned from *Ierusalem* to *Gaza*, where Saint *Phillip* baptized the said Eunuch; by whom likewise the Queen was afterward baptized, with a great part of her house and people. The successors of which famous Queene, did neuer since faile in true Christianity, but haue continued euermore firme & constant in the faith, so that my predecessors haue not beene holpen by any but God, and haue extended the Christian Faith, as I haue laboured to do the like.

I keepe my selfe impaled within mine own limits, like a Lyon compassed with: in a thicke Forrest, strong against the Moores, and other Nations enemies to Christ, that will not heare the worde of God, nor my faithfull exhortations. I haue pursued them with my sword in my hand, and (by little and litle) chased them from their Nestes, by the helpe of God, who neuer failed mee; which hath not happened in like manner to other Christian Kings; for when they wold extend their limits, they went not against Infidelles, as easily they might haue done, by meanes of assisting one another, besides their further aid of your Holinesse Benediction, wherein I also claime a part. For among my Charters, there is found the Letter of Pope *Eugenius*, which he sent heere tofore (with his benediction) to the King of the seed of *Jacob*; of which benediction, I haue iouissance, and highly delight in it.

Beside this, I holde the Temple of *Ierusalem* in great honor, and thither I send goodly offeringes by my Pilgrims, and much more rich and costly should they bee, if the wayes were assured from Infidelles, who beside their robbing the messengers of their presents, do hinder them also from free passage. And if the voyage to *Rome* were free and open, I wold com in familiarity and company of the *Roman* Church, as other Christian Princes do,

to whom I am not inferiour. For, euen as they do, I confesse one direct faith, and one Catholicke Church, I belecue sincerely in the holy Trinity, one only God, and I beleue the virginity of our blessed Lady. I hold and keepe the Articles of the Faith, as they were written by the Apostles.

At this present, the Lord God by the hand of the most puissant King * *Emanuel*, hath opened the way, to the end that we may visit one another by Embassies, and (ioyntly in faith) serue one God. But it so pleased God, that his Ambassadors being in our Court, they told vstydings of his death, and the succession of his son (my Brother *Iohn*) in the Crown. So that the death of the Father, brought me not more grieffe and discontent, then the happy comming of his son to the Kingdom, caused ioy and gladnesse.

Aed such is my hope, that ioyning our forces and Armies together, we may run thorough the Prouinces of the Moores, and vtterly destroy them. By which meanes, Christians may (more commodiouse) go and returne from the Temple of *Ierusalem*. And as I earnestly desire, that I may be made pertaker of the loue of God, in the Temples of the holy Apostles *Paule* and *Peter*, so do I wish to haue the Benediction of the Vicar of Iesus Christ, which (without any doubt) I repute you to be.

I heare manie things also of your sanctitie to Pilgrimes, which go from our Regions vnto *Ierusalem*, and thence to *Rome*, returning backe miraculousely, which hath beene to mee vnspeakeable pleasure. But indeed, I should receiue much greater contentment, if my Ambassadors could vse a shorter way, and bring me (at all times) tidings from you, which I hope they will doo heereafter, sometime before I die, God assisting, who I pray maintaine you in health and holinesse. So be it. I kisse your Holie feete, and humbly pray your Holinesse to send me your blessing.

* This was the K. of Portugal.

ous Letters, amity encreaseth stronglie; especially when it is embraced by holy peace, from whence (doubtlesse) all humane ioy proceedeth. And like as the man that is extream thirsty, desireth earnestly fresh water, as is to be found in the sacred Writings; euen so my heart longeth, to haue Newes by Messengers and Letters from farre-off Countries, wherein I take incredible pleasure. And not only if I might hear some matter of your Holinesse: but also, if such Newes bee certaine, which have been reported to me, concerning Christian Princes, which ioy would be answerable to that, which Conquerors get by rich spoiles and purchases.

Which now at this time may the more easily be done, because the King of *Portugall* hath opened the passage, which long time hath bene vsed, sending mee his Ambassadors, accompanied with many valiant Knights, in the time of his Father *Emanuel*, & while he liued. Since when, I haue receiued neither Embassie nor Letters from any Christian King, much lesse from any Pope. Albeit in our Rolles, or Treasury of Charters, which belonged sometime to our great Grandfather, is preserued the memorie of Letters from a Pope of *Rome*, named *Eugenius*, sent into these parts, when the seed of *Jacob* raigned, the King of Kings throughout all *Ethiopia*, & the superscription of the saide Letters was in this manner: *Eugenius Pope of Rome, to our Well-beloued Sonne, the King of the seede of Iacob, King of Kings throughout all Ethiopia, worthy to be reuerenced.* And by the summary of the saide Letters, hee declared, that his Sonne *Iohn Paleologus*, who was as forgotten two yeares before, K. of the *Romaines*, was called from *Constantinople*, to celebrat the sacred Counsel, and with him went *Ioseph* the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, accompanied with a great number of Arch-bishops, Bishops, and Prelates of all sorts; and among them also assisted the Procuraters of the Patriarkes of *Antioch*, of *Alexandria*, and of *Ierusalem*, all assembled with him in loue of the holy faith and religion. By meanes whereof the vnity of the Church was confirmed, with grace of the Lord, and al difficulties of the passed times (which appeared to be erroneous, and contrary to Christian religion) taken away: which things, being

by good order established and confirmed, the same Pope had giuen to all the world occasion of reioicing, as to each one particularly.

Now at this time, wee send you this Book of pope *Eugenius*, that hath alwaies bin kept by vs without corruption. We would also in like maner haue sent ye, the tract of the order and power of the pontificall benediction, had not the Volume bin ouer-great, for truly it is as big as the Booke of *S. Paul* to the Gentiles. And the Legates which brought these things hither on the Popes behalfe, were *Theodorus*, *Petrus Dydimus*, and *George*, seruants of Iesus Christ. But you (most holie Father, shall do well to command that the Bookes of your Rolles may be turned ouer and perused, where I think you shall find some memory of this which I haue written vnto ye, that if any thing be reserued on our behalfe, it may be diligently registred among our Bookes, that perpetuall memory thereof may remaine to our posterity & successors. And truly, I account him most happy, whose memory is in letters preserued in the holy City of *Rome*, the seat of *S. Peter* and *S. Paule*, who are Lords in Heauen, & Iudges of the whole world. And because my beleefe is such, I send yee these presents, to the end, that I may win grace with your holinesse, and with your most sacred Colledge, hoping that from thence will come holy benediction, with encrease of all goodnesse.

Moreover, I do intreat your Holinesse to send me some Images of the Saints, & principally of the virgin *Mary* to the end that the name of hir and of your holines, may be often in my mouth and memory, and that I may continually take delight in your presents. I also require ye to send me some Artzans and workmen, that know how to make those Images, and swordes and armor of all kinds, to fight withal; as also such as can engraue in Gold and Silver, Maister-Carpenters, Architects, and Masons, to make houses of stone. And men that are skilfull in Casting of Lead, Copper and Brasse, to couer the tops of those houses. Beside these men, we shall highly esteeme such worke in Glasse, or such as are Falconers, & such as can make Instruments of Musicke; as also such as can play on Flutes & trumpets. Al which workemen, I desire that may bee of your house; or if you bee not so sufficiently prouided,

provided, your Holinesse may easily win such from other Christian Kinges your children, who are all obedient vnto your command: assuring yee, that no sooner shall those workemen heere arriue, but they shall be held in great honour, according to the seuerall merit of euerie man, and shall receiue of my liberality, ample courtesie, reward, and wages: with this condition, that if any one heereafter, be desirous to returne into his owne Country, hee shall depart from my Court so well recompenced, as shall giue him cause to rest contented, carrying hence with him, such things as himselfe shall please, for I wil not keep any man against his mind, when I haue receiued som benefit of his Art.

Now am I to speake of other things, and would gladly demand of you Holie Father, why you doe not admonish the Christian Kinges your Children, to agree among themselues, as it becometh brethren, considering they are of your flock and you their Shepheard? And wel doth your Holinesse know that which is commanded in the Gospell, where it is saide; *Every Kingdome diuided in it selfe shall bee desolate.* For, if the kings of Christendom were vnited and leagued together, easilie might they destroy the Mahometans, & all other Infidelles; and all their actions wold succeed to their wish; raiuating the Sepulchre of that false Prophet, which is in the Citty of *Mecha*. Wherefore I pray ye, to labour a firme league of amitie among them, exhorting them to lend me fauour and succor. For, on all the Confines of my Kingdomes, I am enuironed with Moores, Mahometans, and wicked people, who (neuerthelesse) do hold such fidelity together; as wee see not the like. They interchangeably aide one another, making alliance Kinges with Kinges, and Lords with Lords, in great Loyaltie and constancie, and all against vs. There is a King *Moore* my Neighbor, whom al the other *Moore*-Kinges (his Neighbours) do furnish with Armes, horses, and all other Instruments for warre. These men, are the Kinges of *India*, *Persia*, *Arabia*, and *Egypt*, by whom I daily receiue much grieuance, beholding the enemies of Christianity ioyned together in brotherly charity, enjoying peace: & christian Kinges my Brethren, not according together in any maner, nor are moued at their outrages,

or any way giuing mee succour, as is the duty of al christians. And so much the rather, because the most filthy sons of *Mahomes* so aid one another. Not that (in this respect) I would haue you think that I desire any forces for such an enterprise, for I haue sufficient of mine owne, and more then I need. But I intreat only your Prayers and Orisons to God, and couet to find grace with your holinesse, & with all other Kinges my Brethren.

This is the reason why I seeke amitie with you and them, to the end, of being furnished abundantly, with such things as are before required; to the feare and astonishment of the *Moores*, and that my neighbours (enemies vnto the Christians name) may know, that Christian Kinges (my Brethren) can giue me fauour and assistance, which truly appertaineth to our common honor, since we agree in vnitie of Faith and true religion. We are resolved to continue firme in this counsell & deliberation, which seemeth to Vs, most assured, perfect, and profitable. God fulfill your desires to the praise of Iesus Christ, and of God our Father, whose name be praised of al, in al ages. And you holie Father, embrace mee with all the Saints of Iesus Christ, which are at *Rome*: and in the same imbracement, I pray ye to receiue al the inhabitants of my kingdomes, and they that remaine in *Ethiopia*. Thankes be rendred to our Lord Iesus Christ, by your spirit.

Your Holinesse shall receiue these Letters, by the helpe of my Brother King Iohn, son to the most potent King *Emanuel*, by the handes of *Frances Alvarez* our Ambassador.

CHAP. II.

Of the ouergreat Superstition of the Queen of Maugy, who lost her mighty Estate, by putting too much confidence in the predictions of Astrologers.



That Superstition is a verie great Vice; bringing manie discommodities and danngers, vnto such as are thereto inclined, may Ordinarily bee seene, As for example:

Note the vain opinion of this world, in meeting some accidents on the way.

If a man (returning from some journey, or setting forth vpon it, his businesse being serious and importent, if hee chance to meet an old Woman on the way, or perceiueth a Hare to crosse the passage before him, he presently takes it for an euill encounter, and to presage some perill towards him.

The Romains were greatly addicted vnto superstitions.

Some Huntsmen also are of opinion, that if they meete a Priest or a Frier vpon the way, as they ride on Hunting, they shall surely (that day) not take any thing. Some others, if they but heare a Pie to chatter, they shall shortly vnderstand of euill tidings. There are some also, so strangely incensed, that they verilie beleue, if they meete a Serpent or Snake: that day no inconuenience can betide them; with diuers other vanities beside, which fauour much more of Paganisme, then of any Christianity. Such superstitions were deeply grounded among the *Romaine* people, yea, much more then in any other, witness their *Auspices*, that is; their Consultations which they wold make, before they began any war or expedition, by the obseruation of Birds, beholding their flight, listening their songs, and whether they fed wel or ill; in regard whereof, they lost many commodities in their warres. And it is not to be doubted, but that euerie superstitious Captain, will hardly do any thing of desert; which *Cicero* well noted in his Bookes of Diuination, and maketh a mockery thereat.

Cicero in Lib. de Diuinat.

The Tartars of Asia very superstitious.

This follie is dispersed thorough the world, but yet in some Countries more then other. As among the *Asian Tartars* who are so much addicted to iudicial Astrologie, and therein so superstitious, as they will neither build a House, Village, Cittie, Temple, or any other building whatsoever, but at laying the first stone, they will set downe in Writing, the day, the houre, the moneth, and the season. The like they do at the Natiuitie of their Children, then they consult with Astrologers and **Genethliques*, who then doo fore-tell what pleaseth themselves. And these people are now (at this day) more superstitious in these affaires, then euer they were. And this is the matter which I am now to speake of, in shewing that a woman (being too much ouer-swaied by these superstitions, lost one of the verie fairest Estates in the worlde, and how it hapned, I shall briefly relate.

* Casters of mens fortune by the day & houre of their birth.

The *Tartarian* Annales do declare, that there was a King of *Maugy*, named *Iada*, who beeing on Hunting, espyed a great Lake of Fresh-Water, thorough the middest whereof, passed so strong a Riuer, as was able to beare a Boat, which came from the East *Indiæ*, a rich countrey. Heereon he considered, that for Commerce and good of his Kingdome, the Territorie round about it was fruitfull, and the Lakes Water nourished great store of Fish, a faire Hauen also, being not farre off thence, standing for the benefit of all Windes; being on the Ocean Sea, which is (almost) continually caline, and in that quarter it would be verie conuenient to build a Citie. Having had Communication in this case with his Counsell, and they allowing the goodnesse of his conceit, hee gaue order to them, for further proceeding in the purpose: this hapned in the yeare of the worlde, according to their supputation, siue thousand, sixe hundred. This Citie was founded vpon piles, and (according to their Custome) they consulted with their *Genethliques*, to know if this Cittie should flourish and continue for any length of time. Whereto they answered, that it should neuer fall into anie others power, but only of them as should be of the Lignage of *Iada*, first founder thereof, vntill such time, as a man (who should haue an hundred eies, all clearly seeing) came to besiege it. The Citie was named *Quinsay*, a worde corrupted of *Kynsin*, or *Checim*, in the *Iauian* tongue, which signifieth a Happy Cittie, and whereof, the whole Prouince where it is seated, tooke the Name of *Quinzi*. There are two Castles, which command on the Sea, and are adioyning vnto the Lake before named: and there doo the Waters of the Riuer of *Babala*, yeelde surrender of themselves, as they make their passage ouer the Lake.

Of *Iada* the King of *Maugy*, and his hunting.

Determination, for building a Citie.

The foundation of the Citie of *Quinsay*.

The situation of *Quinsay*.

The greatnes and commodioufnesse of the Citie.

It is seated about forty siue degrees on this side the Tropicke, in the sixt climate, and the tenth Paralell. This goodly Citie containeth (as such as haue Voyaged thither say) siue good Leagues or thereabout in circuit: which is verie likely to be true, by reason it is erected in the water; and the streetes are verie large, the Pallace great, and forced Garden-plots: the whole bodie being planted at ease, & so well disposed, as a man may goe thorough

rough all the Cittie on Land, and in the Channels also, which are large, easie, & great, because the Barkes may the sooner passe them. Horses also may easily passe through the streets, to bring such things as are necessarie for them of the City: And there is no enclosed City in the whole Vniuerse, either on this side, or beyond the Equator, of such wonderful greatnesse. In regard of the goodlie Scituation, it required no long time of peopling, & frequentation of Merchant-strangers, comming from many Countries: as from the rich Easterne *Indias*, by the Riner of *Babala*; and by Sea, the *Ethyopians*, *Armenians*, *Persians*, *Arabians*, *Egyptians*, *Scythians*, and others. Heereupon the King failed not to graunt good store of immunities, to draw inhabitants thither: which fortie to his expectation, hee builded a verie beautifull Pallace, that standeth yet intirely whole.

Now, it came to passe five hundred yeares after, that there raigned a King, very rich, named *Fasfur*; by whom, the Kingdomes were seated in the great Province of *Maugy*, which is said to be one of the verie greatest in the world; and by whom, the Lands and Seigneuries were so well fortified, as they were thought to be inuincible. By means whereof, none durst assaile or meddle with them; and this was the cause, that both the King and his people left off, and suffered the exercise of Armes to grow quite out of vse. For euerie Cittie was circled and engirt with great and deepe ditches (brim-full of Water) as also with huge walles, verie strongly flanked with goodlie Towers & vnder-props. And in those times, he had (at the least) the number of one thousand and five hundred; but now they can reckon no more then cleauen hundred; and yet hee had no Horses for warre, or anie other seruice; and this assurance occasioned, that the King made no vse of time, but continually tooke his delight & pleasure. He had ordinarily in his Court a thousand Gentlemen, beside his traine of Seruants and Officers, which was great and honourable. Neuerthelesse, hee held Iustice in highest esteeme; affecting peace and tranquility, and he was verie mercifull. No man durst offend, or do wrong to his Neighbor, but he was sure of seuerer punishment. In brecfe, his Kingdome was of such freedome and as-

surance, that (many times) Trades-men left their shops wide open in the Night, yet none durst be so bolde, as enter into them.

Strangers and Trauailers passing thorough the Countrey, might goe both night and day in safe securitie, without feare of any man. In like manner, the King was verie kind and charitable to the poore, and neuer suffered such as were in extreame pouerty, to complaine of their want and indigence. Moreouer, euerie yeare (by diligent search) he assembled together a great number of children, exposed as Orphans, and forsaken of their Parents (whereof sometimes there were twentie thousand) and them he caused to be kept & brought vp at his own charge, beside many other Charities which wold require much time to reherse, and which is not vsed by christian Princes elsewhere. And although he was a Pagan and Idolater, yet hee suffered Iewes and Christians (whereof some were *Nestorians*) to liue in all his Kingdoms; and these things were in the yeare of Grace, 1268.

Cublay, King of the *Tartars*, was then accounted one of the greatest Princes in the world; for he had (as some haue left in writings) thirty or fortie great Kingdomes. Such as make any doubt heerof, let them read *M. Paulus*, who was (at that time) in those parts, a verie true Author, and they shall find much more then I can heere speake of. His Captaines gaue him to vnderstand, that they could not find any more lands to conquer: for the Sea, and verie huge deserts had set a period at their Conquests, only this Kingdome of *Maugy* excepted, which confined on some lands of the great *Cham Cublay*. Now, albeit *Fasfur* was a friend, and had giuen no occasion of making warre vpon him, only because he was almost as powerfull as the said *Cublay*, yet *Cublay* was now aduised to contend for superioritie, and to make his great neighbor tributary vnto him. So minding to vse his men of war, he found them at variance among themselves, and that a great businesse was first to be ended, touching his two nephewes, whereof I haue formerly spoken. Heereupon, *Nestordin* a neere Kinsman to *Cublay*, was chosen for this expedition, albeit hee was not then in the Court; but the Commissions being directed to his abiding, the king had newes sent him, that

This would do well in all parts of the world.

Great charitable to poore Children.

Cublay King of the *Tartars* and his number of Kingdomes.

The ouer great ambition in *Cublay*.

The Traffick and resort to *Quinsay*.

Fasfur the rich King of *Maugy*.

Opinion of strength, breeds neglect of martiall Discipline and is the cause of too much securitie.

The Royaltie of the Kings Court, & his Vertues.

The extracti-
on of *Baiam*
Chinsan, a va-
liant Bastard.

The educati-
on of *Baiam*.

The famous
Conquests of
Baiam Chinsan.

Baiam entered
into *Maugy*,
and summo-
ned the King
and diuers
Citties.

he died two dayes before of a straunge
sicknesse. Wherefore, the charge of
this businesse, was transferr'd to *Baiam*
Chinsan, the Sonne of a publicke poore
Woman, not auouched by anie Father,
and he was borne with many spottes on
his bodie, verie neere resembling the
eies of a man; whereby hee had the fir-
name giuen him of *Baiam Chinsan*, which
signifieth in their Language, the sight of
an hundred eyes.

This poore Boy was brought vp by
his Mother, so well as her pouerty would
permit, not hauing any man that would
auouch her to be his wife. As he grew in
 stature, he addist his minde to follow
one of the Emperors Armies, beeing at
first but as a Lackey or Drudge, that car-
ried a Soldiers furniture after him. Af-
terward, hauing attained to more yeares
and strength, he was entertained as a Sol-
dier, becomming first a Corporall:
next Ensigne, Lieutenant, Captaine, or
Chiefe, then a Colonell: at length, be-
ing knowne a man of vnderstanding, vali-
ant, and fortunate, he had the charge of
an Army, which hee guided so successfe-
fully, that he annexed to the Crowne of
Cublay, Emperour of *Tartaria*, and his
Maister, ten great Prouinces or King-
domes, to wit; *Miena*, *Curaiena*, *Beugala*,
Canguigu, *Anu*, *Tholoriana*, *Grigui*, *Ca-*
cansu, *Ciangli*, and *Tadiusu*: and he neuer
attempted any matter, but he brought it
to full effect, except the conquest of *Pi-*
amsu, whereof I am to speake elsewhere.

Baiam entered with a great Armie in-
to the Prouince of *Maugy*, and summo-
ned the King to render himselfe tributa-
ry, or else he would warre vpon him, for
and in the name of his Prince *Cublay*: but
the King made answere, that he had no
such intention. Wherefore, at his first
arriual, he besiedged the Cittie of *Con-*
inganguy, and summoned the Cittizens
thereof to yeelde themselues: as also, to
take an Oath of fidelity and obedience
to the Emperour *Cublay*, which they like-
wise refused to do. By meanes whereof,
hauing heard their answere, he raised his
siege, and departed thence, without offer-
ring them anie other harme or mollestia-
tion. Afterward, hee did as much to
the next Cittie, which also made the like
refusall.

Passing on, he summoned four or five
other Citties, all which refused yeilding:

but comming to the sixt, he assailed it in
great furie, and tooke it by assault: which
being done, he returned backe vpon the
other Citties, which he took and ruined,
so that in very short time, he subdued &
tooke twelue Citties. For, he had in his
Army verie braue and valiaunt men, all
pickt or choise Soldiers, bold and coura-
gious. And the Great *Cham*, sent him
another Armie, as a fresh supply of as
great power as the first, which gaue great
terror to them of *Maugy*, causing them
to wax desperate, and their hearts to faile
them. And King *Facsur* himselfe, hauing
had such deare experience of the corage
and valour of the *Tartars*, and perceiuing
how they proceeded on still in their va-
danted fury, became so much amazed,
that he betooke himselfe to sea, with so
many people as hee could muster togi-
ther, withdrawing into an impregnable I-
sland, hauing with him aboue a thousand
ships; and leauing the guard of the Citie
of *Quinsay*, to the disposition of his wife,
there to haue her best support & defence.
In this extreamity the Queen contained
very manly courage: and caried her selfe
so prouidently, as nothing wanted what-
soeuer, that was iudged necessary for ayd
and defence of the Cittie. For she had
fiftie thousand men of warre, both Inha-
bitants and strangers; and twelue or fif-
teene thousand Diuers, men that could
abide long time vnder water, and pierce
the bottomes of the enemies ships to sink
them in the Riuer. The Cittie was well
furnished with Victuals, and all needfull
Munition, to endure a long siege, impea-
ching (euerie way) the entrance into the
Hauen, by the Sea. Neuerthelesse, the
Queene and the chiefe Commanders
were possessed with ouer-great supersti-
tion, till they heard, that he who main-
tained the siege, was named *Baiam Chinsan*,
that is (as we haue formerly said) the
sight of an hundred eyes. This made both
her and them to tremble with feare, re-
membring both the Father and son: and
also, because it was registred in the books
which were kept in the publick treasure,
that neuer should the Cittie be surprized,
but by a man that had an hundred eyes;
and therefore they resolued to yeelde it,
though it seemed a matter wholly impos-
sible, yea quite against nature, that a man
should haue an hundred eyes. As they
were vpon the point of surrendering the
the

Twelue Cit-
ties subdued
by *Baiam*.

King *Facsur*
leaueth *Quin-*
say, and goeth
to a strong
Island.

The defence
of the Citie
of *Quinsay*.

The Queene
and her peo-
ple too super-
stitious.

The Christians opposed themselves against the reduction of *Quinsay* to the Enemy.

the Citie by composition; the Christians, who had lived in all quietnesse in those Countries; by the meanes of their Bishop *Gaspar*, declared in the full Senate, where the Queen also was present: that no regard was to be made of such Prognostickes, as proceeded from lying Mathematicians, and Generalliaques, to whom if the Mans Name appeared for to have the sight of an hundred eyes; yet notwithstanding, the man himselfe had onely but two, as other men haue, and these were but the illusions of Sathan, the Father of lying. heereupon, some in the Senatehouse alledged many Histories, which happened in their time; to shew how vaine these friuolous predictions were. Neuerthelesse, the Cowardise of diuers, that neuer vnderstood the nature of warre, or what honour attended on bold hardiment, they being of the greatest in authority, and relying on these foolish superstitions; concluded to surrender the Citie. Wherefore, hauing made (by consent of the Queene) an honest capitulation: they suffered the Enemy to enter, that kept faith exactly with them. Whereat *Baiam* was not a little amazed, for hee imagined his strength neuer able to surprize it. *Cublay* being aduertised thereof, caused generall processions to be made, and sollemne sacrifices performed to the Sun; mocking at the superstition of the *Quinsayans*, and admiring the vnmatchable fortune attending on *Baiam*. As for the Queene, she retired her selfe to the Court of the great *Chan*, who received and vsed her very honourably: and concerning the King of *Maugy* her Husband, he continued his abode in the Island, where he ended his daies.

Quinsay yeelded vp to *Baiam* and his power.

The capitall Citie being taken, the lesser yeilded.

These Kingdomes could not haue been conquered in an hundred yeares.

At that instant also, the nine Kingdoms contained in that Prouince, yeilded themselves: except the Citie of *Stanfu*, which out-held the *Tartars* Army three whole yeares. And it had neuer beene taken, but that *M. Paulus*, and his Father and Vnckle (by permission of the *Tartarian* Emperour) made Engines of Wood, which hurled great Stones into the Citie, and did such harme to the so long besieged; as they were constrained to yeilde themselves. Thus you may perceiue, that superstition is the cause of much euill; for

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doubtlesse, if the Queene and the besieged had stil kept *Quinsay*, and the other Cities: an hundred yeares labour could not haue conquered the Kingdomes of *Maugy*.

And heere I would entreat the gentle Readers, not to conceiue amisse of me, for not following the writing of *M. Paulus*, in his description of *Quinsay*, for hee saith: That there is in the midst thereof a lake, which containeth ten miles in circuit, and that the Citie is 34. miles in compasse; and hath sixe hundred thousand Houses in it. I rather thought fit, to follow what I finde written in a Dialogue, made by *Garcias Orta*, a Portugall Phisitian, who saith: That it is not aboue thirty five yeares since he wrote, that it contained not aboue foure or five leagues in compasse, being seated wholly in a Lake, and hath not aboue threescore thousand Houses in it. I know not whether it be diminished, since the said *Venetian* came thence. It valued in reuennewes, fiftene Millions, and sixe hundred thousand Crownes, to the King yearely, in regard of his right (by way of leuey) vpon merchandises; and yet not counting the Toulc side on Salt, and this was but the ninth part of the great Prouince of *Maugy*. At this day, as I heard by a Iesuite of *Chelous* in *Champaigne*, named *Gober*, who told me, that he remained there aboue two yeares: and he saith, that the valuation is much more now at this instant.

What the state of *Quinsay* is in these dayes.

The great Reuenues of *Quinsay* yearly to the King.

A good kinde of superstition to *Augustus Caesar*.

Augustus Caesar made better vse of his superstition, then the men of *Quinsay*, or their Queene did; for, a little before the last battraile, which hee had against his Competitor *Anthony*: as he went from his Land-Army, to that on the Sea, hee met a Sutler or Victualer to the Campe, driuing an Ass laden before him, of whom he demaunded, how hee was called: the Sutler made answer, that his owne name was *Eutchus*, and his Asses *Niconta*: which two Greeke Names signified nothing else, but *Fortunate victorie*. Heereupon, the said *Caesar*, presaged by this encounter, that he should be victorious ouer *Anthony*, who contended for the Empire of the World, and that the Gods had designed it vnto him. On this assurance, he forth-with gaue battell by Sea to *Anthony*.

Anthony, wherein he prevailed, and so (by consequent) got the Empire.

Pompey neuer tooke any thing in good sort, or successfully.

Pompey, quite contrary, through a great distrust, that he could neuer saue himselfe, nor finde any ayde or assured retreat, after he lost the battaile at Pharsalia against Julius Cesar; grounded his folly on this occasion. In his flight, passing by the Isle of Cyprus, to the end hee might breath a while; with-drew into Ægypt. And being entertained (by the Governour) into the City of Paphos, where his lodging was prepared in a Pallace, builded in a very pleasant plot vpon the Sea, he desired to know who builded it, and how it was named. Answer was returned, that the place was called *Cacobasilea*, which is as much to say, as *Bad Harbour*. In regard of which name, it appearing to him to be an euill presage: hee would not enter into it, but passed on farther, and tooke Shipping very suddenly. Being verilie perswaded, that this accident to him at this Pallace, did presage; that he should soone enough meete with a bad lodging to last all his life time. Being landed in Ægypt, to deriue some succour from the King, whose Father he had re-seated in his Kingdome: he caused him to be trayterously slaine, as thinking to doe a great fauour to victorious *Julius Cesar*.

Sylla, by not being superstitious won the battaile.

But *Sylla* did better, who perceiuing his Army ready for to giue battaile to the power of *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*; yet all being out of hart, as holding that the day would be lost, because both the Priests and Soothsayers had obserued, that the like day had been alwaies vnfortunate to the *Romaines*. For it was registred in their Calender, that (as on the very same day) three hundred and sixe Noble Gentlemen, al of the *Fabij*, wer. slaine in the Warre, by secret Ambushes of the *Veientes*, who had long time warred against the, hard by * *Cremera*; and many worthy Captaines beside, had receiued great mischances on the same day. But *Sylla*, who was no way superstitious, encouraged his Army, saying. *Let vs shew our selues so valiant this day, that although it hath beene infortunate heeretofore: yet it may prooue happy to vs.* So, suddenly giuing battaile, they won the day. Some other would not haue done it, but ra-

* A Riuet in Tuscya, where the noble *Fabij* were slain.

The Noble laying of *Sylla*

ther would haue giuen credit to the dissemblings of Wizzards and Sacrificers. But to punish such men, for weakning the courage of Soildjours prepared to fight: some of them haue beene put into the front of the battaile, where they haue beene slaiue, and very few others. In breece, superstition neuer caused any goodnesse; but hath procured many great losses.

CHAP. III.

Of the Order and Knight-hood of the Templers; and how long it continued.



IN the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, ninety six, some Christian Princes (of diuers Nations) made a Congregation, by the counsell of an Hermit named *Peter*, a man of honest and holy life. It was then determined, to goe for the Conquest of the Holy Land, which was in the power of prophane Infidels, who had kept it foure hundred and ninety years. Among the chiefe in this action, was *Godfrey of Buillon*, Duke of *Lorraine*, the most apparant of them all, and he that carried the greatest merit. It pleased God, that after many battailes, which lasted for the space of three yeares: the City of *Ierusalem*, and many other Cities in *Syria* and *Iudea* were conquered, beside diuers other neighbouring Prouinces. Afterward, all the Christian Princes hauing regard to the high deserts of *Godfrey*; elected him King of *Ierusalem*: and *Arnulphus*, Arch-bishop of *Pisa*, was likewise created Patriarch, by Pope *Calixtus* the second.

A congregation of Christian Princes, and the cause.

The Conquest of *Ierusalem* by *Godfrey* of *Buillon*.

Godfrey of Buillon remaining King of *Ierusalem*, there also continued in his company, many great and worthy Christians, who daily made warre vpon the Infidels; as well round about *Ierusalem*, as in other neighbouring Countries. Which being vnderstood by diuers faithful Christians in the westerne parts, and on what tearmes the affaires stood

stood beyond the Seas : great numbers of people went continually thither, some (in meere zeale) to assist Gods seruice, and regaine the vsurped Landes; and others on voyages, to visite the Holy Sepulcher. Now, about a yeare after his Coronation, *Godfrey of Buillon* dyed, and his Brother, named *Baldwine* (a man equall euery way to the others merits) was crowned King in his stead. During whose raigne, among many other that resorted daily thither : were nine Gentlemen, intimate friends and great companions, of whom we finde the names but of two ; who (it may be) were the chiefeft, to wit : *Hugues de Paganis*, and *Gaufrede de Saint Adelman*. These men being come to *Ierusalem*, and hauing well contemplated the Countrey, and all the neighbouring places : they found, that at the Port of *Iapha*, and other places of their passage, there were many busie spies vpon the waies, that daily both robbed and kild Pilgrimes and Passengers. In regard whereof, after good and mature deliberation, they concluded, with the helpe of many more (for it is to be presumed, that they leagued themselues with other people of the saue mind) to make a vow, for doing some seruice acceptable to God, and to imploy their whole life time, in making the waies secure & passable, or else to loose their liues in the enterprife; while the other Christians were busied in other places, fighting with the Infidels. Perseuering in this religious purpose, they tooke (as an assigned place for their retreat) a Church, called, *The Holy Temple*; by permission of the Abbot there abiding: and in that respect, they were cald *Templers*, a name which alwaies after remained to them.

When the King and the Patriarch had intelligence thereof, and perceiued their paines to bee holy and commendable: they administred all thinges necessary vnto them, so that they liued (after this manner) in the Temple, both very religiously and chastly, and (which is more) their number multiplyed, and encreased day by day. Notwithstanding, albeit there were now a great number of them, yet had they neyther habite, or any ruses designed them, but liued together in common; obser-

uing their vow, and so they continued for the space of nine yeares. During which time, for the great seruice they did to Christendome; their credite and renowne highly encreased, beside the meanes of so worthy an example. By reason of their encrease in number, Pope *Honorius* the second, at the request of *Stephen*, Patriarch of *Ierusalem*; deuised a rule and manner of life for them: appointing, that they should be cloathed in white. Afterward, Pope *Eugenius* the third, added a Badge, or Armoury of a red Crosse, to be worne on their breasts: which they promised by a sollemne vow to obserue for euer, according as other religious Knightes did. And therefore they were honored, to haue it brought them by the hand of *Saint Bernard*, a reuerend and holy Doctour, whom they elected as chiefe and first Maister of their Order, according as other religious Knightes had the like obseruation.

In short time after, such was the multiplication of their Order, and honour of their deedes in Armes; as not onely they kept the wayes of the holie voyage, safe from Theeues and Murderers: but also (both by Sea and Land) they made great incursions and strong warres vpon the Infidels. So that their fame and worth spreading it selfe throughout Christendome, the Kinges and Princes (in many partes) ordained and allowed them great Rents and Reuenues, which they imployed in those warres, like true Knightes, attending on the seruice of Iesus Christ. And by successe of time, growi^{ng} on in strength and ability of wealth: in all Countries and Prouinces, they had abiding in the cheefest Citties and strongest places; but most especially in the Holy Land, where ordinarily the great Maister of the Order made his aboad, with the greater number of them; keeping an Army continually there, as also in other places, where most necessity required. It happened afterward, that for the sins of men, discord mooued among the Christians, and the great negligence in Princes: not onely the City of *Ierusalem*, but other places also formerlic conqueied (as we haue before declared) were regained by the Infidels; ninetie yeares after the conquest made by *Godfrey*

The death of *Godfrey of Buillon* & the instaulment of *Baldwine*.

Hugues de Paganis, and *Gaufrede de Saint Adelman*.

How they first attained to the name of *Templers*.

The King and Patriarch, allow their proceeding.

Pope *Honorius* the second instituted the Order of the *Templers*.

S. Bernard was the first Maister of the *Knights Templers*.

The Great Maister of the Order stayed in the Holy Land.

The Knightes
Templers ex-
pelled out of
the holy land.

The Order of
the Templers
destroyed by
Pope Clement
the fifth.

A secret In-
quisition a-
gainst the
Templers.

The offences
where-with
the Templers
were charged

frey of Buillon. All which notwithstanding, this Order of the Knights Templers left not their holy labour: but being expulsed thence, they assembled their forces to other places, performing still worthy deedes of Armes against the enemies to our Faith, and continued sixscore years (after the losse of *Ierusalem*.) preserving that which was left them in the East parts.

In the yeare one thousand, two hundred and ten, or thereabout, the Order of the Templers, which had continued more then two hundred yeares: was vtterly destroyed and ouerthrowne by Pope *Clement* the fifth, who then remained and kept his Court in the City of *Poitiers*, in the Kingdome of *France*: And (as some report) he did it at the request of King *Phillip le Bell*. This happened, either thorough their prosperity, or ouer-great abounding in welth, by meanes whereof they grew to wickednesse, and were the ruine of themselves. Or, it may be, King *Phillip* then reigning, was abused by false reportes made of them: Or peradventure, to get the riches of this Order, he perswaded the Pope to doe such a thing, for there are variable opinions written thereof. Neuerthelesse, it sufficeth to say, that they were condemned, and all their goods confiscated. And to compassse the matter the more easily (because they were growne very powerfull) a secret Inquisition was made against them, true or false: after which, the King tooke such order in all parts of his Kingdome, that vpon a certaine daie, purposely appointed, all the Templers that could be found, were taken, their goods seized, and deliuered into the hands of Iustice, which beeing done, processe proceeded against them, and iudgement executed, according as wee meane to declare.

As concerning the crimes imposed on them, they were these. That their Predecessors were the cause of loosing the holy Land; That they elected their Great Maister in secret; That they vsed wicked superstitions; That they helde some hereticall propositions; That they made their profession before a Statue or Image, cloathed in the skin of a Man; That they dranke the blood of Men; that they had made a secret con-

iuration, by their ayde and assistance, to betray all Christendome to the *Turks*; That they were guilty of the most abominable sin against nature, *Sodomie*; and all these matters directly proued against them. For which causes, processe was directed against their Great Maister, named Fryer *Iaques*, a native of *Bourgougne*, descended of a very worthy House: and consequent (after him) the like proceeding passed against all the other.

Finally, the Popes sentence condemned them all to the fire, and accordingly they were executed, and their goods made confiscate; the greater part whereof, was giuen to the Knightes of Saint *John* of *Ierusalem*, who, about this time, or a little before, had conquered the Isle of *Rhodes* from the Infidels. Another part of their goods was bestowed on other Orders; and a third part (by permission of the Pope, or otherwise) remained in the hands of Princes, who tooke possession thereof, euen so soone as the sentence went out against them. This sentence was published thorough all Christendome, and allowed for good and iust by the Chronicles of *France*; as also by *Platina*, in the life of Pope *Clement* the fifth; likewise by *Raphaell Volateranus*, and *Polidore Virgill*.

Neuerthelesse, there are some that doe maintaine the contrarie, affirming the sentence to be vniust, and giuen vpon false Testimonies, charging King *Philip* principally with the fault, saying; That for desire of their goods, he purchased their destruction: saying moreover, that at the time when they were iusticed, the common people reputed them for Saints and Martyrs, and kept peeces of their Garments as Reliques. Of this latter opinion was Saint *Iaques de Magouce*, *Naclerus*, and *Antonius Sabellicus*, in their Histories; and *John Boccace*, in his Booke of the fall of Princes, affirming, that hee heard it spoken by his owne Father, who was present at the execution of the sentence.

It appeareth also, that Saint *Antonie*, Arch-bishop of *Florence* was of the same minde, and reciteth the case as it happened, in manner following. Pope *Clement* (saith he) and his *Romain* Court being in *France*, whereas then he made his abiding, seeing himselfe much prouo-

Iaques great
Maister of the
Templers first
arrested.

The Knightes
of *S. Iohn* of
Ierusalem had
part of the
Templers
goods.

Some authors
against the
Popes sen-
tence.

S. Anton. in 3.
par. de Histor.
How he re-
porteth the
History.

prouoked by *Philip King of France*, to keepe his promise made him, when he created him chiefe Bishop; which was, to condemne *Pope Boniface*, and cause his bones to bee burned; and the Pope deferring to doe it, because it seemed difficult to effect: It fortun'd, that a Knight of the Templers Order, a Priour in one of the Commanderies, named *Monfaucou*, in the City of *Toulouse*, was taken and brought as Prisoner to *Paris*, by appointment of the great Maister; in regard of some crimes by him committed, and (as some doe testifie) for Heresie. At the same time, another Natiue of *Florence*, and Knight of the same Order, was sent to the same Prison, by commaund of the Great Maister, for many other foule delictes. These two together, knowing that their misdemeanor had bene such, as admitted no hope of their deliuerie: concluded, to free themselues from imprisonment, and to be spleenefullie & maliciously reuenged on their Great Maisters, accusing their Religion, and charging the with such crimes as haue formerly bene spoken off. To effect it the better, they called some other to counsell, and practised with the Kinges Officers, accusing the Great Maister and the other Knightes, that they were worthy of death, and vtter destruction of their Order. Affirming also, that the King, beeing a Man good and iust, ought to labour it, considering the great benefit that thereby would redound vnto him, in confiscation of so many goodly houses. This being reuealed to the King, he quickly lent an eare thereto, and gaue order, for more ample conference with both the Prisoners. Afterward, he made it speedily knowne to the Pope; declaring, that such an Order deserued vtter spoile and ruine.

The Pope, after he had heard the Prisoners, or the relation made to him by others; or rather, to free himselfe from the Kinges importunity, against *Pope Boniface*: without vsing any more sufficient inquisition, or processe against them, but onely ied by these informations: wrote secretly thorow all Christendome, that a certaine day should bee appointed for the Knightes Templers, to apprehend their bodies, and

seaze all their goods. On the same date as these Letters were expediated, the Great Maister (who then made his residence in *Paris*) was taken, with threescore Knights of the chiefest, and after proofe made, beeing brought to confronting: they stoutly denyed, and with great boldnesse, that euer they committed any such offences, no, not so much as in thought, but liued as good and faithfull Christians ought to doe. Neuerthelesse, the processe was concluded against them, and all the threescore persons (except the Great Maister, and foure other, who were reserued till another time) were drawne forth of *Paris*, and brought vpon a scaffold purposely prouided, where (before all the people) they were each after other throwne into a fire, to the ende, that if any one had confessed the offences, or any part of them, his life might haue bene saued. But although they were exhorted by their Kured and Friendes, to confesse the faultes, albeit they were not guiltie, onely to saue their liues: yet did they still make denyall, calling God and the Virgine *Marie* to witnesse their innocency, and were all burned, without confessing any thing.

This being done, the Great Maister, with one named *F. Danfin*, and one *F. Hugues*, and some others that had been Officers in the Kinges Court, were brought before the Emperour and the Pope (by whom great promises were made vnto them, if they would confesse the crimes where-with they were charged. By meanes of such importunity, they confessed some part of them, and other thinges beside: but after that they had made this confession, they were led away to punishment, where their processe was publickly read, and the sentence ratified, whereby the Pope had condemned the Great Maister, and all the rest of his Order. While thus they proceeded, the great Maister started vp on his feet, saying, that they ought to heare him; adding further, that he had iustly deserued death, by so many offences which he committed against God. Notwithstanding, the crimes where-with both he & the Knightes were burdened in the Processe; both he and they were innocent

One day generally appointed or destruction of the Templers

Execution began at the city of Paris on the Knights Templers.

The crimes confessed by the Great Maister and others.

Two Knights Templers imprisoned in Paris.

King Philip made acquainted with the businesse, reuealeth it to the Pope.

F. Hugues and others by confession of their facts, saved their liues.

The Authors Conclusion.

cent of them; and whatsoeuer he had confessed: he did it in feare, and at the Popes perswasion, speaking now nothing else but truth. The like saide *F. Danzin*, and thinking to proceede on in more speeches; they were exposed to the fire, and burned. But *F. Hugues*, and his companions, saved their liues by confessing their guiltinesse, according as it was objected against them in the processe: yet liued they not long after, but dyed (as is reported) miserably, as likewise the two imprisoned Knights did, who were their first accusers; the one, being saide to be hanged or strangled, and the other slaine, which seemed to the people as a great worke of God. In regard whereof, diuers great personages, and of good knowledge, were partly perswaded, that the sentence was vniustly given, and ill executed vpon the Templers. All these things are thus alleadged by *S. Anthony*, in the place fore-named, beside the other Authors. Wherefore, I stand doubtfull how to resolue herein, because it is hardly to be credited, that the Pope would faile in a case of such importance. On the other side, it seemeth as incredible, that such an Order, wherein were so many and great diuersitie of Knights; would wholly bee so wicked. But this secret, and many other, must be referred to the day, when the faults of all men will truely be reuealed.

CHAP. III.

By what meanes the Holie Apostolicall Chaire or Seate, was transferred into France: How long it continued there; And how it returned to Rome againe.

Seeing wee haue declared the History of the Knights Templers, me thinks it fiteth well our purpose (in this next place) to make some mention: for what cause, in the time of the very same Pope *Clement* the fift, the Holy Chaire Apostolique was transported into

France. It is then to be vnderstood, that Pope *Bennet*, or *Benedict*, eleuenth of that name, being dead, who was an excellent and holy Byshop, and whose body was saide to worke miracles after his death: the Romaine Church was thirteene months without a Chiefe Bishop, by reason of the Schisme and discord among the Cardinals Electours, who (during this time) neuer came forth of the Conclauē, and yet could not agree vpon any election. For there was growne two factions or contentions among them; one side holding voice for the *French* Nation; and therefore they laboured to elect a man, that might agree with the appetite of their King. The other faction consisted of *Italian* Cardinals, that stroue to haue a Pope of their nation, and because both partes were equall in power and number; they continued in this long suspense, yet neither of them reaching to their intention.

When the *French* Cardinals perceived this impertinent losse of time, they be-thought themselves of a subtiltie, whereby they might beguile and ouerreach the other. For, they would make a party for them; to wit, they would name three *Italians*; one of which three, should be chosen by the *Italians* to be Pope. If they would not agree on that partie; then themselves should name three *French-men*, such as they had best opinion of, and one of them should be elected by the *French*, with their liking. The *Italians* (thinking the matter firmly in their power, purposed to nominate three *French* men, great Enemies to their owne Crowne, and that the meanest of them should be elected Pope) accepted the part of nomination, and gaue in the names of threemen, who were mightie Enemies to their King. For the King was then but slenderly esteemed by the Romaine Church, in regard of the great difference, that had beene betwene him and Pope *Boniface*, Predecessour to *Bennet* the eleuenth, and one of the 3. was the Arch-Bishop of *Bordeaux*, named *Bertrand*. The *French* Cardinals aduertised their King of this nomination, to the end; that he might compasse the meanes to reconcile himselfe with the other two, which beeing done, to let them haue know-

The death of Pope *Bennet*, the eleuenth, & the schisme then in the Church.

Two Factions among the Cardinall Electors.

A *French* subtilty to deceiue the *Italians* in election of the Pope

The *Italians* accepted the nomination of three *French-men*.

The King desired kinde conference with the Arch bishop of Bourdeaux.

knowledge thereof with all possible speede.

Heereupon, the King wrote a verie kind Letter, entreating the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, to meet him immediatly at a certaine place, about a matter of great importance, & highly concerning his honor and profit: assuring him, that he was very desirous to hold loue and friendship with him. The Arch-bishop (vpon this gracious motion) made no delay, but came presently to the place appointed by the King, where being met together: The King plainly told him, that he would make him Pope, vnder condition of promises to be passed between them. Which when the Arch-bishop heard, he made no difficulty of promising what the King should desire, provided, that he might attaine to so high a dignity. Finally, by meanes of many promises, signed, sealed, and solemnly sworne between them; the King gaue him his royal word, that he should bee elected, before the other two likewise named. Then, with the greatest diligence that possibly could be made, he wrote back to the Cardinals, who fauored and made good his cause: that they should nominate the Arch-bishop of Bourdeaux. So that, although he was then absent, hee was elected the Soueraigne Byshop, in the year of our Lord (according to Platina) 1205. and was named Clement the first. And he hauing intelligence of his election, at the instance and request of the King: went to the City of Lyons, whether hee caused the Cardinals, and the whole Court of Rome to come; for it was one of the promises which hee had made to the King. By meanes whereof, the Italian Cardinals found themselues deceiued, and constrained (greatly against their will) to come into France, to satisfie the pleasure of the Pope.

Platina would be perused, for according this preface of time, with that in the precedent Chapter.

Thus came the Court of Rome into France, where it stayed and continued with great honor; but to the endamage-ment of all Italy. And in this Cittie was performed, the sacring and crowning of Pope Clement the first, with no meane solemnity. But as they were in this serious business, and the whole World (as it were) attentue and beholding the ceremonies, a great part of a wal in the place where the royalty was performed,

fell suddethly downe, and killed about a thousand men, among whom dyed the Duke of Bretaine, & diuers other worthy persons. And it happened in such manner, that the huge crowd of people, which thronged (for their owne safety) from the place of this mishap: overthrew the Pope from his Horie, where he was in great danger of his life. The King also was in meruailous great perplexity, being carried out of the crowd, sore wounded and trampled vpon. This businessse being somewhat more quietly over-blowne; the Pope created many new Cardinals, who were all on the part of France. He sent also three Cardinals to Rome, to gouernè there the State of the Church for Italy; hee determining to dye in France, where hee held the Seat eight yeares and cleauen months.

After him succeeded Pope Iohn, the three and twentieth of that name, who liued likewise in France, bringing his Court to Auignon, a part of Prouence: which was saide to appertaine to the Church; because it had benee bought (as diuers doe maintaine) by Pope Clement the first, of Madame Ioane, Queene of Naples, and of Prouence. There were sixe Popes, which liued and dyed there each after other; the seat remaining there the space of threescore yeares: whereby some Italians tooke occasion, to name it the transmigration of Babylon, and so it continued to the time of Gregorie the cleauenth, a learned Man, & of holy life, in whose gouernment this exile ceased, and the Seat was restored backe againe in this manner.

Vpon a time, as a Byshop of his Court passed by before him, the Pope demaunded of him; wherefore hee went not to the gouernment of his owne Byshoppricke; for it was not conuenient, to see a Flocke without a Shepheard? whereto the Bishop made this answer. Holy Father, why do you vse these speeches to me? Considering, that your selfe, who ought to giue vs example: doe not goe to abide at your owne Byshoppricke, which hath benee so long time without a Shepheard.

These words did not a little moue the Pope, knowing well, what mischiefes

A thousand men & more slain accidentally at the Popes consecration.

The King and Pope in perill of their liues.

Pope Iohn 23. Successour to Clement, translated his seat to Auignon.

The Transmigration of Babylon.

The manner of the Chairs reduction to Rome.

The Pope prepared 27 Gallies for his returne to Rome

had happened in *Italy*, in the absence of the Prelacy: and therefore he determined to returne to *Rome*, being thereto also incited (as some write) by Letters and admonitions from *S. Katherine of Sienna*. And for his better attaining thereto, he caused secretly to be prepared one and twenty Gallies: pretending to vse them about some other busines, and bringing them on the River of *Rosne*, furnished with all things necessary belonging to them. Going aboard at an appointed time, they launched forth into the Sea, and within few daies after arrived at *Genes*, and from *Genes*, at *Cornetta*: where taking Land, they went directly to *Rome*, in the year 1364. where he was received with great magnificence, and vnspeakable pleasures, as a Father earnestly desired by his Children. Soone after, like a good Pastour, he re-edified Churches and Buildings in *Rome*, which were falne into ruine by age and negligence of men. In which workes, and other holy exercises, hee spent the remainder of his life; which he finished in the yeare, one thousand three hundred, sixty and eight, and was buried with as many moanes and tears, as any other that died before him. But after his death, neither Schismes, or any other discordes happening in the Church; could cause his Successours to forsake their continuall abiding at *Rome*.

The death of Gregory, eleuenth Byshop of that name.

The Authours for affirmation of these things, are *Platina*, and *Martine* in the liues of the Popes: *Sabellius*, *Volateranus*, *Antoninus*, and *Naclerus*, in their Histories: Beside diuers other of latter daies, who haue Commented vpon their paines, and enlarged this discourse in more ample manner, then this little roome would admit their labour; but for truth and certainty, enough is contained in this breuity.

CHAP. V.

How dangerous a thing it is, to Murmure against Princes: With praise and commendation of their clemency.



T hath beene a saying of great Antiquity, and deriued out of our Elders graue Prouerbes. That Kinges haue verie long Armes, and as wide

Eares. Inferring thereby, that Kinges and mightie men, may (a farre off) be reuenged on such as offend them, and vnderstand likewise, whatsoeuer is spoken in secret of them: for there are so many, that contend for affection in such as beare command, as nothing can well be hidden from them. For this cause was it, that wise men aduised; To speak nothing of the King in secret, because (in such cases) meere wals are said both to heare and speake. And *Plutarch* saith; The Birdes can carry our wordes through the Ayre. If then, for speaking truelie and freely, men haue falne into great dangers: what shall we iudge of such as dare murmure against the mightie? Examples which might be alleaged in this case, are infinite. Among which, we read in the Histories, both Greeke and Latine, that *Antigonus*, one of the Captaines and Successors to *Alexander* the Great, his Arnie being in the field, and he couched in his Pauillion one night: heard some of his Souldiours talking without, murmuring greatly against him, not thinking that he was so neere to heare them. Neuerthelesse, he would make no shew thereof, but altring his voyce (as if it had been some other that heard them) saide softly to them: That if they meant to vse such language, they should get them further off from the Kinges Tent, or else himselfe might hap to heare them.

The great power of Princes.

Care of the tongue.

Of Antigonus the Captaine to Great Alexander.

Another notable example of the same Antigonus.

At another time, the same King *Antigonus*, guiding his Army (in the night time) through a way which was verie foule and dirty, the men finding themselves to be much wearied: murmured against him as they went along; speaking very bad words of him, imagining him to be far behind, & heard nothing. Notwithstanding, he being present in disguise among the, hauing heard their iniurious and discontented speeches, & perceiuing what a priuledge the darke night allowed him: hee fell stoutly to work among the rest, laboring (so much as lay in him) to releene them thence, And

And when his intent was compassed, he came among the Murmurers, that had well observed his paines, and wrought the harder with him for company: to who he said in like change of his voice. *Speak against the King what you please, for bringing ye into such a filthy passage. But yet I hold it fit and reasonable, that you should make much of me, for helping yee so quickly to be released out of it.*

Of Pyrrhus K. of Epire, warring in Italy.

The patience of Pyrrhus, King of the Epire, may well be said to be no lesse. For when he made war in Italy against the Romaines, he and his men being lodged in the City of Tarentum: there were some of his younger Souldiours, who, after they had supped together, began to talke murmurously of him at the Table. He having intelligence thereof, sent for them before him, and demanded whether it were true or no, that they had delivered such language of him: whereunto, one of them boldlie thus replied. *Sir, most true it is, that all these speeces which wee have used of you, and be you well assured, that if wine had not fall'd vs at the Table, our tongues had walk'd much more liberally.* Heereby hee stroue to shew (in his own excuse) that wine had induced them to speake euill of him. Pyrrhus was no way displeas'd with this answer, but falling into a pleasant laughter, sent them backe to their lodgings, without any other checke or punishment.

Of Tiberius, Emperor of Rome.

The Emperor Tiberius, although he was a cruell Tyrant; yet among other things, and fit for this purpose, he left a very memorable example. For, knowing that some body had made a diffamatory Libell against him, and that many people murmured at his cruelties: hee was perswaded by some, to do Iustice and correction vpon the offender. But he answered couragiously; *That Mens tongues ought to be free in the Citty.* Being yet further incited by some of the Senate, to find out (by enquiry) the inuenter of the Libell: hee would (by no meanes) yeilde thereto, but said. *He was not void of other businesse, which required more due care; then such idle matter as a vaine Libell.* The great mildnesse of Dyonisius, the Tyrant of Sicily (albeit hee was most cruell) to an aged Woman, may not be forgotten. For he being aduertised, that this old Woman prayed

Of Dyonisius the Tyrant of Sicily.

deuoutly to the Gods, for continuance of his prosperity; sent to seek for her, & caused her to bee brought before him. Then he demaunded of her, for what cause shee prayed so earnestly for him; considering, that al the rest of the people desired his death? Whereunto the aged woman made this answer. *Know Sir, that when I was young, we had here in this Country a most cruell Tyrant, of a stern nature and wicked complexion: wherefore, I prayed to the Gods deuoutly for his death, and I found my desire to be accomplished. Next to that man succeeded another, who tyrannized in the kingdome much more cruellly then the first; and I prayed in like manner for his death. So that by continuall prayers and requests, made with such instancy to the Gods: as they heard me for the first, so did they for the second, because soone after his death ensued. In his place now art thou come, a more bloody man then both the other; and because I feare, that after thee another will come, worse then all the three: I pray continually to the Gods, that they would send thee long life and happinesse.* This free and audacious answer of the old Woman, vrged no indignation or displeasure in him, who disdain'd all others that durst reprove him: but he suffered her to depart freely and pleasantly.

The old Woman's answer to the Tyrant

Plato, the Prince of Philosophers, who had long time continued with this Tyrant Dyonisius; craved fauour of him, that he might returne to Athens, & his suite was granted him. But at his departing thence, Dyonisius demanded of him, what report he would make of him at Athens, in the Academy of so many famous Philosophers: whereunto Plato (boldly) thus replied. *I They that liue in Athens, are not so idle, neither can they find so much leysure, as to question of thee or thy actions.* I remember two other aged women, that (with no lesse libertie of soule) spake to their Kinges, and both were patiently endured: the one was of Macedon, and spake to Demetrius, Son to King Antigonus, before named: the other was a Romaine, & vttered her mind to the Emp. Adrian. For both of them had the like kind of answer, when they required to haue Iustice done them: Demetrius & Adrian both replying, that they could not intend them. The Women made answer; *That if they had no leysure to intend them, they should leaue the*

Of graue Plato, the Prince of Philosophers.

Of two aged women, the one a Macedonian, the other a Romaine.

Empire to such as could do it. Neuertheless, neither of the Princes were offended with their words, but patiently admitted audience, and granted them Iustice.

Of Philip King of Macedon, & the Athenian Ambassadors.

Phillip, K. of Macedon, bidding Adieu to the Ambassadors of the Athenians, and making them goodly offers, as (in like cases) it had been a long continued custome; demaunded of them: If he should doe any thing else for them? Whereunto one of the Ambassadors, named Democrates (who well knew, that King Phillip greatly hated the Athenians) being not able to conceale his fury, answered: *Wee would haue thee to hang thy selfe by the necke.* At this answer; all his companions were much displeas'd, as also all the rest in presence, doubting least the King would doe some harme vnto them. But in his wonted naturall clemency (or dissembling his spleene) he made no other semblance, but turning himselfe to the other Ambassadors, said: *You may say to the Athenians, that he that can endure such wordes, is much more modest then the wise Men of Athens, that haue not discretio to be silent.*

Another example concerning the same Macedonian K.

Demorates the Cornician, went to see this King Phillip, at such time as he was highly offended with his Queene, and his Sonne Alexander. Among other speeches passing betweene them, King Phillip asked of him; If he had peace and vnitie with the Citties of Greece? Demorates, who knew very well, that the King took delight to see his Commonweales in discord; made answer, and truly (in my iudgement) very freelie, considering how it behooued him to answer such a Prince. *Truely King (quoth he) because thou art at discord in thine owne house, thou enquirest after the dissensions of our Citties: But if thou wert at peace with thine owne, it would appeare more commendable in thee, then to seek after the afflictions of others.* And yet notwithstanding, the King was not moued a jot heereat; but considered, that hee iustly deserved to be taxed, & therefore became friends with his wife and Son. As concerning the freedome and boldnesse; where with Diogenes spake to Alexander, and with what royall modesty hee endured it; is ample mention made of in the Chapter of the life of Diogenes.

Of Alexander and Diogenes.

But if we would haue some examples among Christians, that of Pope Sixtus the fourth, a religious man of the order of S. Frances, may well fit the purpose. He hauing attained to the Papacy, one of his religious Brethren, a very ancient man, went to see him in his Cordelier habit. To whom the Pope hauing shewn some Jewels and precious Stones, which were very rich; he saide withall. *I cannot now say as sometime S. Peter did, I haue neither Gold or Siluer, it is true (answered the Fryer boldly) nor can you say (as he did) to the palse, lame, and impotent people, Arise and walk.* Giuing him hereby to vnderstand, that the chiefe Bishops were now become more carefull of Riches, then of holinesse: and the Pope, who knew very well; that his poore Brother had reason to speake it, endured his words patiently.

Of Pope Sixtus the fourth, and a Gray Fryer.

X. ...

Of the Archbishop of Colongne, and a poore Husband-man.

It happened (well neere) in the same manner, to an Archbishop of Colongne, conferring with a Husband-man in the fields. For, as the poore man was at his labour in the field, the Arch-Bishop chanced to passe by some what neere him, hauing a Guard of men waiting on him, after the order in Germany. As the Arch-bishop went by, the poore Country-man laughed somewhat loudly; which being perceiued, the Arch-bishop demanded, what moued him to laugh? Whereto the Husband-man presently answered. *I laugh (quoth he) at S. Peter, who is tearmed the Prince of Prelates, that hee should liue and dye in so great pouerty, and his Successours to bee so rich.* The Arch-bishop feeling himselfe somewhat toucht; to iustifie himselfe, thus replied. *My friend, I go with this fair traine of attendants, because I am a Duke, as wel as an Archbishop.* Which when the Husbandman heard, he laughed more extreamely then he did before; and the occasion being requested of this great laughter, the Country man spake verie boldly. *I would (quoth he) my Lord gladly haue you tell me, that if the Duke (which you name your selfe to be) were in hell; wher do you think the Arch-bishop should be?* In-ferring heereby, that two professions can neuer agree in one man: for, sinning in the one, he cannot iustifie himselfe by the other. At this answer, the Arch-bishop holding downe his head, not making any reply, or offering any displea-

Two professions hardly agree in one man.

Of Artaxerxes the King of Persia, and his Captaine Achides.

displeasure or iniury to the poore man, in a strange confusion, rode on his iourney.

To speak of Gentiles. Artaxerxes King of Persia, had knowledge giuen him, that a Captaine, named Achides, whom he had brought vp frō his youth, Mured greatly against him. For which offence, he gaue him no other chastisement, but sent him word by the same man that brought the accusation: Tell him (quoth Artaxerxes) that he may speak what hee pleaseth of his King; because his King may as well talke of him, and doe also what he listeth to him.

Of K. Phillip and Nicanor.

Phillip, the Father of Alexander, hearing that Nicanor spake euil of him publicly, was counsell'd by some, to send forth an especiall processe for him. To whom he answered. Nicanor is not the worst Man in my Kingdome; but I would faine know if he stand in need of any thing, for it may bee, that this necessity requireth our assistance. Presently he vnderstood, that Nicanor suffered great pouerty, and therefore, in stead of punishing his reprochful words; he sent him a rich present. Which being receiued, he that formerly had accused him, came and reported to the King: That Nicanor went vp and down the streets, speaking most honorably of the King. Why then (quoth the King to Simicrus, for so was the tell-tale named) I see that it is in mine owne power, to make men speak well or ill of me.

Of a rayler & deprauer of his Prince.

This Phillip was once more aduised, to banish out of all his Countries; a bad tongued man, one that did very much scandalize him; whereto he answered. In any case I wil not yeild to his banishment; for seeing he can slander a Man in his owne Country: I will not haue him doe as much in other strange places. Giuing hereby to vnderstand, that whatsoeuer hee did in clemency and magnanimity, proceeded from a Princes good aduise and discretion. He saide moreover, that hee was much bound in thankfulnessse, to the Gouernours and principall men of Athens. Because (quoth he) by the means of their continuall euill, speaking of mee and mine actions: to make them lyers; I may the more commodiously amend & correct mine owne bad gouernement.

Of the Gouernours of Athens.

A memorable example in a Prince.

He would neuer punnish any, that spake euill of him; but rather strouē to take away the occasion of any such de-

faming. If such rules might be in these daies obserued, they would bee two waies very beneficiall to vs: The one, in amendment of our bad liues; the other, that there would not be such store of depraues. For truly, it is a great vertue, to make no account of euil spoken in our absence: But yet there is much greater temperance, when wee are not moued or iniuriously prouoked, at offences vrged in our presence.

CHAP. VI.

That Imagination is one of the most principall inward powers, approued by true examples, and very notable Histories.

20



Ike as the exterior sences are five in number, as is generally well knowne to all men (to wit; Hearing, Seeing, Tasting, Feeling, and Smelling:) So are there likewise five inward sences and powers in man. Now, albei some doe reduce them to foure; yet the first is vulgar and common opinion, as namely: The sence common, Imagination (whereof wee are now to speake) Iudgement, Fantasie, and Memorie. Concerning the office and vertue of these seuerall sences, we purpose not to discourse at this time: but our intent only is of Imagination, the charge and property whereof, is; to retaine the Images and figures, which the common sence receiveth first from the outward sence, and afterward she sends them to Iudgement, from whence they proceed on to the Fantasie, and thence are conuayed into the Coffer, commonly called Memory. Imagination hath power to change it selfe, by the representation of thinges, although they bee no more presented: which the sence common cannot doe, except shee haue them in presence; wherein is demonstrated the greatnesse, and wonderfull power of Imagination! For we plainly perceiue, that a man being asleepe; and his sences at rest: yet his Imagination ceaseth not from labour; but still representeth all thinges, euen as if they were personallie present, and the man wide waking.

Five sences inward, as well as outward.

The admirable power of Imagination.

The strange
and violent
effects of Imagination.

Imagination is able to moue the passions and affections of the Soule, and it can (diuersly) prouoke the body, alter accidents, turning the Spirits topsyturuy, and the in-side outward, producing likewise diuers qualities in the members. Imagination can make a man sick or sound, and worke many other admirable effects. When Imagination conceiueth any matter delightfull; ioy brings the Spirits outward: But if it be of feare or terror, then they fly inward; because that the motion or concept of ioy, entranceth the hart, and sadnesse or sorrow shuts it vp in restraint. The imagination of feare begetteth coldnesse, makes the heart to tremble, expulseth heat, and causeth a kind of quiuering in speech. Merely being caused and incited by Imagination, in seeing the sufferings of some other body: doth (oftentimes) much more moue and change the party so conceited, then the patient himselfe. As may evidently bee noted in some, that will quickly sworne or fall into a trance; by beholding another person let blood, or his wounds handled and drest by the Chirurgion; yea, & in more violent manner, then the party that endureth the paine. Strong Imagination hath moreouer the vertue, to make a transmutatiō of things, though they be true when we behold them: as when we heare or see a man eate such things as are sharp or eager, it makes vs presently to feele a strange eagernes in the mouth. And contrariwise, beholding sweet and saury things eaten; the very sight and apprehension thereof, sendeth the like sweet Imagination into the mouth, euen as in bitter things it hath the like working.

The power of
compassion
caused by
Imagination.

The vertue of
strong Imagination.

Examples of
strange In-
maginations.
*August. in lib. 4
de Ciuit. Dei.*

Of hearing a
sad or mourn-
full sound.

If we would haue examples of strange Imaginations; we may easily heare many. Saint *Augustine* saith, he knew a Man, that at all times when himself pleased, would sweate very abundantlic, exciting the expulsiue vertue by meere Imagination. He declareth also in the same Booke, that another man whom he knew, when he heard a mournfull song, or dolorous sounding voyce, or of one weeping or sobbing: he would apprehend the same with so strange an Imagination, as hee fell downe in a swoune, lying stone-still without any feeling. And whatsoeuer men did vnto

him, pricking him with pinnes, or burning his fingers; yet he appeared not to feele any thing. Neuerthelesse, hee would reuiue, and come to himselfe againe, when some ioyfull or pleasing sound came neere him, euen as if hee heard it a great way off. *Pliny* reporteth (well-neere) the very same, of a Man named *Hermotimus*, who when he conceiued an Imagination: he seemed so strangely transported, as if the Spirit were gone out of his body, and when he returned to his former condition, he would report what wonders hee had seene. *Monsieur Guillaume de Paris* saith, he knew a man, who onely by seeing a Phisition, without tasting any dram or Potion: yet such was the violence of his Imagination, that he would fall to putging, as if he had ministred Phisicke to him. It fareth in like case with such as are subiect to dreaming; for, let vs admit, that it is Imagination which worketh heerein: yet it hath manifestly bin knowne, that in dreaming they haue beene burned, or killed; they haue felt pain and torment, though neither weapon or fire touched them, & they haue declared it by loud shrikes and cries.

Imagination hath such a powerfull Soueraignty, in the inward apprehensiu parts: that it imprinteth in it selfe the lively figure of imagined things, and then setteth them on worke in the blood; yea, this a matter of such power, as it extendeth it selfe to the members of a second person. As we may discern in a Woman great with Child, who, only through the preheminnence of Imagination, which she fastens on some food whereof she desireth to eate; imprinteth on the Infant in her womb diuers strange signes or Markes; yea, sometimes it extendeth to the death both of Child and Mother. It hapneth sometimes, that he which is bitten by a mad Dog; by his neere imagination conceiued of the Dog, hath the figure of a Dog imprinted in his Vrine. To this purpose, it is recorded by some Authours, that a King, named *Cyphus*, hauing (with great attention) noted a fight betweene two Bulles, falling (on a day afterward) into a very sound sleepe: the same Imagination presented it selfe before his thoughts. But when he awaked, he found the young
Hornes

Plin. in lib. 9.

Of meere seeing a Phisition

Of Dreaming

The impressi-
on of imagi-
ned things.

Of byting by
a mad Dog.

Of a fight be-
twene two
Buls.

Of the imaginatiue Vertue on the bodies of second or third persons.

What power Imagination worketh on Infants.

Auicenne concerning Imagination.

Thomas Aquinas in lib. 7. de Sen. cont. Gent.

Of Jaques Orosius taken prisoner.

Hornes of a Bull growing vpon his head. If this were true, it proceeded from this cause; that the Vegetatiue Vertue, giuing aide and impulsion to the imagination: it raised such Humors in the head, as were apt to engender and bring forth hornes. According to this which we haue declared, the imaginatiue Vertue hath such Dominion, ouer the bodies of second and third persons; that *Marcus Damascenus* reporteth, that on the Confines of *Pisa* in *Elis*, in a place named *Saint Peter*, a Woman was brought to bed of a sauage child, hauing the skin in forme and semblance like vnto a Camels, which happened in this manner; by reason that at the instant of this childs conception, the Mother (ouer earnestly) contemplated the picture of *Saint John Baptist*, which hung on the Wall in the Chamber. And therefore, as we haue formerly spoken of Infants, that imagination hath such powerfull preheminance, as it can cause Children to resemble persons, imagined by the Fathers and Mothers.

Auicenne is of the minde, that imagination may bee so strong, as (when it listeth) it will take and benumb a man in his members, prostrating him on the ground, and tormenting him with the paines of madness. Moreouer, saith he, the charming or enchaunting which is made by the eie, passeth ouer from one person to another, by imagination of him that worketh the Sorcerie. Likewise *Thomas Aquinas*, speaking after *Auicenne* saith, *What is that which can most subuert the body it selfe, either the melancholy imagination, or the most pleasing? answereth; The violence of the one and the other. For, it chaaseth all the spirits outward, and leaueth a man (as it were) linelesse. The other locketh them vp so strongly within, as it groweth to a violent suffocation.* It was well obserued in *Seuil*, that *Jaques Orosius* (who was surprized as prisoner by the Catholick king) apprehended so strong an imagination of feare, as in one night onely, hee became white and aged, being the day before verie blacke and youthfull. Again, it hath oftentimes bene noted; that imagination hath made men to become Fooles: And other-whiles so extremely sick, that the power of imagination can neuer be sufficiently admired.

CHAP. VII.

Of what Countrey Pilate was: How hee died: Of the Lake named *Pilates Lake*, and the property thereof. As also of the Den or Cauerne in *Dalmatia*.



Pilate the most Wicked and sinfull Iudge that euer was, or shall bee, according to the most and common opinion, was a Natiue of *Lyons*

in *France*. Neuertheless, some of that Nation, who take the matter scarce pleasing, do say, that the name *Pontius* came from an house in *Italy*, and from *Pontius Iuuenus*, Captaine of the *Samnites*, who vanquished the *Romaines* at the *Caudine Fourca*. But bee it howsoeuer, this *Pilate*, either whether it were in respect of his person, or for his parentage, became one of the most eminent men in *Rome*. And being well knowne by *Tiberius*, the successor to *Octavianus* (according to *Iosephus* and *Eusebius*) he was sent by him, in the twelfth yeare of his Empire, to gouerne *Ierusalem*, and named himselfe in his dignitie, Deputie of the Empire. In this manner then did *Pilate* gouerne the Holie Cittie, and the whole Prouince of *Iudea*, which was named *Palestine*, and his Office endured the space of ten years. In the seauenth whereof (which was the eighteenth of *Tiberius* his Empire, according to *Eusebius*, and venerable *Beda*) he gaue sentence of death, against the Saviour & Redeemer of all mankind, our Lord *Iesus Christ*, God and man. At which time happened those things, which the holie Euangelists declared of his death & passion, and his resurrection was eident & publicke in *Ierusalem*, albeit they greatly laboured to conceale it. Which being reported to *Pilate* (although hee was wicked) hee conceived, that such a resurrection and myrales of *Christ*, could not be done by any human power, but by God. In regard whereof (according as it is recited by *Paulus Orosius*, *Eusebius* & *Tertullian* in his Apologies) hee aduertised the

Pontius Iuuenus Captaine of the *Samnites*.

Ioseph in lib. de Antiqu. 2. *Euseb.* in lib. 1. de Hist. Eccles.

Euseb. in lib. 1. de Temp. *Beda* in Lib. de Temp.

Paulus Orosius. *Euseb.* Lib. 1. *Tertulian* in Apol.

the Emperor *Tiberius* in the matter: for it was a custome, that the Consules and Pro-consuls should send to the Emperor or Senate, to acquaint them with such occasions as happened in their Prouinces.

Pilate writeth to Tiberius, concerning Christ & his Myrales.

These meanes appeared verie meruailous to the Emperor, and he referd them to the Senate in Counsell, there to consult, whether they thought it fit, or no, that this Prophet by his memorable actions, should be honoured as a God. For without authoritie of the Senate, they could cause no new God to bee adored in Rome, ouer and beside the vanitie of their owne ydle Gods. But as the Godhead had not any neede, neither would confirme it self by the probation of men only: euen so God permitted, that the Senatours should not agree vpon anie thing, but rather (as some Authors say) they were greatly discontented, that *Pilate* had not written as well to them, as he did to the Emperour *Tiberius*. Notwithstanding, *Tiberius* prohibited the persecution of the Christians. After these occasions thus happening, *Pilate* made his abiding at *Rome*, and being confirmed by the Deuill for his faithfull seruant; he neuer did any thing afterward in his Office, but such things as were most vniust and wicked. Whereof being accused before *Caius Caligula*, the successor of *Tiberius*, as also because hee had prophaned the Temples, placing Statues & Images therein; and somtime had stolne monies out of the common Treasurie, beside other great crimes and vile actions: he was banished thence to the Cittie of *Lyons*; others say, to *Vienna* in *Dauphine*. And because this was the assigned place of his exile, some haue thought it also to be the place of his birth, where hee found such entertainment and welcome, that he slue himselfe with his own hands; which questionlesse could not happen, but by Gods diuine permission, and that his life should not be taken away, but by the most wicked man in the whole world, and that was himselfe.

Persecution of the Christians prohibited by *Tiberius*.

Pilate accused before the Emperor.

Pontius Pilate his own murderer.

Venerab. Beda in *Lib. de Temp. & in Hist. Eccl. sup. Act. Apo.*

They that haue written heereof, are the fore-alleged Authors, and *Beda* in his Booke of Times, and likewise in his Ecclesiastical History on the Acts of the Apostles. *Eusebius* farther saith, that his death hapned eight yeares after our blessed Sauiours suffering: from whence this

wicked *Pilate* could not deriue any benefit, because he died desperately. For so great is the goodnesse of God, that although he condemned his innocent Son to death; yet if hee had repented him of his sin, euen he whom he had adiudged to death, would haue granted him eternall life.

10 Hauing spokē thus much of *Pilate*, I may not forget a Lake cald *Pilats* lake, which Lake is in *Swetia*, neere to a City named *Lucerna*, on a plaine enuironed with very high Mountains. From the top of one of them (as some good Writers testifie) *Pilate* (in his desperate mood) threw himselfe into the water. And it is a common voice of the people to this day, that euery yeare he there sheweth himselfe in the habit of a Iudge: but whosoever seeth him, be it man or woman, is sure to die within that
20 years compasse. Beside this, and the common fame bruted of this Lake, I must alledge the testimony of *Ioachimus Vadianus*, a man very learned, who Commenting vpon *Pomponius Mela*, writeth another notable thing of this Lake, which is both certaine and meruailous. He saith, that if any one throw a stone, stick, or any thing else whatsoever it be into the Water; the Lake containeth such a straunge
30 propertie, that it swell, rise, and mooue with so impetuous a Tempest, that it ouerfloweth and drowneth a great part of the Countrey, whereby ensueth great losse and damages, aswell on the seeds in the grounds, as to Trees and beasts. And yet notwithstanding, if no such things be throwne into it, it standeth still without any motion. This *Ioachimus* further saith, (being a Native of *Swetia*) that there are
40 very seuerer ordinances made, prohibiting on paine of death, from casting anie thing into this Lake, and that such as break these prohibitions, haue bin put to death. Whither this do proceed naturally, or by miracle, I am not able to say, albeit some waters haue very great and admirable properties; for part whereof, reasons may be deliuerd, but for others not.
50 *Pliny* reporteth a matter like to this, & saith, that in *Dalsmatia*, ther is a deep hole or caue, wherinto if any man cast a stone, or any waighty thing, there sodenly issueth forth a furious aire so violently, as it procureth a dangerous Tempest, to all the neere dwellers. It well may be (which yet I will not stand to auouch) that the
body

Of a Lake in *Swetia*, called *Pilats* Lake

Ioach. Vadian. in *Coment. sup. Pomp. Mela.*

A strange property of *Pilates* Lake in *Swetia*.

Plin. in lib. 2. de Reb. Nat.

Of a strange Caue in *Dalsmatia*.

body of *Pilate* was throwne therinto; and that the *Deuill* (by diuine permission, and for his much greater infamy) doeth performe such horrid and vncouth accidents in this place. Howsoeuer the cause proceedeth, certaine it is, that such a *Caue* is there to be scene, and such affrightments issuing thence, vpon the hurling of any heauie thing into it: For the rest, I refer it to the *Learned* iudgement.

CHAP. VIII.

Of negligence, in the execution of Iustice vpon Offenders, and for the sins of the flesh.



Read in *Plutark*, that when *Romulus* King of *Rome*, and *Tatius* King of the *Sabines*, had made their composition to gouerne the *Romains* and *Sabines* ioyntly, there fell a strange kinde of plague and famine in the Citties of *Rome* and *Laurentum*, for two murders committed by the *Romains* and *Laurentines*. The one was done by the Kinsmen of *Tatius*, vpon certaine Ambassadors of *Laurentum*; which murder, *Tatius* neglected to punnith. And the other, by the friends of the said Ambassadors vpon *Tatius*, in reuenge of the Iniustice done by his Kinsmen, and suffered by him, which also, *Romulus* let passe vnpunished: whereupon, it being noted that the plague and famine encreased straungely in both Citties, and a common opinion conceiued, that it was a punishment of God vpon them, for those murders committed, and not punnished: they resolued to doo Iustice vpon the offenders; which beeing done, the plague ceased presently in both places.

The same Authour also ascribeth the sacke of *Rome* by the *Gaules*, vnto the iust iudgement of God vpon the *Romains*, for two Iniustices by them committed. The one, was the banishment of *Camillus*. The second, their refusall to punnith certaine Ambassadors of their own, who being sent to treat peaceably with the *Gaules*, in behalfe of the *Clusians*, committed acts of hostility against them, con-

trarie to the Law of Armes. And when the *Gaules* sent to *Rome*, to demaund reparation of the iniurie, the *Romains* not onely refused to giue them satisfaction; but also made their Ambassadors, (who had done the iniurie) Generals of an armie, to assit the *Clusians* against them: notwithstanding, that the *Feciales* (who were certaine Officers ordained by *Numa Pompilius*, to determine of the iust & lawfull causes, either for warre or peace) made great instance to the Senate, that the Ambassadors might be punnished, least the penaltie of their fault, might otherwise fall vpon the Common-wealth, as indeed it did. For, the *Gaules* giuing battell to the Ambassadors, easily overthrew them, and prosecuting their victorie, spoiled and sacked *Rome*.

Herein I wish to be noted, how grieuous a sinne it is, in the opinion of the verie *Paynims* themselues, and how dangerous to the Commonwealth, to neglect and omit the punishment of wrongs and iniuries done them; whereby the offences of perticular men, are made the finnes and transgressions of the whole state, and draw the wrath and punishment of God vpon the same. Whereof another example may also bee gathered, out of the same Author and history, concerning the cause and manner of the first comming of the *Gaules* into *Italy*, and of the great spoile they made in *Tuscane*; which seemed to proceede from the iust iudgement of God, for like negligence in the execution of Iustice. For one of the *Clusians* of *Tuscane*, called *Aruntius*, having his Wife taken from him, and kept (perforce) by a Nobleman, called *Lucius*, and finding no remedie by Iustice (by reason that his Aduersarie was supported by the Magistrates) was so incensed therewith against the whole state, that he went into *France*, and caried with him some of the Grapes, and other commodities of the Countrey, to inuite the *Gaules* to attempt the inuasion of *Tuscane*. Whereto he easily perswaded them, and serued them for their guide: God so disposing his Iustice, that hee to whom the State had done the wrong, should be the meanes and Instrument of the punnishment due to the same.

Herein I will adde another notable example (in the same kinde) of the overthrow of the *Lacedemonians*, & their losse

The *Feciales*, Officers for war or pence.

The *Paynims* obseruers of Iustice in punnishing iniuries.

Plut. ibid.

The cause why the *Gaules* came into

The *Lacedemonians* grieuouly punnished, for

Plut. in Romulo

A great plague & famine in the Citties of *Rome* and *Laurentum*.

Plut. in Camillo

Rome sacked and spoyled by the *Gaules*, in punnishment of two iniuries committed by the *Romains*.

omission of Iustice, & for the finnes of the flesh. Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 14. cap. 14. Plut. in Tract. de Narrationes amatoria. Cicero de diuina. lib. 1. c. 11. O. 1199. 10. 1897

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Rape & murder do sildom escape without deserued punishment.

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Examples of Gods seuerer iudgements, vpon whole Commonweals, for the finnes of the flesh.

Genes. 19. 24.

of the Empire of Greece, by the iust iudgment of God for the like offence, as both *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, and others affirme, and the euent made it selfe manifest: the Story is thus.

Two *Lacedemonians* passing ouer the plaine of *Leuctra*, were lodged, and courteously entertained in the house of one *Scedafus*, who had two handsome Women to his Daughters. And returning that way againe shortly after, finding the two Women at home, and their father absent, they first rauished, and after ward killed them both.

The Father at his returne, finding his Daughters slaine, and vnderstanding who had beene the doers of it, went to *Lacedemonia*, to craue Iustice against the Malefactors. But so potent were both they & their friends there, that hee could by no meanes obtaine it. Whereupon, after infinite maledictions, powred forth (in the sorrow of his heart) against them & their whole state, he went home, and desperatly killed himselfe in the graue of his two Daughters. Not long after, wars growing betwixt the *Thebanes* and *Lacedemonians*, the soule or ghost of *Scedafus* appeared to *Pelopidas* (one of the chief captaines of the *Thebanes*) and encouraged him to giue battaile to the *Lacedemonians* on the plaine of *Leuctra*, where he & his Daughters were buried; telling him, that their death should bee reuenged, and so afterward it fell out. For there the *Lacedemonians* lost not only the battel, but also the Empire of Greece, which they had many yeares before possessed. Wherein may also be noted, how God executed his iustice vpon them in another respect. For, whereas the sinne of the flesh was growne in *Lacedemonia* to such excesse, as that no part of Greece was therewith so much infected, it seemed conuenient to the diuine Iustice, that the same should be a meane to draw his further wrath vpon their whole State, that so they might bee punished, by the meanes of that sin wherein they had most offended.

And truly, though many finnes are counted more hainous, and are more seuerely chastised by humane lawes, then the finnes of the flesh, yet almighty God hath not more rigorously punished any, in whole Countries and States, then the same. As, to omit the exemplary plague that fell vpon *Sodome* and *Gomor* by fire

from Heauen, for the detestable sinne against Nature (which in that respect is called *Sodomie*.) We read in the Holy Scriptures, that all the whole Tribe of *Beniamin* (excepting only sixe hundred) was slaine by the Children of *Israell*, by the commandement of Almighty God, for a rape which those of the Towne of *Gaba* committed on the wife of a *Leuit*, whom they abused in such excesse, that she presently died. Whereupon, the other Tribes assembled themselues, and first demaunded to haue the Malefactors deliuered vnto them; and then vpon the refusall thereof, they consulted with Almighty God, whether they shoulde inuade them or no, which God commanded them to do, and appointed them a Captaine. And although in two battailes the children of *Israell* had the worst, yet in the third battaile, *Percussit eos Dominus* (saith the Scripture) *in conspectu filiorum Israell, &c.* Our Lord God strooke those of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, in the sight of the children of *Israell*, who killed of them 25000. men, that bare Armes. Whereby we may see no lesse, then by the former example, as well the enormitie of the sin of the flesh, as also, that refusal to do Iustice on a few Offenders of the Towne of *Gaba*, drew al the Tribe of *Beniamin* into participation of the Offence, which was therefore punished in them all alike.

But to omit the later consideration, to wit, of omission to do Iustice vpon Offenders, and to say somewhat more concerning the punishment of God for this fleshly sinne, we haue a notable & fearefull example thereof in the kingdom of *Spaine*, conquered by the *Moores*, and possessed by them seauen hundred yeares for that Offence. For, when the Kingdom had flourished both in Religion & power, from the time of King *Reccared*, the first Catholicke King thereof, the space of an hundred and twentie yeares: the wicked King *Vitiza* (being a man whollie giuen to Lust and Carnality) infected and corrupted all *Spain*, not only with the bad example of his owne dissolute life (hauing manie Wiues at once, beside diuers Concubines,) but also with abhominable Lawes, whereby he gaue leaue to all sorts of men, to haue as manie Wiues & Concubines, as they listed; enforcing Priests, & such as would haue

Iudges 20, 47

Iudges 20, 46

The whole Tribe punished for the sinne of few.

Spaine conquered by the Moores for the sinne of the flesh.

Roderic. Tole-tan in lib. 2. de rebus Hisp. cap. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19.

haue liued chastly, to marry. By which meanes, all *Spaine* becam within a while, to bee no better then a common Stewes or Brothel. And althogh almighty God, (according to his accustomed mercy) expected their conuersion and amendment all the time of his raigne, and laide only the penalty thereof vpon him, depriuing him both of his Crowne and eye-sight, by the meanes of *Rodericke*; who succeeded him in the kingdome: yet when the saide *Rodericke* followed his steps, aswell in his vicious life, as maintenance of his abhominable Lawes, it pleased God in his Iustice to permit him, to giue the occasion both of his owne ruin, & likewise of the ouerthrow of all *Spaine*, by this sin of the flesh, wherewith the whole Kingdome ouer-flowed. For, whereas King *Roderick* had sent a Kinsman of his own, called Count *Inlian*, Ambassadour into *Affricke*, and (in the meane time) rauished his Daughter, or (as some Write) his Wife: the Count vnderstanding it at his returne, was so incensed there-with against the King, that in reuenge thereof, he practised with the Moors, to bring them into *Spaine*, who with his assistance so speedily conquered it, and with such destruction of the people, that the punishment of God was most euident therein. For, hauing first ouerthrowne K. *Roderick* (whose body could neuer after the battell be found) they subdued almost all *Spaine* in eight months or (as some say) 14. and slew 700000. of all sorts of people; beside great numbers of Captiues, which they sent prisoners into *Barbarie*. And from that time forward, they remained in possession of that kingdome, or of some great part thereof, for the space of 700 yeares.

This example of the Conquest and subuersion of *Spaine*, for the sinnes of the flesh, was so famous, and so much obserued by godly and Wise men, at the same time when it hapned: that *S. Bonifacius*, borne in *England*, and Bythop of *Mentz* in *Germany*, (who liued in the same age, and holpe to conuert the *Saxons* and *Frisons* from Paganisme to the Christian Faith) proposed it to one of the English Kings, called *Ethelbald*, K. of the *Mercians*, to withdraw him from his dissolute life. And forasmuch as his Epistle to him containeth verie notable matter, I will alledge heere some part thereof, transla-

ted out of Latine, thus.

I beseech thee deere Son in our Lord, that if this bee true which is reported of you, you will repent and amend your life; remembering how unfit it is for you, who haue the Image of God created in you, to conuers the same into the Image of the Deuill by Licentiousnesse. And that you, whom no merits or deserts of your owne, but the bountifull goodnesse of Almighty God; hath made a Prince and King to gouerne many, shoulde make your selfe slaue vnto the Deuill, by the sinnes of the flesh. For, as the apostle sayth, What sinne soeuer a man commits, hee makes himselfe Slaue thereof. And the Paynims themselves, who know not the true God, do obserue in this point, that which God ordained from the beginning, liuing in all true loue and oyaltie with their wives, and punishing Adulterie and fornication. For, if in olde Saxony (where there is no knowledge of Christ) either Maid or Wife do commit Adultery or Fornication, shee is first strangled, and after burnt. And he that corrupted her, is hanged ouer her. Or else, shee is stripped naked to the middle, and whipped by chaste Matrons from Towne to Towne, & prickt with sharpe Knives, vntill shee dye therewith.

If therefore the Gentiles (who knew not God) haue such a zeale and loue to Chastity, what shold you do that are a Christian king? Therefore haue pittie vpon your owne soule, & vpon the multitude of your people which perish by your example: and for whose soules you are to yeeld account. Consider also this, that if the English Nations (as the very Paynims in France & Italy do cast in our teeth) do contemne marriage, and giue themselves ouer to vnlawful Lust, it must needs follow that the Children which shal proceed of the, wil degenerate, and become (at last) Cowardly and weak in warre, vnstable in faith, shameful, and reproachfull among men; & hateful to God. As it hath already chanced to the Prouençales, Burgundians, & Spaniards, who falling from GOD by the same meanes, are now (by his iust iudgement) seuerely punished for the same by the Sarazins with losse of the Christian faith.

Thus wrote this worthy Bythop a few yeares after *Spaine* was conquered by the *Moors*; and further added certaine examples of Gods Iustice, extended vpon some English Kings for their Licentious life, and other offences. As vpon King *Ceolred*, predecessour of *Ethelbald*, who

A notable Epistle of *S. Bonifacius* an Englishman, Bishop of *Mentz* to *Ethelbald*, K. of *Mercia*. *Baron. cod. An.*

How rigorously the Saxons in Germanie (being Paynims) punished adulterie and fornication.

The hurt that followeth to a Commonweale, by vnlawfull procreation.

Idein Ibidem. Ioan. V. 7. 7. Chron. An. 11

Almost all *Spain* conquered by the *Moors* in 8. months.

**Ioan. Vassens in Chron. An. 714.*

The subuersion of *Spain* by the *Moors*, attributed by wise and holy men (in the same Age) to Gods Iustice, for the sins of the flesh. *Baron. An. 745*

(saith

The vnfortunate ends of the Kings, *Cedric, Osred, & Ethelbald*, in punishment of their licentious liues.

Politor. lib. 4. et supplement. Epicomus Hist. Bede.

(saith he) was not only a deslourer of Religious Women, but also a breaker of ecclesiasticall priuiledges. And therefore it is said, that God suffered a wicked Spirit to take and possesse him, as hee was banketting with his Nobility, and to kill him, after that hee had blasphemed Almighty God, by his procurement. And to the same cause he also attributeth the vnfortunate end of *Osred*, King of *Northumberland*, who he saith, was *Ea iudē culpārū reūs, Guilty of the same faults*; and that therefore God suffered him to bee miserably killed. Thus this holy man admonished King *Ethelbald*, who as it may be presumed, contemned his Counsell; and therefore receiued at Gods handes, the punishment due to such great neglect: for he was afterward cruelly murdered, as appeareth in the English histories.

CHAP. IX.

Of the inuention of Belles, with the vse of them, and what benefite ensueth by them. Also, who were the first that coniuered Devils.



Although this may seeme to bee a meane subject, to speake of such a common thing as Belles: yet so it is, that considering how necessary they are for Diuine seruice, and conuocation of Christian people together, with other effects, whereof we are to discourse, it may (vnder fauor) be presumed, that the inuention & vse of them (in Gods Church) proceeded doubtlesse from inspiration of the blessed spirit. The Lord commanded in the old Testament, that two Trompets of Siluer should bee made, which the Priests should sounde, to the end that all people might bee called to the Diuine Sacrifices. And our Lord, speaking of his comming in the day of Iudgement, saith amongst other things; *That he wil send his Angels with Trompets, to assemble and congregate the elect.* Now following this good example, Christian people comming to increase in some number, ... to assemble so great

Bels necessary for Diuine Service.

Numb. 10, 2.

Math. 24, 31.

The encrease of Christian people in the world.

a multitude together at one time, to make Prayers, and offer sacrifices in the Temples, neither Trompets which had bin formerly sanctimoniously instituted for this businesse, nor the voices of men could be sufficient; but it was the thought fit, to inuent some strong Instrument: by meanes whereof, an assembly might the sooner be made. And to compass this, among all other that men could dreame on, the vse of a Bell was found to be the best & aptest; as being of loudest sound, and to be heard the furthest off.

This inuention then must needs be reputed verie meruailous, and woorthy the name of so excellent a man, as was *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*, of equal standing in time with *S. Augustine*, and with *S. Ierom*: who wrote many letters vnto him, which yet at this day are to be read. He then was the first, that (in his Church and Bishopricke) brought vp the vse of Bels; which afterward was continued through Christendome, as a thing most necessary: and hence it commeth, that *Nola* being a Latine word, signifieth a Bell. Now, it is further to bee noted, that Belles are not good only in the cases fore-named, but they are said also to haue a wonderful effect, which is; that the Devils or Spirits hovering in the aire, do flie the sound of a Bell, and hold it in horreur, as a thing found out and instituted, for giuing honor and worship to the true God. And so much the rather, because as they delight themselues in Musicke, which inciteth & prouoketh men to euill; euen so, the sound of Bels they shun and are offended at, as being most hurtfull and contrary to them. And yet they cause a christian man to reuine his spirits, putting him in mind of God, and such times as besit his Prayers and Sacrifices: for being dedicated to those vses, they moue a man inwardly, & exalt his soule with chearefulness to deuotion.

They are said also to haue another verie profitable propertie, to wit; That the sound of them doth breake the ayre, and driue on the Clouds, diuiding thunders, and verie evidently resisting Tempestes: because, that by the power and promptitude of such sounds, tempestuous clouds do breake and scatter themselues: by which meanes their force and surie ceaseth. As daily may be noted by experience, that when there is any great wind or tempest, by

Paulinus Bishop of *Nola*, the first Inuenter of Belles.

Nola signifieth a Bell.

The sound of Bels displeasing to devils.

Belles are chearfull to a Christian man.

Great vertue in the sound of Belles.

Prayer is of great efficacy in times of trouble.

Whither Devils do avoid the ringing of Bels, or no.

Ephes. 4, 7.

Tobias 12, 12

Tobias 6, 7.

Tobias 8, 3.

by ringing a multitude of Belles, the extremity presently beginneth to growe calme. Notwithstanding all this, I deny not, but that the deuout Praiers of faithfull Christians, in such perrillous seasons haue much greater Vertue and efficacie: yet neuerthelesse (as I haue saide) it is a matter most certaine and naturall: and whereof wee haue had good apparance, by a great troope of people walking in the Fieldes; for, as they shout or exalt their voyces, the ayre (by little and litle) doth deuide it selfe, so that if any Bird (by chance) be flying aboute them, shee falles downe to the grounde for want of Ayre to support her. And it must needes be so, because (to speake truly) Voices and sounds in this manner formed, doo penetrate and cleaue the aire, euen so farre as the place of their power extendeth; and where they are to finish their strength.

Now, in regard it may seeme strange to some, that I haue saide Deuilles do fly away at the sound of Belles, because they haue no bodies or vnderstanding to hear or else to bee handled and felt, but that (simply) their intelligence is incorporeal. To such I answer, that those things which are not by bodily sense to be comprehended, which they want, they attaine vnto it by intellectuall knowledge; in which manner, wicked spirites are tormented by fire.

In like case, we read that Saint Paul commanded Women being in Churches, they should be silent, and vailed on their heads, for the presence & reuerence of the Angels, albeit they haue neyther eyes or eares. Also it is most certain, that the Angell *Raphaell* saide to *Tobias*, that he offered to God the Prayers which he made. According to this example, it is written in the 6. Chapter of *Tobias*, that the Angell *Raphae* going with yong *Tobias*, after he had kild the fish in the flood of *Tigris*, hee bad him keepe the Liuer, saying; That throwing it into the fire; the fume arising from it, had the power and Vertue to expell Deuilles from the place perfumed therewith, and they neuer to returne thither againe. Afterward, in the eight Chapter; wee read, that hee laid the Liuer vpon the burning Coales; and with the perfume arising from it, he chased away the Deuill, that had bin the death of *Sarraes* seauen Husbandes; and hee freely deliuered from all affliction.

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Concerning the expelling of Devils, and Coniuring them by Holie words, & other meanes, as now adaves is vsed: it is a case so ancient, that *Iosephus* writeth in his Antiquities, that *Salomon* was the inuenter thereof; and the first that (by his speeches) chased them away, being therein illumined and instructed of God. He declareth also, that he knew an *Heb-ew*, named *Eleazar*, who in the presence of the Emperour *Vespasian*, and the whole band of armed men, healed such as were possessed with Devils; and in dooing it he would hold a Ring against the parties Nose that was possieit, whereto was fastned the roote of a certaine hearb, which (he saide) was taught him by *Salomon*; and while the hearbe continued his smel, and it was applied to the Patients power, the Deuill could not preuaile, but fled away from him. Returne we againe to Belles, whose sound is generally affirmed, to afflict, torment, and expell Devils or euill spirits. And for this cause, to despight the Deuill, and for his confusion, there is no Sect, nor Religion of Faith, or of any Law whatsoever, that dooth make vse of Bels for Diuine Seruice, but the Christian Catholicke Church only.

Salomon did first inuent the expelling of Devils.

Of *Eleazar* the *Hebre*.

The conclusion concerning Belles.

CHAP. X.

Of a Combate fought between two Knights of Castille, in triall whereof happened very memorable accidents.



Inuers times haue chanced great adventures in the triall of *Duelles* & single Combats, which (in iust reason) haue deserued especiall memory. Neuerthelesse, being matters so manifest, I shal speake but of one onely; because therein hapned very strange fortune. In the time of *Alphonse* King of *Castille*; who was father to the King *Don Peter*; there grew a quarrell betweene two Knights of his Court; the one, being named *Ruypaz de Viedna*, and the other *Pav hoarguez d'Avencia*. The quarrell grewe from hence, that *Ruypaz* saide in presence of the King, hee being then at *Validad*; that

A Quarrell berixt two Knights of *Castille*, and the cause thereof

that *Pay* was a Traitor, because hee neyther being of *Castile*, or a subiect to the King, came thither with the Armie of *Portugalli*, to the preiudice of *Castille*, and against his owne King, except he had bin drawne thereto by duty.

This he offered to approue by Testimonies, and by Armes, or any other manner of prooffe, whereto hee might stand bound: and heereupon he defied *Pay Rodriguez*, who was then absent. But being aduertised thereof, he wrote to the King, that hee stood not obliged to make any answer, because *Ruyraez* was a Traitor, and would haue slaine his owne King *Alphonfus*; whereof he would make prooffe by Armes, and on that accusation he defied him. And because the prooffe which he purposed to make, concerned no lesse then Capitall Treason, a case farre aboue his Aduersaries imputation to him, hee required the King to grant him safe conduct, whereby he might safely come to his Court, there to approue his words by Combate.

When the King was made acquainted heerewith, he stood in some doubt, which of these two Knights was the Accuser or Defender; considering, that the first man had first accused, and the other much more aggravated the matter. Wherefore, he aduised with his counsell in this case; & concluded, to giue safe conduct to the accuser of High-treason, by means whereof, he came to the Court, & made his accusation in the Kinges presence, where the partie accused gave him the lye: and therefore, the field was granted by the King, but the day somewhat prolonged, for the space of ninetie dayes, as is recorded, because *Ruyraez* was then sickly.

The day being come, they both appeared in the felde, where the accustomed solemnities being performd, they entred Combat, and some wounds being giuen on either side, the night preuenting anie further proceeding, they were parted, without victory to the one or other. The next day they were brought againe into the field, where like bold and hardie Knights, each did his best endeouour to vanquish the other: and albeit they fought verie manfully, with many wounds, both giuen and receiued, yet neither of them failed a jot in strength or courage, but wasted all that day likewise, without anie

discerning, which of them had the better aduantage. Whereupon, vnder equall tearmes of victory, they were once more commaunded from the field, both with great meruaile and compasion in the Beholders, that two such worthy Knights should thus hazard their liues. Vpon the third day, they were in like maner brought into the field, with the very same vndaunted spirit in either, as formerly hath been witnessed, though not in such strong ability of body, yet thus they there continued againe till night came, neither being more aduantaged then the other.

When the King had well considered heereon, hee greatly pittied the losse of two so valiant Knights; wherefore, hee caused them to bee parted, determining to imploy them both in his wars against the Moores, and heereupon their Weapons were taken from them. And the King saide (out of his Iudgement) seeing *Pay Rodriguez* had done his woorst to kill *Ruyraez*, & yet could not conquer him, he was verily perswaded, that he had not conspired his death, but held him to be a loyall and true Knight. In like manner, hee absolved *Pay Rodriguez*, of the crime attributed to him by the other: because, hauing continued three daies in such sharpe triall, God surely would haue shewne the innocence of the one or other in both their quarrels. And therefore reputed them both to be good and worthy Knights, they were conducted from the field with great honor.

CHAP. IX.

Of manie admirable things, hapning in diuers parts of the world.



Although the works of Nature are very wonderfull; and an argument of the infinit power of the Creator of all things: yet such things as heeretofore haue bene ordinary, and which the wise and learned haue well vnderstoode, do raise in me much more admiration; as the birth of men, Beasts, Plantes, and production of their Fruits, with all other ordinary semblable things. There are some other beside, not so

An answer returned to the Challenge, & the accuser further charged.

The k. doubtful in the accusation.

The Combat granted.

The first daies fight.

The second dayes fight.

The 3. dayes fight.

The King ceaseth the combat.

The Kings opinion of the Combattants.

Concerning the admirable workes of Nature.

so vulgar, which neuerthelesse (in their Nature) do much amaze vs: Howbeit, we wonder to behold things, which seem repugnant to the common essence and order of things, as such bee, which are reported and affirmed by men of great authority.

Pontanus, a verie famous and most learned man, by reason of his great reading, faith, that he and manie more, haue seen an high Mountaine, in the Sea neere to *Naples*, being an huge part of a Rocke, or mighty masse of Flint, fallen down thinto by fortune. Within which flinty Rocke grew a great Tree, so fast knit and combined within the stone, as it seemed that Nature had there produced it, and made it meere grow out of the stone or Rocke, euen as if they were both but one bodie, albeit it was truelie Wood. Which appeared to proceed from nothing else, or anie other place then the earth, where the Water made a mixture of it selfe with the Tree; and so conuerted and knit it into the Rocke, locking it fast on all sides. Neuerthelesse, because it was in such a place, where (it may bee) men very sildome resorted, and it a matter of such rarity, it seemed the harder to bee comprehended.

Another thing is declared by *Alexandrinus* of *Alexandria*, in like manner very meruailous, which happened at *Naples*, where he then dwelt; to wit, that in cutting Marble stone, hewne formerly out of a Rocke, and preparing for building: as they Sawed thorough the middle, they found (within it) a Diamond of great Value, which had been cut and polished by the hand of man.

The same *Alexandrinus* further relateth, that as they prepared another Marble stone, struing to diuide it in the midst, it was of such extreame hardnesse, that they were faine to break it with pickaxes. And in the midst of the stone, they found a great quantitie of Oyle enclosed, euen as if it had beene in a Glasse or Bottle; and the Oyle was very cleare, faire, and of an exceeding sweete sauer.

Baptista Fulgoso, in the first Booke of his Collections, certifieth and saith; that hee had scene a Mountaine very farre off from the Sea, where was found (aboue an hundred fadome deepe in the earth) a Shippe ouer-turned, and euen as consu-

med: yet not so much; but that the form thereof might well be discerned; and perfectly knowne. They founde likewise Anchors of Iron, Mastes and Sail-yards, yet broken and halfe consumed. But that which is most to be admired, they found there the bones and heads of fortie persons; and these things were scene in the yeare, 1460.

10 Some of them that saw these things, were perswaded, that they had been thus couered with earth, from the time of the Vniuersall Deluge. (if before that time any Shippes were vsed, or men sayled on the Seas in those times) which may easily be beleued, in regard that before the Flood, almost all Arts were founde out. Others were of opinion, that this might be som Ship, which had been submerged in the Sea, and that by the interieur concavities of the earth, the waters had driue it in so farre; where, since the mutation of times, the earth remaining dried vp, it stayed there as immured vp in a Vault: but howsoeuer it came thether, the aduenture was admirable.

20 The same Authour declareth moreouer, that he saw an hard stone; which being broken thorowe the middest, a liue Worme was there founde within it: to whom it was impossible there shoulde come any nourishment, but what the stone it selfe afforded her. A Serpent also was presented to Pope *Martin* the fift, that liued in the middest of a stone likewise: and it seemed, that Nature had thus created her within; and that (without any other nouriture) she receiued sustenance by the onely Vertue and propriety of the stone.

A Ship, Anchors, Mastes, and Sail-yards found an hundred Fadome deep in a Mountaine.

All arts found out before the flood.

A Worme found lying in an harde stone.

A Serpent lying in a stone.

CHAP. XII.

The variable opinion of Phylosophers, concerning Humaine Lignage: And of the Originall of Marriage.

Oyle found in a Marble stone.

Baptista Fulgoso in li. 2. de Col.



50 God created Man, after hee had created all other things, whereof hee made him Lorde: this is verie true, and wee ought to beleue it as an Article of our Faith. But this Light and Truth failed, and was

The Phyloso-
phers igno-
rant in the
worlds crea-
tion.

Diodor. Sicul.
in Lib. 2.

Epicurus and
his Sect.

Atomies, lit-
tle Moats in
the sun, hard-
ly to be dis-
cerned.

Lactan. Firm.
in lib. de Oper.
dei lib. 7. de In-
stitut.
Anaximander.

Empedocles.

Democritus.

The Stoicks.

Lactan. Firm.
in lib. 2. & li. 7

Cic. in lib. 1. de
Legib.

Arist. Prince
of the Peripa-
teticus.

utterly unknowne to the auncient Phylo-
sophers, when they beganne to imagine
and to search out the Originall and be-
ginning of the world, and of all things
else whatsoeuer.

Diodorus Siculus reciteth the opinions
to this purpose, and saith; Some were of
the minde, that the world and men had
both a beginning. Others, out of more
vaine fantasie, saide; that all things were
eternall, and that not any thing had a be-
ginning. Now, among the former of
these two Opinions, there were great
differences.

Epicurus, and some other of his Sect,
(who mannged the Diuine prouidence
by ignorance) affirmed men to bee casu-
ally created and granted their beginning
by the Atomies; to whom he vsually at-
tributed the Originall of all things. The
Poet Lucretius also followed him in this
vanity: VVhereat Lactantius Firmianus
smiled, and elegantly mocked him. An-
aximander found out a matter well de-
seruing laughter, to wit; that of Water
and Earth, and by the heate of the Sun,
man was first producted; as if there be-
longed no more to a man, then vnto a
Fly.

Empedocles was almost of the very same
opinion, intermeddling the matter of man
with Water and Fire, and saide; That e-
uery member was first created by it selfe,
and then conioyning themselus (at a ven-
ter) together, they formed and Organi-
zed the body of man.

Democritus was not wholly of the same
minde, saying; That man was made of
Water, and the slime of the earth. The
Stoicks were of a more sound iudgment,
for they confessed, that all things were
made by Diuine prouidence. They fur-
ther held, that God had created man, &
all other creatures: Lactantius also spea-
keth as much. Diuine Plato was of this
opinion, and of him (according to Lac-
tantius) the Stoicks Learned. But much
more clearely Cicero, in the first Booke of
his Lawes, where (commending man)
hee saith: *This Creature, full of reason and
Counsell, among all the other, was crea-
ted by the Lorde God his Maister, in more
great perfection then onie other animate
thing.*

Of the other and second opinion, to
wit; that men are eternall, and without
beginning, and to endure continuallie,

was Aristotle alwayes, of whom Lactanti-
us speaketh in his second Booke, that to
draw himselfe from other opinions, hee
held this: which also was obserued by the
Sect of the Peripatetians, of whom hee
was Prince. Pliny was of the same opi-
nion, which Lactantius Firmianus repro-
ued, and destroyed as false. The like (most
learnedly) did Tho: Aquinas, in his Sum-
mary against the Gentiles.

10 But leauing these opinions of Men
without Faith, wee ought to beleue for
truth, that Man was formed by God, the
Creator of all things, and that to mul-
tiplie this humaine progeny, it was con-
uenient to create the Woman: which
hee did, and tooke her out of the side of
the first man. And to the end, that he
should not indiscreetly keepe companie
with her, as other vnreasonable Crea-
tures doo together, hee instituted Holie
Marriage betweene them, saying vnto
them; *Encrease, Multiply, fill the Earth,
and possesse it.* As it is testified by Mo-
ses in Genesis, and by Iosephus, in the first
Booke of his Antiquities. Notwithstan-
ding, the Gentiles being depriued of this
Holie Historie, do attribute the inuenti-
on thereof to others. Among a great
number of whom, Trogus Pompeius sai-
eth, that Cecrops King of Athens, inuen-
ted marriage. Finally, the Redeemer of
all mankind being come into the world,
he approued it, and instituted it as a blef-
sed Sacrament, reproouing the repudia-
tion permitted by the Iewes, to take away
the rigour of their seueritie, as Saint Ma-
thew declareth in his nineteenth Chap-
ter: as also, Saint Marke, and Saint
Paule.

20 Marriage then was thus instituted,
ioyning one Man with one Woman,
and not with manie, neither one Wo-
man with manie Men; which was most
iustly done, because the contrarie dooth
wholly contradict Natural reason. More-
ouer, it was appointed by Diuine Lawe
and Ordinance. Besides, what thing
could bee more conformable to Natu-
rall rule (albeit, neyther the Lawe, nor
Faith commaunded it) then to haue one
sole Companion, and not confusion of
two or manie VVomen? In which con-
fusion, when as a VVoman will not liue
and abide with her Husband, but with-
draw her selfe to others, it is against the
Lawe of Nature, which forbiddeth
that

Lact. Firm. in
lib 2.

Plin. in lib. 1.
Lact. Fir. lib. 2.

Tho: Aquinas,
in Sum. cont.
Gent.

The necessity
of the Wo-
mans creatiō

The Institut-
ion of mariage

Genes. 2, 23.

Ioseph. in lib. 1.
de Antiquit.

Cecrops King
of Athens said
to inuent Ma-
riage.

Math. 19, 7.

One man and
one Woman,
ioined in ma-
riage.

The rule of
Nature, and
how to be ob-
serued be-
twene man
and woman.

that to be done to another, that the partie would not haue done to himselfe, for amitie consisteth in paritie of personnes. How can it be then, that loue and amitie should be perfect, where there is so great inequality? And where a man is at libertie with manie Weomen, when the woman is combinde and made subiect vnto one man only?

It is not possible, that true and perfect amitie shoulde diuide and extend it selfe vnto manie, as Aristotle hath well maintained it. It would rather seeme a kind of seruitude, as wee may well note among barbarous people, who haue manie Weomen, and with whom they deal in the Nature of Seruants, rather then as Wiues, Friends, and Louers; besides, the multitude of Wiues doth hinder all good order, which ought to be obserued in Domestick affaires.

Moreouer, wee see Naturally, that in all kinds of Beasts, the Sires or Fathers (as we tearme them) haue a great sollicitude and respect to their young ones, as well for teaching as nourishing them, & they are euermore (or most commonly) paired. For, the Male hath no more but one Female, as we may behold in all Birds, and in the most sorts of foure-footed Beasts. Whereby may bee gathered, how a man ought to behaue himselfe, and how he should carrie his Loue and affection vnto his children, and that no man ought to haue more then one Wife onely.

Seeing then, it standeth thus on the behalfe of men, by the verie same reasons it is prooued, that the Woman ought to haue no more then one Husband. For, if she should haue more, there would arise thereby verie great inconueniences, because the Children borne of a woman which is married to manie Husbandes, cannot be saide to haue any certaine Father: by meanes whereof, and in a case so doubtfull, all loue and paternall care, eyther for education or nourishing, perissheth presently. Nay, besides this, the difference of Linage and Kindered cannot bee discerned or considered, whereon ensueth vnlawfull and damnable Copulations.

The first man that presumed (against the Law of Nature) to haue two Wiues, was Lamech the seauenth man, accounting from Adam, in descending by the

line of the peruerse and wicked *Caine*, as it is found in the first Chapter of *Genesis*. By the example of which *Lamech*, many Iewes, and other bestiall barbarous Nations, accustomed themselves to take manie Wiues, wherein they erred and sinned greatly.

But if *Jacob*, *David*, and other Saintes of the Law, had more then one wife: it was because they were dispensed withall by the holy spirit, and for some perticular occasions. But the other Iewes, that tooke manie Wiues without perticular allowance from God; sinned hainousslie, and with them also haue failed many barbarous Nations, as being a matter conformable to their brutish inclinations, & carnall appetites. Among whom were the *Numidians*, *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Persians*, *Tharsians*, and some others, who entertained as manie wiues as they were able to keepe.

VVicked *Mahomet* also in his false Law, both counselled and permitted the same sinne; to the end, hee might draw the more Iewes to him, and all other carnall-minded men. But the *Romaines* and *Gracians*, with diuers Nations, that had better Lawes and Customes, neuer allowed any man to haue more then one Wife, nor a wife more then one Husband.

CHAP. XIII.

Of what estate, and at what yeares or Age, a man should be married vnto a Woman.



He ancient Morrall Philosophers, held diuers Opinions concerning the age & yeares that men and Women should be married together, to the end, that they might bee proportionable in abilitie one to another. Aristotle deriuing his argument (it may bee) from hence; That Women conceiue and beare Children vnto the yeares of fiftie, and men are able to beget vntill the yeares of seauenty, saith; That they ought to Marrie at such an Age in either, that (at one and the same time)

Holy men dispensed withall by God.

The Nations that had manny Wiues.

Mahomet allowed plurality of wiues.

Aristotles opinion of Man and Womans procreation of Children.

Lone consisteth in paritie of persons.

Arist. in lib. 8. de Ethic.

Example of the care in brute beatts, of their Females.

One law bindeth both me and women, to haue but one wife, and one Husband

The first mā that dared to haue 2. wiues.

Hesiodus and Xenophon for the years for marriage.

Lycurgus his Law for marriage.

Arist. in Oecon.

The Authors reason against Aristotles yeares of marriage.

The man should be elder then the Woman.

A Maide in yong yeares is fitter for a man then a Widow.

time) they may both cease begetting & conceiving. So that by Aristotles rule, the husband ought to be twentie years (or thereabout) more aged then the wife. Hesiodus the Greeke Poet, and Xenophon the Philosopher, doo graunt them a little lesser time, saying; That when they marrie, the woman should be fourteene yeares olde, and the man thirtie. Licurgus the Law-maker of the Lacedemonians, conformeth himselfe almost with Aristotle: For, by his Law, he prohibited any man to marrie sooner then at thirtie seauen years, and the Woman at seatiene.

This Law of Lycurgus hath beene approved by diuers, to the end, that (the more facillie) the woman might invre hir selfe to the maners of her husband, coming then into his power from her yonger yeares. For, as Aristotle saith in his Oeconomic: The diuersity of manners & conditions, do hinder amitie and true Loue. Neuerthelesse I do not allow this Law of Aristotle, that grants a man twenty years more then a Woman (vnder reuerence and authoritie due to so worthy a Man) and my reason is, because wee see, that when a man attaineth to threescore years of age, albeit he can then beget: yet so it is (and that most commonly) if hee passe on further, the rest of his daies are so laden with diseases and passions, that if the Woman be then at the yeares of Fortie, he is then to her, rather a burdenous paine and trouble, then as a Husband of consolation.

Therefore, when there is a lesse difference in their yeares, their affections do mortifie themselues (as it were) both together at one time, and their willes and intentions grow to more conformitie, then when there is such great inequality in their ages. I denie not, but that the man ought to be the eldest; but it sufficeth, if it be by the space of eight or ten yeares, and the Woman sixteene, seauenteene, or more, hauing respect vnto the Ages and Liues of these our present dayes.

Also, I dare maintaine, that a man ought to take a Wife which is yong, well featured, and a Maide, rather then a widow, or one in yeares, formerly moulded vnto anothers manners and humors: because it is most certaine, that in soft & tender youth, much better and easily may be imprinted, euen such maners and

conditions as the Husband would wish, (with absolute priuiledge of Obedience) then in rugged, stubborne, or aged fullen Nature.

To this purpose we haue a notable example, in Timotheus the cunning & excellent Flute player; and who for mony made no spare of his skill, for the instruction of youth in his singuler qualitie. He obserued it as a custome, before he wold accept of any Scholler; to know, if formerly he had practised any beginning of the Art, for he wold take more then halfe the price doubled of such, then of them that knewe nothing therein. And his reason was, because he should take more paines to bridle such a one, of an euil apprehension alreadie learned, then hee could any way doo, by direct teaching such as formerly knew not a note. This example serueth well for widdowes, that formerly haue beene taught and instructed by others: and therefore, do require the more difficult labour, to chaunge the bad Tunes, and strange conceits, learned or practised in their first Husbands daies. In which respect (and verie iustly) I preferre the Marriage of Maids, before that of Widdowes; because, beside what els hath beene, and yet further may be alledged, womē do contain a singuler loue and memory of them, with whome they had their first acquaintance.

Now, as concerning Parentage and a wealthie Dowrie with a Woman, I read, that a yong Grecian went to Pittacus, one of the seuen Sages of Greece, to craue his Counsell in the case of marriage, vsing these wordes; I am offered my choise of two women in marriage; the one is equall to me in goods & parentage, the other exceedeth mee very farre, which of them is fittest for mee to elect? Pittacus returned him this answer: See yonder are two children, practising to play at defence with Cudgels, go vnto them, and they will giue thee Counsell. He did so: and as he approched neere the Boyes, who were laying their heads together, concerning their owne play: When they saw the young man come, that exceeded them so much in strength and stature, imagining he came to play with them, they laide downe the weapons, saying; Euerie man should play with his equall. By which childish precept or admonition, hee perceined that hee ought to marrie his equall.

Of Timotheus the skilfull player on Flutes.

An euill Custome once learned, is not easily cured.

A note for Widdowes.

Marriage of maids, preferred before that of Widdowes.

Of a Wiues parentage & riches in marriage, the case aduised by wife Pittacus.

Equality is the fittest thing in marriage.

Plutarch

Plutarch, his graue aduise concerning marriage.

Plutarch, in his Treatise of nurssing Children, saith: *A man ought not to marry his Sonne to a Woman richer then himselfe, neither of any greater condition. For (saith he) he that allies himselfe, where he is exceeded in wealth; instead of begetting Kinred, purchaseth Maisters and Commanders. And when a rich Woman marries her selfe to a poore Man; pride alwaies will haue the supremacy in her braine, living a'together unruly and incompatible, onely by the contempt she hath of her Husband.* The Philosopher Menander saide: *A poore Man that matcheth himselfe with a rich Wife, giues himselfe in marriage to the woman, and not she to him.* Lycurgus appointed a Law to the Lacedemonians, that they should marry their Daughters without any dowries; to the end, that each one should endow themselves with vertues, and onely (therefore) to be required in marriage. Now, albeit this Law seemed rigorous to some, yet (for all that) it was very allowable; being kept in one body, as well as in another. And then, if the Father had no Mony or other goods in marriage with his Wife: hee was the lesse obliged to giue any with his Daughter; and hereby it was the better knowne, that when a Man sought to be married, whether he did it in respect of riches, or no. But it were a great deale of lost labour, in seeking now to perswade this among vs: considering, that men are so well acquainted with this abuse, as marriage (in these daies) is procured for nothing else.

Notwithstanding, I will still maintaine, that when a rich Man desireth Marriage; he should not greedily gape after riches, but rather to enioy a noble and vertuous Wife. Taking example by Alexander the Great, who although he was a mighty King, as is wel enough knowne: yet he tooke to Wife Barsina, the Daughter of Arbassus, without any riches; but she was young, vertuous, and of royall descent, and hee that is most rich, should most seeke after this vility. So shall he be sure to auoyd al discontentment, for, by setting Monies aside, which couer many vices: such strange deformities would appear naked and manifest, which else cannot be scene, men being blinded with Auarice; for they are so cunningly dissem-

bled, that though they are apparant, yet they will not be discerned. I mislike not, that in equall noblenesse, a man should make his best election, & please his affections to his own contentment: euen as I vtterly condemne him, that (for Wealth) can be content to take a vile and infamous Wife.

I shall not need to labour my selfe in this matter, because the very earth herein is a Schoole-waiteer to vs, for, if we sow in a sharpe ground, and not prepared: it will bring forth fruit that hath no sauour, although our Seede be neuer so good and delicate. On the contrary, low Seede (learse relishable) in a well husbanded ground, and it will yeelde fruit most perfect and excellent. In like manner, to haue good and absolute Horses, we must make our election in a well tride breede or race; much more then should we haue care of our Children and Successours. Truelie, in my iudgement, a man makes very slender account of himselfe, and badly satisfieth his owne Obligation for which he was borne: if hee leaue not to his Children as Noble a Linage, as he was Heire to by his Father; which he cannot doe, in giuing them a Mother of worse condition then himselfe. Moreover, if he haue any care of his owne honor and reputation, he will encrease more Wealth and Dignity to his Children, then he receiued from his Father. How highly then doth a man stand charged, and greatly indebted; to leaue a good Issue behinde him, and of true borne blood? Yea, much greater then was left to himselfe, for auoyding al occasion, of giuing his Children cause to complaine of him.

Paulus Emilius declareth, that Manestius the Athenian, Sonne to Iphicrates, the excellent Captaine, whose Mother was of mean condition and poor birth, which the saide Iphicrates had taken in marriage, was demaunded; which hee loued best, either his Father or Mother? He answered; My Mother. They that mooued the question, wondering heereat, desired to vnderstand his reason. Because (quoth he) my Father, in regard of himselfe; hath made me a Native of Thrace, and the Sonne of a poore Mother: but she hath made mee an Athenian borne, and the Sonne of a famous Captaine.

An example deriued from the earth

Example of Horses.

How careful a man ought to be in choise of his wife.

Of Manestius the Athenian, Sonne to Iphicrates, and his worthy answer.

As

Lycurgus his Law against dowries in Marriage.

A hard matter to be perswaded in these dayes.

Example of great Alexanders marriage

Mony couers many foule imperfections.

Of beauty & blacknesse, a meane betweene both

Iuno her promise to *Aeolus*

The Authors intent in this case.

As concerning beauty, setting aside their opinions, who say, that choyse should be made of one neither foule or faire, but a meane betweene both: I say, that euermore (to our vttermost power) make a faire Wife our eye-marke, provided she be vertuous, as we haue formerly said. For otherwise, my aduise is, rather to take a vertuous homely one, then a faire one, of proud and bad Nature. And the reason of chusing a faire Wife, onely is this; in regard of generation and posterity, and to haue beautifull Children. *Virgill* declareth, that the Goddesse *Iuno*, making great promises to *Aeolus*, said: She would giue him one of her goodliest Nymphs, because she might bring him beautifull Children. *Archidamus*, King of *Athens*, was condemned in a great amercement of Money, because he had married a Woman of little stature, the Iudges saying; that he would leaue the a race of little Kings, and of no constitution. This which I haue said, is not by way of commaund, but of counsell, which may be accepted and done, without any difficulty, or exception of persons. For marriage vnited with a homely Wife, is as holy as that of the fairest, and with the poore, as with the rich, with a Widdow, as with a Maide: because vniuersally, where nature and charity is, all different things haue equality, and good conformity.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the cordiall loue and amity, which ought to be in Marriage: With some examples of loue among the married.

Marriage where, and to what end instituted.



Love and Charity betweene two vnited bodies, deserueth to be commended, because Marriage is so excellent a thing: as well in respect of him, that instituted it, which was GOD, as the place of institution, which was Paradise, and that proceeding from it; to wit, the propagation and perpetuity of mankind, with remedy against all sensuall appetites, and wicked concupiscences. All other loues in this humane

life, with what men soeuer they be; are meere improper loues: but this is Diuine, and (in truth) it is that, which makes vnion both of Soule and Body, for so is it sealed and confirmed, by power of supream prerogatiue. And there is nothing else, that betweene two thus conioyned, can be so particularly proper; because both heart and body are common, betweene a good and loyall married couple. Which cannot bee so in other amities, that small thinges can soone destroy, and slender trifles separate; nay, which is much worse, the longest continuance therof is but for little time. The prooffe heereof hath daily bene seene, for few haue continued to death, because the will of man is so mutable: as a new friend can easily thrust an old one out of his place. But true and intire loue betweene Man and Wife, cannot bee sundred, neyther by infirmity, pouerty, misfortune, or disfaour, for nothing but death only can be the denider. Nay, it seemeth also to continue after death, as hath bene noted in some worthy widdowed persons, whose examples are infinite.

Among whom, and deseruing best consideration of all other, the loue of *Adam* and *Eua* hath most eminence: considering, that the fruit of life being forbidden them, *Adam* notwithstanding, to please his Wife, exposed and submitted himselfe to all perrill. When *Paulina*, Wife to the wise and learned *Seneca* of *Cardona*, heard that cruell *Nero* had put her Husband to death, and that he had chosen his owne death, by making incision into his veines: shee would not onely beare him company in death, but also in the very same manner of dying, and therefore sliced her veines, according as it was done vnto *Seneca*. When *Nero* had intelligence therof, and knew that this ensued from inuiolable loue: he caused great speede to be made, to saue her in the perill of death. For, being euen vpon expiring, he caused her veines to be bound vp, & kept her that shee could not dye: by meanes whereof, the good Lady liued all the rest of her time in great affliction, and colourlesse, in signe of the loyall loue she bare to her Husband. We read in the liues of the Emperors, that

Lacius

The body and Soule is vnited together in marriage.

Coniugall loue hath continued after death,

The incomparable loue of *Adam* and *Eua*.

There are loue of *Paulina*, wife to learned *Seneca*.

The loue of
Triata to her
Husband Lu-
cius Vitellius.

Lucius Vitellius, Brother to the Empe-
rour *Vitellius*, being benighted in a dan-
gerous battaile: his Wife, named *Tri-
ata*, loued him so perfectly, as she en-
tered disguised among the Souldiers, to
beare her Husband company, and to
assist him in life or death, fighting more
valiantly then any of the rest. Thus did
her intire loue make her forget feminin
weaknesse, life and safety.

The loue of
King Darius to
his faire Q.
Roxana.

Quintus Curtius reporteth, that King
Darius being conquered by *Alexander*,
and spoiled of a great part of this King-
dome: endured it with stout courage
and patiently, without trouble, or
shewing the least signe of sadnesse.
But when newes was brought him,
that his Queene and Wife was dead:
to shew that hee loued her more then
his royal dignitie; he wrong his hands,
and could not containe, but wept bit-
terly.

The loue of
queen Alcesta
to her Hus-
band Admetus

Ouid, *Iuinall*, *Martiall*, and o-
thers, speaking of the worthy Wife to
King *Admetus*, doe say: That shee (to
giue life to her sickely Husband) slew
her selfe, hauing heard aunswere from
the Oracle, that his life should bee sa-
ued, if one of his dearest friends would
dye for him. Notwithstanding, in the
small credit giuen to Poets: I should

The loue of a
poore Fisher-
man and his
wife, euen to
the death.

haue spared this example, if holy Saint
Hierome had not made mention there-
of. The younger *Pliny* writeth in a Let-
ter of his, that a Fisher-man was sicke
of a grieuous and incurable disease,
whereby he endured daily extreame A-
gonies. Which his Wife beholding
with great compassion, louing him sin-
cerely, seeing all hope of helpe vtterlie
lost, & no remedy to be found, though
all meanes possible had beene sought
for: she councelled her Husband, not
to liue any longer in this tormenting
paine, but saide vnto him; that seeing
he must needs dye, he should bid death
welcome, and so end all grieuance. The
Husband liked well of her aduise, and
yeelded thereto, and they both getting
vp on a high Rocke, the Wife bound
her selfe fast to her Husband, and thro-
wing themselues head-long downe,
were bruised in many peeces.

Of a poore la-
bouring man
and his wife
in the King-
dome of Na-
ples.

Baptista Fulgosa delareth, that a poore
labouring man in the Kingdome of
Naples, traouailing along by the Sea side
with his Wife: she chaunced to stay a
while behind him, about some vrgent

10

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businessse. In which time of tarryan ce
there arriued a Foist of *Moores*, who
bearing her aboard: the poore man
had no more sight of her, but onely of
the Foist, which launched off into the
Sea, whereby hee conceiued, that the
Moores had carried his Wife away with
them. Hereupon, confounded with
greefe, he threw himselfe into the Sea,
and swum after the Foist, crying vnto
them which were within it, that see-
ing they had taken his Wife from him;
they would be pleased to take him also.
Which made them take him vp into
the Gally, to the no little amazement
of the *Moores*, and great comfort,
(though in floods of teare) of the wo-
man. Afterward, they were both
brought before the King of *Thunis*, to
whom the Vessell belonged, and the
whole Story beeing related to him,
which moued his mind to such great
compassion: as he not onely deliuered
them, but also sent them home againe.

To speake likewise of the loue which
Artemisia bare to her Husband *Mauso-
lus*: wee must then consider, what a
glorious Sepulcher shee builded for
him, calling it *Mausolus*, after his name,
and rancked among the 7. wonders of
the world, only for the costly workman
ship thereof. The loue of *Tiberius
Gracchus* to his Wife, was likewise ve-
ry admirable, and although the exam-
ple bee stale and common, recited at
large by *Valerius Maximus*, yet may we
not well spare to speake thereof. He
hauing found two Serpents, in the Bed
Chamber where hee vsed to take his
rest: desired to know the augury there-
of, whereto he had answere. That he
must needs kill one of them, yet with
this caution: that if he killed the Male-
Serpent, then he should dye before his
Wife; but if the Female, then his wife
should dye, and he remaine alive.
Whereupon, he louing his wife much
better then himselfe, made effectuall
demonstration thereof; when he chose
rather to dye, then to behold the death
of his Wife: for he slew the Male-Ser-
pent, and dyed himselfe, leauing her to
suruiue a widdow. But it is to be doub-
ted, whether she was the most happie
of both, in hauing such a Husband, or
infortunate in the losse of him. Now,
as concerning a two-fold Argument,
where-

The loue of
Artemisia to
her Husband
Mausolus.

The loue of
*Tiberius Grac-
chus* to his
wife.

A double Ar-
gument of
loue.

wh. rebby to approoue the sinceritie of loue, to wit: a woman to kill her selfe, for greefe and feare of her Husbands death, or else, to mourne in such contristing manner, as death to ensue vpon meere sorrow.

Concerning the first of these, wee haue already related in the story of fair *Alcesta*; and for the other, we haue a notable example in *Julia*, the Daughter to *Julius Caesar*, and Wife to *Pompey*. The garment of her husband being brought vnto her, gashed and all bloody with a wound which he had receiued: she imagining her Husband to be slaine, before she had leysure to heare the cause thereof, fell into such a strange conceit and alteration; as her vnderstanding was quite lost, and being immediately deliuered of a Childe (where-with she had long gone great) instantly died. And her death ended the worlds peace, which (by her meanes) was preserued in the kinred of *Julius Caesar* the Father, and *Pompey* her Husband. The loyalty of *Lucretia* towards her Husband, is so notable, as now it were needlesse to report it: for, loathing to liue defamed, after her chaste body was adulterated, she resolutely slew her selfe. The loue of the wife to Count *Fernand Gonçales*, is also very memorable, & likewise the meanes whereby she deceiued the king: for she remained Prisoner in the habite of a man, while her Husband fled, and saued his life in her womans garments. There are infinit examples to this purpose, which (for auoyding prolixitie) I forbear to set down, and although (by our lawes) none are allowed to kill themselves: yet are these examples worthy to be noted & considered, considering they were performed by Paganes and *Gentiles*, not hauing any light or knowledge of our Faith.

CHAP. XV.

Of diuers customes, which our ancient forefathers obserued in their Mariages.

MArriage contracteth it selfe, with the sole consent of the man and woman: but to the end, that this consent might be the better authorised, and remaine in intire perfection; it was

thought requisite, to shew the same by wordes and outward signes, because none but God onely knoweth and vnderstandeth our harts, & hence it proceeded, that men instituted many ceremonies and sollemne wordes. As for those which are obserued among Christians; they are so euident and notorious, as there is no need to speak of the. Wherefore, I will onely discourse of some customes, which barbarous nations, and the *Romaines* also vsed in their mariages, the diuersity whereof (it may be) will yeild some pleasure.

The ancient *Romaines*, according to *Cicero*, were married in two kinds, and they had two manner of wiues or women, answerable to the diuers ceremonies of their mariages: the one was more common then the other, and she named her selfe *Matrone*; the other was stiled *Mother of the family*. Of this latter kind, it seemeth that they were married, as (well-neere) Christians now adaiies are. For the Husband would demand of the woman, if she would be *Mother & Mistresse of his Family*; and she answering, yea; gaue her consent. She likewise then demanded of him, if he would be *Father of the Family*, and he answering also, yea: then they took and ioyned their hands together, and this form of marriage was held for lawfull. By this meanes, the wife attained to such place in her husbands house & family, as she should haue had, if she had bin a Daughter of the same house: for now she was ranked in the number of the same linage, & (as a daughter) came to succeed in hir husbands inheritance. Hereof *Boetius* speaketh more amply, in the second of *Ciceroes Topicks*. The other ceremonie was more common, & by ordinary words: and such women were not accepted as mothers of families, albeit they were termed *Matrones*.

The *Romaines* had also this custome, that bringing the new married wife to her Husbands dwelling; she must stay at the doore, and not enter, vntill shee were (perforce) drawn in. Giving thereby to vnderstand, that she went by constraint to the place, where shee was to loose her virginity. VWhen they gaue the wife into her husbands power, they first caused her to sit downe in her mothers lap; frō whence the husband must forcibly

The loue of *Julia*, daughter to *Cesar*, and Wife to *Pompey*.

The loue of the *Romaine Lucretia*.

The Wife of Count *Fernand Gonçales*.

Single consent is the act of Marriage.

Cicero in Topic.
Two kinds of Marriage among the *Romaines*.

The first kind of Marriage.

Boetius in secund. Topic.
Cicero.
The second kind of Marriage.

Another custome of the *Romaines*.

forcibly fetch her, while the Daughter held fast her Mother with strong embracings. This they obserued as an ancient memory of the *Romaines*, when they forcibly fetcht the *Sabine* Virgines from their mothers: by means of which rapture, it succeeded well to *Rome*, and greatly encreased their people. And yet before they proceeded thus farre, it was an order established; that the Bride should touch both Fire and Water, which Ceremony they vsed (according to *Plutarch* and *Laſtantiuſ*) as signifying generation by these two Elementes, because they are the two principall generatiue causes of all things. Others say, it was done to the end, to shew the wife sincerity of heart, and loyalty by her to be kept: because water washeth away all vncleanness, and had mixions are purged by fire, as we may discern in Metals. They held likewise (as a very euill presage or augury) any marriages made in the month of May; in regard of some vanities and superstitions remaining among them, which are largely reported by *Ouid* and *Plutarch*.

They had also another Custome, that when the Bride entred the doore of her Husbands house: he should say (with a loude voyce) *Casa Cecilia*, and she, *Caio Cecilio*. This they obserued, because *Tarquinius Priscus*, seauenth King of the *Romaines*, had a wife most chaste, wise, and endued with many vertues, who was named *Caia Cecilia*, but before she came to *Rome*, shee was called *Tanaquil*: and therefore the Husband pronounced these wordes, to put his Wife in minde of that vertuous Woman, that was a Crowne and honour to her Husband. There went one also before the Bride, home to the doore of her Husbands dwelling, carrying a distaffe laden with Flaxe, and a Spindle hanging by; to put her in minde, that she should exercise spinning: *Pliny* is the Authour that speaketh these things.

These *Romaines* had yet another custome, that when a man married a widow; the solemnity was kept on a featiuall day; but if he wedded a Maide; then it was kept on an ordinary working day. *Macrobius* and *Plutarch* are the Authors hereof; and *Plutarch* saith, that the nuptiall celebration made on

the Feast-day, was expressely so done: because the people being then busied at playes and recreations, should take no knowledge when Widdowes were secondly married. Contrariwise, the weddings of Maides were solemnized on working-daies, because they should be seene and knowne generally. But *Macrobius* affirmeth, that Maides nuptials were not performed on featiuall daies; because (as we haue already saide) of the Ceremony, of forcibly fetching them from their mothers laps, which could not be done vpon any feast day.

I forbear to speake of other solemnities and Ceremonies among the *Romaines*, to come to them of the *Babylonians*, whose forme of marrying their Maids was thus. On a certaine date in the yeare, the Maides were brought into a publike place of the Citty, where marriage was graunted to them that were the fairest: but not any dowrie to be giuen with the Maide, for shee was then deliuered to him that would giue most Mony for her. The same order they obserued in the second degree of beautie, and so in all other degrees, to the very meanest and simplest: who if they could not bee married without Mony, they then must giue it, that had the fairest Wiues, by which meanes, some vnſightly and hard fauoured Maides, were as well marryed as the brightest beauty, without bringing any Mony with them. *Marcus Antonius Sabellicus* saith, that this was also a Custome among the ancient *Venetians*: but then you must vnderstand, that such as were of meanest handsonnes, brought no dowries with them, neither did they receiue any; or bought them, but took them freely.

The ancient French-men, because their Daughters should not complain of being marryed against their wils; they had a Custome; that at such time as their Daughters were fit for marriage; they would inuite a great number of young men to a Banquet: but they were men of such qualitie, as might each way be answerable to their owne condition. In this Banquet time; the maide had free leaue, to elect a Husband among the inuited: and, for a publike signe, where, and on whom her affection

The Sabine virgins brought perforce from their mothers

Plutar in Prob. Laſta. in lib. 2. de Inſtit. Diuin.

Ouid de Faſt. Plutar. in Prob.

Caia Cecilia. Caio Cecilio.

Huſwifely enſtruction.

Plin. in lib. 8. Cap. 40.

Of marrying a Maide and widow, and on what daies

Macrobius lib. 4. Plutar. in Prob.

Of marriages amongst the Babylonians.

Wiues had for the most Money.

Marcus Antonius Sabellicus.

An ancient Custome among the French, for marrying their Daughters.

A marriage
Custome in
Africa.

* People of
Scythia in Asia
beyond the
Caspian Sea.

Euseb. de Euan
preparat. lib. 5.

Strabo concer-
ning the Ara-
bians.

A pretty Sto-
ry incident to
the purpose.

An admirable
vertue in an
Heathen wo-
man, for loue
to her Hus-
band.

on was placed, shee brought him a Bas-
son of Water to wash his hands. In a
Citty of *Africa*, called *Leptina*, they
had a Custome, that the first day of a
Brides coming to her Husbands
house; she should send to borrow an
earthen pot of her Mother in Law, and
she would returne aunswere of lending
her none. This was done to no other
end, but to teach her obedience to her
Husbands Mother, and hauing so hard
an answere at the first motion, to ex-
pect no better; but on good desert. The
* *Massigetæ* tooke each Man a Wife in
Marriage; and yet notwithstanding,
one Woman was common to all, and
all the Weomen common to any one.
Eusebius saith, that the ancient *Bretons*
had the like Custome. The *Arabians* of
Arabia Felix, had an ancient wont, that
a married Woman was common to al
her Husbands kinred. And *Strabo* saith,
that when any of them went to her, he
would leaue a Ring or Jewell at the en-
trance of her doore; that if any other
should come, he might know the place
was already taken vp, and he not enter,
for this was especially respected a-
mong them: beside, he was punished
with death, that made vse of any Wo-
man not of his owne kinred.

It fortun'd, that a Woman highlie
endued with beauty, was often visited
(in that kind) by her Husbands kinred,
and she being importuned by so fre-
quent visitation: left a Ring at her
doore, that whosoever should come,
might suppose the place to be alreadie
supplied. This honest decept endur'd
many daies together, & no man could
get entrance, till at the last, all her hus-
bands kinred being (one day) assembled
in a certaine place: one of them close-
ly slipt away, intending to visite her, in
such an assurance of any other. But fin-
ding the Ring at the doore, and re-
membering that hee had left all the kin-
red else (but himselfe) together: hee
supposed some Adulterer to haue in-
truded; whereupon he ran to aduertise
her Husband and the rest. But they be-
ing entred, found her alone at her
worke, and she confessed to them, the
cause of thus deceiuing them, and kee-
ping her selfe onely to her Husband.
When they had well considered there-
on, and found her intention to be

grounded on vertue, for auoyding of
dishonest conuersation, arising by such
number of her Husbands kinred, to
liue in the greater temperance and cha-
stity, sworne enemy to the brutall v-
sage and Custome of the Countrey:
their own reason confirmed her hono-
rable minde, and in stead of condem-
ning, they highly commended her.

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CHAP. XVI.

¶ Who were the first Inuenters of Letters,
and of Latine Syllables.

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IT is not to bee doub-
ted, but (among all the
Inuentions of Men)
that of Letters was the
best and chiefest: for,
to present iudgement,
they deliuer things long since past, and
communicate busineses which are fur-
thest off; nay more, they make a Man
(almost) immortall, so that, if it were
not for Letters, there had neuer benee
so many wise men in the World.
Therefore the Latines are highly be-
holding to *Nicostrata*, Daughter to
Isonius, King of *Arcadia*, who after the
death of her Husband (by whom shee
had her Sonne *Euander*) leauing *Arca-
dia*; came into *Italie*; and made her stay
on the Mount called *Pallatine*, or *Palatium*,
neer to the Riuer of *Tyber*, where
now *Rome* standeth. There she builed
a Castle, whereof she made her Sonne
Euander Lord, and then shee married
with *Faunus*, King of the *Laurentines*.
She being excellent and skilful, in fore-
telling matters to ensue; most learned
in the Greeke Characters; and endued
with an extraordinary ingenious spirit:
inuented nineteene newe Characters
of Letters, which she her selfe taught
to the grosse and vulgar people.

After her, one named *Syluius*, Mai-
ster of the Plaies or sportes, found out
the Letters H. K. and Q. albeit they
are no Letters, but Aspirations. The
Greekes afterward, in the time of Saint
Augustine, found and receiued the two
Letters X and Z. And so they all were
ranked

Letters the
best of all o-
ther inuenti-
ons.

Nicostrata the
first Inuen-
tresse of Let-
ters.

Syluius the
Maister of
the Sports.

ranged together, euen in such manner, as now we haue them. The people wondering at the wisdom of their Lady *Nicostrata*, named her a Goddess while she liued, and began to render honours to her, as to a Diuinity. After her death, they erected a Temple to her in *Rome*, neere the Capitall, and dedicated it to her name.

Dyonisus Lycimius the Inuentor of Syllables.

Dyonisus Lycimius the *Romaine*, a man very ingenious, found and deuised (afterward) the order of Syllables. For which inuention, they made him a Statue, and exalted it in meete place, and for his honour.

CHAP. XVII.

Of *Valasca*, a Lady of *Bohemia*, who hauing procured all the Ladies in the kingdome, to kill their Fathers, Husbands, Brethren and Children; governed *Bohemia* the space of seauen yeares.



Et me quicken your memory, with some-thing spoken in the two and twentieth Chapter, of our first Booke, where speaking of the *Amazons*. *Aeneas Syluius* (who was Pope *Pius* the second) is remembred, concerning his History of the *Bohemians*, and the Women of that Countrey. Among whom *Valasca*, a Lady of incomparable Spirit, deserueth to haue her History not vtterly forgotten: because it is very memorable, and why shee conceived such great hatred against the *Bohemians*.

Valasca, a worthy Ladie of *Bohemia*.

You must know then, that *Crocius*, second Duke of the *Bohemians*, dying without issue Male: his Daughter *Libussa* (accounted for one of the *Sybbles*) with fauour and applauses of the common people, was established in the royall seate of her Father, and governed the Prouince for many yeares, to the generall liking of euery one. At length, hauing giuen a very vpright sentence, of some possession belonging to a powerful Lord: he (growing much displeas'd with the iudgement) moued the people against her, saying. That it was a very vnworthy case, and

The people moued against *Libussa*, in regard of her sexe.

the people greatly to be blamed, being of such a great and Noble Nation, that they should be subiect to the government of a woman. *Libussa* obtaining silence of those hot seditious Vp-starts, told them; that she knew well enough their new desseigne and contriued deliberation: yet they took her ouer-short in satifying their will. Wherefore, she prayed them to meet together the day following, and shee would labour to content them in all things, for she desired their contentment aboue all things else. The morrow being come, the popularity flocked together in mightie troops, and being (from all parts) congregated in a principall place, and they all attentive to heare *Libussa*, the Princess began to speake in this manner:

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You know (*Bohemians*) that (to this day) I haue bin to you a milde & peaceable Lady and Mistresse, without offending any one of you, much lesse vsurping vpon your goods: whereby you iustly conceiue, that you had not me as a Dutchesse, but rather as a Mother. Neuerthelesse, for ought I can perceiue, mine administration hath beene scarce pleasing to ye, whereat I do not much mervaille: for herein you imitate all other men, who neuer are satisfied, but can rather wish for a milde and iust Gouvernour, then they know how to keepe him when they haue him. For mine owne part, very gladlie doe I (at this instant) set yee at libertie: and as you desire a man, to rule and awe ye after his manner, so am I contented that you shall haue such a one. Wherefore, take my white Palfray, and bridling and adorning him in his best furniture, bring him forth on this plaine, whence he may take his way whether he will alone. But cease not you to follow him, till you see him stay before a man, feeding vpon a table of Iron; whom bring hither with you, and he shall bee your Prince, and my Husband.

The Oration of *Libussa* before all the people.

These words were pleasing to them all, and furnishing the Horse; as *Libussa* had directed, so they suffered him to wander loose, and they following after. The Horse hauing gone the distance of tenne Miles, stayed at a Riuer called *Biell*, and there hee stood gazing on a Countrey Boore, named *Primislaus*, to whom hee shewed

* Of this *Primislaus*, the

third Duke of Bohemia, mention is made by Baptista Fulgoso, in his 3. Booke of Memorable actions.

This maketh me to remember *Q. Cincinnatus*, who from the Plough, was called to the Office of Dictator.

The Oration of *Valasca* to all her Noble Sisters.

many Horse-trickes, whinnowing and leaping before him, as if he would haue made open notice, that he knew him to be his Maister. The *Bohemians*, as well Nobles as Plebeians, ranne quickly to the place, and hauing saluted the plaine Villager, said vnto him: Mount vpon this Horse, and goe with vs to the Princesse *Libussa*, for shee requireth you as her Husband, and the *Bohemians* will accept ye as their Prince. *Primi- slaus*, although he was rustical, yet notwithstanding (as it is a generall desire to rule, and no man but will conceite himselfe worthy enough of it:) vsed them very courteously, and saide; hee was ready to obey them, in whatsoever they would commaund him. And hauing heard he must goe visite *Libussa*, it being a long iourney (as he supposed) to her, and not hauing broken his fast that day: hee turned his * Ploughshare or Coulter, where-with hee had laboured in the field, and setting Bread and Cheefe thereon, fell hartlie to feeding. This was an euident Testimony to the *Bohemians*, of the words vsed by *Libussa* to them: whereat being somewhat amazed, they dutifullie attended vntill he had dined. When he had ended, hee mounted vpon the Horse, and they conducted him to the City; where he married the Dutchesse *Libussa*, who so long as shee liued, was partly gouerned by the aduise of her Husband. But shee being dead, the Kingdome remained to *Primi- slaus*, and and so the authority of women ceased, which (till that time) was made very famous by *Libussa*.

But then *Valasca*, a young Lady, and of high courage, equalling any of the *Amazones*, who had serued *Libussa* as Secretarie to her closest counsels: shee could not endure that the power of Weomen should thus bee deiected, but assembling her company on a daie in secret, she vttered these, or the like speeches.

My deare Sisters, we haue lost our great and royall Mistresse, who alwaies maintained the subiection of Men, and neuer could endure that they should be Maisters: but liued like an Empresse, & we (with her) as if we were Queens. But now we see (miserable that we are) how wee must be curbed all the rest of

our dayes, vnder the flauish yoake of Males; whereby we shall be in a much worse condition then Slaues, except wee can regaine our former freedomie. Whereof if you considered as deeply as I doe, and that all your hearts were like to mine: I would not doubt, but that easily wee might recouer our first condition. I haue beene (as you all well know) of most priuate counsell with *Libussa*, and haue learned her best knowledge, both in Enchantments, and compounding Druggeries, fit and conuenient for our purpose. If then you will yeelde to follow me; without faile we will haue a new regency ouer Men. All the Weomen hauing heard *Valasca*, thought well of her sprightlie motion, and consenting to her aduise, the conspiracy was instantly plotted against the men.

While these affaires were thus working, one night *Primi- slaus* had a dream, that a virgine gaue him blood to drink, and he (hauing learned of *Libussa*, as also by others enstructions, sundry secrets of diuination) growing fearefull of this dreame: was carefull to foresee, and remedy al harms before hand, that might presage any future perill. And calling al the greatest Lords of his land to consultation, his maine intention was; to repress the ouer-bold liberty of Women, and to restraine them within stricter bounds. For the Ladies of the countrey had a custome to ride great horses, to run, Ioust, draw the Bow, hunt, and throw Darts: in breefe, they made vse of all exercises, that were conuenient for Men onelie. Which made the Gentlemen generally, to despise the humor of their base minded Prince: telling him: that women, by their soupleness of body, and gallantry of spirit, were much more worthy to be cherished & loued, then men of sottish and idle disposition. *Valasca* (all this while) ceased not day and night, still to harten on the coniu- red Sister-hood, and effectually prepared the Tragical act, threatned against the Mens liues: giuing them diuers Beuarages and Enchantments, to diuert their affecting thoughts from me, winning (day by day) many married wiues, to ranke themselues in this band and faction.

And at length, when they had leuied a good

Valascaes counsell fully allowed.

The Dreame of *Primi- slaus*.

A Custome obserued by the women of *Bohemia*.

The care and endeuour of *Valasca*, in prosecution of her purpose.

The bloody Stratagem of Valasca.

good and sufficient number, as well of married as vnmarried: the Stratagem was this, that in one night, Weomen should kill their Fathers, Husbands, Brethren, & Male Children, as they lay sleeping in their Beds, by potions purposefully prepared for the. Which being accordingly performed, the women were all in Armes, and mustering at a place appointed by Valasca, which was not far from the City of Praga, where conquering some that made resistance; they went on to Vissagrada, for Primsislaus made there his abiding, and there they purposed to entrap him. But perceiving they could not surprize the Fortresse, they with-drew to a Mountain (a place naturally very strong) and there they builded a Castle, that they named *Dienize*, to wit; *The Mountaine of Virgins*, for (in their language) Virgines are termed *Dienize*. To all such as escaped this bloody massacre, this exploit seemed strange and abominable: for they saw how their number daily increased, and feared that all the rest would flocke vnto them. Whereupon, they made it knowne to Primsislaus, that they were readie, and likewise resolved, to giue battell to these new vpstart *Amazones*: willing him to march forth with his Army, and they would ioyne their forces with him. The Prince gaue them to vnderstand, that (as then) he could not goe forth; because the Gods had aduertised him, that all such should dye, as instantly offended the Women, and therefore the busines must be referred to some other apter time. But they (making no account of this answer) hauing provided a powerfull Army of their owne, went directly to *Dienize*, where comming to handy-strokes with Valasca, all the men were discomfited, not without great losse and slaughter of the most part of them. The Ladies that carried themselves worthily in this daies seruice, were named *Malada*, *Nodea*, *Suata*, *Vorasta*, *Radzca*, *Zastana*, and *Tristana*, and to each of them was giuen (as a deserved guerdon of their valour) rich Chaines and Bracelets of Gold; and of the great booties won by them, they were all recompenced according to their merites. Valasca slew in this conflict. seuen of the very chiefest enemies, beside many o-

The Mount of Virgins.

War purposed against the women.

A happy and favorable day for the women, preuailing valiantly against the men.

ther of meaner quality, and euery one supposed her to be a Goddesse.

After this ouerthrow of the *Bohemians*, they had not the boldnesse to molest the women any way. For they held on in their valiant resolution, making daily sallies out vpon the borders, spoiling and burning in such maner, as they were dreaded ech day more then other. And being become Mistresses (we-neere) of all *Bohemia*, they were enforced to haue Commerce, Trafficke and communication with men, or else their estate would grow to nothing. Whereupon, they were contented to marry, notwithstanding a law made among the to the contrary. Adding to this law, that their Daughters should be maintained and instructed among themselves. but the sons should be kept by their fathers, hauing first their right eyes put out, and those fingers cut off, which wee call *Thumbes*; because if they liued to be men, they should not be able to shoote in a Bow, or manage any other Armes against their Mothers. In the end, *Valasca* hauing vexed *Bohemia* the space of 7. yeares, and brought it (almost) wholly tributary to her: was beguiled by *Primsislaus*. For he wrote Letters vnto her, wherein he signified, that those Lordes and Gentlemen which had moued war against her; did it without his consent; and to his great disliking, which made him the better pleased, with such severe punishment as they had iustly receiued. Moreover, that he held her as his deare daughter, not enuying her government of *Bohemia*: because she had bin Secretary to his Wife, and had (with such wisdom and courage) maintained his rule fully seauen yeares. That he felt himselfe now aged, and was become vnable to sway his people, and his Son not being of conuenient age, for gouernment of so weighty a charge: hee entreated her to come to *Vissagrada*, and he would surrender the Fortes into her power, by meanes whereof she should wholly subdue *Bohemia*. Provided, that she would (afterward) allow such a part or portion to his Sonne, as her selfe should thinke fit of, and as hee himselfe (at first) had allowed, by *Ibussa* her Princessse & Mistris, which he referred to her owne trust only. As for himselfe, he was well pleased to returne to his first

The Bohemians durst not offend the women.

A law made by the women of Bohemia.

Treachery devised against Valasca by Primsislaus.

condition, to dwell againe in the Village, from whence hee came much against his mind. For he accounted it very reasonable, and an act of duty: that as hee had received his Scepter from a Woman; so he should render it againe to a woman.

Valasca was deceived by the false Letter from *Primislaus*.

This Letter being sealed and sent, was not a little pleasing to *Valasca*, for she beleeving over-lightly (according to the Nature of her sexe) sent a Squadron of her armed Ladies, to take possession of those impregnable places: whereinto being entred, they were entertained with dances, feasts, and plaies. *Primislaus* invited them to a Banquet in his Pallace, and in the meane while, as they sate at the Tables; a great troop of well armed Gallants (which hadde beene closely ambushed for the purpose) rushed into the Hall, where the vnfortunate Ladies were all slaine by them: which being done, the power of *Primislaus* (being a very potent Army) marched forth with to *Dieuize*. *Valasca* having notice of this strange mishap, stood as one confounded with amazement, and putting on her Armour presently; issued forth of her Castle, mounted on a Courser, that seemed to breath Fire, hee was so full of Spirit. Many of her worthiest Ladies followed her; but she was the first that encountred the Army: where discovering more valiancy then I am able to expresse, being overthrowne in the thickest crowd of enemies, shee there ended her daies. Her famous followers, hearing the death of their peerelesse Queene and Mistresse: fought stoutlie and couragiously; not in any hope of conquest, but rather to be reuenged on the false treason of men, so that the conflict was very furious and cruell: But loosing the day, they were put to flight, and the *Vissagradians* pursuing them: got into the Castle as soone as they, where closing fast the gates, they made a mercilesse slaughter of the Weomen. Thus was *Bohemia* deliuered from the Dominion of Weomen, and *Valasca* (worthy to be ranked among the most illustrious Weomen) was allowed no buriall; but left as foode to the beastes and Fowles of the Ayre.

All the Ladies slaine by treason.

Valasca slaine in the midst of her enemies, and all her Ladies quite vanquished.

Bohemia deliuered from womens government.

CHAP. XVIII.

Who were the first Inuenters and deuisers of Hospitals; At what time, and upon what occasion.



It is not found recorded in any Histories, either *Iewish*, *Egyptian*, *Grecian*, *Romaine*, or of other Nation, that at any time they founded or builded any Hospitals, for entertainment and releefe of poor needy people, sicke, lame, impotent, past labour, and for the nourishing of children, exposed and forsaken of Father and Mother: but since the Christian Faith was received among men. For, in former times, such as were lame and maimed; slew themselves, despairing to find any charity among men. Such as were weake and sickly, hauing no meanes to helpe themselves: did make a publike sale of their liues, to share in some part of the price, and being recouered; both they and their posterity were made Slaues. As for Orphane Children, they (by Ciuill Lawes) were slaues to such as paid for their education: And these were Pagans Hospitals in ancient daies. The world was then flint-harted, beholding what men suffered, without any pittie or compassion.

No man would then know the diuersity of torments, wherwith poor Christians were continually afflicted. And because some imagined, that death was such a punishment, as gaue end to all the calamities of this world: to prevent such pittie, they would plucke forth an eie, or break a bone in the thigh, of such as were Christians. And, though the bone tooke no hold againe; but easlie might be heard by crackling: yet must they be sent into the Mines to dig in the earth, and performe other labours that were insupportable. These persecutions ceased, when *Constantine* the great had attained to the *Romaine* Empire (by his valour and magnanimity) who was a Christian, and he reuoked all Edictes against

Pagans without Charitie, and no Hospitals of releef, but since Christianity began.

Paganes Hospitals.

Cruell Edictes made against Christians.

Constantine the Great.

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By what
meanes Chri-
stians were
discouered.

Euseb. Hist.
Eccles. Lib. 10.

Toto titul. de
Epist. & Cler.

The Emperor
Constantine,
first began
the building
of Hospitals.

Julian the A-
postata ordai-
ned Hospitals

against the Christians; and then Charity began to be publicly exercised. For in former times, Christians were noted by their good liues (and Charity which they extended to the poore) whereof there was then great store: in regard of the confiscation of their goods, and the forenamed mutilations, that Countries were (in a manner) couered with people, and Almes would not stretch to help so many.

Heere you must consider, that scarcely the sixt part of the people (at the most) were then Christians: for the Paganes (that hated them) would giue them nothing, and there were none else but Christians to releue them; the distribution of whose meanes became so shortned, as they had labour enough to provide for themselves. And that which most augmented the poore in number, was the preservation of Christians frō persecution, who durst make shew of themselves, after the Coronation of Great *Constantine*; and had expressed their Charity, by buying the liberty of slaues, that were become Christians, and being expulsed by their Masters, had no releefe, but what they got by begging.

Hereupon, the Christians (to continue their charitable disposition) at the instance of their Bishops, entreated the Emperor, that care and respect might be had of the poore, and Hospitals to be builded; wherein the aged, poore, maimed, Orphanes, Wemen, Widowes, and people eyther past, or vnable to labor, might be relieued. Wherto he condescended, himselfe first beginning to build many, & gaue command, that the like should be done thoroughout his Empire: which yet was not performed, but in those places where the Christians most abounded. Thirty yeares after, his Nephew *Julian* coming to the Empire, albeit he was no Christian, but an *Apostata*; yet notwithstanding, he continued on the building and erection of Hospitals. As may be found in his Epistles, which he wrote to Bishops and Proconsuls, and to the Cities of *Asia*, saying. They might be ashamed, in not following the example of Christians, who founded Temples and Hospitals for them of their Religion; but in them was found no Charity, but

all Couetousnesse. After the death of this *Julian*, who raigned but two yeares; Idolatry began to shrink by little and little, so that there was hardly any place in our Hemisphere, but it became well stored with Christians, by which means (the Christians being no more persecuted) they had opportunity to found many Hospitals, according to their Countries and dwellings. Bishops and Popes builded some in *Rome*; and provided great reuennues for them. The Emperors in the East, in *Italy*, and an infinite number of other Princes in diuers Provinces, as at this day is to be seene.

In the end, by course of time, those Hospitals sufficed not, to entertaine so many as were brought thither, and the Children forsaken of their Parents. Which *Gratian* the Emperour perceiuing (who raigned the yeare of Christ, 380.) He made ordenances, whereby was appointed, that euery Orphan-Child, should remaine as a Slaue to his Fosterer, and Nourisher. Within a while after, the Emperor *Valens* gaue generall authoritie, to take vp all begging Vagabonds, that were not sicke or impotent; and to make them serue as Slaues. Prohibiting also, that none should goe into Woods or Forrestes, to liue there as Hermits: for he caused a great number to suffer death, that were retired thither; and he would haue no one liue idly, but all to take paines. In imitation (then) of this good Emperour *Valens*, such as haue the charge of Hospitals, and admitting poore people into them, for their releefe and gouernment: ought to be carefull; that if they be sick and vnable to labour; then to entertaine them, or else to send them backe. For otherwise, they feede on goods giuen, against the will of the Founder, and contrary (indeede) to all equity: because they must allow of none, but the poore and needy, incapable of labour; and such are to be enquired after, whose modesty wronges their misery, and conceales them from open knowledge; while loytering wretches (by friendship) eatē vp their right. Now as there are many inhumanities and rude behaviours, acknowledged to be done among the Turkes; and others that partake in the Mahometane Law; yet most true it is, that they are amners;

Emperours &
Bishops, cha-
ritable in buil-
ding hospitals

Orphane
Children ap-
pointed to be
Slaues.

Young and
healthfull
Beggars and
Hermits
made Slaues.

The care of
Hospitallers.

Handwritten marks at the bottom of the page.

The *Turks* are charitable, & not careful to leave their heires rich.

Entertainment in the *Turkish* Hospitals.

A verie rich Hospitall of the *Turkes*.

An Hospitall of free accessse of all, sicke or sound.

and willingly giue to the poore of their owne Sect, and haue founded, and yet doe builde many Hospitals of great Reuenues: because they are nothing so carefull, to leaue their Heires such extremity of wealth, as we are in these parts of the world. For (well-neere) all of them, that eyther know how to manage Armes, or exercise any estate or condition, haue wages of the Prince. Such as are duputed to gouerne the goods of their Hospitals, are commonly Hermits, who stay not till any come to offer them themselues: but goe to meete trauailers on the way, entreating them to come and accept a lodging, with promise of kinde entertainment, which accordingly is performed. And if they be lame, vnable, or sick; they remaine there so long as they please. When they passe on farther, free leaue is granted them; & all the recompence required of them, is to pray to God for the founders soule. Their Hospitals are commonly builded on the chiefe and greatest waies of Citties, and in places where Villages are most remote, and where water can hardly be found, presuming vpon their larger merit. Beside, many of the common people will feed dumb creatures, as wild Birds & beasts; yea, Fishes in the Riuers, throwing in Bread or Corne, to sustaine them for mans vse.

Of the *Turkish* Hospitals, there is one at the entrance of *Mare Maiore*, coming from *Bosphorus*, which a Daughter to the Emperour *Solyman*, the wife to *Rustane Bascha* builded, and hath more then eight thousand Ducates of annual rent. There is another, founded by a *Bascha*, in the Isle of *Phermena*, not far from *Delos* in *Greece*; which was in the time of *Mahomet* the second, that conquered *Constantinople*. This Hospitall hath the reuenues of twelue thousand ducates, and there are receiued all diseased persons, and others, without any exception of religion, poor or rich: They go to wash themselues in the hot Baths, which are sulphurous, and neere adioyning to the Hospitall. But rarelie or sildome in any other Hospitals within the *Turkes* Dominions, and founded by them; are any other entertained, then of their owne Religion. As concerning such, as (in Antiquity) were

founded by Christians, and are in these Lands subiected to the *Turkes*: all sorts of people are there receiued and welcomed: and where any such are, commonly a *Mosque* or Temple for *Turkes* is builded neere vnto it; as is to be seen on Mount *Sinai*, and else-where.

There is one in *Constantinople*, begun by *Mahomet* the second, and finished by *Baiazeth* his Sonne: which hath the reuenues of threescore thousand Ducates. Another is in the same Cittie, of twelue thousand Ducates annuall rent, founded by *Solyman*. *Orcanes*, the Son of *Othoman*, second Emp. of the *Turkes*, builded another, in the yeare 1335. in a Towne named *Plagiary*, not farre from *Callipolis*, whose rentage is thirtie thousand Ducates: Onely to this end, that poore people may there be entertained and lodged, and all other passengers; praying to God for his Fathers Soule, and sixe of his Brethren, put to death by him, that hee might raigne alone in the more safe assurance.

A *Persian* King, about the yeare 1550. caused a *Mosquee* to be builded in *Armenia*, with an Hospitall, endowing it with forty thousand Ducates rent, at the Mountaine, on the top whereof *Noahs* Arke stayed. All such as come to this Hospitall, going for deuotion to the said Mountaine, be they Christians (for there they haue a Chappell) *Turkes*, *Moores*, *Arabes*, or *Scythians*, of what Nation or Religion soeuer they be, sicke or sound; there they are entertained after the *Armenian* manner, three dayes and three nights, without payment for any thing. In *Fez*, the Capitall Cittie of the Kingdome (the people beeing great obseruers of the *Mahometane* Law) there are fiue faire Hospitals, endued with great reuenues, not onely for releefe of the poore: but also to teach and nourish (freely) yong poore Children in good Letters, or in Diuinity.

Theuet writeth (as likewise I haue vnderstood by others, that haue beene in *Quinsay*, a Cittie whereof we haue formerly related) that there is an Hospital of more then an hundred thousand Ducates Reuenues, truely yearely paid. There, all persons, of what Nation, religion, or sexe soeuer they be, are enter-

Hospitals erected by Christians, in lands conquered by *Turkes*.

The hospitals in *Constantinople*.

Orcanes, the Murderer of his sixe Brethren.

A rich Hospitall in *Armenia*, of most free and liberal entertainment for all commers.

Fiue goodly Hospitals in the Cittie of *Fez*.

Theuet. in Lib. 12. Cap. 18.

An Hospitall
in an Idolate-
rous Country

entertained; provided that they be diseased, or impotent; and there they are relieved with all things necessary, vntill such time as they shall be able to trauaile. I neuer read or heard, that Idolatrous people had any Hospitals except this: but there needeth little admiration thereat, because they are a people full of great humanity and courtesie. Let not the *Turkes* then, and others, make their vaunt, that they were the first which inuented and builded Hospitals: for the honour is onely due to the Christians of the Primitive Church.

CHAP. XIX.

Of an Embassage, which was sent to Hippocrates the Physitian, by the Common-wealth of the Abderites, to come and succour their Law-maker & King Democritus, whom they imagined to be a Foole, and out of his wit.



Before the *Romaines* hadde made *Greece* tributary there were great store of Common-weals, Islands, Citties, & People, that liued according to their owne Lawes, without depending on any other, then such as they elected to commaund ouer them: who (for the most part) were Phylosophers, men of good life, renowned, & of great erudition. These men were called Law-Makers or Kings, as *Lycurgus* who commanded ouer the *Lacedemonians*; *Demetrius Phalerens*, ouer the *Athenians*; *Epaminondas* ouer the *Thebanes*, and the like of many others. During this good pollicie among the *Gracians*, there was a great and goodly Cittie and Commonwealth in *Thrace*, scituate on the Sea, called *Abdera*, the Prince and Ruler whereof, was deceased. While they remained in suspense, who should bee elected into his place, that might be an honest man, not auaricious, carrying himselfe with Princes, and neighbouring people, louingly, and no affecter of warres: they did set downe their resolution, that a Law-maker must bee endued with such perfections, and such a one would be most beneficiall to their Commonwealth. For, al-

The great
freedome and
libertie of
Greece, vnder
the gouerne-
ment of
Phylosophers

Abdera of
Thrace.

beit *Cicero* saith, that the *Abderites* had not ouer-much vnderstanding: yet it appeared, that in the election of this Law-maker, they shewed themselves to haue more wit then the *Romaines* had. For among so many braue and valiaunt men, as aspired to this high estate, they made choise of one, named *Democritus*, one of the most Learned men in his time, vertuous, little caring for worldly goods, and had far trauailed; yea, he surpassed *Plato*, who then liued, and bare him great enuy.

This *Democritus* was not chosen for his wealth, because he was poore; nor yet by fauour, as hauing any Kindred in this great Common-wealth: for hee was a *Mylestan*, Sonne to a verie famous and rich man, named *Anthenocritus*, who had such substantiall meanes, that hee maintained a whole day the Army of *Xerxes*, when it came into *Greece*, and the number of men in the saide Armie, was tenne times seauenteene hundreded thousande men.

This *Anthenocritus*, left many Children, the youngest whereof, was *Democritus*, who would haue nothing but money (& no other worldly possessions) but not to put to *Vsurie*, or spend foolishly, but to serue his trauailes in the Worlde, in Countries where he knew were Learned men, that taught good Sciences and Vertues, and he obtained this degree among the *Abderites*, onely by his good Fame, as formerly hath bin said.

He had trauailed thorow the very chiefest parts of the world; as into *Egypt*, *Caldea*, *Persia*, and into the *Indias*, to heare the *Gymnosophists*. And hauing Learned so much as hee could, hee returned home into his owne Country very poore, and hauing consumed all his Patrimony; a Brother of his, named *Damasus*, in charity receiued him, and maintained him for some small time: but it was not long (after his returne) but his wisdom and great Knowledge began to bee knowne. For, hee had Learned that there was a God; that there was a Creation, & thold be an ending of the World; and he wanted very little of the same beleefe, which the true Church of God hath. Hee published many Books, which discoursed of things Naturall and Morrall. In briefe, he wrote of all the Sciences, and so Learnedly, that his Fame flew into many places.

*Cicero in lib. de
Natu Deorum.*

*Democritus his
Nature & life*

*Anthenocritus,
Father to De-
mocritus.*

*Diog. Laert. de
Democrit.*

The trauailes
of *Democritus*.

The great
wisdom and
Learning of
Democritus.

The coming
of Democritus
to the Abde-
rites.

The pollicie
of Democritus.

The retreat
of Democritus
from the Ab-
derites.

The place
where he
made his abi-
ding.

How he spent
his time daily

What sights
he dayly be-
held.

ces. So that the *Abderites* (with good ad-
uise and counsell) sent for him to their
Cittie, to be commanded by him. He
finding the Cittie wholly deuided, and
embrouilled with factions, proceeded so
dexteriously, that he brought them al to
vnity, and made them good friends. He
found also the Common-wealth full of
vices, and abounding in Luxury, which
(by good Lawes) he reformed, and exer-
cised Iustice as well on the rich as poore.
He found the meanes likewise to accord
certaine Neighboring Prouinces, which
warred on the *Abderites*. He instituted
Gouernors in all places on the frontiers;
as also on the Seacoasts, such as were ho-
nest minded men, and not Ambitious.
Which being done, hee liued with the
Cittizens some yeares; and perceyuing
them to be well reformed, and that they
had no more need of his lawes, hee made
his retirement to a solitarie place, to at-
tend on his Phylosophy, highly contem-
ning all matters of the worlde, which are
nothing but true vanities; well knowing,
that they deserued not to be sorrowd for,
because *Heraclitus* did nothing else; and
daily therefore he laughed them to scorn.

Without the City, and verie neere vn-
to the wals, there was a tree, which wee
commonly call a Plane-tree, somewhat
low, yet extending his branches very am-
ply: vnder which, he sat vpon a stone con-
tinually alone, hauing no other garment
but a long gowne of course stufte, bare-
footed, his visage pale, with a long beard,
& his body very meager. Somewhat neer
vnto him, there ran a riuer descending out
of a neighboring little hill, wheron stood
a temple dedicated to the nimphs, round
enuiroined with wild Vines, hauing good
store of Bookes by him, and diuersitie of
creatures, whereof he dissected some, set-
ting instantly downe what his experience
taught him. At other times, he wold ru-
minate and confer with his vnderstanding,
things that he had both seen and read: &
when he was weary with Anatomizing,
hee would walke abroad; and returning
home again, quietly set him down. Now
as this place, was not farre off from the
chiefe Lady gate of the Cittie, & Hauen
of the Sea: so could he both heare & see
the weeping and wrastling of the thicke
leaved trees, being round planted about
his field Cabinet, as also of people suffer-
ing Shipwrack, mourning for their Pa-

rents, Kindred, Merchandizes, or other
losses. If contentions happened among
any men, some being presently slain in
the place, greuously wounded, or such
like dangerous accidents: others loosing
goods, either by processe in Law, or in-
conuenience of fire, or mortality of cat-
tle, or some contagious disease hapning
among men; at all these casualties and
accidents he made a mockery and laugh-
ter. He would do the like, when he saw
a man heartily reioyce, that his Shippe
(richly Laden) was safely arriued in the
Hauen, and made a good aduenture. To
be short, all humain actions which came
to his knowledge, whither they had good
or euill successe, he would laugh at them.

This hauing many times bin obserued
by the *Abderites*, and supposing him to be
troubled in his vnderstanding, they began
(by little and little) to wax weary of him,
and the whole Country to be offended at
him. Whereupon, they entred into con-
sultation, to vnderstand their best maner
of proceeding in this case, and the more
part of the best aduised, were desirous of
remedy, imagining that it was but some
disease in the braine, which procured his
extraordinary laughs. In which respect
it was thought conuenient, to craue the
iudgement of some skilful Phisition, such
as was *Hippocrates* of *Coos*, who dwelt an
150. miles from thence, and had doone
many verie famous cures. Among which
(not long before) he recouered *Perdiccas*
King of *Macedon*, who was falne into an
extreame meagerneffe of al his bodie; &
(withall) was become so melancholy, that
he would not see any body, but sate pen-
siuely alone, void of all appetite for food
or rest, so that his disease was reputed in-
cureable. Neuerthelesse, *Hippocrates* (by
his industry) found out the cause of his
sicknesse, to wit; That hee was amorous
of one of his Fathers Concubines for-
merly deceased, named *Phylas*, and in re-
gard of naturall shame or bashfulnesse,
he would not discouer it to any one. Yet
it being at length perceiued by some neer
about him; by the learned skill of *Hippo-
crates*, he was quickly cured. Moreouer,
he had deliuered the whole Countrey of
Sclauonia fro a pestilence, after he vnder-
stood by the Ambassadors, which the K.
of that Land sent vnto him, what windes
blew there with greatest power. Manie o-
ther excellent cures (almost diuine) are fur-
ther

Democritus
laughed at all
accidents
whatsoeuer.

Democritus
was supposed
by the *Abde-
rites* to be mad

Perdiccas, K. of
Macedon; ex-
treame dis-
eased.

The Pesti-
lence cured
by *Hippocrates*

ther alledged to bee performed by him: which caused the *Abderites*, without procrastinating any longer time to send their Ambassadors to him, entreating him to come and helpe their Law-Maker *Democritus*.

Amelesseagoras being the chief in this Legation, a woorthy Orator, and most intirely affecting his Countrey: spake in few words to *Hippocrates*, according as followeth, to wit; the Common-wealth of the *Abderites* wished him all prosperitie, and humbly entreated him to take so much paine, as to come to their Cittie to visit *Democritus* their Law-maker, whom they immagined to be sicke in spirit; and that except some present remedie might be had, they expected nothing more the their generall ruine. But especially, they stood in feare of loosing him, because he made no account of any thing in the world, nor of himselfe; watching both night and day, laughing and mocking at all things whatsoever, not any thing appearing to be acceptable to him. If men were addicted to Merchandize, or were married, or preached, or taught in school; If any commanded, or obeyed, or deliuered any message, or were constituted in dignities, or deposed from them; If anie were sicke, whole, wounded, cured, dead, or any such like accidents, still he made a scorn of them, and laughed at them. The like would he doo, when he saw men reioice at any good occasiō, or sit in peace, or fight, or lament. Hee would talke of Hell, and what was done there; setting the same downe in writing. Hee taught also, that the aire was full of Attonies, which he tearmed to be such bodies, as the Sunne doth represent by his beames, passing thorough any Glasse windowes: and that there were many worlds all corruptible. He was verie attentine in listening to the songs of Birds, rising very often in the night time, singing songes in a bigge and Base voice. He said also, that wisdome did sometime sicke to many his and lostie matters, and that there were infinite *Democrites*, who held the same opinion with him.

Now, in consideration of all these things, and by this his daily thanner of behauiour, wasting and consuming both his body and spirit, the *Abderites* conceiued, that hee was transported from his right senses, and that by his recoverie, he shold

acquire great fame, and reputation, accompanied also with as ample a recompence, as himselfe should deeme to bee conuenient, because they made more esteeme of *Democritus* his health, then if all the Houses and Walles of their Citie were couered with pure Gold. And the more to prouoke him to this iourney, he added, that hee should not come thither as a Physitian, but as a New-founder of so great a Citie and Common-wealth, & that he should not heale one priuat man only, but a whole Cittie. And withall, he should bee receiued as their Law-maker, conseruer and Iudge, all things being reputed and ordered, as effected by his Art and singuler experience. Neither was it a Cittie onely, that made this humble request vnto him, but all *Greece*, the Princessesse of Prouinces, of all Vertues, and of all Sciences in the wide Vniuerse, to cure and recover him, in whom Wisdome her selfe consisted.

Proceeding further in perswasions, he told him, that he was neere allied to the said *Democritus*; because, that they both tooke Originall from the race of the Goddes. For *Democritus* was descended of *Heroules*, and *Hippocrates* of *Æsculapius*, sonne to *Apollo*. Moreouer, that *Philopomenes*, a famous Citizen and Capitaine of the *Abderites*, had already prepared a lodging for his entertainement, though not equall to his high deseruing, yet with heart and good will: and they stood charged to present him ten talents, which valewed then (according to the supputation of *Budæus*) fixe thousand *Isles Couronnes*, at thirty fixe Sols to the Crowne, which only was to defray the charges of his iourney.

Hippocrates hauing attentively heard all that *Amelesseagoras* had said, was very pensive, not knowing what to do. For on the one side, hee had (but fewe dayes before) married a faire and sweete young Ladie, whom he was loath to leaue, as fearing least she should do him some displeasure for parting from her so soone, & in the Nonage of their marriage. Another reason withheld him, which was the performing of certaine Sacrifices, which were vowed (from time to time of al Antiquitie) by them of the Ile of *Coos*, to the Goddes of their Countrey, wherein he had promised his assistance, as being a man that held the place of most emi-

How highly the *Abderites* accounted of *Democritus*.

Great perswasions in *Amelesseagoras*.

Democritus & *Hippocrates* descended in race from the Gods.

Ten Talents prepared for *Hippocrates*.

Hippocrates Ielous of his wife but lately married.

Ambassadors from the *Abderites* conferring with *Hippocrates*.

All things alike to *Democritus*.

What Attonies are, according to *Democritus*, and some other of his opinion.

nence in the Isle, and was verie especially beloued.

Pre meditations of Hippocrates.

Besides, daily and continually arrived in this Island, great store of people, of all qualities and sexes; some for recouery of their health, being sent thither by others, that had formerly found good successe; & others, as Deputies from diuers great Kings and Monarches, to fetch him to their Courts: as (not long before) hee was to *Araxerxes*, King of all the East, and many more. In brieft, hee referred it till the next morning, to aunswere the request of the *Abderites*: for now it waxed somewhat late, and towards Sun-setting, wherefore the Ambassadors went to their rest.

The Resolution of Hippocrates.

Hippocrates considered a great part of the Night, what best became him to do in this case. For, he held it fit and reasonable; yea, and appertaining to his Honor, to go and see *Democritus*, a man of so great authority in *Greece*: whom if his skill could recouer, hee should win as a friend, and no meane reputation beside. As for his faire wife by him so lately married, he referred her to the trust of a faithfull and intimate friend, named *Dionisius*. Then, taking order for all his Domestick affaires, and assisting in the Sacrifices, for his safer sayling to the *Abderites*, and not knowing how long he should stay in this Voyage, he resolved to accept their earnest request. So on the morrow, hee sent for *Amelesseagoras*, and the other Ambassadors, to whom he said: He did not a little meruaile, that so great a commonweale as that of the *Abderites*, was so much troubled about the sicknesse of one onely man, as if a man were their whole Cittie. Neuerthelesse, hee did truly account them to be most happie, who knew and vnderstood, that men of Vertue were found Ramparts, Bulwarks, and Defences. His opinion also was, that Arts and Sciences were perticuler gifts of the Goddes, and men were but the Workmanship of Nature, neyther was it the Cittie of the *Abderites*, that called him to this iourney, but Nature, to help her worke, which now was false into verie great daunger, to the end, that shee

Hippocrates his answer to the Ambassadors.

Nature calleth for the Physitions helpe, & not men.

should not perrish by so grieuous a disease.

As for the ten Talents, which should be presented to him, he desired the Legates to bestow them elsewhere: because he would do as much without Money, as with it, being neuer subiect to such a pernicious sicknesse, as Auarice is. For, (quoth he) the Art of Physicke sets not it selfe to sale for money; and such men as do receiue salarie, do make Slaues of the Sciences, which (of themselues) are free and liberall.

Hippocrates no way couerous

Moreover, hee gaue them to vnderstand (to shew how little he esteemed riches) that it was not long since, when he made refusall to the mighty King *Xerxes*, for visiting his Court, Country, & great Armies, which were afflicted with certaine popular and deadly Diseases: for which, there could not any remedie bee found; notwithstanding, the Kinges abounding in wealth and pomp, & whereof no meane offers were made, whereby both he and his might haue been rich for euer, if hee had pleased to make acceptance of them. Citties, Townes, and Provinces, wherein are heaped & hoorded more riches then can bee imagined, they are to me (quoth he) trifles, and of no Value: for I euer preferred Vertue before vice, to wit; the loue of my countrey, and all *Greece*. Heereupon, he promised, that within verie few dayes hee would set to Sea, and visite *Democritus*; but he could not now depart with the ambassadours, instantly to vndergo so great a voyage, as was 150. miles by Sea, till he had don his duty in the Sacrifices, which were to be performed to their Countrey Gods; the solemnity and Feast whereof, would be ended in few daies.

King Xerxes refused by Hippocrates.

Hippocrates his promise to the Ambassadors.

In like manner, he would take Order for the publicke affaires, and some priuate occasions of his owne. So the Ambassadors tooke their leaue, returning backe with great contentment, and leauing the ten Talents with *Hippocrates*, notwithstanding his many and often refusals.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

How Hippocrates founde Democritus continually laughing: and of the Conference they had together.

Hippocrates being willing to keep his promise, tooke order for al his owne businesse; but aboue all, for the care and gouernement of his new married Wife, whome he left with his friend *Dionisius*, and in whom he reposed great confidence. For this opinion was crept into his brain, that no Woman in the world could be chaste: which was found expressely set downe in one of his Letters that he somtime wrote to the same friend *Dionisius*. He wrote also to his friend *Damagetus*, a *Rhodian*, entreating him to lend him a Shippe, that safely might bring him to the *Abderites*, aduising him (but by way of mockery) to tel the *Rhodians*, that they should heedfully keepe themselues from laughing indifferently either at good or euill, least they should be imagined mad and foolish, as *Democritus* was. Also, that they should not be sad or weepe, without very great occasion: for (in common opinion) they would thereby fall into the disease, called Melancholy, which procureth alienation of iudgment, with a certain kind of feare. Therefore, they should obserue a Mediocritie, aswell in laughing as in weeping, as hee himselfe both had done, and would do.

Damagetus sent him a Ship, wherein he sailed so prosperously, that (without any hinderance) hee arriued in the Port of *Abdera*, in few dayes sayling; where hee was expected with earnest affection, and entertained with as great honor and reuerence, as if he had beene a God. Afterward, he was conducted to the place, where *Democritus* made his abode out of the Cittie, and found him in the same estate, as *Amelesseagoras* hadde formerly told him. He would not suddenly intrude into his presence, but through the boughes and branches of Trees, that rounde

inuiroed his Cabinet, obserued his actions with good iudgement, considering duly what he did. One while, he saw him writing, another while reading, & afterward walking: when, entering into his lodging, *Hippocrates* (so reuerently as might be) saluted him. So soone as *Democritus* perceiued him, he sayde; God saue you mine Hoste. *Hippocrates* answered, And you Sir also, being a most wise and worthy man, which he performed with very humble reuerence. *Democritus* was somewhat ashamed, that hee could not tearme him by his name; and therefore entreated that he would tell it him. *Hippocrates* replied, that hee was called a Physition. Then *Democritus* doubted that he was *Hippocrates*, although he had neuer till then seene him, and saide: Hee was the Flower of the *Æsculapians*, and his great renoune had reached vnto his poore abiding.

Growing on to further questionings, he enquired, what occasion had brought him thither? Shewing him his seat to sit downe by him, and all his room, which was couered with greene braunches of Trees, affirming, that he esteemed it better then a Royal Pallace, subiect vnto the instability of Fortune.

When they had sitten a while together, he desired him to tell him in trueth: if he were come to him about any perticuler businesse, or for some publicke cause? Wishing him to conceale nothing from him, for he would assitt him to his vttermost. *Hippocrates* answered, that (in trueth) he had no other errand to that place but only to see and conferre with a most Wiseman, according as his country had giuen him in charge. Then *Democritus* offered to prepare him a lodging, to entertaine and Feast him as his good guest. But *Hippocrates* told him, that he had already taken vp his lodging with *Philopomenes*, and demaunded if he knew him? *Democritus* replied, that he knew him verie well, and that he was the sonne of *Damon*, and his dwelling was neere vnto the Fountaine *Hermandia*; he hauing beene a friend to his predecessours, as also hee continued so still to himselfe. All this while *Hippocrates* heedfully noted, whether his spirit did any way wander, or no; and to know assuredly the state of his vnderstanding, he desired him to tell him what the Argument was, which hee had

The salutations betweene the two Philosophers.

Their further interlocti-
ons.

Philopomenes,
the Sonne of
Damon.

Id est,
In deede, or
will.

A mockage
giuen by Hip-
pocrates.

Hippocrates sal-
leth to *Abde-
ra*, and there
arriueth.

Hippocrates ob-
serued the be-
hauour of
Democritus.

written

A Discourse
of folly, writ
ten by *Democritus*.

How Folly is
begotten in
the bodie of
man.

Hippocrates
confirmed in
knowledg by
Democritus.

Sollicitude
for worldlie
goods, is a
Phylsophers
hinderance.

Hippocrates
would know
the cause of
Democritus's
laughter.

written in a Booke lying open before him? *Democritus* hauing paused a little space, answered; That it was of Follie. Is it then against the City, replied *Hippocrates*? Against what Cittie answered *Democritus*? By which words, *Hippocrates* wel perceiued, that he had waded too farre in speech, and offended the whole Common-wealth of the *Abderites*, and had also discovered the cause wherefore hee was come to see him. Wherefore, concealing what he thought, he sayde to *Democritus*, that he would be loath to offend him, but prayed to resolue him what he could write concerning Follie? *Democritus* answered; that hee had written what Folly is, and what hee conceyued, concerning the engendering thereof in the spirits of men, and how it was to be auoyded. Then shewing him diuers creatures by him, which he had dissected in forme of Anatomies, hee tolde him; That he had not so done, as to correct or contemne the workes of God, but onely to finde out the seate, and the Nature of anger or choller. For he was not ignorant, that when this humour redounded (neuer so little) in the bodie, it caused furious actions, and that al creatures had it; but in some lesse, and in others more: and when it attained to superabundance, it begot diseases in the spirit.

Then *Hippocrates* lifting vp his eyes to Heauen, was much better confirmed then before, only by the Wisedome of *Democritus*, admyring his happinesse, and telling him that hee might boast of the chiefest felicity among men; rendering him a reason for his words. Because (quoth he) that we cannot compasse the meanes, to obtain the like leysure as you haue. And why (quoth *Democritus*) cannot you haue the like leysure? Because (replied *Hippocrates*) domesticall affaires care for worldly goods, which are necessarie to be had and kept, for our Children, expences, diseases, frailties, and mortalities which happen, with multitude of seruants, women, and other such like matters, do depriue vs of those leysurable times, to pursue occasions of benefit and profit.

So soone as *Democritus* had heard these words, he fell into an extraordinary Laughter, leauing al other actions whatsoever. And *Hippocrates* demanded of him, the reason of his laughter, and whi-

ther he had spoken wel or ill, which made him Laugh much more vehemently; and many of the chiefest Cittizens, both hearing and seeing it, greewing that so great a man should in this manner be scorned, they verily beleened, that *Democritus* was mad, and no further doubt was now to be made thereof. And therefore, in affliction of mind, some rent their haire, others wept, and some smote themselues vpon their faces.

Hippocrates pursuing still his purpose, desired *Democritus* once more to yeelde him a reason for his ouer-abounding Laughter, and whether any thing done by him, might occasion the same? to the end (quoth he) that I may correct my selfe, from giuing you any such offence hereafter. *Democritus* replied, swearing by *Hercules*, that if he would take occasion to make him forbear, or to reprove him for laughing, he protested, that hee should performe the best cure that euer he had done.

Why (quoth *Hippocrates*) are you not to be reprehended, when you Laugh at the death of a man? Or when you see him sicke, or acting folly, or in choller, raving, murthuring, and such like most miserable accidents committed by him? The like also you do, in his very best fortunes, or what felicities of the Worlde focuer befall him: so that (in you) there appeareth no difference betweene good and euill.

You haue sayde verie true, answered *Democritus*, and yet you seeme to be ignorant in the true cause of my laughing. But if you knew, or could discern it, you would finde, that the cure thereof extendeth not onely to them of your Countrey, but euen to your owne selfe; and you would gaine much more profite thereby, then you can do by your sending for hither. And when I giue you to vnderstand, that my laughing proceedeth from those vanities; wherein men spend all their life time, yea, more then ridiculous: methinkes (in recompence thereof) you should instruct mee in the Art of Physicke.

And let mee now tell yee (Learned *Hippocrates*) that I Laugh and mocke; when I see a man filled with Follies, and emptie of all Vertuous actions, carrying himselfe foolishly in all his courses, seeking for Golde and Siluer in all quarters of

The laughing
of *Democritus*
not to be cured.

The true
cause of *Democritus*'s
laughing.

A Discourse
concerning
search after
golde & siluer.

of the World, having no end in his Ambition, but is molested with daylie Trauailes, to the end, that hee may be esteemed more in reputation, and fauoured of fortune.

Hee delueth into the earth, making deep Trenches and waies vnder ground, beeing daily in great perrill and daunger of the earthes falling vpon him, continuing in this drudging exercise all his life time, euen like a Laborious Iouryman, searching and following the veins of the Mettalles, which manie times hee cannot finde: or, if hee finde them, they are oftentimes verie short, or so difficult to followe, that the cost is tennē times more, then the profite ensuing thereby.

And dooth not this deserue Laughter? For, when they dare so much hurt the earth (which they call their common Mother) and vse her as a despightfull Enemy, whom they should hold in great admiration and reuerence, for suffering them to walke vp and downe vpon her bosome, I thinke it a matter well becomming Laughter, to affect what is closelie hidden in her intrailes, and yet to do her such manifest iniury.

Some do loue Dogges, others Horses: Some desire to command and be obeyed in manie Prouinces; and yet themselues will knowe no Obedience. Some marrie Wiues, hauing long time before verie dearely loued them: & yet (in a short while after) forsake and hate them; begetting Children, with much care and cost for their education; yet when they grow great, and past Correction, they despise them; wil not see them; but leaue them Naked vnto the Worlds mercie. Doo not these behauiours expresse their intollerable follies? VVhen men liue in peace, then they couet war, detesting all quietnesse; Deposing their Kinges, and aduancing others in their sted; murdering some men, to begette Children of their Wiues; seeking in the ground for Gold and Siluer; and hauing found them, buy them of the earth; and with the fruites thereof, striue to make mony againe. How many strange varieties of humors are men in? VVhen they are poore and needie, then they seeke for riches; and when they haue them, they hide them vnder ground, to burie them in the place from whence they first cam;

or else wastfully spend them. O wise Hippocrates! I Laugh at these things, beeing done to such ill purpose: but much more when no good euent succeedeth of the. Ther is no truth or Iustice found among them; for they plead daily one against another: the Son against the Father, and Mother, Brother against Brother, Kindred and Friendes of the same qualitie. And at these things they do, to compass Riches, whereof (after death) they can be no possessors. And yet notwithstanding, they will kill one another daily for wealth, commit all vnlawfull Actions; concerning both the poor, their friends, and Countrey.

They make great account of manie senselesse things; esteeming them to be part of their treasure; as Statues, Pictures, painted Tables, and other mouebables of like matter, which they buy at deere rates; being so dexteriously wrought, as nothing but speech wanteth in them; yet they hate liuing persons that do speake to them. Others, do affect laborious, and difficult things; for such as dwel on firme Land, desire to remooue thence to VVatry Islands, and hauing remained there but a while; then they must needs retorne to their first abiding, being no way constant or stable in their desires. They commend courage and strength in warlike actions, yet are daily conquered themselues by Auarice and wickednesse; at euerie change hapning in their bodies, or sicknesse of minde. In brieft, they are as deformed in their liues, as *Thersites* the Greeke was in his body. And for conclusion (worthy Hippocrates) me thinkes you should not reprehend my laughing, perceiuing so many vanities in men; for no man will mocke his owne follie, but at that which hee discerneth in another, and so they do iustly mock one another. The Drunkard calles him a Glutton, whom he knowes to be sober. Many men loue the Sea; others Husbandry: brieftly they cannot agree in their Trades and professions, much lesse in their liues and actions.

Hippocrates hauing heard Democritus to speake in this maner, without anie pre-meditation: but readily deliuered from his Mouth; and as no man could better vtter his minde, to declare the Vanitie of humane condition, full of so manie ridiculous contrarieties, made

More cost then profit

The Earth, the common Mother of all men.

Variable contrarieties in the affections of men.

No estate or condition liuing contentedly.

The maiestie of men against one another.

Senselesse things esteemed above liuing men.

The deformity of mans life.

The maner of the world.

Sloth & care-
lesnesse hate
full to the
Gods.

Excellent
reasons al-
leaded by
Hippocrates.

The event of
things cannot
be auoyded.

The answer
of Democritus
to Hippocrates.

answere: That the necessitie of things, compelled men to many of these actions and variant willes in one another: the principall cause ensuing from the diuine permission, to the end, that men might not bee ydle, because there is not anie thing more odious to the Goddes, then sloath and neglect. And as in Nature there is not any thing stable or firme; euen so, the vnderstanding of man (which is round circled and shut vp with naturall things) is not so certaine and immouable, as daily to fore-see future inconueniences. What would a man do, ioyning in Marriage where he dearly affecteth, if hee foresaw death to bee the cause of their separation? Or the Father and Mother, Nursing their Children tenderly, knewe the houre of their Mortalitie and subiection to death? Would a Husbandman bestow his seed in the ground, if he could fore-tell that it would yeelde him no encrease? Or a Merchant vndertake Nauigation, if hee saw his owne Shippe-wracke before his eyes? Would a King accept of Regall Authority, if he were sure of deposing, and casting out from his dignitie? Or a Magistrate seated in honor, afterward reiected, and tossed vp and downe (like a Tennis Ball) at the peoples pleasure? Alas, woorthy *Democritus*, each man thinketh, that whatsoever hee enterprizeth, shall succede to happie and fortunate successe. Neither is there any need of such apprehension, or any strong imagination, that pernicious accidents must neede waite on mens enterprizes: For, then no man would aduenture on anie thing, but euery one would stand stupid, confounded with fearefulnesse. Why do ye not now (quoth he to *Democritus*) mocke and laugh at these words of mine, as you did before, and still doo at all things?

Democritus hauing heard Diuine *Hippocrates*, excused himselfe thus; That his vnderstanding was but grosse and rough hammered, and could not well comprehend what hee had formerlie declared, concerning the perturbations & tranquillitie of the minde. Insomuch, that if men would gouerne their actions by discretion and prouidence; they wold not declare themselues to be fooles, neither shoulde hee haue any further cause of laughter. But (quoth he) they swell

proudly, and so glorie in their doings, as if (in this life) they were immortall, onlie through defect of vnderstanding, beeing harde to bee instructed in such difficult points. It were sufficient to make them wise and well-gouerned, if they would but set before their own eyes, the change or vicissitude of all worldly things, finding nothing firme and stable, the whole world dooing nothing else, but gire and wheele about: so that he which is alofte to day, on the morrow following is removed lower: and hee that sate on one side, is hurled to anot her. And not considering this slippery businesse, they fall easily into verie great inconueniences & troubles: coueting things of no profite, and by greedie thirsting after them, tumble headlong into manie miserable Calamities.

So that, if no man would attempt more, then what his strength could ablie stand vnder, and he beare awaie without perrill, he would lead a much better contented life; and men hauing learned to know themselues, would limit a mediocrity, not an infinitie to their ambition. Then they would consider, that nature hath sufficient to administer what is necessarie for this life, without seeking ouer-painfully, after superfluities and vnprofitable things, which bring nothing with them, but great greefe and mollestation.

Like as a bodie that is growne grosse, fat, and well fed, is soonest suspected to fall into some grieuous disease: euen so, fareth it with great riches, which are subiect to store of trauerfes and mutations. There are many, who take no heede of that which happeneth to others, only by bad conuersation; and therefore, do ouerthrow themselues in the same maner, thorough their owne fault, not fore-seeing daungers manifest, and not hidden; dreaming otherwise on length of life by them. These are the things (O men more then mad, quoth he) that yeilds me matter of laughter, by suffering the pains of your Impieties; as of your Auarices, insatiable desires, enmities, conspiracies, deceits, enuies, and other Vices; which (in regard of their multiplicite) are impossible to be declared; besides your dissimulations and fallacies, in conuersing together, bearing deadly hatred one to another, yet shadding it with lies, fly-
ing

The infinite
ambition in
men, the cause
of all euils.

The benefite
of knowing
our selues.

A familiar
comparison
betweene the
body & riches

Vices ordina-
ry and com-
mon among
men.

ing out into all voluptuous turpitude of life, and transgressing all Lawes, both of nature and ciuility.

Many things are pleasing to them, and when they are forborne but a while, they returne againe afresh vnto them. As oftentimes they doe, who shun and despise Nauigation, yet afterwarde doo vnder take it againe, leaving off Husbandrie, which at the first was their only exercise. When they are young, they thinke it long till they attaine vnto age; and when they are arrived to it, then they iament, and finde many irksom discommodities in it.

Princes commend a priuate life, and a priuate man hath an itching humor after Royaltie. The Magistrate praiseth the Handicrafts mans condition: and the other would gladly be in his Office, to be reuerenced and obeyed as the Magistrate is. And what is the reason of all these disturbances, but that no man will take knowledge of himselfe, as hee ought to doo? Some take delight in destroying Townes and Citties, to erect other in contrary places, spoiling one country vni reasonably, to intich themselves in another immeasurably. In all these things, they differ very little from Children, in whom there is neither counsell or iudgement, and resemble brutish creatures, onely this excepted, that they can containe themselves within the Lawes of nature; which men either cannot, or wil not do.

When shal we see a Lyon hiding gold in the ground? Or a Bull contending for a fatter pasture? When the wilde Boare is thirsty, hee will drinke no more then sufficeth nature. When the wolfe hath filld his belly, to get him a stomach againe, hee walketh about from place to place; but man eateth and drinketh both night and day, neuer satisfied with too much repletion. These creatures couet no carnall coniunction, but at certain times and seasons in the yeare: but man at all times and all houres, giuing license to his owne voluptuous fleshinesse, ruinating thereby the health of his body. And is it not a matter deseruing laughter, to see an Amorous foole writh his arms, weep, howl, and torment himselfe, for a mishapen slut, foule, hard faouored, and vsightly, forsaking bright beauty in her sweetest delicacy? And yet for al these grosse imperfections, I thinke Physicke affordeth

not any remedie.

You cannot note such mallice in me, as daily you may discern in others; for they kil one another, and I do but dissect and Anatomize poore Beastes, to seeke the cause of these distempers, Vanities, and worldly follies: yet such prooffe were better made on mens bodies, if my kind Nature could endure it; and but that I am a louer of man, and of his good: You may easily obserue, how the world it selfe is hatefull to men, compacting so manie calamities in him, as with them he is continually vexed. For many from the houre of his birth is weake and sickly. When he suckes for his nourishment, hee is vnprofitable, and vnable to gouerne himselfe. Growing greater, he practiseth unhappinesse, and then, hath neede of a Ruler.

Comming to manly yeares, hee waxeth bolde and sturdy; and descending into Old age, hee declareth his owne miserie, remembering his labours and calamities passed, all which, hee brought with him from the wombe of his Mother. Heere their Conference was interrupted, by the comming in of one, that broght certaine Bookes; but a signe being giuen him to lay downe the Bookes, and depart; they fell againe to their former discoursing. But Democritus fearing, lest he had already wearied Hippocrates, with so long and diuers causes of his Laughter, entreated his fauourable patience yet a little longer, and then he should iudge if he were in ad, according as many others imagined.

To approue my former speeches (qd. he) let vs cast our eies into diuers Courts and priuat houses, where dangerous actions are committed, that are not brought to open euidence. In many Courts, Iudges giue sentence according to their own pleasure, offering too much wrong to innocents, & poor despised soules. Notaries and Scriueners on the other side, they alter the Iudges sentences, or (for money) lose their deeds. Some make false monies; others forge counterfeit waights & measures. Some abuse their parents, yea, corrupt their owne Sisters; & others, frame lying Pasquils and rimes, disgracing men & women of vertuous life, & extolling such as are lewd and vicious. Some rob in the night time, breaking Doores and Windowes: And Magistrates ordaine Lawes against stealing, yet are the greatest Theeues themselves. Some hang

Q q 2 them

No man truly satisfied with his own condition.

A delight deseruing little comendation

Brute beastes do behaue themselves better then men.

Affection, is a blinded Folly.

The wretched and miserable estate of men.

Democritus proceedeth in his discourse.

Concerning Iudges.

Notaries and Scriueners.

Coynes and Waights.

Falfe Libels.

Robbing and Thieuing.

Desperation	<p>themselves, or otherwise worke their owne deaths, for not obtaining what they would haue, or else in meer despair. Among men, there are many that affect Dauncing, Singing, Laughing, and frequenting of Feasts and Bankets, while others sit Sighing, Mourning, & lamenting, hauing neither meate or drinke to fill their hungry bellies.</p>	<p>to good purpose: but because the Reader may gesse them by former relation, I spare further proceeding in them. In pronouncing his words, hee seemed rather a God then a man, and his desire was to be heard, without molestation. It waxed now somewhat late, and it appeared, that time had tutored either to allow of seperation. Wherefore, Hippocrates most humbly thanking Democritus,</p>	between Democritus & Hippocrates.
Great inconstancy in the affections of men	<p>There are some, that haue no other delight, but to bee cloathed in rich and sumptuous Garments, neuer caring to couer and adorne their minds, but only with wicked and execrable vices. Some run, trot about, seeke and call into their houses, Knights of the Post (as we terme them, with false witness to ouerthrowe an honest meaning man: and albeit the Iudges knowe it well enough, yet (for bribes) they winke at it, and suffer false contracts, to preuaile against right and equity.</p>	<p>10 Democritus, for instructing him in the causes of his Laughter, and what else he had learned by his wittie discourse, wished, that he were as free as he, without charge of a wife and family, on condition hee might liue like another Democritus.</p>	
Proud nakedness	<p>The most part of Weomen, if they bee desirous of walking abroad, manie houres are too few, in decking and adorning themselves, only to appeare beautiful in the eyes of other men: but while they abide within doores, they care not how vnhandsome and fluttish they bee, where rather they should be in their best brauery, only to be liking and acceptable in the eyes of their Husbands.</p>	<p>20 Hippocrates with drawing into the Citie, to his kinde Hoste Philopoemenes, was no sooner there arriued, but the greater part of the Honourablest persons came to visit him, to vnderstand the estate and health of their Law maker. In few Wordes he told them, that in the body of Democritus he could find no infirmity, albeit he made too slight account of his own person, either in order of diet, garments, and other necessaries. Much lesse defect was to be found in his minde: for he was verily perswaded, that the whole worlde contained not a man more wise, learned, and honest, then hee. And the Commonwealth was badly informed, to imagine him mad, or out of his senses, because he laughed (ordinarily) as well at good as euill: for his Laughter proceeded from iust occasion, to witte; i he vanity and presumption of men, promising themselves (for the most part) eternity in this world. Howbeit, the life of man (as euery one well knoweth) is but a dreame, soone passing away. Hee recited also to them, his sententious sayings, in such rare method, and excellent Order, as all the hearers confessed their great error, in holding the wisest man in the world for a foole.</p>	The Noble-men resorted to Hippocrates.
False witness	<p>Seeing then (quoth hee) that the Spirits of men are so variable, and full of intemperance, why shoulde not I Laugh? Surely, I am of the minde, that Physicke is offensive to them, and in regarde of their ill Temper, euery thing is irkesom, and folly seemeth to be Wisdome vnto them.</p>	<p>30 On the morrow, Sacrifices were offered to the Goddesse Pallas, in thankfull manner, because shee had pleased to preserue the helth of Democritus; presenting (beside) great & rich gifts to Hippocrates, for the great paines and trauel he had taken. After many resaltes, he said vnto them, that he remained verie highlie obliged vnto them, for causing him to conferre with the Wisest man in the worlde: for he had many infirmities in his spirite, where-</p>	The report of Hippocrates, concerning his iudgment of Democritus.
Pride in women, to see & be seene.	<p>There are many parts in your Art of Physicke, which suffer blame openly, either thorough ignorance, enuie, or ingratitude. Some sicke men, recouering their health, most commonly do attribute their cure to those Goddes vnto whom they haue deuoted themselves; or to fortune, or to their owne naturall disposition: neuer minding the Physition, who tooke great paines in purging Humors of dangerous quality, and bringing them to a more milde constitution. But you know these things much better then I do, because you haue made iudicious experience of them.</p>	<p>40 Many other speeches passed betweene them, to approue that his Laughter was</p>	
Of Physick & Physitians.	<p>The end of the Conference, be-</p>	<p>50</p>	Sacrifices to the Goddesse Pallas.

whereof he was vtterly ignorant, till hee talked with him; and they might haue caused verie manie pernicious accidents, but that his graue Counsell had giuen them remedy; and therefore, hee rather ought to reward *Democritus*, as a gracious Benefector. So, being brought aboard his Shippe by the *Abderites*, he set saile, and returned home vnto the Isle of *Coos*.

This *Hippocrates* lived afterward like a Woorthie man, and in great reputation, hauing written threescore and seauen Bookes of the Art of Physick, which yet to this day are helde in great estimation, as beeing most learnedly composed; yea, such hath beene their Authoritie, that all cases pleaded before Iudges, if they were determined by *Hippocrates*, all Lawyers allowd them as a denitive sentence, without informing themselves by any other naturall reason.

The whole Art of Physicke is grounded vpon that which hee hath written; and is the onely reason, why that Science was reduced into an Art. Not onely was he in great credite and estimation during his life time in *Greece*, but likewise in many remote Nations where that credite liueth still: For his Workes are read not onely in *Asia* and *Europe*, but likewise in *Affrica*, amongst the *Moors*, *Jewes*, *Arabes*, and *Indians*, where Commentaries are daily made on his Bookes.

Hee was neuer seene to be in Choller, neither more sadde or ioyfull at one time then another. Hee was very charitable to the poore, Benigne, Affable, Liberall, and Laborious: Hee was so beloued in many Prouinces, that (on a time) the *Athenians* being prouoked by vniust Ambition, denounced Warre against the Isle of *Coos*: but (for his sake only) the *Thessalians* and other people, sent their Ambassadours to succor them with men, and all meanes else: And also in respect of him, the *Athenians* would not come to Handie-blowes: but calling to minde, that hee had once deliuered their Citie from the Pestilence, granted them peace, and accepted him amongst the number of their Cittizens, to enioy the same priuiledges; allowing him besides, a great pension yearely, out of the publicke Treasury. Hee died in the hundred and cleauenth yeare of his

age, leauing two Sonnes behinde him, verie famous Physitions, to wit, *Thessalus* and *Draco*.

He had a great number of Schollers, whom he wold neuer license to practise, or graunt them his Letters, till they had first taken their Oaths in the Temple, before the Altar of *Apello*, to abbreuiate diseases to their vttermost power; to giue no counsell, neither to suffer any to poison any bodie, or cause women to be deliuered of abortiue children: To be secret in infirmitie, as wel concerning women as men, without lusting after women, or young Maids, being vnder their cure: nor to report any thing spoken by them, or done in their houses, after their entrance. Also, that they should teach their Arte freely, and without reward to others, according as he had taught it them; and aboue all things else, that they should feare God. It is not aboue fortie years since, that his Sepulchre was found in the Isle of *Coos*, his Natiue Countrey, which the Emperour *Theodosius* had builded in his honor, betweene two Hilles, in a verie deepe Quagmyre, which was 860. yeares after his decease. Whereby wee may well perceiue, that *Soranus* is a lyer, who would haue his Tombe to be in *Macedonia*. He is alwaies pictured with his head covered, as a signe of his Nobility.

The death & children of *Hippocrates*.

The Oath giuen by *Hippocrates* to his Schollers.

The Sepulcher of *Hippocrates*.

The departure of *Hippocrates* from the *Abderites*.

The authority of *Hippocrates* his workes and writings.

The life and vertues of *Hippocrates*.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the two most excellent Painters in those times, *Apelles* and *Protogenes*.



Having formerly spoken of the woorthy Art of Painting, it may seeme absurd, that two Chapters should be inserted, concerning one and the same subiect. But in mine owne excuse, I must alledge the mens dignitie of whom I am nowe to speake, deseruing well a Chapter by themselves, for better impression in the Readers minds. *Apelles*, who was tearmed the chiefe or Prince in the Art of Painting, learned this Science vnder a Woorthie man, named *Pamphilus*, whose cunning

The Authors excuse for this chapter.

Pamphilus the Maister of *Apelles*.

Protogenes another famous Painter.

Apelles came to see Protogenes.

Protogenes knew Apelles by his line.

Apelles his second visitation of Protogenes.

was so absolute, as hee would accept of no Scholler, at lesse rate then an *Attique* Talent by the yeare, which valewed fixe hundred Crownes of our Money nowe. In the time of this *Apelles*, there was another most famous Painter, named *Protogenes*, so prompt and skilful in this Art, as supremacy in excellency could not be discerned in either. In regard whereof, and *Apelles* hauing credible intelligence of his great renoune, he resolued to goe see him, & sayled thence to *Rhodes*, wher *Protogenes* made his abiding. Being there arriued (with purpose not to be knowne, no not to *Protogenes* himselfe) he came to the doore of his dwelling, at such time as *Protogenes* was gone abroad Entring into his Worke-house, he demanded of an aged woman where he was, saying, hee would haue spoken with him. Who stal I say (quoth the old woman) inquired for him? Then *Apelles* tooke a Pensil, which he found lying by an vnwrought Table, and said to the old woman. Thou mayst tell *Protogenes* when hee commeth, that he which did this in this Table, came hither to see him And as he spake the wordes, he drew a strait line so curious and elaborate, as the like could not haue been done by the hand of any other Workeman, and so departed.

Protogenes being returned home vnto his house, and told by the Olde woman as she was commaunded; hee looked on the Table, and perceiuing the rare perfection of the Line, he presently said, *Apelles* hath done this, for no other mā could do it. Then tooke he another Pensill, and vpon the Line which *Apelles* made, he drew one of another colour, so delicate small, thinne, and slender, and with such true proportion, as none but himselfe could performe the like, commaunding the Old woman, that when *Apelles* returned thither, she should shew it him and tell him, that this was his workmanship whom he came to see. Soone after, *Apelles* came againe to the shop, *Protogenes* being absent; and the Olde woman shewed him the Table as her Maister had giuen him in charge. *Apelles* being much aī aimed to see such an aduantage aboue him, tooke a Pensill, and on the chiefe subtilty of the line, which *Protogenes* had made vpon his (although it seemed inuisible to the eie, it was so ouercuriously drawne) yet notwithstanding,

by the dexterious skill of his hand, in a third colour, he formed another Line, so subtle and ingenious, that it denided the two formost thorow the midst; and was also set downe with such exceeding perfection, as no space was left to draw another. *Protogenes* comming home againe, and beholding what was done, confessed himselfe conquered, and ran suddenly to the Port to finde *Apelles*, to honour and giue him entertainment. Afterward, this Table, with the three lines onely, was reputed as a myracle, and long time kept in Rome, being (for the admirable Art expressed therein) brought thither, and it remained there in *Cæsars* time, when by casualty of fire it was burned.

Apelles had this custome, when he had finished any rare piece of Worke, to set it in open sight at his doore, for al by-passengers to behold it: then would he hide himselfe aptly behinde it, to hear if (with reason) any one could reprove it, so to vnderstand the peoples iudgement. Once it happened, that his cunning was controlled by a Shoo maker, because the Lat. het of a shoo was not well painted. Alwayes he wrote vnder his Tables, these especiall words; *Apelles did this, and yet did it not*, giuing thereby to vnderstande, that he held not his work for perfect and compleate.

This excellent man, liued in the time of *Alexander*, the greatest King that euer was, by whom he was so commended, & held in such high honor, that he prohibited by publicke Edict, no Painter should draw his picture but *Apelles* onely. Nor did he hold it any disgrace to his maiesty, oftentimes to go and sit by him, as hee was painting in his Shop, which is a notable Argument, that this Arte was in great reputation in those times, and that *Apelles* was most excellent, & not meanly esteemed and loued by *Alexander*. For *Apelles* hauing (by his commaund) drawne to the life, and naked; one of his fauorits, a choise Lady, named *Campasse*, found her to be so faite, and of such perfection, that he grew extraordinarily inamored of hir. Which comming vnto the knowledge of *Alexander*, though he loued the Lady dearly, & aboue the rest of his Concubins, yet he concluded to take hir from himselfe, & giue hir in marriage to *Apelles*. Nor is this act vnworthie to be ranked in the number of his greatest victories,

The curicus Table vnfortunatly burned.

A custom obserued by *Apelles*.

Apelles reproued by a shoo-maker.

Apelles liued in *Alexanders* time.

The loue of *Alexander* to *Apelles*.

tories: considering, that, conquering his owne affections (which euermore is the worthyest triumph) he could rob himselfe of a faire friend, to bestow her vpon another. Some say, that by this *Campaspe*, *Apelles* painted the Picture of *Venus*.

He was so skilfull in naturall portraiture, that *Ptolomie*, King of *Aegypt*, and one of the Successours to *Alexander*, enuying the fame and vertues of *Apelles*; made a sumptuous Feast, whereto, treacherously, and in the Kings name, *Apelles* was invited, and came. *Ptolomy* being highly offended, angerly demaunded of him; Who had beene the cause of his presence there? Which when *Apelles* heard; suddenly he tooke a coale out of the fire, and, without returning any other answer: presently drew the figure of a face, which every one (there present) knew to resemble a follower of the Kinges, named *Planus*. Many other meruaileus things in Painting, were performed by him, which would aske ouer-long time to recount. For Histories doe relate, that he painted such things, as were not to be painted: as the beames of the Sun, Lightning, Thunder, and such like impossibilities. His workes were so rare and singuler, that a Table, wherin *Venus* was figured, rising out of the Sea, and which was placed in *Iulius Casars* Temple by *Octauius*, happening afterward to be defaced in some perticuler part; no man durst attempt to amend what was mard, knowing no meanes to conforme it to the first perfection.

About the ending of his daies, he began to draw another peece of *Venus*, so faire and curiously proportioned: that dying before he had finished it, no man could be found, that would enterprize to perfect it; according to the beginning. At another time, he had painted a Horse, so neere to the life; that other Painters (having drawne the like Figures, and desirous to make experience of the most perfect) would take liuing Horses out of the Stable, and set them before their owne handye worke, for comparison. But when they brought them before that done by *Apelles*: they would binne to stirre, whinnow and snuffle, as if the other had been a liuing Horse indeede, whereby *Apelles* carried

the excellence from all the other Painters. Nor was his worthinesse of spirit discerned by his Painting onely, but also in his good discoursing. For *Protogenes*, praising and extolling him beyond all other Painters; *Apelles* answered. *You are as skilfull a Maister in the Art as I am; but you haue one fault, that ye will tire your selfe with Painting.* Declaring heereby, that ouer great diligence and continuall labour (exceeding duty) is hurtfull: because it wasteth, oppresseth, and confoundeth the Spirit; when a man shall so assidually continue at his worke, and giue the minde no breathing time, in some other pleasing exercises. A Painter shewed him one of his pieces, & vaunted, that he had done it in such a short named time; whereto *Apelles* answered: *I saw that by thy workmanship, though thou hadst not told me.*

We may speake somewhat of *Protogenes*, and of his cunning skill in Painting, albeit it were matter enough to his glory, to declare no more then that which *Demetrius* did, at his sledge before *Rhodes*. For he might very easilie haue entred the Citty, if he would haue fiered it in a certaine place: but hee would by no meanes yeild thereto, or that any fire should be put in that place, because he well knew, that in the very same part of the Citty, was a Table wrought by the hand of *Protogenes*. And he rather chose, to faile in surprisall of the Citty; then to burne that Table, such was his great esteeme and loue to it. The day before the Citty was besiedged, *Protogenes* beeing in a Garden (at his worke) without the Walls, was taken by the Souldiers of *Demetrius*: for though hee knew the Armies coming, yet would hee not giue ouer his businesse begun. Being brought before *Demetrius*, the King demanded of him; with what assurance he durst so securely trust himselfe without the Citty? *I am certaine* (quoth *Protogenes*) *that thy Warre is against the Rhodians, and not against the Arts.* Whereupon, *Demetrius* gaue him in guard to diuers of his trustiest Souldiours, that no man might wrong him in perfecting his worke, and oftentimes went himselfe to see him.

There haue beene in this Art, many choise and singuler Work men, exceeding

Ptolomy King of *Egypt*, an enemy to *Apelles*.

Admirable things painted by *Apelles*.

Works of *Apelles* left imperfect, no man could finish them.

Apelles apt & ready in discourse.

Ouer much labour dilleth the Spirit.

Concerning the worthy skill of *Protogenes*.

Rhodes besiedged by *Demetrius*.

The names of many verie rare and singular Painters.

Women very skilfull in Painting.

ding possibility to name them all, and therefore we will but glaunce at some: As *Aristides*, of *Thebes*; *Asclepiadorus*, of *Alexandria*, very skilfull also in the *Mathematiques*; *Nichomachus*, of *Athens*, Sonne to *Aristodemus*; *Panens*, Brother to *Phidias*, and many other, of whom *Pliny* speaketh in his fine & thirtieth Booke. And because that men only shall not boast of their figularity in this Art; we can alledge some women likewise, very famous therein, and that haue exceeded extraordinarily: as *Thimaretta*, Daughter to *Mycon* of *Athens*; shee painted the Figure of *Dyana* in a Table, which was long time preserved in *Ephesus*. We may not forget *Irene*, *Calypso*, and a Virgine named *Lala Cyzicena*, as also *Olympia*, and others. True it is, that in our time there are very excellent men: but I must be silent therein, least in speaking of some one or two; I should doe injury to the rest.

CHAP. XXII.

Of what forme a Man ought to bee, to appeare thereby in his best shape and proportion.



Seeing we haue spoken in diuers kinds, of Painters excelling in their Art: me-thinkes it cannot vary farre from our purpose, to speak of the great and chiefest Painter, euen the former and Creator of all things, who obserued a rule and true proportion of Art, in the composition of Man. Among other meruailes, which we are to consider in mans composing; we must first know that he is framed of so perfect a measure, and each part so well compassed (as we shall instantly declare) that our ancient Architects and Builders, had especiall regard, to the proportion obserued by God, in the creation of Man, whereby they shaped their order and composition, for building Houses, Churches, Castles, Towers, Shippes, and Instruments for Warre, and from thence deriued their first proportions. And in

The true rule & proportion in composition of man, obserued as a method for al other matters.

contemplating, and well considering the measures of Mans stature, each member after other: they found out such a compasse, as they could thereby direct their labour, and forme the order of wonderfull buildings. Which I must confesse, as well in our Moderne, as in our Ancients, discoursing hereof, and deliuered by their owne writings: especially *Vitruuius*, albeit experience doth herein best teach vs.

Now, part of this proportion by them found and considered, was, that in the stature of man there is no certain measure or arrest, because some are greater then other. Neuerthelesse, our elders iudged, that to forme a man of apt and perfect greatnesse; it required but sixe foote in length, or else not to exceede seauen: because such as haue surpassed this rule, went contrary to the naturall course.

In like manner, *Vegetius*, speaking of what stature men should be elected for War-seruice, saith: That the Confull *Marius* would chuse his *Tyrans*, (which were new or Fresh-water Souldiours, as we rearme them) of six foot in height, or (at the least) five foot and ten inches, which are the ten partes of twelue portions in a foot. And for conformitic in these things, *Vitruuius* further saith; That the foote of a man maketh the sixt part of his length. Neuerthelesse, this rule taken by the common foot, is vncertain: for I haue seen Men & womē more great, then seuen times the length of their feet would reach to. To agree then with *Vitruuius* and *Vegetius* together; we must know, that *Vitruuius* meant Geometricall feet, which contained foure hand-breadths, or handfulls, each handfull to haue foure fingers breadth, and each finger foure Barley graines in length. For all Authours, both Auncient and Moderne, writing on this Argument, doe assure vs, that the measuring foote, consisteth of the greatnesse of twelue points, which we tearme inches. Of these feete then a man ought to haue sixe, to be of good height, and he that reacheth to seauen, is very taule, and whosoever exceedeth seauen foote, should be called a Gyant, and monstrous: according to the rule of the most wise *Marcus Varro*, recited by *Aulus Gellius*. Whereun-

No certaine measure in the stature of man.

The Confull *Marius* in election of his Souldiers.

The agreement of *Vitruuius* and *Vegetius*.

The allowed height of a Man.

to *Suetonius* consenteth in the life of *Octavianus*, speaking of his forme; where he saith, that he was of little stature: yet notwithstanding, it could not be perceived, in regard of equall proportion in his members; but when he was near another of taller stature, the he. Yet he saith, that his measure was five foote and nine inches; and by reason of this want in the first foote, he was called little.

Let vs come now to the proportion of the members, and how much (one with another) ought to haue in their length. In the first place, the auncient Philosophers found out, that the round & circular figure (as being the most absolute of all other) is perfect in man. For a man lying on the ground, his face towards Heauen, his armes and hands extended so wide as can bee, and likewise his legges and feete: open then a compasse of fixe foote in breadth, and set one of the points directly on his navel, as in a Center, and turne the compasse round about by his furthest reach, and it will make a round and perfect circle, taking iust measure by the endes of the feete and hands. This is a rule certaine, and common in all men, by a good and well commensured proportion. *Vitruuius* speaketh it in the place before alleadged, and the like doe many other Authours beside: *Pliny* writeth, that the figure or forme of a man, is angulare and quadrangulare, because in opening his armes, and extending his fingers, the largenesse is found, according to the measure of the man in length. Hence ensueth it, that holding his feete together, and his Armes abroad extended; he is a quadrangle of foure equall lines. For one passeth in him by the Crowne of the head; a second, by the Soles of his feete; a third, by one of his hands; and the fourth, by the other. But coming to the members proportion ioyntly together, and likewise of all the body with them; there is found some difference, betweene our Authours Ancient and Moderne. *Vitruuius* saith, that the face of a Man, measuring it from the neather part of the Chin, to the first root of Haire towards the fore-head; should containe the length of a tenth part of the whole bodie. And that the length of the hand;

from the Wrist to the top of the middle Finger, is likewise the tenth part of a Man. And from the top of the forehead, to the beginning of the Breast; containeth a sixth part. Also from the Crowne of the head, to the same vpper part of the breast; is a fourth part. They deuided also the face, into three equall portions; one to begin at the tip of the Chin, and mounting vp so farre as the Nosthrils; then from thence, vp to the eye-browes the second; the third and last, is from the Eye-browes, vp to the roote of the haire. The foote (as we haue said) is repered to be the sixth part of the whole body. The Cubite (which reacheth from the Elbow, to the top of the middle Finger) is the fourth part; And likewise the Breast another fourth part. Behold what auncient Writers haue held as a rule, which they deriued from *Vitruuius*, according to his Countrey.

Now, this rule ought to be in a man, to haue good proportion and disposition in all his members. I speake this, because there is not any other rule, bee it neuer so great, but it hath some exception. Wherefore, this here named, is not found alike in all men, but yet in the greater part of them; so that, he which shall be found most conformable to this rule, hath euer the best shape and disposition. There are many other proportions among the members of man, and from one to another, all which would be too tedious to declare. Neuertheless (according to my wonted order) I will speake of some of them brieflie. Among these, obserue this, that the very greatest ioynt of the biggest Finger or Thomb, termed an inch; is the measure of the mouthes height, when it is fully open, I meane in such as can easily, and without any grieuance, open their mouths. Againe, the same ioynt, is the perfect measure from the tippe of the Chin, iust to the Iawes or Chaps, when the mouth is shut. The other lesser ioynt of this inch or Thomb, that is to say; where the naile is, is the distance betweene the vpper Lippe, and the tip of the Nose. The great ioynt of the other next Finger, which the *Latines* called *Index*, the pointing Finger, or fore-finger; containeth the length of the fore-head or front, taking measure from

The face of man deuided into three equall proportions.

The best allowance for good proportion in a man.

Many proportions among the members of man, by ample description.

Of the measure in the fingers.

The proportion of the members in their due length.

The round & circular figure perfect in man.

Plin. in Lib. 22 Cap 9.

The figure of a man Angulare and Quadrangulare.

The members measured with the whole body together.

The true length of the Nose.	<p>from the height of the eye-browes, to the first root of haire. That which remaineth of this <i>Index</i>, or fore-finger, to the tippe of the Naile, where are two other ioyntes; is the iust length of the Nose, from the end to the eye-browes. The great ioynt of the bigge or middle finger, which is that in the midst of the hand; is the distance from the tippe of the Chin, to the beginning of the nose.</p>	<p>like Artes, duely weighing and considering these rules: made Statues of many pieces, & of diuers proportions, which when they were ioynd together: they appeared as conforme and agreeable, as if they had bin made all in one piece. The Moderne men of our times, haue taken another rule in this diuision of man: for they haue deuided him into nine parts or faces, and the third part of a face. The principall among them, is <i>Phillip de Bourgogne</i>, a singular Caruer, who maketh his diuision thus. From the top or Crowne of the head, so farre as the Front; he maketh a third part of the face. A second third part, is from the beginning of the Front, so farre as the tip of the Chinne. From thence, to the height of the Breast, is a third part. From the Breast, to the Stomacke; is a fourth. From the Stomacke, to the Nauell; is a fifth. From the Nauell; to the secret parts; is a sixth. From thence, the length of the Thigh to the knee, containeth two other third partes, which make seauen and eight. From the ioynt of the knee downward, to the sole of the foote, are reputed two other third parts: which make</p>	The rules of ancient Artists.
The greatnes of the face.	<p>10 And the whole intire hand, is equall to the greatnesse of the face. All the lesser ioynts in the Fingers, hold like measure to the greatnesse of the Naile, which is the moiety of all those lesser ioynts: Wherefore, it is a wonderfull thing, to behold, and obserue the proportions which are in man, and the reasons of them. Moreover, the height of the fore-head, the length of the nose, as also of the lippes, are euermore equall: And the distance which is between the heele and the Instup; is also equall to that betwene the Instup, and the top of the toes.</p>	<p>20 (in all) nine faces, and one other third part. This may be seene and well considered, according to truth, to satisfie some for their further contentment: and this is the rule, obserued and helde by our Moderne men. It is further to be noted and considered, that in the composition and quantity of the members; a very seemely and conuenable proportion is obserued, euen as in a most wonderful Hermony.</p>	Modern men differing from our ancients.
The fore-head, nose, and lips.	<p>30 We haue already said, that the face ought to be the tenth part of the body, so that the whole stature be deuided into tenne partes, or faces, because our auncients made this obseruation. For, from the height or crowne of the head, so farre as the Nosthrils; is one tenth part. From the toppe of the Nose, to the height of the Breast; is a second. From thence, to the mouth of the stomacke; is a third. From the stomacke, to the Nauell; is a fourth. From the Nauell, to the secrets; is a fifth; and there is the halfe moiety of a Mans true stature. From which place also, to the sole of the foote, are five other partes. One beginneth in the midst of the Thighes chiefest greatnesse; the second, descendeth thence to the top of the knee: and the rest going downward, deuide themselues into three other parts. The grossnesse of a man at his wast or girdle; should be the halfe of his height or length: Notwithstanding, as we haue formerly said, although this proportion bee not found alike in all men: yet it is infallible, that he who is equall to this iust measure in all parts, shall be the comliest and most compleat man. For in former times, those auncient Sculptures, Image-makers, Caruers, and others skilfull in the</p>	<p>40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190 200 210 220 230 240 250 260 270 280 290 300 310 320 330 340 350 360 370 380 390 400 410 420 430 440 450 460 470 480 490 500 510 520 530 540 550 560 570 580 590 600 610 620 630 640 650 660 670 680 690 700 710 720 730 740 750 760 770 780 790 800 810 820 830 840 850 860 870 880 890 900 910 920 930 940 950 960 970 980 990 1000</p>	Phillip of Burgundy, his diuision of man.
The heele & Instup.	<p>40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190 200 210 220 230 240 250 260 270 280 290 300 310 320 330 340 350 360 370 380 390 400 410 420 430 440 450 460 470 480 490 500 510 520 530 540 550 560 570 580 590 600 610 620 630 640 650 660 670 680 690 700 710 720 730 740 750 760 770 780 790 800 810 820 830 840 850 860 870 880 890 900 910 920 930 940 950 960 970 980 990 1000</p>	<p>Pliny saith, that till the yeares of one and twentie, a man commonly encreaseth in height, and thence-forward groweth in grossnesse, but not in height. Further he saith, that when a Child is three yeares old, he hath receiued the perfect increasing, in halfe of that which he can further increase. Likewise hee saith, that the humours of a sound and healthfull bodie, being answerable in proportion; should containe such weight and poise as followeth. Blood should containe eight equall partes in weight: Fleame should weigh foure partes: Chollour two: And Melanchollie one, but no more. And so it seemeth, that one doubleth it</p>	Let indifferēt iudgement make triall of both.
The measure of the body into ten parts equally obserued.	<p>40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190 200 210 220 230 240 250 260 270 280 290 300 310 320 330 340 350 360 370 380 390 400 410 420 430 440 450 460 470 480 490 500 510 520 530 540 550 560 570 580 590 600 610 620 630 640 650 660 670 680 690 700 710 720 730 740 750 760 770 780 790 800 810 820 830 840 850 860 870 880 890 900 910 920 930 940 950 960 970 980 990 1000</p>	<p>Pliny saith, that till the yeares of one and twentie, a man commonly encreaseth in height, and thence-forward groweth in grossnesse, but not in height. Further he saith, that when a Child is three yeares old, he hath receiued the perfect increasing, in halfe of that which he can further increase. Likewise hee saith, that the humours of a sound and healthfull bodie, being answerable in proportion; should containe such weight and poise as followeth. Blood should containe eight equall partes in weight: Fleame should weigh foure partes: Chollour two: And Melanchollie one, but no more. And so it seemeth, that one doubleth it</p>	Plin. in lib. 9. cap. 7.
The five parts vpwward.	<p>40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190 200 210 220 230 240 250 260 270 280 290 300 310 320 330 340 350 360 370 380 390 400 410 420 430 440 450 460 470 480 490 500 510 520 530 540 550 560 570 580 590 600 610 620 630 640 650 660 670 680 690 700 710 720 730 740 750 760 770 780 790 800 810 820 830 840 850 860 870 880 890 900 910 920 930 940 950 960 970 980 990 1000</p>	<p>Pliny saith, that till the yeares of one and twentie, a man commonly encreaseth in height, and thence-forward groweth in grossnesse, but not in height. Further he saith, that when a Child is three yeares old, he hath receiued the perfect increasing, in halfe of that which he can further increase. Likewise hee saith, that the humours of a sound and healthfull bodie, being answerable in proportion; should containe such weight and poise as followeth. Blood should containe eight equall partes in weight: Fleame should weigh foure partes: Chollour two: And Melanchollie one, but no more. And so it seemeth, that one doubleth it</p>	Of growing in height and grossnesse.
The five parts downward.	<p>40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190 200 210 220 230 240 250 260 270 280 290 300 310 320 330 340 350 360 370 380 390 400 410 420 430 440 450 460 470 480 490 500 510 520 530 540 550 560 570 580 590 600 610 620 630 640 650 660 670 680 690 700 710 720 730 740 750 760 770 780 790 800 810 820 830 840 850 860 870 880 890 900 910 920 930 940 950 960 970 980 990 1000</p>	<p>Pliny saith, that till the yeares of one and twentie, a man commonly encreaseth in height, and thence-forward groweth in grossnesse, but not in height. Further he saith, that when a Child is three yeares old, he hath receiued the perfect increasing, in halfe of that which he can further increase. Likewise hee saith, that the humours of a sound and healthfull bodie, being answerable in proportion; should containe such weight and poise as followeth. Blood should containe eight equall partes in weight: Fleame should weigh foure partes: Chollour two: And Melanchollie one, but no more. And so it seemeth, that one doubleth it</p>	The weight of the humors in man.
The girdle or wast of a man	<p>40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190 200 210 220 230 240 250 260 270 280 290 300 310 320 330 340 350 360 370 380 390 400 410 420 430 440 450 460 470 480 490 500 510 520 530 540 550 560 570 580 590 600 610 620 630 640 650 660 670 680 690 700 710 720 730 740 750 760 770 780 790 800 810 820 830 840 850 860 870 880 890 900 910 920 930 940 950 960 970 980 990 1000</p>	<p>Pliny saith, that till the yeares of one and twentie, a man commonly encreaseth in height, and thence-forward groweth in grossnesse, but not in height. Further he saith, that when a Child is three yeares old, he hath receiued the perfect increasing, in halfe of that which he can further increase. Likewise hee saith, that the humours of a sound and healthfull bodie, being answerable in proportion; should containe such weight and poise as followeth. Blood should containe eight equall partes in weight: Fleame should weigh foure partes: Chollour two: And Melanchollie one, but no more. And so it seemeth, that one doubleth it</p>	The weight of the humors in man.

The Authors Conclusion.

it selfe vpon the other, euen from the meanest to the greatest. To conclude, this admirable piece of workmanship; contemplating and duely considering it selfe, ought to moue a man, to loue and praise the Worke-man which is God himselfe. And seeing wee haue so faire a preparation in our bodily Fabricke or structure: reason iustly requirereth, that we shold order our manners, according to the perfection of our Soule, to make her appeare the more faire, beeing lodged in a perfect, compleate, and well porportioned body.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of three Princes in our time, and not long since, who ended their dates very miserably, for disobeying, and euill treating their Fathers.



Here needeth no doubt to be made, but many disorderly persons doe liue in this World, that dare exalt themselves against their Parents, and others Superiours, to whom they owe obedience. Which questionlesse ensueth not, but by the sollicitation of the Deuill, couetous to make many of his faction, and to weare his Livery, willingly yeelding themselves to partake in his torments. I speake this, because I purpose to handle in this Chapter, the Histories of three wicked Children; the one of the being a Christian, and the other two of Mahomet's Religion, that carried themselves towards their Fathers and other Kinned, so inhumanly, and without cause; as can scarcely (with modesty) bee expressed, procuring thereby, their owne miserable ending, which happened not about a thousand or twelue hundred yeares since; but euen in our time: To shew the Reader, that this Age of ours is as full of wickednesse and ingratitude, (deedes onely proceeding from the Deuill) as any in former times was euer heard of; wherefore I will begin with the Christian.

Such as haue read the Histories of Phillip de Commynes, who wrote the acti-

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ons of King Lewis the eleauenth, and of his Capitall Enemy, Charles Duke of Burgundy: do finde, that a Duke of Gueldres, a man of vertue, entreating his Subiects benignely, and enriched with the feare of God; had a Sonne named Adolphe, who was newly married to the Duke of Bourbons Daughter. He behaued himselfe fiercely to her, albeit shee was of the blood Royall of France, and allied to the most potent Duke of Bourgongne. Moreouer, grieuing that his Father liued so long, his ambition stretched so farre, as to be Duke of Gueldres in stead of his Father. And that hee might the sooner attaine thereto, this detestable Sonne, one night when his Father would haue gone to his rest; surprized him, and caused him to be led fise miles thence, bare-foote and bare-legde, locking him vp in the Tower of a Castle, which was buldee in a Marshy place, round engirt with Waters, and subiect to litle or no light at all. Sixe months he kept him there in this estate, very basely lodged; and not seeing any fire in all that weary time.

The Duke of Cleues hauing heard of this monstrous dealing; in amity would aduenture for the Prisoners deliuerance: in regard, that the Duke of Gueldres (in his second Nuptials) had married the Sister to the said Duke of Cleues. Adolphe would heare no friendly perswasions; whereuppon, these two Lords entred into cruell Warres, but all in vaine. The Duke of Bourgongne also imployed his paines, to make an agreement betweene the Sonne and Father: but he could speede no better then the other. When the Duke of Bourgongne perceiued the young foole to be so head-strong; accepting of no remonstrances, which both the Pope and he had sent vnto him: he made preparation of warre against him. Adolphe well knowing, that hee was to deale with one more terrible and powerfull then himselfe: withdrew his Father from Prison, and led him to the saide Duke, who yet againe endeuoured to accord them. The griuances beeing heard on either side; the Father, as hauing lost al iudgement, by the insolencies of his Sonne: prouoked, and dared the proud youth to single Combate, vntill silence was imposed on him.

Adolphe, Son to the Duke of Gueldres.

Adolphe surprized his father, and made him prisoner.

The Duke of Cleues seeketh to restore the wronged prisoner.

The Duke of Bourgongne prepareth warre.

The Father called the son to single combate.

In

The Deuill is the Authour and Father of Parricides.

This Age as wicked as any of the former.

The first History.

An agree-
ment be-
tweene the
Father and
Sonne.

Strange and
vile Speeches
of a Sonne.

Adolphe the
Sonne taken
Prisoner.

In the end, the Duke of *Bourgogne* appointed (faouring the Sonne, as his neere Kinsman) that the Dutchy of *Guedres* should remaine soly to him: a small Citty excepted, named *Graue*, ioyning to the Countrey of *Brabant*; which valued the Reuennue of three thousand Florins. Other three thousand should bee leuied on the Dutchy, making (in all) sixe thousand Florins, which the Father should haue paid him yearly, and the Sonne to enioy al the rest: with this condition, that he should be instituted Gouvernor of *Bourgogne*, with the accustomed gages. *Phillip de Commines*, who hath written this History, was deputed (with the other Lords) to make knowne to *Adolphe* the Sonne, what was determined by the Duke of *Bourgogne*. But the Sonne, listning to euill counsell, said: That hee would no way accept of these conditions, but had rather throw his Father into a Well, with his head forward, and then to cast in himselfe after. Moreouer, (quoth he) my Father hath beene Duke foure and twenty yeares, and it is now high time that I should be Duke. Willinglie I will giue him three thousand Florins yearly, vpon condition, that neyther he nor his Wife, shall at any time hereafter enter into the saide Dutchy: but liue in some place so secured, as neuer to budge thence, or to be made impossible for their euer leauing it.

While these matters were thus in manning, the people of *Amiens*, and other Townes seated on the Riuer of *Somme*, revolted from obedience to the Duke of *Bourgogne*: for the morgaged Mony which he had on the said places, had beene consigned by King *Lewes* the eleauenth, who would not take, but laboured daily to keepe those Townes, as best besemed both him and them. The Duke of *Bourgogne*, aduertised of those Citties revolt, being then at *Dorlans*; with-drew to *Hedin*, and commanded a Guard to lay hold on *Adolphe*, and Men were immediatly appointed for the purpose. Afterward, the Duke of *Bourgogne* being busied about these affaires; forgot the agreement. But so did not the young *Guedrois*, for he left his *Allemaigne* habite, & took one after the French fashion, wherein he fled away secretly, to get into his own coun-

try. But as he was to passe a Port neere to *Namures*, hee payed a Florin for his passage, and a Priest espying him; was suspitious of him, and demanding of a Marriner, came more neer him. When knowing him, he was carried Prisoner to the Castle of *Namures*: where he remained till the Duke of *Bourgognes* death, suffering many shamefull ignominies. His Father dyed a yeare after his taking Prisoner, and instituted the Duke of *Bourgogne* his heire, quite disinheriting his owne Sonne.

The men of *Gaunte*, touched with the same vice, revolted (after the said Duke of *Bourgognes* death) against their Lady and Inheritrix *Marie*; taking the young ingratefull Lord out of Prison, and allowing him to bee their Chiefe. But iust vengeance made no long delay, for within a while after, being bad accompanied, hee was slaine before the Towne of *Tornay*. Wherein God accomplished his owne words, saying: *The disobedient to their Parents, shall neuer finish halfe their years.* Behold, the end of this wicked youth, who lived in litle ease, after the persecution of his father, and finished his daies vnfortunately; not leauing any heire to his great Wealth, but the man that was his Capitall Enemy. For afterward, they of the house of *Bourgenne*, did continually enioy the Dutchy of *Guedres*, and other Seigneries, euen as they do to this present day.

This manner of misusing Fathers, was as customarie (and more) among the *Mahumattists*; as among Christians, and they no more exempted from Diuine punishment, then Christians. For they haue knowledge of the old Testament, as weil as Christians; where they see the Commaundements which God made, concerning the obedience due to Parents, and what threatnings doe depend vpon the contrary. Wherefore, thirty two yeares after our first History, *Baiazeth* raigned in *Turky*, who, after he had won the victory against the *Polonians* and *Venetians*, raigned then thirty yeares. Being then old and decrepite, hauing made peace with all his Neighbours, and enjoying countlesse Riches: he was poysoned, by the procurement of his Sonne, named *Selim*, in the Citty of *Dumatecha*, situate in the

Adolphe escap-
ped by flight.

Adolphe taken
Prisoner a-
gainc.

Adolphe slaine
before *Tornay*.

The second
History.

Baiazeth poy-
soned by the
meanes of his
Sonne *Selim*.

the Countrey of *Thrace*, whether hee had retýred hunselfe, there to finish the remainder of his daies. This detestable deece, was committed by a Jew, his Phisition, named *Hamen*, whom *Baiazeth* most confidently trusted for his health.

His Father being dead, and he possessed of his Treasures: he gaue Money in great aboundance to his men of war, that had enstaull'd him in the Throne Royall: for his elder Brother *Zizim*, beeing voyd of any meanes to make head against him, was then fledde to *Rhodes*. He caused two other of his Brethren to be cruelly massacred, and five of his Nephewes. Moreouer, *Mustapha*, a Man of great authoritie, who wrought all that he could doe to his vitermost, for exalting him to the Empire, he made no spare of him also. Inbriete, his cruelties were so great and horrible, that all men waxing generally fearefull of him: for a long space together, few or none durst appeare in his presence. At length, this wicked Parricide, having raigned nine yeares, ended his dayes at *Cturle*, (which is a Village in *Thrace*) by a Pestilentiall Vicer that bred in his reines: as a manifest vengeance, which plagued him with vspeakable torments, for the space of a whole yeare together. Where-with beeing enraged, and put out of his senses, he dyed, cursing both God and Mahomet: to the no little ioy of all the East parts, which he had resolved whollie to ruinate. He dyed in the same place, where (some few yeares before) hee came with bold resistance against his Father: as well worthy (doubleesse) to end his dayes there, where hee entred into disobedience against his Father.

Five and twenty yeares after this our second Historie, another, named *Muleasses*, King of *Thunis* in *Affrica*, an especially obseruer of *Mahomets* Law, and a great Philosopher, following the Religion of *Auerroes*, fearing least *Barbarossa* (Admiral to *Sultan Soliman*, Emperour of the *Turkes*) that couered the Sea with a mightie Nauall Army, would come and deiect him from his kingdome (as once before he had done, and was re-seated therein againe, by the Emperour *Charles* the first, great

Grand-Father to the King of *Spaine*, now rainging) sailed thence into *Sicilie*, to meete the saide Emperour *Charles* at *Gennes*, and to craue succour of him. To guard his Kingdome, while hee was employed in this vrgent businesse; hee left the most faithfull men he could then thinke on; to wit, one named *Mahomet*, as Gouvernour of the Cittie, and another, called *Corsegua*, otherwise *Phares*, whom he constituted Captaine of the Castle, and appointed his Sonne *Amydas*, as chiefe Commaunder of all his forces, to defend *Thunis* against the *Turkes* and *Numidians*. Being on the Sea, to craue ayde of the Imperiall Majesty; hee was repulsd by contrarie Windes, and driuen into *Naples*, where the Vice-Roy feasted him very honourably. There, was *Muleasses* not a little wondred at, in regard of his curious diet, fashion of Apparrell, with such strange and exquisite perfumes, as wee haue already else-where related.

While he was thus at *Naples*, where the Emperour had commaunded his sojourning, after that *Barbarossa* had (in vaine) besiedged the Castle of *Nice*; he received certaine newes out of *Affrica*, that his Sonne *Amydas* had cut the throates of his Friends and favorites, and possessed himselfe of the Cittie. This matter so hammered in his head, that he bethought himselfe of leuying an Army of Men, and (in short time) he got together som eighteen hundred, which he caused to be imbarqued, and to prepare for the *Gouletie*. For hee was perswaded, that (as yet) he might ouer-maister his Sonne, because hee could not yet enable all his Forces: moreouer, this forwardnesse was well liked by the Vice-Roy, *Don Pedro de Toledo*.

The reason why his Sonne *Amydas* thus possessed himselfe of the Kingdome, was thorough a false report, (which some enemies to *Muleasses* had spread abroad) that he was so sicke at *Naples*; as death ensued thereon; and that before he dyed, hee was become a Christian, and had receiued Baptisme. And this was the cause, that *Amydas* beeing presented to them of *Thunis*; was receiued as their King, and at his entrance, he caused some to be slain and massacred, for opposing them-

The care of *Muleasses* for his kingdome in his absence

The strange curiosity of *Muleasses*.

Amydas pro-ueth false to his Father.

False reports are very dangerous.

The massacre which *Selim* made of his Brethren and Kinred.

The miserable death of *Selim*, as a iust iudgement of God.

The third History.

Muleasses king of *Thunis*, a man very learned.

The entrance
of the King
in blood.

selues against him, by vncertaintie of these tydings of his Fathers death. But *Muleasses* made what hast he could on the Sea, with his fore-named slender troupe of men, and passed by the *Goulette*: where he was aduised by the Emperours Lieutenant, named *Thoarre*, not (too rashlie) to put himselfe into the handes of the *Affricanes* and *Numidians*, till first he was assured of their good will towards him.

Muleasses lea-
ueth good
counsell, and
followeth bad

Neuerthelesse, he suffered himselfe to bee led by some Traytours about him, who perswaded him; that euerie one would embrace him, so soone as they saw him, and very ioyfullie bid him welcome, and that *Amydas* his Sonne (confounded with shame) would take himselfe to flight. Herevpon, he went directly to *Thunis*, where some number of the people met him, with Knives about their neckes, hanging ready at their throats (as it is a custome among those *Affricanes*, euen to this day) declaring by their humiliation, and proffered seruice, that they desired pardon.

An vnkinde
we come to
Muleasses.

Thus, by despising the counsell of *Thoarre*, and others that had an honest care of him, to mistrust Ambuscadoes that might be laid for him, and (doubtlesse) were already prepared: he went on to the Cittie, where he was no sooner arriued; but the *Affricanes* set vpon him, slew about fiftene hundred of his Men, putting the rest to flight, and *Muleasses* among them. But by the extreame sweete smell of his vnguents and Perfumes, he was discouered; and beeing taken, was brought to his Sonne *Amydas*, who caused his eyes to be put out with an hot burning Iron, and kept him blinde in Prison most miserably.

Amydas cau-
sed his fathers
eyes to be
cruelly put
out, and kept
him prisoner.

The like did he to his two Brethren, *Nahabell* and *Abdelas*, who were taken with *Muleasses*. In some short while after, there hapned a sedition in *Thunis*, during which troubles, *Muleasses* chanced to escape thence, by the meanes of a Woman, who had kept him certaine daies in a Ditch, couered with Straw. From thence hee got safely into *Sicilie*, where he liued blinde long time, at the charges of the *Sicilians*, by commandement of the Emperor: All these things happened in the yeare 1547.

Muleasses es-
caped out of
Prison.

As concerning *Amydas*, he liued but 4. years after he had committed this detestable Act: in all which time, hee was continually molested with warres, by the *Vice-Roy* of *Argier*, assisted with the Turkish forces; and enforced to yeilde himselfe tributary, paying well-neere as much as his Kingdome valued. From the day that hee caused his Fathers eyes to bee put out, he felt himselfe continually afflicted, with an extreame head-ake, and Impostumations in his eyes: whereby he lost all ioy, and became blind of one of his eyes, whereof he dyed. All which thinges succeeded to him by Diuine permission, in iust vengeance of those cruelties which he had exercised on his owne Father. Thus was the ending of these three Parricides.

The wretched
and miserable
end of *Amydas*

CHAP. XXIII.

From whence it ensueth, that some dreames are sad and sorrowfull; And others ioyfull and pleasing.



Dream, is that which appeareth to vs as we are sleeping, not by the function of the eyes; but by imagination. Some of

The definitio
of Dreames.

those Dreames doe make vs contented and ioyfull, leauing the body iocund, and well disposed at waking. Contrariwise, there are others sad, and offensive, that for diuers daies (after such dreames) procureth a melanchellie languishment, both in the Soule and Body, making men vncapable of receiuing any delight.

Many haue presaged by these dreames, both of good lucke or bad, which soone after should happen vnto them. Some ignorant people haue not spared to say, that they are the Soules of deceased persons; or Angelles, which doe aduertise Men, of such thinges as shall ensue vnto them. My purpose is not to discusse, if the Soules of the deceased haue (at any time)

The opinion
of ignorance,
concerning
Dreames.

time) returned againe into this world; for I leaue that to bee discided by learned Diuines: though some would approve by Text of holie Scripture, that some Soules haue returned into their Bodies, and appeared to others. But because these are extraordinarie matters, and must needes entue miraculoullie; I forbear to speake of them; and will not trouble my selfe any longer, but to discourse of the causes naturall, both concerning pleasing Dreames, and such as are turbulent and offensiuē.

Dioscorides, Plinie, and Galen doe say, that there are diuers kindes of Meates, which doe engender and cause sorrowfull Dreames: As Beanes, Long-Peaſon, Lentilles, Coleworttes, Garlike, Onions, Leekes, Ches-nuts, and all opening Rootes; as Raddish; Carrets, Skirrets and Parsnips. The Flesh of a Hart, Boare, old Hare, and Beefe; also, of a Crane, Goose, Drake, Ducke, Bustard, and diuers other Water-Fowles, as well wilde as tame; and all troubled Wines. Nor is there any doubt to bee made, but that commonly, according to such meates as we vse in our feeding (raising fumes answerable to their severall qualities) that Dreames are begotten of the same Nature.

All these meates before mentioned, with many other which I haue omitted; doe engender euill humours, and are Chollericke, Melanchollicke, and Phlegmaticke. It is necessaric then, that the Bodie of that man, who hath long time vsed these Viandes; should be of the temper of the saide humours, and that the manners and actions of the Soule, should follow the temperature of the bodie.

Galen is of this opinion, and hath written a Booke thereof expresly. Likewise, such men, as haue sustained some notable losse, eyther in their Honour, Body, Goods, Parents, Kinred, or Friendes: and oftentimes (in their Dreames) they haue verie fearefull and mournesfull Apparitions. For many times it comes to passe, that men dreame in the night time, seeming to speake, see, vnderstand, negotiate in the precedent dayes affaires: or else on some thing whereto they bear great

affection; or which they desire for to shunne.

Now, wee are to vnderstand the contrary, in such as vse good and wholesome sustentation, for by those sound & sweete vapours, which doe ascend vp into the braine, proceeding from meates of facile and subtile digestion; ioyfull and pleasing Dreames are engendred. As we may note in such as are drunke with drinking good Wine, how pleasant and facetious they are. Whereas on the contrarie, they that are in like case by drinking bad Wine; doe displeasing actions, and hatefull to be scene. In like manner, they that are troubled with no cares, but are addicted to delights, without apprehension of harmes, and enjoying all things that they can wish for: they haue no dreams at all, or if they chance to dreame; it is of ioyfull and pleasing thinges, as all merrie disposed persons vse to doe, that are in good health.

They that eat Anny-seede after supper, or when they are going to bed; or haue fed on Saffron, or drinke with Baulme, Bourage or Buglose in their drinke: not onely will haue a sharpe and subtile Spirit, but also will dreame on very acceptable thinges. There is a certaine vnguent, found commonly readie prepared by Apothecaries, which is called *Populeon*, or *Pampillion*, in regard of the Iuyce of Poplar leaues or budde mingled therein; if the temples be rubbed there-with and chafed, the Liuer-veines, the branches of the great Artery, and the soles of the feet: it is not only the prouocation of sound sleepe, but it causeth facetious and delightfull Dreames also. As the like doe all meates of greene colour, and Hearbes, except Cole-worts: As *Morrell*, or *Night-shade*, commonly called *Solanum*; the *Thorne-Apple*, called *Serramonia*. Some say, that the teeth of a Horse, vngueded; hung about a mans Necke, or his right Arme; is a present remedie; if he bee vsed to dreame euill dreames.

Cardanus saith, that himselfe made an Oyntment; compounded in this maner. The fat of young Infants, taken out of their Graue; the Iuyce of Parsely; of *Reagall* or *Aconitum*; of Cinckfoyle; called *Pentaphyllon*: wherewith if

By feeding on good meates, good dreames are occasioned.

Observations concerning Anny-seede, Saffron, &c.

An oyntment called *Populeon*, or *Pampillion*.

A strange Oyntment made by *Cardanus*.

Diuers meates that are the cause of melanchollic dreames.

The causes of sad Dreames, or those of other nature.

Diversity of Dreames in the night time.

Strange sights and apparitions.	<p>some Women and weake persons had chaft the Braine-pan; it is almost incredible to speake, what, and how many thinges they did perfwade themfelues to fee. One while, matters of delight, as Theaters, Gardens, Fish ponde, Garments, Ornaments, Daunces, goodly young Children, and lying with him or her, of whom they were most desirous. Other-whiles, they seemed to see Kinges and Magistrates, with their Guardes and Attendants; yea, all the glory and pompe of mankind, with many other excellent things, such as we see in Paintings, farre greater then euer Nature made them. Contrariwise, at other times they did see verie heauie sighes; as Rauens, Scritchowles, Prisons, Deserts, and Torments. In all which is no wonder, although the vnguent bee poysonous; for the like may bee done by naturall thinges. I am well assured, that in a disease (known to bee too frequent) when the parties haue bene persecuted with knots and bunches; yet being annointed with the Fat or Grease of man they haue found their nightly affliction to be greatly qualified, and by reason of pleasing Dreames, haue awaked with ioy and contentment.</p>	<p>maine bodies: that impresseth both in the body and soule, the present qualities and dispositions thereof.</p> <p><i>Galen</i>, in his Booke of Dreames, declareth diuers Histories, and (among others) one of a Man; who dreamed, that his left thigh was transformed into a Marble-stone: and within short while after (by a dead Palsie) he lost vtterly the vse of that member. An <i>Athlete</i> or wrafler, dreaming that he was a in vessell full of Blood, and so deepe therein, that scarcely the top of his head could be seene: <i>Galen</i> gathered by this dream, that he had great neede of taking some blood from him; by meanes whereof, he was cured of a great and deadly disease. Others dreamed, that they were bathing themselues in Baths of hot water: the <i>Physition</i> Prognosticated vpon this Dreame, that the patient must bee freed from this disease, by indicatorie Sweatings, which thereon followed, and whereby he won great reputation. In like manner, it happeneth to such as are very thirsty, who dreame that they drink insatiably: and hungry men, that they eate, but neuer be satisfied. It appeareth by these thinges, that during this time of sleep, the Soule should and doth enter into the deepest parts of the body, and hauing neglected the external sense; it tasteth the Coporall sicknesse, and at ributes to it selfe full possession therof, by imagination of those thinges which are instantly desired. Wherefore, whosoever dreameth that hee is pressed and charged with a great burden: there is no doubt, but that his animall faculties are oppressed, by a great multitude of humours. Contrariwise, such as dreame they fly in the Ayre, Runne, Leape, and Dance disposedly: denoteth a light body, exempt from the superaboundance of vicious humours. Such as dreame that they see, and are in Dunghilles, Sinckes, and such like filthy places: they must needs bee possessed with putride, foule, and noysome humours. But they, to whom it appeares, that they are conuersant in Pleasaunt, Sweete, and delightfull places: good humours doe abounde in them, and it is a signe of health.</p> <p>Beside these forenamed dreames, I will not heere inferre, that there are none</p>	<p>Of Dreames that haue happened in successe.</p> <p>Of Blood.</p> <p>Of Baches.</p> <p>Of Thirst. Of Hunger.</p> <p>Of the Soules sicknesse.</p> <p>Of great weight.</p> <p>Dreames that declare good or euill health</p>
<i>Morbis Gallicis.</i>	<p>Hauing spoken concerning the quality of Dreames, occasioned and proceeding from sustentation, as also some other thinges exteriorly applied: I will now speake of such, as doe predestinate sicknesse and diseases, and that by naturall causes. <i>Hippocrates</i> himselfe giueth admonishment to a <i>Physition</i>, to be heerein very carefull. For, if a Man doe Dreame, that hee seeth Fire: it denoteth the Dreamer to be abounding in Choller, or of a chollerick humour and disposition; whereby hee is very apt to fall into hot and burning diseases. He that dreameth hee seeth Smoake, Mists, or profound darknesse; is much disposed to Melancholly sicknesse. To dreame of Raine, and moysture; betokeneth the abounding of cold humours. To dreame of Snow, Haile, and Ices; signifieth the redundancy of Phlegme to be most cold. Howbeit (many times) when men do dream of such thinges, the season is apt and disposed thereto. For the constitution of the ayre; hath such power ouer our hu-</p>		
Of Dreames that doe preface and foretell diseases.			
Of Fire.			
Of Smoake, Mists, and Darknesse.			
Of Raine.			
Of Snow, Haile & Ices.			
The Ayre is the cause of Dreames sometimes.			

Dreames grounded on naturall causes.

A Dreame that Galen had

none but such as are grounded on some naturall causes; but on the Grace of GOD especially, who graunteth aduise to some Men, to expresse such thinges for the benefit and good of others. As happened to *Galen* the Phisition, who had a Man in cure, that had an Artery in his ankle-bone halfe cut in sunder, whereby hee lost all his blood, before any remedy could bee applyed to him. He writeth, that he was aduertised in his sleepe (by some God or Angell) that he should cut the Arterie quite in sunder, and the ends would retire to each side; and so locke together againe. When he awaked, he executed what his dream had represented to him, and by that meanes cured the man. Having spoken sufficiently on Dreames, founded on naturall reasons; in the ensuing Chapter I will alleadge some, which haue hapned to diuers Princes, by the speciall Grace of God, and altogether against the order of Nature.

CHAP. XXV.

Histories of the Dreames of some Princes, which Dreames afterward came to purpose.

D Princes, great Lords, Prelats, and others, which had charges by Grace especiall and diuine; haue often been admonished in matters that they should doe. As we read of an Angell, or Dæmon, that appeared (in the forme of the Goddess *Pallas*) to *Antonius*, Phisition to *Augustus*, admonishing him; that although *Augustus* was sicke, yet he should not faile to be present in the battell, which was on the morrow to be given by *Brunus* and *Cassius*, and that he should there abide in his Tent. Which he would haue done, but by the Phisitions deepe perswasions to the contrary. For it came to passe, that the Enemies Souldies won the Tents, where (questionlesse) they had slaine *Augustus*, if he had bene present there. So by this dreame hee preuented his death, won the day,

The dreame of Antonius, Phisition to Augustus Cesar

and remained Sole-Monarch of the *Romaine* Empire: and, vnder his raigne, was borne the Redeemer of the world.

Quintus Curtius declareth in the life of *Alexander*, that when he maintained his sledge before the City of *Tyre*, he being entred for succour of the *Carthaginians*, who saide they were descended of the *Tyrians*: concluded to raise his sledge, as despairing of euer surprizing it. But in a Dreame, a Satyre appeared to him, after whom hee followed, as he fled before him into a Chamber. His Interpreters tolde him; that this was a certaine fore-warning, to continue his sledge for longer dayes before the City, and that hee should surely take it. Which fell out to bee true; and this successe had long time bene foretold by an holy Prophet; who said, that a Greeke should gouerne in that Countrey.

The holy Scriptures are full of Dreames, whereby diuers Princes haue bene admonished, both for their own and their peoples Welfare. As *Abimelech*, King of *Gerar*, who was possessed of *Abrahams* Wife, supposing she had bene his Sister onely. But he was fore-warned sleeping, that he should attempt nothing against her modestie, least hee incurred the indignation of God, and he obeyed. Another *Egyptian* King, by Dreames which *Ioseph* interpreted to him, while he was kept as a Slaue and Prisoner in his land: found neuertheless the assistance of God, to shunne his owne ruine, and death of his people, by a barrennesse in his kingdom, which should continue for seauen yeares, after as many yeares of plenty. By meanes whereof, he made such prouision of Graine: as hee had sufficient to feede his people; during those fore-told seauen yeares, whereas else he had wanted prouision for his people.

Katherine de Medicis, Queene of *France*, and Wife to King *Henrie* the second, dreamed (the day before the said King was wounded to death) that shee saw him very sickely, holding downe his head, as hee walked a-long the streetes of *Paris*, being followed by infinite number of his people, that lamented for him. Hereupon, most earnestly shee entreated him, and (as

The Dreame of Alexander.

The Dreame of Abimelech, King of Gerar.

The dreames of Pharaoh, King of Egypt.

The Dreame of Katherine de Medicis Q of France.

is said) with wringing handes, vppon her knees; not to aduenture in the rank of Tilters on that day. But he, giuing no credit to her wordes, the last day of the Feasting, for the marriage of Madame *Margaret* his Sister, to *Emanuel Philibert*, Duke of *Sauoy*; entred into the Listes for her Honour. And running to breake a Launce against a bold and worthy Knight, to wit; the Count of *Montgomerie*: happened to bee wounded; for in the Launces breaking on both sides, a shiuer or splinter entred by the sight of his Helmet, and stricke very farre into his head. The King dyed soone after of this wound, aged about fortie yeares, leauing his Kingdome wofullie mourning for him.

We may note the Dreame of this great Princeesse, and how it happened; whereof (doubtlesse) God gaue premonition by his good Angell, both for her good, and the whole Realme of *France*. But the King beeing opinitive, would rather follow the vanities of the World, then the good aduertisements of his Wife; and by his decease, the people of *France* suffered many calamities.

His Sonne, King *Henrie* the third, three dayes before he was murdered at *Saint Clou*; beheld (in a Dreame) all his Royall Ornaments, to wit; his Linnen Vesture, Sandales, *Dalmatian* roab, Mantle of Azure Sattin, the great and lesser Crownes, Scepter and Hand of Iustice, Sword and guilt Spurres; all bloody, and made foule with the feete of religious Men, and other people, and that hee himselfe was very angry with the Sexton, of the Abbey of *Saint Denis*. And albeit good aduise was giuen him (according to the danger of his Dreame) to stand securelie vpon his Guard; yet so it fell out, as a thing permitted by Heauen, that hee could not auoid the fatall chance, but was slaine, whatsoeuer strong Guard was then about him.

Calphurnia, Wife to the adopted Father of *Cesar*, hauing dreamed, that she beheld *Cesar* slaine and massacred; gaue him notice thereof. But he, in stead of conuerting it to his benefit, despised the dreame; and went iocundly to the Senate the day following,

where the Dreame sorted to wofull effect. To conclude, good or euill Dreames, doe oftene proceede by our vse of good or bad meates, and such affection as we imprint in our vnderstanding, as also euill humours that possesse our bodies; and we neede not enquire (ouer curiously) what they may seeme to signifie: except it be of Phisitions, who thereby doe gather some coniecture of the parties health. As for the Dreames of Kinges, Princes, Monarches, Magistrates, and such like persons, that hold some degree ouer the people, and in the Church, on whom (often-times) dependeth the good or euill, that any Realme or Province is to suffer: they are not alwayes to bee contemned; but with great discretion and iudgement to bee considered. For I am of opinion, with learned *Volateranus*, who hath left the same written, that (many times) any person going to his rest, not cloyed with bad affections, nor superfluitie of foode, but beeing vertuously minded, and healthfully disposed: his Soule (in sleeping) many fore-see many thinges to come. For the Soule, which (of it selfe) is Diuine and Celestiall, beeing not offended with any wicked cogitations, or ouer bad meates: is at free liberty, and best of all performeth her actions when the body sleepeth, and not being busied with any other matters.

 CHAP. XXVI.

Strange Histories, of three seuerall persons, that by one disease, called Melanchollie, fell into admirable imaginations.

IN this Chapter, I must present a Melanchollie sicknesse to ye, hapning to two men; the one being described by *Ætius*, a Greeke Phisition, and the other of an Aduocate of *Paris*, whose name I must conceale, as *Houllier* hath done. The one, so farre lost his iudgement, as hee verily beleued and affirmed, that he had no head. The other imagi-

The Dreame of *Henry* the third, King of *France*.

Calphurnia her Dreame, concerning *Cæsars* death.

The Authors Conclusion and opinion of Dreames.

Actius and *Houllier* both Phisitions.

imagined himselfe to be dead; and therefore would not eat any thing. How they were both healed, not by Medicaments, but contrarie perswasions; is the charge that I haue vndertaken; and therefore, I will begin with him, that was perswaded he had no head.

A man that supposed himselfe to haue no head.

I am not ignorant, that many wil hardly credit such accidents to happen, to wit, that a man (by length of time) should suppose himselfe to haue no head; albeit by the very Organs of the head, he saw, heard, spake, dranke; and fed euen then as all other men do. But we doo not see daily, how this trabilious, or Melancholly matter worketh in som men; yea, with more pernicious and false imaginations, then these two. As he who not long since thought he had a Sance-bel in his head or braine. Another, who verily beleued, that he was King of the *Gaules*. And a *Bourguignon* Scholler, remaining at *Paris* neere to the Church of *Saint Iulian*, who desired the Physitions, not to hinder his soule, from flying out of *Purgatorie* into heauen, because he said he was dead. And another, who said, to preuent being a Cuckold, he must needes kill himselfe; and thereupon, hangde himselfe about two yeares since, beside diuers other examples of the like Nature.

Actius Serm 7. Tstrab. 2. cap. 9

Now concerning this man, who was of this headlesse opinion, to thinke that he had no head on his bodie, he was seene and visited by great store of verie famous Physitions, who could find out no remedie for him. Notwithstanding, one among the rest, named *Photinus*, deuised this helpe, to make him weare a Cask or Head-piece, of Lead, which was of great waight, yet fit for his head. This deuise was accordingly performed; and when they did put it on his head, it was done by two men, without any other Cap or lining; yet warily preseruing the Leade from doing any harme, and fastned verie strongly vnder his chinne. Heereupon, he would say many times that his Heade did ake: and so long they continued this waight on his head, that he became to be perswaded he had a head. For, they vsed to say vnto him, that seeing hee sayd his head did ake, it must needes follow, that hee had a Head. Thus the inuention of *Photinus*, had happie successe.

A head-piece of Lead, to helpe a Melancholly man

In the yeare, 1550. the month of August, a man of good quality & means,

by profession an Aduocate, fell into such a Melancholly alienation of his vnderstanding, that he saide and beleued himselfe to be dead. In regard whereof, he would neither speake, eate, laugh, nor walke any whether, but still kept his bed. His wife requested many Physitions to his cure: but no one could perswade him to receiue any thing, no, not to eate or drinke any sustentation, wherby to maintaine life, hee yeelding no other reason, but that he was dead; and dead Folkes vsed not to eate any thing.

An Aduocate that perswaded himselfe to be dead.

At length, he grew to be so faint and weake, as each houre after other, his expiration was expected. But as manie times it cometh to passe, that God sendeth succour, when (to men) there appears no meanes of remedie or hope; euen so now it fortunied, that a Nephewe to the sicke mans Wife, suddenly there arriued, that newly came from *Bourges*, where he studied the Lawes, in hope to haue some money of his Aunt (which he greatly wanted) but hee found her much perplexed, and his Vnckle in weak estate of his vnderstanding. But ye must first consider, that hauing beene at *Paris* with his Father, who was a worthy Attourney at the *Chastelet*, hee droge him out of doores, and would not entertaine him; because (by much straining himselfe) he had not aboue three weekes before) sent him his quarterly exhibition, which hee had wasted and consumed. His retirement was now to his Vnckle by the Mothers side, whom he found in such estate, as hath formerly bin declared.

A young Lawyer of Bourges.

After he had labored to perswade his Vnckle (by Learned, witty, & eloquent Orations) to fall to feeding, and could not preuaile, hee concluded to vse some cunning, whereby he might help him to his health. And being well skild in naturall causes, he thought it more fitting to ease this immaginary Malady by familiar perswasion, then any other course beside. And as merry-minded Schollers haue alwayes a readinesse in wit, ioyfull without care, and a louiall humour: so hee goes and hides himselfe in a Chamber neere to his sicke Vnckle, where putting on a Winding sheet, after the manner of dead men, readye for interment, (only his face discouered) he was broglt forth, and laid vpon a table in his vnckles Chamber, so as the sicke man might very

The young Lawier taketh in hande to cure his Melancholly Vnckle.

The young schollers warty deuice.

con-

conueniently see him. Foure Tapers of wax were set lighted about him; and all the Children and Sernants of the house stood weeping by him, where both Father and Maister might easily beholde them. In brieft, euerie thing was so Artificially acted, as not any bodie which beheld this deceit, could hardly contain himselfe from Laughing, no not the wife of the sicke man, albeit shee was so extremely afflicted; or the Scholler himselfe, inuenter of the stratagem, perceyuing euery one about him, to make such strange and counterfet faces.

Approbation
of the Schol-
ler to be dead

The pacient or sicke person, wondring what this matter might meane, demanded of his Wife, who it was that lay vpon the Table? Whereto she answered, that it was her deceased Nephewe, who comming (ouer-hastily) from his studies to see him; and grieuing at his dangerous disease, was dead with grieft; and partly a Plurisie, which tooke him by the way; therefore, she had thus prepared his bodie, and stayed but for the Bearers to fetch him to Church for buriall. But Wife (quoth the sicke-man) how can he be dead, considering I see him nowe to laugh, and his eyes are wide open? Husband (quoth she) dead men vse to laugh, enen as you see my poore Nephew doth. The sicke man would beleue nothing, till he had wrought experience on himselfe. Wherefore, calling for a Glasse to beholde his owne face, hee therewith forced himselfe to Laugh, and Laughing, both acknowledged, and was fullie perswaded, that dead men did Laugh: and this was the first steppe to his recouerie.

The Scholler
taught the
sicke man
how to eate.

This first Scene thus acted by our Comedian Scholler, hee felt his stomacke to waxe hungry, and verie desirous hee was both of meate and drinke, for he had lien three houres in this manner extended on the Table, and called for some good thing to eate. And indeede, he had good reason for it, for hee came fasting from *Bourges*, without any Foode, not having either purse or pennie, for his whole quarterage was spent and gone. There was not any thing readie in the house, because euery one was in greefe and mourning; but sending forth to the Cookes, a roasted Capon was presently brought him, which hee quickly deuoured with a pint of Wine, sitting vp (for

the time) as men vse to do. This beeing well noted by the sicke man, that a dead man shut vp in a Winding sheet, should feed with so good a stomacke, hee asked his wife whither dead men did eat or no? Yes Husband (quoth she) with excellent appetite, and they do also see verie plainly. Which made him forthwith to call for victuals, to try if he being dead, could eat as his fellow dead men did. One ran quickly to the Cookes againe, and bringing good meat, it was cut readily for him and put into his mouth, so that feeding gently, drinking, and doing all other actions of a mā with good iudgment, thence forward he made no more refusal of his meate, whereby this Melancholy Cogitation, by little and little, left him. But most certaine is it, that had not this Invention of the Scholler preuayled, want of food, and supposition of death, would haue brought immagination, to too true a conclusion.

The sicke
man eating
by imitation
found recou-
ry of health.

The Scholler (by his Vnckle Advocate) was reconciled to his offended Father, and obtained License for his pleading: so that comming to the bar, in the Court of *Le petit Chastelet* (a Court of very ancient Record) he prooued one of the best, and most esteemed of his profession. This History being reduced into a quaint Comedie, was acted one Night (by Gentlemen) before King *Charles* the ninth, my selfe being then there present.

A young Gentleman, of good & noble descent, in the higher parts of *Lymosine*, hadde tydings brought him, that a Wilde Boare haunted neere to his abiding, which made him suddenly steppe forth, with diuers of his fathers seruants, himselfe carrying an halfe Pike in his hand; and the rest, such Weapons as they could soonest lay holde on, in hope to kill the sauage Boare. Having got good knowledge where hee lurked, he & his followers prepared thither; and the Boare perceiuing his immediate danger; made directly toward the young Gentleman. that scarcely knewe how to defend himselfe with his halfe Pike; & (by great chance) ran betweene his legges, and ouerthrew him, offering afterward for to wound him with his tusks. But one of his fathers men, a Baker by profession, & indued with good corage, hauing a Lance in his hand, ranne therewith so directlie into

The third Hi-
story of a
yong Gentle-
man of *Lymo-
sine* and his
hunting of a
wilde Boare.

A strange imagination in the young Gentleman.

into the Boares throat, that he stirred no further, but lay there quite dead. The young Gentleman, in his fall giuen him by the Boar, had conceiued a very strange and vnheard of apprehension, to wit, that the Boare had deuoured one of his legs, albeit, he sustained no harme but his fall: and this conceite continued in him for the space of two yeares. In all his other actions, he was of very good iudgement, this onely excepted: for naturally he was addicted to deuotion, not suffering a day to passe him, without hearing Masse; fasting all the ordinary daies appointed by the Church; highly affecting Religious Men, especially, those of the *Franciscan* Order. And verie desirous hee was, to make himself one in their profession: but hee had heard, that they would receiue none borne with any deformity of body, as Crooke backt, Cripple, Lame, or that wanted any member. This perswasion ouer-ruled him, ran entering into that Order; because he supposed himselfe to haue but one Legge, although he walked vp and downe as well as other men; yet still this false imagination preuayled in him, that the Boare had eaten vp one of his legges.

How the young Gentleman was cured of his melancholy conceit

It happened afterwards verie luckily, that two Friers of the *Franciscane* Order, traouiling thorow the Country, vpon a day, when the Sunne was neere setting, came vnto his Fathers gate, where they desired both Almes and lodging for that Night: which was graunted them; and they supped with the young Gentleman, as one who was verie gladd to see them.

After Supper, each man betook himselfe to his Chamber, both the religious Friers remaining still in the roome, by a good fire; and thither came the young Gentleman againe secretly, not willing to be espied by any of the house. He fell into Communication with the Fryers, of his long continued Deuotion, and intent to be one of their Order: but he was deprived of all meanes, because hee had but one legge; and the other was deuoured by the Boare. The holy men, looking

earnestly on him, demanded, if either of his Legges was Artificiall, which sustained his bodie, and desired him to shew them which was it. Then perceyuing immediately the error of his imagination, they perswaded him to beleue no such falshood; for this was but an illusion of Sathan, to hinder him in the way to saluation. So, with many other goodly remonstrances, which they had with him for the space of two houres, and the delight he receiued therein, without the least omission, he began to fall from his melancholy opinion; so that on the morrow, he told euery one that now he had two Legges. At length, notwithstanding the Counsell and perswasion, both of his Father, Kindred, and Friendes, to the contrary, he entred into Religion, & within the yeare of his approbation, died in the Conuent: for I am perswaded, that his soft Nature could not endure the strict Rules of that Order, which are too seuer.

There is nothing more certaine, then that for these melancholy diseases, wherein imagination and reason are any way wounded, all remedies Physicall do profit nothing, but onely contrary perswasions; opposite to the conceire falsely imagined, as may bee gathered by the three Histories fore-mentioned. Nor need we heere alledge, that if irksome remedies had bene applied to the young Gentlemans Legge, they might (perhaps) haue made him to finde his follie, as I haue knowne some in like case, which proued in vaine: but I am of the minde, that the Religious men tooke the best course. In like manner, when the common people are moued by sedition (which is a beast with manie heades) and touched with a melancholy furie: nothing can sooner reduce them to good sence and vnderstanding, then the Vertuous power of perswasions and Orations. By which meanes also, the alienation of iudgment is quickest cured: and *Cicero* is of the same opinion.

The Authour both saw, and perfectly knew the gentleman, and this Historie to be true.

Concerning the nature of these melancholy diseases

To appease a discontented multitude.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of a strange manner of Banishment, used by the Athenians, by vertue whereof, manie of the verie cheefest men among them, were likewise sometimes banished, although they had committed no offence.



THE Common-wealth and Government of *Athen*: (according as we haue already described) was one of the most potent and famous in the World. For after, they wold accept of no more Kings, but reduced all to Libertie: they yeelded a great number of men, excellent both in Learning and Armes, where-with all Histories are plentifully stored.

Amongst all other commendable Lawes and Customes, which they kept for their owne conseruation, and maintenance of their rule and libertie, there was one very strange, which yet appeared to them proper and necessary, to reprove and chastise the ambition & overgreat boldnesse, in some of their chiefest Commanders, who made themselues so great, that meaner men might not withstand them, or attaine vnto the like Authority.

At a certaine time, the people (vnder whom, all estates and conditions of the Cittie were comprized) had power and facultie to banish (although it were without cause) for the space of ten yeares, any one of their principall heads, euen such as they pleased, or stood most in doubt of, that he would possesse himself of their Dominion, or become a Tyrant vnto the Common-weale; or if a common Hatred were conceiued against him, which they performed in this manner.

The Magistrats, to whom this Negotiation was deliuered by Commission; making a conuocation of the people, gaue to euerie one of them a little stone, or small Tile-slate; and his name whome they would haue to bee banished, each man must write vpon the Tile, and then

deliuer it backe to the Magistrates. These little stones or Tiles (but some tearme them shelles) were by the *Greeks* termed *Ostraci*; and thereon, this kinde of exile or banishment, was called *Ostracismus*. When all these stones were laid together with the peoples Inscriptions on them, they made an account of them: and if it chanced, that they amounted not to the number of sixe thousand (for in such assemblies, no man stood bound to deliuer in his bulletine, except himselfe pleased) for that yeare there was no banishment graunted. But if they rose to sixe thousand and more, then they counted aside, the names of them that were written on the Tiles; and hee that had the most voyces (although he were the verie honestest man, or of greatest Wealth and Honor in the Cittie) he was immediately banished for ten yeares space, without any remission. Neuerthelesse, no man might do him any wrong in his goodes or possessions: but his Seruants might gouern and order all things, according to his direction.

Now, albeit this Law was induced, to correct and punish not only the vicious, but to appease popular enuy against the mightiest, and to take away all ambition: yet it might so come to passe, that the people enioying this priuiledge and Authority, should banish such, from whom most profit and honor had come to their Common-weale, whereby they shoulde fall into the sinne of ingratitude. And indeed it prooued true, for (by the same means *Themistocles* was banished, a most excellent Captaine, by whose Counsell and dilligence, *Xerxes* was vanquished, expelled out of *Greece*, and his nauall armie quite defeated: not only *Athens* being set at libertie by him, but all *Greece* likewise. With the same Wages also was *Simon* the *Athenian* rewarded, liuing at the same time, who so many times had fought for the freedome of his countrey. Especially, he did such an acte of honour and vertue, as no man (before him) had done the like. For, hee won the battaile by Sea against the *Persians*; wherein hee tooke two hundred Gallies. Afterward, and the same day, hee had no sooner achieved this victorie: but bringing his Armie on Land, and Marshalling them in good order, he fought against the rest of the *Persians*, that had landed before in great

Ostracismus,
the Athenians
banishment.

No repeat of
persons in
this order of
exile.

The reason of
this Lawes
first instituti-
on.

Themistocles
banished by
this Law.

Simon the
Athenian so
banished.

Kinges sup-
pressed among
the *Athenians*.

The people
might banish
whomsoeuer
they pleased
for the space
of ten yeares.

The order &
manner ob-
serued in
their banish-
ment.

Simons victo-
ries both by
Sea & Land,
and his admi-
rable Libera-
lity.

His noble
Charity.

Cratinus, and
Georgius Leon-
tinus.

A notable ac-
cident con-
cerning Ari-
stides, sur-
named Iustus, by
an ignoraunt
Citizen.

Difference
between Plu-
tarch, and Pau-
lus Emilins.

great number, and foyling them likewise, was conquered both by Sea and Land. Beside these deeds of Vertue, he was verie liberall of his goods, wherewith Fortune had greatly enriched him. For hee laid open his great Farmes and Gardens, that euery man might partake of such blessing as were there: giuing also (but verie secretly) great Almes to poor people of the City. Hee gaue an expresse charge to all his seruants, that if they met (on the way) any people more aged then themselves, and not well Cloathed, to despoile themselves of their better Garments, and to change for their woorse. Moreouer, each Feast day (allowed by Order) he feasted all the poore Beggars of the Cittie: and in this maner, he spent all the wealth left him by his Father *Miltiades*. Neuerthelesse, all these Liberalities and worthy deeds, could not defend and saue him from this exile, and ingratitude of his Countrey, as is testified by *Cratinus* the Commicall Poet, and *Georgias Leontinus*.

In like manner, *Aristides*, the Sonne of *Lysimachus*, was most vniustly banished; which *Aristides*, for his Vertues and sanctitie of life, was called *Iustus*: yet could not hee liue without the peoples feare and suspition. But in this case there happened a very notable and worthy accident; for, at the time when the people gaue their opinion for his banishment, according vnto their wonted Custome: one of the Cittizens, that neither could write, or knew *Aristides*, but only by his fame, came to *Aristides* himselfe, to entreat him to write the name of *Aristides* on the stone, because he would giue his voice for his banishment. *Aristides* wondering at this matter (for he dreamt not on any such vnkindnesse towards him) saide vnto him; *Tell mee good man, hath Aristides done thee any displeasure? No; (quoth the Cittizen) but only it offendeth me, that I heare him euerie where tearmed [Aristides the Iust.]* Thus doth *Plutarch* set it downe; but *Paulus Aemilius* sayeth; that the Cittizen answered him; *I know not Aristides, and yet methinkes I cannot endure him, because (with such dilligence) he hath got the honor, to be called Iust.* All which notwithstanding, *Aristides* made him no answer; but wrote his own name vpon the stone; and though the people were thus leagued against him, hee was

not a jot offended at his Countrey, but willingly went forth in banishment, saying; *I desire of the Goddess, that the Athenians may neuer know any such necessitie, as (at any time) to stand in neede of Aristides.* But the *Athenians* well declared their owne errour, in exiling such a woorthie man: for before, the ten yeares were expired, yea, within six yeares, by will and consent of the people, hee was reuoked from exile. After which repeale, he did many admirable deeds of Armes, being present at the battell on the Sea, near *Salamina*, where *Xerxes* was foyled; and likewise at that place, where hee conquered *Mardonius*. Thus this exile (as I haue formerly saide) happened euermore to the best and most eminent men. Neuerthelesse, albeit the harme was great; yet it carried with it a certaine kinde of honor and dignity, in regard of the fear and enuie generally conceyued, least they should become Tyrants, as *Pisistratus* was.

Plutarch reporteth, that while *Athens* flourished in power, wealth, and military exercise, there were two great men; the one, named *Nicias*, and the other *Alcibiades*, who were in all things curious and ambitious after glory, enuying greatlie one another. When the fore-mentioned time of *Ostracisme* drewe neere, and the people prepared for their wonted custome, each of these great men grewe fearefull of himselfe; and laboured with their vtmost dilligent endeouour, to hinder their fall into such an incontinencie. At the same time liued in *Athens*, one named *Hyperbolus*, a man of base condition yet very proud, but much more seditious. He perceiuing the humors of *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, eslayed by all means possible, to sow discord and contentions between them, hoping thereby to winne himselfe reputation; and pre-supposing also, that (by reason of their enmity) one of them should be banished by the *Ostracisme*, & he (in meane time) attaine to the place of his greatnesse, to haue eminency & command in the City.

But this intent comming to the others knowledge, and each of them accounting it shame, that a man of such base quality should equall himselfe with them, pacified their spleenes secretly, and became loning friends; choosing rather to bridle their owne rancor, then to suffer such

The words of
Aristides at his
banishing.

Aristides re-
pealed from
banishment.

Mardonius a
Captaine be-
longing to
Xerxes.

Plutarch con-
cerning *Nicias*
& *Alcibiades*.

Hyperbolus, a
man of mean
quality.

Nicias and *Al-
cibiades* make
themselués
Friends.

Hyperolus banished from Athens.

such a scandall vnto the state in generall. They further contriued, to woork with the people in such manner, that *Hyperbolus* should be banished by the *Ostracism*, and followed their intent so dilligentlie, that they preuailed therein, requiring him with the same measure, which he meated to others.

The people were not a litle well pleased heerewith, to see so vile a person excluded, after so many worthy and excellent men. But at length, these pleasures turned to anger and discontentment, & that in such sort, as the Law of *Ostracism* for euer after, found imbarment.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of many worthy and famous men, that by the ingratitude of their Countries, endured Banishment.

Ingratitude of famous Cities



istories are well filled with ingrati- tudes, which ancient and memorable Ci- ties haue returned to such mē, as haue done them notable Seruices, and holpen them in their grea- test necessities. Wherefore, we wil shew some examples, to the studious affecters of Histories, how frequent a thing this hath bin in former times.

M. Tul. Cicero, banished by the means of his enemy Clodius.

The great Father of the *Latin* toong, and Soueraigne Orator therein, that deliuered *Rome* from the perillous coniuration of *Cataline*, was yet notwithstanding banished, at the instance & procurement of *Clodius* his sworne enemy: whose exile was so much bemoaned in *Rome*, that there were aboue twenty thousande persons, which chaunged their habites into mourning Garments, and thereby, caused his restoring to his former Liberie, to their great ioy, and his high Honour. *Demosthenes* likewise, the Prince of *Greek* eloquence, and Defender of his Country *Athens*, was banished by the *Athenians*, who albeit they had founde iust occasion for o do, yet it could pleade no sufficien-

Demosthenes banished by the Athenians.

cy, to deprive themselves of so worthy a mans presence.

10 He was excessiueley grieved, to see him- selfe banished from his Countrey, & that in such sort, as he departed in wonderfull Melancholy. And meeting some *Athenians* at his issuing forth, that were his capital enemies, he stood greatly in doubt of them: yet did they offer him no offence, but rather ayded and comforted him, with all such thinges as were neede- full for him. Which when he had duellie considered, and saw himselfe reprooued, because he had grieved so much for parting from his Countrey, hee saide vnto them: *Wou'd ye not haue me lament, seeing my selfe banished from my Countrey, where a mans enemies are such, as he may account himself happy, when (for saking his friends) he trusteth most to them.*

The words of Demosthenes to his Countrymen.

20 *Metellus*, sur-named *Numidicus*, in recompence of his victorie obtaiend against *Iugurth*, King of the *Numidians*, was banished out of *Rome*, because he wold not accord vnto a Law, wherof a proffer was made him. *Hannibal*, after he had performed as much, as a good Citizen possibly could do for the good of his Country, & albeit he was the most excellent Captain of his time, yet could he not be permitted to liue securely in his Country, but being banished thence, was constrained to wander thorow the world. Renowned *Camillus* was vniustly banished from the City of *Rome*, euen then when the *Gaules* surprized it, and had besieged the Capitoll. Wherefore, during his exile, hee was made Dictatour, and chiefest Captaine of his Country, whither being returned, hee deliuered them from imprisonment, that had banished him.

Metellus Numidicus banished from Rome.

Hannibal banished by his native Country Carthage.

Camillus banished from Rome.

40 *Serullianus Halla*, after hee had preferued the Liberties of *Rome*, from the ambition of *Spurius Emilius*, Maister of the Knights that wold haue made him King, and whom he woorthily slew, was banished for his recompence, and sent into exile.

Serullianus Halla banished out of Rome.

50 I neuer knew anie Common-weale, more beholding vnto a man, then *Lacedemon* was to *Lycurgus*, for the good Lawes he gaue them, whereby to order their course of life. And albeit, he was a man of Holie life, and commendable manners, and of whom (according vnto *Valerius Maximus*) the Oracle of *Apollo*

Lycurgus most vnkindly vsed and banished by the Lacedemonians.

lo Pytheum, made answer; That it was doubtfull, whesher hee should bee ranked among Men, or the Goddes: yet notwithstanding, hee was manie times pursued by the Cittizens, at the stones triall, and expulsed from their Cittie. Finallie, hauing one of his eyes pulled foorth, hee was afterward banished out of the countrey.

Solon banished by the Athenians.

The selfesame courtesie did the Athenians extend to Solon, who had instituted so many good and Vertuous Lawes for them, and of whom, if they would haue continued due vse, their Empire (it might haue beene) had perpetually endured. Neuerthelesse, because he conquered & recouered for them the Cittie of Sa'amina, and likewise aduertised them of Pisistratus his attempts, seeking to make him selfe a King, and to Tyranize ouer them: enen in his old decrepit age, they rewarded him with banishment; and he could not preuaile so much with them, as to graunt him any poor place in their countrey, where he might conclude the small remnant of his dayes; but needes they would exile him into the Isle of Cyprus. Scipio Nasica, who was knowne to be the Vwoorthiest man in Rome, and deserued no lesse honour, for administration and gouernement in the Common-wealth, then the other Scipioes (with their armies) in the field: Neuerthelesse, after hee had freed Rome from the Tiranny and subiection of the Greekes (wel knowing the enuie of some Cittizens, and their hatred conceiued against his Vertues) dissembling an employment in an Embasie, he voluntarily retired himselfe to Pergamum in Asia, where (without seeking anie Reuenge on his Countries ingratitude) he ended the rest of his daies.

Scipio Nasica banished him self from his Countrey.

Publius Lentulus, in like manner, after hee had vertuously defended the Common-wealth, and repressed the furious attempts of the Greekes, his best recompence was banishment from Rome. But before he went to his confinement in Sicily, he desired of the Gods in all the peoples presence, that hee might neuer returne againe, vnto so ingratefull a Nation.

Publius Lentulus banished from Rome.

Boetius Seuerinus, a very famous and Vertuous man, was banished by Theodoricke, that vsurped in Rome: only vpon a conceiued suspition, that the sayde Boetius sought the freedom of his Coun-

Boetius Seuerinus banished by Theodorick.

trei. For the same cause, the Tyrant Dionysius banished Dion the Syracusan, an excellent Captaine, who by the meanes of his banishment, became afterward so powerfull, that he restored his Countrey vnto her wonted libertie, and banished Dionysius from his gouernment, & wholly deprivied him: in like maner hapned it to Thrasybulus the Athenian Captaine, who being banished from Athens by the power of thirtie Tyrants, which helde it in subiection, he mustred together other banished men; and with the helpe of Lyfander, a Captaine of Lacedemon, returned to Athens, and deliuerd it from their flauish seruitude. Publius Rutilius, Consul of Rome, being banished by them that tooke part with illa, albeit he was afterward repealed from exile, yet would hee not yeeld thereto, but saide: I had rather do shame to my Countrey, than causeles banished mee, then to liue among them that consented to my exile. Tarquin the proud, though by no ingratitude, but rather for his wickednes, was banished out of Rome, and lost his kingdom, for the rape which his Sonne had committed on chaste Lucretse, a verie worthie Romain Lady. Milo the Romaine Patrician, by reason of the death of Clodius, albeit he was descended of Cicero, was relegated to Marselles.

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I read, that Clisthenes was the first that deuised the Law of Ostracisme or banishment in Athens, and was himself the first man, that by the same law was banished. Also Eustachius Pamphilus, a Prelate of Antioche, was banished, because he contradicted the Arriani Heretickes, in the time of Constantine the great. Paulus Diaconus, a great Historiographer, and of especiall Authoritie, saith; that Pope Bennet the first was banished out of Rome by the Emperor Anthimus: for this Anthimus hauing vanquished the Emperor Berengarius, and Albert his Sonne, sent them also into perpetuall exile.

Thus you see, that manie woorthy persons haue beene banished, and yet exile was accounted in Rome so great a punishment, as no one could there bee banished, till first hee had consulted thereon with all the people. For in truth, the loue that a man beareth vnto his nation is so great, as hee cannot bee excluded thence, but to his extreme griefe and affliction. For the consolation of banished men, Plutarch wrote a singular

Dion banished by Dionysius.

Thrasybulus banished by 30 Tyrants.

Publius Rutilius banished from Rome.

Tarquinus Superbus banished Rome.

Milo the Patrician banished Rome.

Phalaris in his Epistles.

Eustachius Pamphilus banished.

Pope Bennet banished.

Berengarius & his son Albert sent into perpetuall exile.

Plutarch.
Erasmus.
Seneca in lib.
de Consolat.

Treatise, and *Erasmus* a very learned Epistle. *Seneca* also, in his Book of Comfort, directed to *Paulinus*, writeth woorthily thereon.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of two severall men, who being apprehended for Homicides, were neuerthelesse made Kings, and by those means which they supposed, wold be the losse of their lives.



He meanes wherby God ordereth and woorketh all things, are so secret to the immagination of men, as when they suspect the losse of some perticuler matter by one way, euen then they soonest finde and recouer it. So that, in whatsoever high estate a man is, let him make no certaine assurance thereof, nor yet distrust or fall into despair, if his aduersity be neuer so mighty, as may appeare plainly by two notable examples.

At what time *Ladislaus* raigned King in *Bohemia* and *Hungaria*, hee being the Sonne to King *Aubert*, young, and newly come to the Gouvernment of the kingdom, he was constrained (in that regard) to rule by the opinion of some of his chiefeft Barons, amongst whome, there happened contention and discords, especially, in the Sons to *John Huniades Vayuod* (Tutor to the King, who died a little before, and had held the most power or sway in the Realme) on the one side, and *Henrie* Count of *Celia*, neere Kinsman to the King, on the other. This enmity was so great, that on a day when the Count of *Celia* was in a Church, in one of the Citties of *Hungary*, hee was there slaine by the hands of those Sons, to the Lord *John Huniades Vayuode*, which is a name of great dignitie in that Kingdom. For the instant, the King made no shew of discontentment, because he knew him selfe not strong enough to chastice this presumption: but afterwardes, being returned to the Cittie of *Buda*, hee caused the Sonnes of *Vayuode* to bee apprehen-

The weaknesse of mans imaginations.

Ladislaus King of *Hungaria* and *Bohemia*.

The Count of *Celia* slaine in a Church.

ded; and the eldest of them being named *Ladislaus*, had his head smitten off. As for the other called *Matthias*, because he was verie young in yeares, hee spared to execute iustice on him: Neuerthelesse, hee was committed vnto prison, vnder good and sure guard, in the Realm of *Bohemia*.

Ladislaus, son to *Vayuode*, beheaded.

10 The youth being thus detained prisoner, without any hope of life, or to see anie end of his imprisonment, it hapned, that in the same Cittie, where hee was prisoner, named *Prage* in *Bohemia*, the King *Ladislaus* dyed; by meanes whereof, the people of *Bohemia*, elected a King called *George Pogibrachio*. The *Hungarians* (on the other side) beeing aduertised of their Kings death, and much moued with pittie to young *Matthias*, especially because of his Fathers former great Authoritie in the Kingdome, they proclaymed *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, although he was in the power of *George*, the newe King of *Bohemia*. When *George* had intelligence of their election, hee forthwith deliuered him; and vnto many royal kindnesse towards him, gaue him also his daughter in Marriage. Thus the poore despairing young Lorde, became in an instant a most potent King; & questionlesse, if he had not falne into this aduersitie, he had neuer attained vnto such greatnesse of State. Because some other then he, might haue bene elected; or his Brother *Ladislaus* (beeing the Elder, and not put to death) had preceeded him; or else, the Count of *Celia* (hauing escaped his murder) had hindered him, being so neere in Kindered to the King; onely respect and pittie of his imprisonment, was the sole cause of his aduancement.

The death of King *Ladislaus*.

Matthias being in prison, was proclaimed King of *Hungary*.

Whore Fortune fauouret, no contrary meanes preuenteth.

20 Thus hoirely expecting death, hee came to a Crown, and by the same meanes as such as haue it, do soonest loose it: prouing afterward, one of the worthiest Kinges in his time, obtaining manie famous victories, and performing admirable actions in Armes; especially against the *Turkes*.

30 The like fortun'd to *Iaques de Lusignan*, Vnckle to *Peter*, King of *Cyprus*: For, during the Feasting and solemnitie made for the Kings Corronation, a controuersie happened betweene the *Genewaves* and the *Venetians* there present, concerning their preferance, because each

The second History of *Iaques de Lusignan*.

The *Venetians* and *Genewaves* at contention

each of them contended about the chiefest place. And the matter was so obstinately debated on either side, that *Iaques de Lusignam* (who favoured the *Venetians*) caused some of the *Genewages* to be slaine. Whereof the rest being aduertised that were at *Genes*, they were so offended; that to reuenge this wrong, they raised a great Army, vnder the charge of a Captaine, named *Pedro Fregoso*, an excellent Warriour on the Sea. Hee ordered the matter in such sort, that beeing come to the Island, hee tooke the City by force of Armes, wherein was *Iaques de Lusignam*, who was also surprized & led to *Genes*, where (by appointment of the Senat) hee was shut vp in a strong Tower, with full purpose, that there hee should finish his daies. In this state, hee there continued for the space of nine years, not hoping of liberty, or any fauour else. But in the end, Fortune turning hir wheele, it chanced that *K. Peter* died without anie heire: by meanes whereof; they of the Island (sorrowing for the long detention of this *Iaques* in prison, & regarding that hee was neere Kinsman to their deceased Lord) elected him for their King, although hee was prisoner. Without which means of imprisonment, it may be, that hee had neuer come to such dignity, although he had got it by being at liberty, such are the wils and inclinations of men. After this election made by the *Cypriots*, they sent their Ambassadors to *Genes*, to the end, that with al the best conditions that might be, they should compasse the libertie of their King. Compositions being propounded, and his ransom paid, with great pompe and feasting hee was freed from captiuitie; & being magnificently brought to his ships, they set sail for *Cyprus*, where hee was welcomed as their king, crowned, obeyed, and raigned diuers yeares.

Iaques de Lusignam shut vp in prison.

Iaques de Lusignam elected King being then a prisoner at *Genes*.

Iaques cennaid from *Genes* to *Cyprus*.

CHAP. XXX.

A Paradox in defence of Hurts & Woundes, maintaining that the wounded man is in more happy estate, then hee which is whole and sound.

I Cannot well conceiue any reason, that should incite vs to such tender and de-

licate care of our bodies, seeing wee pretend to haue courage more hard then Iron, and lesse sensible then stones. Nor do I see any iust cause, why we should be so fearefull of wounds and stabs, seeing they can but pierce the Corset or false Coat of Defence, and no way hurt or offend the soule, which is the most Noble part of all, and can no way be iniured or wounded, but by our selues only in wicked cogitations, which are the blowes (indeede) that brings the greatest greefe, and most of all tormenteth a quiet settled spirit.

I haue many times smiled to my selfe; in noting such men, as haue wondered and complained verie grieuouly, when any of their friends and Kindered, were mortally wounded in diuers parts of their bodie: Neuer considering, that amongst all those wounds, but one only was fatall and deadly, for one bodie cannot indure many mortall wounds. So that if there be but one wound, that maketh the way open to death: it followeth of necessitie, that the other must be of lesse force, ordinarie harme; or (at the vttermost) void of any danger.

Iulius Caesar, had three and twentie woundes; notwithstanding, hee had but one onely, that tooke his life from him. I could gladly wish, that as manie men, as hate their members weakened or disabled, by hurts and Wounds, their pride of minde might thereby bee abated, and their swelling glorie made more coole and humble. The Princely Prophet, (in the Song of the blessed Virgin, and else-where of himselfe) singeth woonderfull sweetely: *Thou Lorde, hast Humiliated the Pronde*, euen as wee see him humbled, that hath beene well beaten or wounded.

For my part, whensoever I see anie one, that hath his Nose cut off, his head broken, or his body otherwise wounded; I neuer consider the wounde, but especially regard the matter and occasion thereof. For, as wee behold the faces of Valiant Soldiers and Captains commended, when in wars (for their Countries cause) they are cut, slasht, and mangled; which hurts are to them; as so many rich Diamonds or Rubies to adorn them withall: So on the contrary, they that are wounded in any base or bad quarrel, or dishonest enterprise, those hurts are the, as so many filthie

The soule is the most Noble part in man.

One mortall wound, is enough to expire life.

Iulius Caesar had three & twenty woundes.

Luke 1. 52.

Woundes the honourable badges of soldiers.

filthy spots, or staines of dirt vpon their faces.

Marcus Sergius maimed in Warre.

Marcus Sergius, fighting valiantly, and as became a man of worth; lost one of his handes. And when hee had caused another to bee forged of Steele for him: hee was rather a more famous Champion then before, no way appearing defective by his handes losse. This hath beene euermore, and yet may be obserued, in men of greatest dilligence and knowledge, that where Fortune granteth licence to hurt & wound; there Vertue her selfe is most pained and tormented. For we see it ordinarily happen to men, as it dooth to precious odours and the purest spices, which the more they are beaten and bruised; the sweeter sent and fauour they sende abroad, thereby expressing their more piercing and gracious power. And not to trouble yee with the Walnut, and other Trees; that by blowes and strokes do become the more fruitfull, as in like manner our wearing Garments, by brushing and beating are the better preferud. Euen so, when we see any man maimed, cut, or wounded, it giueth ample testimonie of his hearts greatnesse, as also of his vndoubted prowesse and Valiancy.

Vertue expresseth it self best by oppression.

To bee hurt through our owne wickednesse, is the greatest harm of all other.

Let vs confesse then, that it is not euill to bee hurt or mangled, in causes of Vertue & true honor: but let vs be heedfull of such cuttes and wounds, as come thorow our owne follies, or those badde stroakes, which proceed of wicked occasions; for they are much more daungerous to the soule, then those exterior hurts that happen vnto the body, by courage of heart, and valour of the minde. Because the inward wounds which ensue or are caused by our owne defectes, are truly such, as the Emplaysters and Medicines of the best Physitians and Chirurgions in the world, being applied to them, can neuer helpe, or soundly re-cure.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Crocodile, with a refutation of sundry Fables, which are found written, concerning the same Beast.



Know very well, that many men among vs, haue seene the stuffed skins of Crocodiles, & of great hugenessse, though not liuing. Of which Beast; I find some store of Fables to be written, which people (very peeuisly) haue beleued: wherefore, to take away those errors, I purpose in this chapter to confute them, according as I haue beene entrusted by many woorthy persons that haue made some long stay in those parts, wher the Beast it selfe abideth, who all (with one consent) haue confirmed what I finde faithfully Vvritten of the Crocodile.

This Beast is tearmed *Amphibium*, that implieth to liue partly in the Water, and partly on land. It is commonly credited, that *Nilus* onley, the Riuer of Egypt, is the perticuler breeding place. of this great and dreadfull creature. But how far this is from all truth, hath well beene obserued, since the Spaniards effected their long Navigations For the Riuer *Ganges* breedeth store of them; & many of them haue beene found in diuers partes of *India*, especially in those Islands, which are about the Cittie of *Honorath*, & in great *Ethyopia*, in the Lake of *Zembera*, and in the riuer of *Darath*, in the dition of great *Negus* or *Necos*: in which Lake and Riuer, the Crocodiles are much more cruell then those of Egypt; for if they can ouer-reach such as com to bath themselvs there, they hale them forthwith into the bottom of the water, and there deuoure them. As hapned (not long since) to a Gentleman of *Portugal*, who had two of his seruants deuoured, as they were bathing themselues in that Lake.

Leirus Vvriteth, in his Historie of *America*, that hee hath seene some little Crocodiles, onely of the length of two or three foote, and about the bignesse of a mans Thighe, which are no way cruell

Many Fables credited of the Crocodile.

Amphibium what it signifieth.

Crocodiles bred elsewhere then in *Nilus*.

Crocodiles more cruell then those in Egypt.

Of another kind of Crocodiles.

Linnus. in Hist. de Americ.

cruell or hurtfull; but so soon as the *Brazilians* haue taken them in the Riuer of *Genebra*, they giue them to their children to play withall, and they will do them no harme, albeit they haue Teeth, and can bite.

There are also of another kinde in the same Countrey, which keepe themselves in the Rockes, and will rush forth vpon Passengers, as well men as Beastes, and deuoure them: but if they stande vpon their owne defence, many times they flie away from them. He that hath written the generall Historie of the *Indians*, saith; That he hath seene some, neere or about *Pauama*, containing an hundred foote in length.

The Crocodile doth euerie way resemble (as well in his exterior, as inward parts) the Lizards liuing amongst vs. Many are found, to containe the length of sixe great strides of a man, and larger then three foote vpon the backe; beside others of lesser quantity. It is an horrible and fearefull sight, to beholde this monstrous Creature, for the passage of his Throate is so wide, that the head of a man may easily enter it. Hee hath Teeth, great, sharpe, and cleare, both aboue and beneath in his Iawes; and hee is onely saide (amongst all other Beastes, as yet euer hearde of) to moue the vpper-chap or Iaw.

Aristotle sayth, that he hath no tongue: but I my selfe haue seene both great and little Crocodiles, dead, and dried, in all which I found seuerally a tongue, but very short, flat, and large. There are no scales vpon his skinne, but it is like to the barke of a Tree, rising as embossed in many places; and it is so hard, that the point of a Pike, or Iron head of an Arrowe, cannot enter it; nay, it is saide, to be Harquebush prooffe. He is armed with verie sharpe and crooked Nails, his fore feete beeing very short; and yet runneth with great swiftnesse, when hee flyeth from such as stande not in feare of him.

It is not true, which some Authors haue Written, that this Beast keepeth himselfe in the day on the Land; & in the night in the water: For, it is quite contrary, and customarily he cometh forth of the Water, so soone as the Moone be- ginneth to shine, as is continuallie noted by them that dwell in those partes, as

in Egypt, which is the nearest place of their being to vs.

Plinie, and *Munster*, the Germaine Cosmographer, following him, doo record another Iest, to wit: That there is an Island in *Nilus*, where men do mount on these Beastes, and ride them in like manner as on Horse-backe. For, when the Beast openeth his mouth to bite, the man clappes a Clubbe of Woodde in it thware-wise, and holdeth fast by cyther end of the saide Club; and so doth guide this furious Beast, whether himselfe pleaseth, euen as they ride a Horse for seruice in *Spainie*, with a Bridle: by which means, he is compelled to cast vppe such bodies as hee hath deuoured; to giue them better buriall: woulde any man wish for a more notable fable?

I cannot bee otherwise perswaded; but that if an hundred men stood in a ranke, and were well armed in the Riuer of *Nile* vp to the belly; or in anie other Riuer else-where, and did beholde but two such Crocodiles comming towards them, as I haue seene deade and dried; they woulde verie gladly betake themselves to flight, so exceeding hiddeous and dreadfull, are they to be seene in the Water.

It is certaine, that there is an Island; not farre off from *Meroe*, called (at this day) *Cleomeny* in *Ethyopia*, whereby *Nilus* passeth; and the people of this Isle, doo oppose themselves against the Crocodiles, with such wonderous boldnesse and courage, as they dare not (by anie meanes) tarrie their comming: but sending them by the smell (for this Beast hath that sense as subtle as a Dog) they flye speedily thereon, and will no longer abide.

Aristotle sayeth, that this Beast may be made tame, like vnto anie other beast of prey, for the benefite of eating his flesh: but I take this to bee meant of such as are young. As it happened in a part of Egypt, where Sacrifices were offered neere vnto *Nile*, & whereinto the Priests vsed to cast manie Bones; and other peeces of Flesh (which serued for no vse at all in their Sacrifices) and the Crocodiles woulde come to feede on them, not fearing anie men, and so became tame.

Strabo sayeth, that in the Cittie of *Arsinoe*, which is the Cittie of Crocodiles;

The error of *Pliny* & *Munster*.

The Authors opinion of the Crocodile.

People of whom Crocodiles stand in feare.

Crocodiles made tame.

The Crocodile is like to the Lizard.

The sight of a Crocodile verie dreadfull.

An error in *Aristotle*.

The Crocodiles skin of Harquebush prooffe.

The Crocodile is feareful.

Of the Crocodiles keeping in the water.

The Egyptians verie superstitious, taking Crocodiles to be Gods.

on *Nile*: there were some tame, and hal-
lowed; to whome the Pilgrimes (which
came in deuotion thither) would bring
flesh, Bread, and Wine. One Priest,
must open the Crocodiles mouth, and
another put the foode into it; which be-
ing done, they afterward threw them in-
to a Lake, which *Nile* had made neere to
the Temple. The *Egyptians* (by perswa-
sion of their Priests) beleued these beas-
tes to be Goddesses, and diuers times suffe-
red their Children to bee deuoured of
them; not a little reioycing, that they did
serue for food to their Gods.

Vpon a time, *Demetrius* the *Macedo-
nian*, returning from pursuite of the *Per-
sians*, his Armie being much disabled and
destitute of meanes and money, passing
thorough *Egypt*, after he had a while re-
freshed his men; he bethought himselfe,
that seeing he had no money, hee would
procure some from the *Egyptians* by a
sleight. For, he well knowing, howe su-
perstitious they had continued till then,
in honouring those monstrous Croco-
diles; he began to reprove them for it, as-
suring them, that they did great wrong
to *Iupiter* and his Court, in honouring
such horrid things. Wherefore, he had
made a Vow to *Iupiter*, to reuenge this
high iniury doone vnto him; and com-
manded his Souldiors to war vpon those
Crocodile Gods.

Heereuppon, the fond and foolish *E-
gyptians*, made a generall and humble re-
quest to him, not to offer any wrong to
their Goddesses; and they would giue him
Garments and Money, wherewith to
prouide his whole Armie. Whereto,
he condescended, & limited them a time
for payment of the Money. In the mean
while his Army was well refreshed; and
the promise being performed, he depart-
ed from them on his iourney. That they
may be made tame, being young taken,
is very credible; considering, that Serpents
and Lizards are daily tamed, as may bee
seene in many places.

The Crocodile is subtil and craftie in
compassing his prey; for he rusheth on a
man at vnawares, if he walk about *Nilus*,
or any other place where hee swimmeth
or haunteth. Some haue ouerthrowne
Boats with their tailes (wherin they haue
incredible strength) and so catching at
men thus ouer turned in the Water, do
there deuoure them. This they doo in

the day time, & at night they com forth
of the water; frequenting still those pas-
sages, wher they know any beasts to feed,
be they wilde or domestike; or men tra-
uailing thorow the Countrey, seazing on
their feet with his teeth, and not with his
clawes, because his strength in them will
scarcely hold any thing. Thus hath Na-
ture prouided for the life of this Beast,
permitting him to moue his vpper Iawe,
and not the neather, as no beast els doth
the like: not any Fish or Beast can escape
him, if either his pawes or teeth doe take
hold on him.

There is not any Beast that I haue read
of, which becommeth so great, of so smal
a beginning, as the Crocodile: and al his
actions are performed by the number of
sixtie, for he hath sixtie teeth, and sixtie
turning ioynts. At one time in the year,
be continueth threescore dayes without
feeding, and liueth no longer then sixtie
yeares. The Female Crocodile layeth
threescore Egges, in threescore dayes;
and hatcheth them in other threescore
dayes; by which time, they are hatched
either on the banks of *Nile*, or any other
Riuers where they resort, and her Egges
are not greater then a Goose Egge. The

Egyptians do affirme to this day, that a lit-
tle before *Selim* (first of that name) besie-
ged the great Cittie of *Cayre*, and tooke
Egypt; for the space of eight daies to-
gether, a great number of these Crocodiles
were seene, in all parts on the Bankes of
Nile, and so thickely dispersed abroad in
the fields, that whatsoeuer preyes they
lighted on, they rent and tore with their
long sharp teeth, as a presage of the mis-
chiefe which befell to *Egypt*.

Elianus, and some other Authors do
write, that the Crocodile filleth his Bel-
ly with the water of *Nile*; & hauing kept
it so for some time, he casteth it vp again
on some broad High way, and then go-
eth to hide himselfe not far off, breathing
foorth a lamentable voice or noise, as
if it were the murdering of some man.
But if any one (moued with pittie and
compassion) come to see and lend suc-
cour, passing ouer that lubricke and slip-
pery place where he vomitted the water,
he falleth downe; and the subtil beast if-
suing forth of his ambushment, easily de-
uoureth him thus false vpon the ground.
How far this is estranged from any truth,
is quickly discerned, because the Croco-
dile

The Croco-
dile moueth
his vpper iaw
as no Beast
els doth.

The number
of sixtie re-
markeable in
the Crocodile

The Egypti-
ans presage of
the Crocodile

Elianus, and o-
ther Authors
concerning
the Crocodile

A braue in-
uention of a
Soldier, wher
by to get mo-
nie of the E-
gyptians,

Prooue for ta-
ming Croco-
diles.

The craft and
subtilty of the
Crocodile for
his prey.

Aelianus and those Authors refuted.

dile hath no voyce at all. As also they write, that a man, beeing but toucht with a Feather of *Ibis*, a Bird belonging perticularly to Egypt; he remaineth immoueable, which euen is as false as the other. Thus hauing refuted these Fables, spread abroad of this monstrous Beast: I will end this Chapter, least the length thereof should proue offensive to the Reader; to write another, concerning mens endeouour, to rid the World of Crocodiles; as also to discourse of another Creature, vtter enemy to the Crocodile, and of his properties.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of some meanes obserued by Men, both to take and kill Crocodiles. And of *Ichneumon*, or the Rat of India, called Pharaohs Rat, deadly enemy to the Crocodile; And of his properties.



GOD, our Almighty Creator and Preseruer, by his great and wonted prouidence fore-seeing, that this monstrous Beast laboured to vsurnish the Riuer of Fishes, and the Land of Men and Cattle: gaue him an Enemy, to the end, that his multitude shall not so super-abound (beside the industry of men) but that great store of them might be destroyed. For the *Aegyptians* goe in the day time, (well armed and defenced) along the bancks of *Nile*, and seeke for the Egges of the Female; which they breake in peeces. They take also many of the young ones, especially Females, which then are not about the length of two foote, or sometimes lesse; and slaying off their skins, doe eat them, because they are very delicate meate. As for the greater Crocodiles, which are of more terrour, they can take them also without much labour, after any inuadation, or when the *Arabes* and *Aegyptians* perceiue the Water of *Nile* to decrease, as after an ouer-flow, and remaineth troubled, by reason of immundities, and washing the Land, couered with vncleanness. They then cast forth a long

An enemy giuen by God to the Crocodile.

Crocodiles very good meat to eate.

10 Cord, at the end whereof is fastned a hooke of Iron, large and strong, weighing about three poundes weight, and baited with a peece of Cammels flesh, or of any other Beast. When the Monster beholdeth the prey, immedi-
20 aly he leapeeth at it, and swalloweth it, and the Morfell (with the Hook) sticking fast in his throat: it would moue
30 much delight, to see what mountings he makes about Water. When the Beast is then taken, these barbarous people (by little and little) doe draw him to the Riuer side, and fastning the Cord about a Palme, or some other Tree; they hang him vp in the Ayre, as
40 fearing least hee should yet deuour them. Then with a Wooden Leauer they giue him many blowes on the belly, because it is the most soft and tender place about the Beast. Which being done, they flay off his skinne, and make
50 sale of his flesh: for it is excellent meat, and I my selfe haue eaten of it salted. As for the skinne, great sale of them is made to the Christian *Maronites*, *Greekes*, and *Iewes*, that dwell in *Egypt*: And beeing wrought or curried, they re-sell them to the Christian-*Latines*, that come thither for them, and bring them among vs.

As for the Beast before named, which God hath sent as an enemy to the Crocodile, and is no longer then a Cat, and as low, termed by our Elders *Ichneumon*: now a daies, that name is forgotten in *Egypt*, and it is called *Pharaohs Rat*, feeding on Serpents and Rats, killing all Dogges and Cats that it can
40 attaine vnto. The *Aegyptians* (by nourishing) haue made some of them tame, and it is one of the strongest and boldest beasts that is to be found, and sufficiently provided of vnderstanding. When this Beast is in the fields, he ceaseth not to sente, runne, and seeke about, where he can find the Crocodiles
50 Egges, to eate them. After his long quest, and finding them; hee eateth his fill of them, and breaketh all the rest in small pieces, that not any Crocodile may be hatched of them.

Sometimes hee lyes in waite, and watcheth so long, til he can espy a Crocodile lying along in the Sunne, with his belly vpward: for he obserueth his
while behauiour, as an vsuall custome, onely

The *Aegyptians* cunning to take great Crocodiles.

Salte made of the flesh and skins of Crocodiles.

The Description of *Pharaohs Rat* and how hee seeketh for the Crocodiles Egges.

How *Pharaohs rat* surprizeth the Crocodile

while he sleepeth on the bankes of Nile, with his mouth wide open; to the end, that the Bird *Trochilus* (which is a very little Bird, and almost like to that which we call a Wren) may cleanse his teeth from the flesh sticking in them, or the knotted blood lying about thē. Which the *Trochilus* pecketh forth with his bill, hauing no other sustenance while hee liueth, and in this manner the Crocodile often sleepeth. This *Ichneumon* perceiuing, he steppeth vp on his belly, and byting and piercing it in three or 4. places; he enters in at those wounds, and so killeth him. This Beast hath such subtiltie in his doing it, and hideth himselfe so cunningly; that (albeit the Bird *Trochilus* hath a continuall watchfull eye, to giue warning to the Crocodile, least he should be hurt in his sleep, and therefore pecketh at the lids of his eyes to wake him;) yet notwithstanding this great care and loue, he is thus slaine before he can awake, and many of them are found dead in this manner vpon the shoares.

Ichneumon killeth the Crocodile cunningly.

The kind loue of the Bird *Trochilus* to the crocodile.

The false imagination of *Herodotus*.

Herodotus writeth, that this Rat of *Pharaoh*, enters in at the throat into the Crocodiles body, at such time as hee sleepeth, as hath formerly beene saide; where byting his entrails, and tearing the skinne of his belly, hee commeth forth thereat. But these are meere dreames, for I haue conferred with credible persons, that haue remained a long while in *Ægypt*; and they condemne this to be vtrerly false. Yet it is supposed by some, that because this little beast byteth the other by the belly, and will not let goe his hold, vntill hee be dead: that he enters in at the mouth, and issueth forth at the place of his byting, as being the tenderest part of all his body; neuerthelesse, the better iudgements doe hold this for a Fable.

A meere fiction of the *Dolphins* killing the crocodile.

Pliny, *Appian*, and *Pausanias* write, that the *Dolphine* hath certaine little wings or Finnes on his backe, as keene cutting as any Razor; where-with hee cutteth the Crocodiles belly in swimming, being soft and tender, and so killeth him. But these Allegations are fabulous likewise; for the Wings or Finnes on the *Dolphins* backe, are no way offensive, because I can assure ye, that I haue both

seene and felt them. Beside, there are no *Dolphins*, or euer could any be seene, where the Crocodile haunteth. And although this Beast be so cruell and horrible, not onely towards other earthly and watery Creatures, but also to man: yet notwithstanding, in diuers and fundry parts of his body, are found many good remedies for especiall diseases. For beside that his flesh is verie nutritiue, and engendreth good blood: they that ordinarily vse it, shall neuer be tormented with the Gout, or Sciatica in the Hipples; and if they haue them before they vse it, yet it forthwith helpeth them. His Gaule put into the eyes, without all doubt, taketh away any Webbe or Cataract growing in them. His Grease or Fat is an especiall and singuler remedy, against all Ioynt-Agues, or other paines in the ioynts. The teeth of his right Iaw, bound about the Arme, dooth greatly prouoke the Act of Venerie: which the *Ægyptians* (to this day) make vse of, because they are much addicted thereto, and therefore do sell them at a deare rate. When any member of the body, is (for some defect) to be cut off; if it be annointed with the Ashes of his skinne in vineger, it so deadeth the sense, that the Patient shall not feele any paine. His Blood also greatly sharpneth the sight, and therefore the people of that Country, vnderstanding when any Crocodile is taken; doe speedily hast thither (I mean such as are bad sighted) to haue of it when he is newly kild, which they buy at a certaine appointed price, and bathing their eyes there-with, doe finde marueilous ease. The Hart of the Crocodile, wrapped in blacke Wooll pluckt from a blacke Sheepe, that was the first of his Damines eaning; cureth all Quartane Feauers. *Ioell*, a most famous Iew-Physicion, hath left written al these recited properties of the Crocodile; his dwelling was at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and the World beareth record of him, that he was a Man very deeply experienced in Physicke, and performed many singuler cures.

Many parts of the crocodile very soe-raigne for diuers diseases.

For the Gout and Sciatica.

For sore eyes.

For Ioynt-Agues.

For Venerie.

For dissection of some member.

For the eyesight.

For the Feuer Quartane.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of strange accidents, which happened to a Prisoner, and by what meanes he was set at liberty.



Matters of admiration should not be ouer-lightly reported, nor haue I set downe any, which hath not bene certified by some faithfull Authour: as this now whereof I am to speake, recorded by Alexander of Alexandria, a man well skilled in the Sciences (as I haue formerly approued) who writeth this History for a certainty. He saith, that a in well knowne place of Italy (which he spareth to name, a Gouvernour ruled (whose name also he silenceth) that was a cruell Tyrant, and of fierce Nature. It fortun'd, that one of his people, had (by mischance) slaine a Grey-hound, which he highly esteemed, for which vnwilling offence, the Tyrant was so enraged against him; as he committed him to a strong and vn-fauoury Prison, lockt vp vnder many keies, and in very sure and safe custody. Some few daies after, he that had charge from the Gouvernour, to bring him his appointed allowance of sustenance, as daily he vsed to do; found all the doors fast and firme, as before he had left the: but looking in the place where the Prisoner vsed to sit, hee found him not there, yet all the Chaines and Bolts where with he was charged, were whole, sound, and not broken: This act being reputed a Miracle, was reported to the Gouvernour of the Cittie, who commanded al possible dilligence, with priuy searches from house to house, and yet no tydings could bee heard of him. And the case was accounted so much the more strange, because his Irons were ueyther filed nor broken: but remained intire in the Prison, euen as if the Prisoner had still worne them, the Prison and doores also not a jot impaired.

Three daies after, the doores remaining fast closed, euen as when the Prisoner

ner was there, and the Keepers little thinking thereon: they heard one cry in the same place, where the Prisoner was wont to be kept, and running in all halt thither, to see who it was that cryed, they found it to bee the Prisoner, who called for foode, and was as fast in his Irons as he had bene before; his face appearing very dreadfull, discoloured and wrinkled, his eyes sunke into his head, staring and wandring, and wholly resembling rather a dead Man, then one aliue. The laylers being not a little amazed heereat, demaunded where he had been; but he would make them no answer, except he might immediatly be brought before the Gouvernour: for he had much matter to say to him, and which concerned him very importantly. When the Gouvernour was acquainted there with, hee caused him to bee brought before him, in the presence of many others, before whom he would deliuer his charge. And recounting many wonderfull things, told the, that being in the obscure Prison, he fell into such despaire, that he called to the Deuill to helpe him, onely to deliuer him thence out of his misery. The Deuill came to him, in an euill fauoured and dreadfull shape, with whom hee made a complot, to be deliuered out of Prison: and no sooner had hee condiscended thereto, but he found himselfe presently to be in the Ayre, not knowing how, or by what meanes hee came thither. Suddenly he descended thence, thorough certaine horrible, tempestuous, obscure and tenebrous places, where he saw millions of millions of people, that suffred grieuous torments, both by fire, and otherwise, being tormented by an infinite number of Deuils. There did he see all sorts of people, both Kings, Popes, Dukes, Prelats, and many Men which hee perfectly knew. Hee gaue the Tyrant also perticularly to vnderstand, that in those frightfull Low-Countries, he saw a great Friend and companion of his, who demaunded tidings of him, concerning his life and manners, and whether he continued as cruell yet, as he was wont to bee. To whom the Prisoner said, he made answer, that the Gouvernour had not left his old behaviour, but rather fell from bad to worse. Whereon this friend

Alexander of Alexandria Authour of this discourse

A Prisoner strangely freed out of Prison.

The Prisoner found againe in the prison.

The speeches of the Prisoner to the gouernour.

The fearefull visions which the Prisoner beheld.

The prisoners words concerning the Gouernour.

friend requested the Prisoner, that when he should see the Governour next: hee would admonish him, to amend his life, not oppressing and vexing his subjects any more, with tributes and taxations, because (quoth this friend) I know full well that his place is already prepared in Hell, where he must be very grievously tormented, except he do quickly convert to amendment. And because he may the better credit my words, tell him from mee, that by vertue of this watch-word, which oftentime (in war) passed between him and me (and which Watch-word hee deliuered to the Prisoner) I wish him to beleue thee, and not to procrastinate his amendment.

All these things beeing heard, the Governour fell into a suddaine terrour and astonishment: for he was well assured, that none but God, his Friend, and himselfe onely, did know that Watch-word. Then demaunded he of the Prisoner, in what forme and habite hee found the Gentleman in that place? The Prisoner made answer, that he was in the same Garments, which he vsed to weare in this World, of Crimosine Sattin, and albeit his habite appeared to be such; yet was it laced and guarded with a terrible burning fire, and as I thought (quoth he) to touch it with my hand, to try whether it were fire or no: it burned my hand, as heere ye may behold. He spake of many other very fearefull things, to the great amazement and terrour of the Governour; who gaue the Prisoner present libertie, and sent him home to his house, where his Wife hardly knew him, or his Kinred cyther, by reason he looked so pale and meager. He liued some short while after, much troubled in his senses, weak, bare and poore, spending the remainder of his daies, in care for his Soules saluation, and true contrition for his sinnes. But what good this admonition wrought on the Governour; *Alexander* declareth not: but onely affirmeth the History to be true.

(* *)

CHAP. XXXIII.

That the Blood of a Bull, is death to such as drinke thereof; And who it was, that first tamed the Bull.

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Eeing that the Bull is such a Domestick Creature, as his Fleshe is fed on, and the Beeues engendred by him, doe sustaine and nourish more then any other meates: me-thinkes it is quite contrary to nature, that his blood, separated from the flesh, and drunke when it is hot, should haue the power to procure a mans death. To approoue this true, *Dioscorides* and *Pliny* doe both say; that the fresh blood of a Bull is venomous, and killeth him that drinketh it. *Plutarch* writing of *Mydas* (euen hee of whom so many Histories and Fables doe make mention) saith; that beeing sicke of some fearefull imaginations, and waxing daily worse and worse, without finding any amendment: he determined to drinke the blood of a chafed Bull, wherof he dyed. It is written, that *Themistocles* the Athenian, a worthy Captaine, who defended Greece from the inuasions of *Xerxes*; being banished from his Countrey, went to the Court of King *Artaxerxes*, to whom (in anger and indignation conceiued against his Countrey) hee made promise, to enstruct him in the meanes of conquering all Greece. But when he was summoned by the King to keep his word: he chose rather to die, and in feigning a Sacrifice to the Goddesse *Dyana*; hee dranke the blood of a Bull, wherof he dyed instantlie, as is credibly affirmed by *Plutarch*.

The naturall reason which can be giuen, why the hot Blood of a Bull causeth the death of him that drinke it; is deliuered by *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, and *Dioscorides*, who say: That death ensueth thereby, because the blood of a Bull doth curdle, coagulate, and waxe hard immediatly; yea, much more sooner then the blood of any other Beast. So that attaining to some quantitie in the stomacke, it there congealeth, and procureth

A private watch-word sent to the Governour.

The Gentlemans apparel.

The Prisoner set at liberty by the Governour.

Dioscor in lib. 6
Plin in lib. 28.
Plutar in lib. de Superstit.

Plutar in vit. de Themist.

Arist. in lib. de Animal.
Plin in lib. 17.
Dioscor in lib. 6

cureth swooundings and suffocations, stopping the passages aspiratine and sensitive, by reason whereof sudden death enlueth. *Pliny* further saith, that Colewortes sodden in the blood of a Bull; doe prevent all opilations or obstructions. Thus we may perceine, that the blood of a Bull, is venomous of it selfe: but beeing in composition with some other thing, it is very medicinal.

Plin. in lib. 22.

Columella in his Agriculture

Plin. in lib. 22.

The first man that tamed the Bull. *Diodor. Sic. in lib. 4. & c.*

Plin. in lib. 7.

Vir. in Georgi.

The first Inuenter of husbandry.

Auldis King of Spaine.

Arist. in Lib. 3. de Animal.

Plin. in Lib. 9.

Man, to whom God hath subiected all thinges, deriveth great benefit and service from the Bull, and Cattle of his kinde: which is the cause, that *Columella* preferreth him before al other beasts. Beside, in former times it was great offence to kill a Bull; and *Pliny* reporteth, that a man was banished, because hee had kild one. The first Man that tooke in hand to tame a Bull, and make him doe service in the yoake; according to *Diodorus*, was named *Denis*, or *Dionisius*, the Sonne of *Jupiter* and *Proserpina*: but according to *Pliny*, in his seventh book, hee was named *Briges*, and a Natiue of *Athens*. Others doe maintaine, that it was *Triptolemus*, of whom it appeareth that *Virgile* spake, saying: *The Infant Maister and inuenter of the curbed flesh.* *Seruius* saith, that this to be vnderstood of *Triptolemus*, or of *Osiris*. I am of opinion, that *Virgile* couered the name of the inuenter of a labour so good and profitable: because (to speake vprightly) it could not be the inuention of one man onely; but contrariwise, the spirit of humane necessity found it out, so that some men inuented one part thereof, and others the rest.

In like manner, *Trogus Pompeius* saith, that *Auldis*, King of *Spaine*, was the first that tamed Bulles, and brought them to labour: but whosoever was the inuenter and actor, it was done very wel & profitably, for the life of Man. This Beast feedeth on the Grasse, contrary to all other, for hee continually draweth his food backward as he feedeth, and the other forward. *Aristotle* speaketh of certaine Bulles in *Phrigia*, whose Hornes doe not containe any strength of bone, neither grow but in the skinnie onely, and are as easily moued by them, as they doe their eares; *Africanus* maintaineth as much. The first that ranne with Bulls in *Rome*, and

kild them; was *Julius Caesar*; whereof *Pliny* giueth testimony. This Beast hath another naturall qualitie: for he knoweth and Prognosticateth when it will raine, by smelling and bellowing wth the Ayre, and hiding himselfe more couertly then is accustomed.

The Bull a wizzard for weather.

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CHAP. XXXV.

When was the first that established Religion in Rome, and ordained chiefe Byshoppes, Priests, and Vestall Virgines. In what manner they were put to death, when they were taken in Adulterie. Also, of their Vestiments, Vessels, and other Instruments, made for use of the Sacrifices.



In a former Chapter of old *Rome*, part of this Argument hath beene already handled, according to the description of *M. Francesco Sansouino*; what now further is to be said in this case, proceedeth from *Anthony du Verdier*, the Lord of *Vaupriaz*, not disallowing or finding fault with any thing before alledged: but rather as a supplement of some things wanting, and found more at large recorded in other Anthours. For all Histories are filled with the reuerence, which the ancient *Romaines* gaue to their prophane Gods, to whom they erected very sumptuous Temples; with institution of chiefe Byshops, and diuers Sacrifices. *Numa Pompilius*, second King of the *Romaines*, was the first that established Religion in *Rome*, with adoration of the Gods, and ordained many and sundrie Ceremonies for the honour of them. Himselfe would needs be the first high Byshop, which dignity was afterward referred to foure other persons; then to eyght, and at last to fiftene, which number was called the Colledge of Byshops. Ouer whom, as in place of greatest eminence, was appointed one of more notable race and authoritie then the rest, who was styled the great and chiefe Byshop, to whom all the other, and the King himselfe in the sacrifices,

The reason for this chapters addition.

Read *Titus Livius* in his first Booke, and *Pintarch* in the life of *Numa Pompilius*.

A chiefe Byshop appointed ouer the rest in *Rome*, and what his Office was.

fices, the *Augures*, *Flamines*, and *Vestall* Virgines, gaue obedience. He had super-intendencie ouer the Sacrifices and Ceremonies, and his Office was, to make new sollemne Prayers; to declare the daies of Feastes, and to what God ech day was dedicated: to keep registred in writing, the Annals or Histories of all notable thinges, which happened yearly; to iudge of matters concerning Religion; to punish the *Vestall* Virgines for any notorious delict; to repaire the Bridge, cald *Sublicius*, when it was broken, which Bridge was made of Wood, without any Iron or other Mettall, and accounted sacred; and this last charge gaue way to the name of *Pontifex*, as composed of these two Latine words, *Pons & Facio*.

Forty yeares after the building of *Rome*, *Numa Pompilius* erected a Temple to the Goddesse *Vesta*, forming it round, & men were forbidden entrance therinto: onely, choise was made of a number of Virgines, for seruice of the Goddesse *Vesta*. This word *Vesta* came from the *Greekes*, and was taken for fire, as *Ouid* saith in his sixt Booke *ad Fest.* and because the fire was called Virgin, these Virgines were appointed to the seruice of *Vesta*. And in regard also, that Fire engendreth nothing of it selfe: but no Image or Statue of her was placed in the Temple; because our Ancients tooke *Vesta* to be nothing else, but a Spirit and Diuine Fire, which could not be seene, but onely was to be conceiued in the vnderstanding. In this Temple was kept a perpetuall Fire, as they did the like at *Athens*, in the ** Prytaneum*. And if thorow want of care, or negligence in any of the Virgines, the fire happened to be extinct; the cheefe Bishop caused the Virgine to be whipped with Rods: as did *P. Licinius Crassus*, being chiefe Byshop, according as *Valerius Maximus* writeth. And the fire being quenched, it was accounted prodigious, causing feare and terrour in the whole Senate and people of *Rome*: so that before they durst attempt any matter of consequence, they must needes expiate and appease their Goddesse, and to re-kinde the fire, it was done in this manner. The *Vestall* Nunne or Sister, tooke a Vessel of Copper, hauing three corners, and clearely shining, which she

did set directly against the Sun beames, vntill the reuerberation of his mightie heat, should kinde the dry matter which was in the Vessel; and this being done, then she must carry the sacred fire, to the verie inner-most place of the Temple, and in this manner they vsed to kinde the Fire againe (being quenched) each yeare on the first day of March, in which Moneth they alwaies began the yeare among the *Romans*.

Some are of opinion, that these sacred matters of *Vesta*, was transported from *Troy* into the Land of the *Latines*, and from thence to *Rome* by *Romulus*. For which reason, some Authors do call *Vesta Iliaca*: but yet *Numa Pompilius* builded the Temple, in her honor, as I haue already saide. It was appointed, that these Virgines must be the Daughters of Free-men, not Slaues, Seruants, or of vile condition, perfect in all members of their bodies, and without any defect, light braind, or giddy headed. They were receiued into this Religion, from the age of sixe yeares, to ten, and aboue (as *Labeo Antisthius* and *Aulus Gellius* writeth) and after that they were become *Vestalties*; they must continue thirty yeares in virginity. In the ten latter yeares, they instructed young Sister-Nouices in the Sacrifices and Ceremonies. Neuerthelesse, after they had remained thirty years in the Temple: it was lawfull for them to depart thence, and marrie. But because it was perceiued, that much misfortune ensued to such as married: the most part of them remained in the Religion, to the ending of their daies. They were maintained by the publique Treasurie, and were chosen by the chiefe Byshop, onelie for their modesty, vertue, and exemption from any imperfection of body: by which chiefe Bishoppe they were admitted into the Religion, although it were without consent of their Fathers, if they themselues onelie consented: except they were the daughters of a high Byshop, of an *Augure*, of a *Flamine*, *Dialis*, or *Quindecimuir*; or a sounder on the Flutes to the Sacrifices; or one of the seauen *Epulones*, who were exempted, if they made refusall. As also no Maid could be compelled, whose Father had not three children, or more,

This Temple is at this day to be seene in *Rome*, neere vnto that of *Ianus* heard by *Tyber*.

Ouid in lib. 6. *ad Fest.*
Dionys. Halicarn. in Lib. 2
Diodor. in *Antiquit.*

*The councel house at *Athens*.

Valerius Maximus.
Strobo in *Geograph.*

How the Virgines re-kindled the *Vestall* fire when it was quenched.

The opinion of some Authors concerning *Troy*.

Labeo Antisthius. *Aulus Gellius.* lib. 1. cap. 1

When the *Vestals* might marry.

Aulus Gellius in lib. 1. cap. 12

or

or she whose Sister had formerlie been a Vestall. These Vestals could not succeed or inherit any goods, of him that dyed intestate, or had not made his Testament. In like maner, if they themselues deceased intestate, no man might plead to be their heire, but their goods went to publike vse.

The first Virgine that was admitted into this Mystery, was named *Amata*; which gaue occasion, that all the rest succeeding after her in that profession, were so called. For *Aulus Gellius* saith, when the chiefe Byshoppe receiued the Vestall Virgine from her Fathers hand: he would call her *Amata*, because the first Vestall Nunne had that name. She that was chiefe and principall among them, was tearmed *Great Mistressse*, and these Virgines were in great honour and reputation among the *Romaines*.

The wordes which the Bishop vsed, at the entertainment of any Vestall, are written in the first Booke of *Fabius Pictor*. To approoue this, *Albinus*, a Plebeian (as *Titus Linius* recordeth) meeting some of these Virgines, which had walked foorth of *Rome* on foote: descended both himselfe, his Wife, and Children from his Coach, to mount the Vestall Virgines therein, because they kept the perpetuall Fire in the Temple, the *Palladium*, and other holie thinges. The *palladium*, was the Image of *Minerua*, which *Aeneas* saued at the sacke of *Troy*, carrying it to *Iliou*, the chiefeest Fortresse in *Troy*: from whence hee brought it, with the great Goddess *Penates*, into *Italie*, and after the destruction of *Alba* the long, King *Hosillius* placed it in the Temple of *Vesta*.

When any of these Vestalles behaued themselues vnchastlie, or were taken in incestuous Whoredome, as were *Porphiria*, *Minutia*, *Sextilia*, *Emilia*, with their other Companions, and many more: they were put to death in this manner. First she was degraded, by taking off her Robes, and veile on hir head, and then laid on a Beere, whereto she was fast bound, with her face couered, and so carried (with wonderfull silence) through the midst of the Cittie, (which all the whole day was full of mourning) to the Port or Gate, called

* *Salaria*, neere to which Gate was a place, called, *The wicked Fielde*, where (expresly) a Sepulcher was made, vaulted in manner of a Caue vnder ground, hauing a little doore, and two little Windowes belonging to it: in the one of them stood a burning Lampe, and in the other, Water, Milke, and Hony. Being come to this place, the chiefe Bishop said some Prayers, with his hands heaued vp to Heanen, and afterward, they went in with the Beere at the little doore; while the people (then present) turned their faces a contrary way, not willing to behold so wofull a spectacle, whereof euery one had much compassion. So leaving the offender there entombed aliue, they returned with the empty Beere, and a great stone beeing rouled against the Graue doore, the people couered it ouer with earth, spending the rest of the day in griete and mourning.

The Temple of *Vesta* (by chance) afterward fell on fire, and *L. Cecilius Metellus* being chiefe Bishoppe, twice Consul, Dictatour, and Maister of the Horse, entred into it, and brought forth the *Palladium*, after it was halfe burned, with the losse of his owne eyes. *Numa Pompilius* created also three Priests, called *Flamines*: one in the honour of *Iupiter*; the second, of *Mars*; & the third, of *Romulus Quirinus*, wearing verie signal Robes, made much like to the Coapes, which Priests vse to wear in Churches; and round white Cappes vpon their heads, wherein stucke a branch of Olive, with a flock of wooll on the top thereof, and the Cappe must necessarilie be made of the Wooll of a Sheep, which was offered vnto *Iupiter*; and called *Alba-Galera*. Hee instituted also twelue other *Sacerdotes* or Priests, called *Saly*, in honour of *Mars* the Conquerour, Propugnator, Reuenger, and pacifier of all trifes. They were clothed with certaine fleuelesse Iackets, or painted Robes, and wore on their Breasts, Targets of Copper, enriched with Gold, Siluer, and precious stones. Religion so encreased among the *Romaines* afterward, and adoration of their Gods, that they exceeded thirty thousand in the number of them.

Pompilius did further augment the number

T t ber

* From the Sabines to Rome.

Seruius sup. lib. 2. de *Aeneis*.

Vestal virgins buried aliue for whoredome.

Ferretus lib. cap. 3.

The *Flamines*.

Priests called *Saly*, Priests of *Mars*.

Amata the first Vestal virgin.

Aulus Gellius in lib. 1. cap. 12

Titus Linius in lib. 10.

Of the *Palladium*. Read *Dionysius*, *Halicanasus*, *Plutarch*, and *Quintus*.

The order obserued by the *Romaines*, in punishing the Vestalles, when they committed whoredome.

Pater-Patrus
Fecialis.
Epulones.
Augures.

* The Latines
named it *Alba*
Vestis.

Read *Festus*
Pompeius.
Præfericulum.

Patina, or *Pa-*
tera.
Achama.

Infula.

Acerrea.

Enclabris.

Enclabria.

Pausanias.
Secepsita.

Struppi. *Verbe-*
nes.

Aspergillum.

ber of Priests; to wit, the *Pater-Patra-*
tus; the *Fecialis*; the *Epulones*, or Ban-
queters, and the *Augures*; who had such
authoritie, as the Senate could not bee
assembled without their permission.
And they were clothed with diuers ve-
stiments, except when they performed
the sacrifices: for then they all wore a
like habite, which was a * Gowne or
Albe of Linnen, large and long, which
they girded to them with a Girdle, and
this manner of Garment was called
Cinctus Gabinus.

Moreover, they had many Instru-
ments and Vessels made for vse in the
Sacrifices, to wit; The *Præfericulum*,
which was a Vessell of Brasse or Cop-
per, without any handle, and broad as a
Bason. The *Patina*, or *Patera*, was ano-
ther Vessell, wherein the victimary emp-
tied the blood of the Beast. The *Achama*
was another little Vessell, in fashion of
a Cup, and therein they tasted the wine
of the Sacrifices. The *Infula*, was a veil
of Linnen, which the Priestes and Sa-
crificers did weare on their heads. The
Acerrea, or *Acerra*, was a little Chest or
Coffer, wherein the Incense was kept.
That which had the name of *Enclabris*,
was the Table where the sacred things
remained: whereby the Vessels seruing
for Sacrifice, were called *Enclabria*.
Thereon they laide the Sacrifice wide
open, curiously to peruse his inward
parts (to wit; the Hart, Lungs, and Li-
uer) with a Knife of Steele somewhat
long, hauing a round Haft, made of
Iuory, and obseruing the inward partes
very diligently, to deriue from thence
some diuination, as the *Grecians* also
observed, according to the affirmation
of *Pausanias*. The *Secepsita*, was the for-
named knife, with a round haft of Iuory,
and a Pommell garnished with Gold
and Siluer, and nayled with Nails of
Copper; and there-with the Sacrificer
did cut the beasts throat, the Knife bee-
ing so named, à *secando*. *Struppi*, were
certaine bundles of Hearbes; tearmed
Verbenes; as Laurell, Myrrhe, & Oliffe;
accounted (by them) happy in all Sacri-
fices: which Hearbes they would
wreath in Garlands, placing them on
their Gods heads, and putting them in
their eares. *Aspergillum*, was a branch
of Hisop, which they dipped in water,
that stood in a vessell of Marble, named

Labrum, placed at the entrance of their
Temples; as the holy Water-pots now
adaies vsed, & where-with they sprink-
led all the people present. *Suffibulum*,
or *Subfibulum*, was a white Veile, foure
square and long, which the *Vestall* Ver-
gines did weare on their heads, when
they sacrificed. The ancient *Romaines*
had many other Ceremonies, which I
omit for breuities sake.

Labrum.

Suffibulum, or
Subfibulum.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the Auncient manner of Marriages, as
well among the Romaines, as diuers other
Nations. What course the Romaines ob-
serued in the repudiation of their wiues;
And who was the first that diuorced his
Wife.



He very same honest ex-
cuse, which we pleaded in
the beginning of our pre-
cedent chapter, must serue
as our best buckler for this
ensuing; because many points heerein,
haue been before declared, as they were
set down by *Loys Guyon*, Lord of *Nauche*.
And surely, I cannot hold it any of-
fence to the Reader, to put him twice
or thrice in minde of one and the same
Argument; when worthy Authours
doe enlarge the same, for his more ample
satisfaction. List then what *Pedro*
Mexia writes of ancient Marriages, and
accept my pains, that (willingly) would
not displease any man.

The cause
why this chap-
ter is inserted.

The ancient *Romaines* obserued a cu-
stome, to decke the Woman when she
married her Husband, in this manner.
First, they gaue her a Key in her hand,
when she entred the House of her
spouse: to signifie (saith *Sextus Pompei-*
us) the facility of child-bearing. Or,
which beareth a better vnderstanding,
to let her know heereby; that the kee-
ping and care of all Household matters,
contained vnder that Key (as the house,
administration and dispensation of all
things therto belonging) were familiar-
ly to her trust referred. Ouër the mans
head, they held a Launce, quite pier-
ced through the body with a Fencers
Sword:

At a Maides
marrying her
Husband.

Sextus Pompei-
us.

Sword: as signifying thereby, a readie punishment for violation of Marriage. *Blondus* saith, that she was girded with a Girdle, woven of Lambes Wooll; which her Husband taketh from her on the Marriage Bed. Vpon the Veile on her head (which they called *Flammum*, and she did weare in signe of good lucke, and that she should neuer be diuorced) was placed a garland of *Verueine* and other Hearbes intermingled, and this they crowned her withall; sitting on a Lamb or Sheeps skin: for no other cause (as I conceiue) but to set before her eyes, that she should alwayes haue Wooll neere her, to spinne her owne Garments. *Festus Pompeius* writeth, that when the Bride should goe to bee married, three Children (whose Fathers and Mothers were liuing) did beare her company. One carried a lighted Torch before her, made of the Hearb called *Alba Spina*, vulgarlie tearmed our Ladies Thistle (for they were married in the night time, as *Plutarch* saith in his Problemes:) and the other two Children went with her; one on the one side, and the other on the other. The Torch was carried lighted before her, in honor of *Ceres*; for as *Ceres* (who is held to be Mother of the Earth, and the Creator of all Fruites) nourisheth all mankind: euen so in like manner, the new married Bride, becoming Mother of the Familie; must haue care for nourishing of her Children. The like manner is yet obserued in many places, especially in England, that two Children (like *Paranymphes*) doe conduct the Bride to Church, and receiue (with her) holy Prayers and blessings among the Congregation. From thence, two Men do conduct her home againe, and the third youth (in stead of a flaming Torch) carryeth a Bride Cuppe of Gold or Silver.

Moreover, in the time of Marriage, the Romaines vsed oftentimes to name *Thalassius*, as the defender of Virginitie. Some hold it to be the Nuptiall Verie or Song; or else the God that governeth in marriage, called by the *Greekes* *ἡμωαίος*. But many speake diuerslie, of the reason why they make such acclamations in their Nuptials. *Titus Livius* and *Plutarch*, in the life of *Romulus*;

saith, that among them which made stealth of the Virgins from the *Sabines*; some were found of slender quality, and yet they would be sure to seaze on such as surpasse the rest in wonder of beauty. And meeting some principall men of the Cittie by chance, they would haue taken the Virgines from them forcibly; and they had preuailed therein, had they not cryed out aloude (as they led them) to *Thalassa*, or *Thalassius*, who was a young man, much beloued and esteemed by euerie one. And when the other men heard, that it was for him whom they cryed; they were verie glad and ioyfull, commending them for expressing such affection towards him: so that as they accompanied them on the way, they would often-times turne backe, onely for the loue of *Thalassius*, with loud repetitiōs of his name. And thereon grew the Custome, that the *Romaines* sung at Weddings, the name of *Thalassius*, euen as the *Greekes* sung *Hymeneus*, as accounting it a happinesse to meet with a Wife.

Notwithstanding, there are others; of whom *Varro* is one, who alleageth, that this name was induced at Marriages to no other end: but to aduertise the new married couple, how they should thinke on labour and trauaile; especially the Woman to spinne. For they tearmed the litle Pannier or Basket of Oifiers, which held their Wool; *Talassio*, and the *Latines* called it by another name, as *Calathus* and *Quasillus*. *Plutarch*, in his Problemes, maketh this Vocable to descend from the *Greekes*, who tearme Wooll *ταλάσιον*. Moreover, the new espoused Woman hath three peeces of Money, which they call ** Asses*, one whereof, she holdeth in her hand; and as if shee bought a man, shee giueth it to her Husband. Wherein may be noted the miserable condition of the Feminine Sexe; tyed to this hard Law, to bring great Riches with her, in getting a Husband: Wee giue good Wages to Varlets and Seruants, beside our large expences on their bellies: And Women, how faire soeuer they be, must bring to their husbands (whom wee may tearme their Maisters) a great Dowrie, which sometime exceedeth an hundred fold more; then the expences for their dyet and

T t 2 mainte-

Blond. in lib. 8. de Triumph. Rom.

Veruine tearmed holic Hearbe, or Iunoes teares.

Alba Spina, Our Ladies Thistle. Plut. in Proble. Plin. in lib. 10. Cap. 18. Where he speaketh of those torches

Thalassius the nuptiall song.

Fol. 34. A. Vird Tit. Livius in 1. lib. b. v. cont. Plutar. in vit. Romul.

Thalassius esteemed among the Romaines, as Hymeneus with the Greekes.

Marcus Varro.

Plutar. in Prob.

Fol. 86. A. Vird

** Suidas saith, that As was a piece of Money of Copper, containing the weight of a pound, & the value of foure deniers or pence among vs, or little more. It was taken also for another thing. See his learned Booke de Asses.*

Euripides in Medea.

maintenance; can amount vnto al their life time. Vpon which occasion, Euripides speaketh in his Medea, to this effect. Of all things produced by the Earth, that hath a vegetant and sensible Soule; there is nothing which surmounteth a woman in misery. She must haue great goods, wherewith to buy her a Husband; that must be the Maister of her body.

Poore vertue is poorely prized in these daies.

If the Maiden be poore, though of neuer so good and vertuous behaviour; small account is made of her, except to purchase her honour at a cheap rate: for shee may tarry a long time before she be maryed, vnlesse it be with one as poore as her selfe. Because Auarice reigneth so commaundingly; that rich Men couet to haue Wiues richer then themselues. Which Saint John Chrysostome seemeth to touch, saying. He that purposeth to marrie a Wife, doth hee enquire of her good manners, or education of the Maide he secketh after? Truelie no, but rather soundly to informe himselfe, what plentie of Gold and Siluer shee hath, and the bottome of her Inheritances, and valuation of her moouables. He questioneth very curiously after these thinges, euen as if hee would make a bargaine or exchange.

S. Ioan. Chrysost. in Homil. 74. sup. Math.

Of the other two peeces of Money.

The new married Wife carryeth another peece of the fore-named Money in hir stocking (Festus Pompeius saith, in her shoe) and then layes it on the Chimny-harth, where the Laues and familiar Gods doe resort. The third, she putteth in a Purse hanging by her side, opening and shutting it at euery streets corner. This was obserued as an ancient Law among the Romaines, and Boetius Seuerinus, in his Commentarie on the Topickes of Cicero, declareth another sollemnity of ciuill Law, vsed by them also, and whereby both the Man and Woman did interchangeably buy and purchase the others affection, which was tearmed Coemptio, and performed in this manner. The Man and Woman did interogate together, hee demanding of her; If she would bee Mother of his Family? Whereto shee answered; Yea, and then further demanded of him: Will you be Father of the Family? He replied; He nould. This done, they ioyned their right handes together, and kissed each the other. * And then the new troth-plighted Husband, gaue a Ring

Boetius Seuerinus in Comment sup. Topic. Ciccr.

* Read Tertulian, in his Booke of vei-

of Gold to his new elected wife, in signe of earnest, and as a testimony of mutual dilection, or else, that by this gadge, their harts might be conioyned. This Ring, Tertullian in his Book of womens ornaments, tearmeth Pronubus: And it was put by her Husband on her fourth finger, meaning the next to her little finger, on her left hand. Because, saith Isidore, in regard of the Diuine Offices therein contained, there is in that finger a veine or nerue of blood, extraordinarily tender, which goeth and extendeth directly to the hart. The selfe-same reason is giuen by Aulus Gellius, following the opinion of Appian, and Atteius Capito: wherefore both the ancient Greeks and Romaines, in wearing the Ring on that finger of the left hand, did account it to be Phisicall. Pliny also testifieth, that (in his time) they had a custome, to send a Ring of Iron to the intended Bride, without any stone therein enchased. The Asirians took their daughters (which were marriageable) with the to the Markets, where men bought them, to enioy them in marriage. The Babylonians did the like. And the people of Thrace (as Herodotus writeth in his Terpsichore) did by their wiues (as a great price) of their Parents.

The Greekes in elder times, did buy their wiues together; and the same did the Indians. Iphidamas, the Son of Antenor (according as Homer writeth in the second Book of his Iliads) gaue an hundred Oxen to his Father in Law, vpon condition, that he would giue him his Daughter in marriage. The ancient Allemaignes, saith Petrus Crintus, brought dowries with them to their wiues; but their wiues not any to them. We haue Women now adades, that cause themselues to be well bought, for before their affianced friend can enioy her to his mind, or the first nights nuptials be nere hand; there is more spent in iewels, toyes, habits, and feastes, then halfe a good dowry amounteth vnto. So that, if restitution should take place, by death of the husband; the sum of the dowrie would be augmented aboute the moity; yea, to a third part (as we tearme it) in right of the wiues suruiuing; for so it hath been couenanted in marriage contracts: Thus we see a woman to be well bought. The people of * Taxila in India, could

ling virgines. And in his Apologies, Chap. 6.

Pronubus annulus.

Isidor in lib. 2. Cap. 15.

Aulus Gellius. Appian. Atteius Capito.

Plin. in lib. 3. Cap. 2.

Aelianus in li. 4. Stobaeus Ser. 42. Herodot. in Terpsico.

Strabo in li. 15. Arist. in Polit. Lib. 2. cap. 6.

Homer. in Lib. 2. de Iliad.

Pet. Crint. in Lib. 12. cap. 8.

* A great City in India, betweene the Riuer Indus and Hydaspes.

could neuer enjoy any such happinesse as these men, to receiue Money with such Wines as they tooke in marriage: but contrariwise, they were glad, and feigne to furnish them. If pouerty be the hindrance of any maid, and no man will accept or giue her entertainment: then, in the floure of her youth, shee is brought into an open Market (as Horses to a common Faire) with sound of Trumpets and Clarions, and the people beeing assembled about the Maide, her backe partes are discouered vp so high as her Shoulders, and afterward, the like is done before. And if shee be found to be comely, well featured in all her members, and fit to content a Man; immediatlie shee shall haue a Husband. The like we haue formerly declared in the Custome of Carthage.

Plato, in the sixt Booke of his lawes, would haue none to bee deceiued in marriage: but that all ignorance being auoided, each Man might know, on whom he bestoweth his Daughter, and of what honest race eyther side is descended. For which cause, hee thought it conuenient, that sports and assemblies of young Boyes and Girles should bee permitted, hauing their bodies naked so farre, as modest shame might suffer: to the end, that by conuenable reason of that age, they should see each other; and bee seene in imperfection, or comlinesse of stature. For my part, I doe not allow of this opinion, neyther would I counsell young Maides or Weomen, to suffer themselves be nakedly seene of Men. For, as K. Gyges, the Son of Dastylus, speaketh in Herodot. *ἡμεῖς δὲ χιτῶν ἐκὼν ὁμοίως σκεπόμεθα τῆς καὶ τῆς ἀνδρῶν*, That is to say; *The Woman that puts off her Smock, doth in like manner put off all shame and modesty.* Which saying S. Hierome approueth, against Iouinian, and likewise Clemens Alexandrinus, in the second Book of Pedagogie; and Saint Cyprian consenteth with them, in his Booke of Virgines Habites, saying. *The honour and shame of the bodie, are both together in the Garments couerture.* And in another place of the same Booke; he findes himselfe much offended with women; that putting off their Garments; would goe naked into the Bathes and

Stoues. Blondus writeth in his first chapter; *That the feare of shame, may wel proue sufficient to cut off a Contract, although there be no feare of death, or torment: As if a man should despoile a woman, threatening to cast her forth starke naked.*

But let vs leaue this, and pursue our purpose, concerning Customes in marriages of diuers Nations: and then returne againe to our Romaine Spouse, whom we haue left (I feare) too long. The *Namasones*, a people of *Lybia*, had a strange Custome, to cause the Bride (the first night of her Nuptials) to lye with all the Guestes, and thence forward, to keepe perpetuall chastity. The *Anthropophages*, *Medes*, and some of the *Aethiopians*, resort to their Mothers and Sisters when they are marryed. The *Arabes* make a Wife common to all the Kinred. The *Numidians*, *Moores*, *Egyptians*, *Hebrues*, *Persians*, *Garamants*, *Parthyans*, and almost all the *Barbarians*, haue each Man as many Wiues, as hee is able to maintaine; someten, and others more. The *Athenians* made their Wiues and Children common, and (like brute beasts) wallowed in all kinds of luxuries.

In *Scotland* it was sometime obserued as a Custome, that the Lord of the Soyle should haue the Brides Maiden head, before her Husband: which vnworthy dealing in any Christian Man, was abolished by *Malcolme* the third, King of *Scotland*, a very famous Prince; and deceased in the yeare 1090. And he ordained, that the new marryed couple, for redemption of their pudicitie, should pay to the Lords of the places, a peny of Gold, which (I heare) is yet to this day obserued. I should forbear to say; it is no long time since, that diuers Lords; yea, some of Ecclesiasticall order, held a right by auncient Custome, to lay one Legge naked in the Bed, on the first night of the Brides marriage; but some say; that the Leg was armed. And there was one man, who would needes exceede the limits of his duty, & abuse his priuiledge through his vnbridled lubricity, so that (with the price of his life) the custome was lost: But returne wet now to our first intention.

Before the new married Bride entred into her Husbands house; shee announ-

Baldus sup Leg. interpositas C. de transact.

Herod. in Lib. 4.

Strabo in Lib. 16 de Geograph.

Herod. in lib. 6.

Strabo in lib. 15 de Geograph. A custome obserued in Scotland.

A Custome among some Ecclesiasticall persons.

Strabo in li. 15 de Geograph.

Plato in lib. 6. de Legib.

For auoiding of all ignorance on eyther side in marriage.

Herodot. in lib. Fol. 38. A. Verd

S Hierom. in li. 1. cont. Iouinian

Clem. Alexand. in Pedag. Lib. 2 Cap. 9. S. Cyprian in lib de Hab Virg.

P'm in lib. 28. cap. Seruius in lib. 4 de Aenead. Donatus sup. Scen. 2. Com. Terent. vocat. Hecyra. Polyd. Virgil. Isidor Etymolog Lib. 9. cap. ult. Sceno lib penult F de donat. int. vir.

Sext. Pompeius

Marc. Varro in lib. de lingu. Lat.

Of the Elements Fire and Water.

Oaths made vpon fire and water.

ted the doore thereof with a kinde of Lard: Pliny saith, the Grease of a wolfe; but Seruius saith, it was a certaine Oyle, to signifie thereby, that she chased away all annoyances. Donatus saith, that the name of Vxor, came first Ab vngendis postibus. And Polydore Virgill saith: Vnde ab vngendo Vxor dicta, quasi Vuxor. Afterward, the new Bride was presented at the doore, with Water and Fire, and she must touch both of them; according as the Lawyer Scenola maketh mention.

Sextus Pompeius giueth a reason, wherefore this Ceremonie was thus performed. The new married Wife, (saith he) was washed with Water, to shew, that she came pure and chaste to her Husband. Or else, that she participated with him in Fire and Water, two principall Elements, without which, the Creation of Man could not consist. I should inferre heereby, that the reason of this fire and water so presented to the Bride, implied thus much: Fire was to moue the carnall appetite of her Husband, and water to quench it. I will set downe the words of Varro, in his fourth Booke of the Lattine tongue, where he giueth another very good reason, as followeth. Igitur causam nascendi, duplex, aqua & ignis: Ideo ea in nuptijs in limine adhibebantur, quod coniungit. Hinc & mos ignis, quod ibi semen: aqua femina, quod factus ab eius humore & eorum coniunctione sumit Venus. Assuredly, when moysture and heat are tempered together, all thinges doe receiue original by the. For although fire be repugnant to water; yet the humide and moyst vapour createth all things, and their discordant agreement is proper to all generation: for one of them is as the Masculine Element, and the other Feminine; the one the actiue, the other the passiue. Hereupon, in Antiquity, when nuptiall alliances were instituted; they were approued by oaths sollemnely made on fire and water, because all creatures do receiue body and soule, by heat and moysture in their generation, and liue by them. For euerie beast is formed of a soule and body: the matter of the body consisting in moysture, and that of the soule in heat. As appeareth by the Egges of Fowles, which by reason of grosse humours, (whereof they are full) cannot be redu-

ced into a body; and the body can haue no soule, if heat do not work his operation.

Moreouer, the Bride did not enter on her feete into her Husbands house; but was carried in: as declaring, that shee went not willinglie, but by constraint, to the place where she was to loose her virginity. The Romaines also would not marry in the Month of May, reputed it to bee vnfortunate for marriage, whereon there arose an auncient Proverb; Mense Maio nubunt male: Bad people marry in the Month of May. Whereon Ouid, in the fift of his Fastus, saith; Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait. There are some, that now in these daies do superstitiously make scruple, to marry in that Month, and only (as they say) to be free from iealousie, whereon I see no reason grounded. But happily it may be, that they haue heard by their predecessours, that the most part of Men and Women then obserued (by such as were married in the moneith of May) to agree badly together, and came (in the end) to diuorce or repudiation, which was in vse among the Romaines.

The Romaines had three severall kinds of separation in mariage. The first they called Repudiation; which was done by the Man, against the will of the Woman. And the first Man that thus repudiated his wife, was Spurius Caruilus, in the year after the building of Rome, sine hundred twenty three, because she was barren, and bare him no Children. Caius Sulpitius repudiated his wife, because she went out of his house, with her haire about her eares, and no veile on her head. Quintus Antisthius did the like to his wife; because she had bene seene to conferre secretly, with a woman a Libertine. P. Sempronius took offence; because his Wife was seene at publique spectacles, without his knowledge. And C. Caesar repudiated Pompeia, onely thorow siue suspition he had of Clodius, who was found in the habite of a woman among Ladies, at the Celebration of the sollemnitie for Bona Dea.

The second manner, was called Diuorce, and this was done with the consent of them both, and to either of the it was permitted to require it. But among the Hebrues, it was not lawful for a man

The Bride carried into her husbands house.

Frasin. Chilia. 1. Centur. 4.

The moneth of May vnfortunate for Marriage.

Three Kindes of separation among the Romaines. Dionys. Halicar. in lib. 2. Plutar. in vit. de Numa, cit. in An. 230. The first that repudiated their Wiues.

The second kind of separation, called Diuorce.

Deut. 24, 1.

S Hierom vp-
on the matter
of Diuorce.

Ioseph. in lib de
Antiq. 4 chap. 8

Math. 19, 8.

The thirde
kinde, called
Dirception.

man to leaue his wife. *Moyfes*, who was the first Author of Diuorce, appointed it so, for the reason deliuered by *S. Hierom*. *Moyfes* (saith he) seeing many of the *Iewes* mouued to *Auarice*: some for *Domesticke* disquietnesse, and other for *Whoredome* tormented their wiues, yea, oftentimes did put them to death, with intent to take other newe wiues; either richer, fairer, or younger then they. To remedy which euill, power was giuen them, to be diuorced from their first Wiues, with condition, that the Husband should giue his wife a Bill of Diuorce, to stand for hir warrant and security. To which Bill (saith *Iosephus*) the husband was then to write these wordes following: I PROMISE NEVER TO TAKE THEE MORE. And this was thus doone, because the Woman might marrie with another, and hee haue like power to seeke another Wife, for otherwise Diuorce might not be graunted.

Thus you see, that by the permission of *Moyfes*, and not his expresse commandement, Diuorce began at first amongst the *Iewes*. *Iesus Christ* giueth Testimony both of the one and other, in the nineteenth Chapter of *Saint Matthewe*, speaking thus to the *Pharises*: What God hath conioyned, let no man sepearat; adding a little after, *Moyfes*, because of the hardnes of your heart, suffered to put away your wiues, but from the beginning it was not so. He saith, for their hardnesse of heart, because they were cruell to their wiues, whom not to loue, was most hard & inhumaine. Neuerthelesse, *Iesus Christ* did not reiect Diuorce, so it were doone only for the cause of Whoredome and Adultery.

The third manner, was tearmed *Dirception*; for which, there was allowed separation in Marriage; and this was done according to the Princes will: whereof I purpose to speake more amply elsewhere, for I doubt I haue stood too long on this matter of marriages.

CHAP. XXXVII.

How manie Armies the Romain Emperours kept, and in what places.



I cannot varrie much from our purpose, to speake in this Chapter, of the *Romain Armies*, and the places of their abiding: as also of their name and number: to the end, that al the World may know the powerful strength of the *Romaine Empire*, while shee feasted in hir Royall Triumphs, which was from the time of *Augustus*, till *Constantine* transported the empire into the East. Whosoever shall duely consider *Romes* strength, and how many Prouinces were subiected to her, will account it no wonder that the *Romains* had two and twentie compleate Armies, and great store of people belonging to each one of them: For it requireth (saith *Vlpian*) a great number of armed men, if we intend to giue it the name of an Armie, because one or two Companies, make not an Army, but a great many conioyned together.

The first that was saide to be a double Armie, remained in the lower *Mysia*. That which was tearmed the *Augustone* Armie, abode in *Scotia*: The *Galatian*, in *Phoenicia*, now called *Caramania*. The *Cyrenaicone*, in *Arabia*; and another *Augustane* Armie in *Numidia*. The *Flavian* and *Scythian* in *Soria*, otherwise cald *Numantia*, in *Spain*. The *Macedonian* in *Valachia*. The conquering and victorious armie, in *England*. The *Claudians*, in *Seruis* and *Bosnia*. The Iron or rough Armie, being called the tenth, in *Iudea*. Another tenth, in *Allemaigne* or *Germanie*. Another *Claudian*, in *Transsylvania*. Another double Armie in *Dacia*: and the *T wines* in *Pannonia*. The dreadfull and *Thundering* Armie, in *Egypt*. The *Apollonian* in *Cappadocia*. The *Valerian* and second vanquishing Armie, in *Bretaine*. There was also another armie alwayes at *Rome*, for guard of the Emperour. And these were the two and twentie Armies, which the *Romains* kept continually, for the Defence of their Prouinces: to the end, that they

The time of
Romes tri-
umphs.

The name of
Exercitus, cam
of exercising
a mans selfe.
Quia excedo
fit melior (saith
Varro and Ve-
getius lib. 2 ca.
23) Ab exerci-
tio Exercitus
nomen accipit.

The places of
the Romain
seuerall Ar-
mies.

10

20

30

40

50

they might be ready at all seasons for the appeasing of tumults & seditions whensoever they happened.

The number of men, Elephants, and Chariots, in the Romaine Armies

The Romaines had also in the fore-named Armies (acording as *Appian* writeth) two hundred thousand foot-men, and fortie thousand Horse-men, three hundred Elephants made apt for warre, and two thousand ready-furnished Chariots, beside three hundred thousand Armors for store-prouision. And their armie by Sea, consisted of two thousande Shippes, and fiftene hundred Gallies, from two to five Oares on a side. And beside these, they had eight hundred great ships, called *Thalomegos*, only for pomp, and to carrie the Emperors Golden and rich furnitures, in their prowes & pompes. They had likely sundrie military ensignes; as the Wolfe, the Minotaur, the little Horse, the wilde Boare, with many other beside: But the Eagle was the proper and principall Ensigne of the Romaines.

Their Armie by Sea.

Their Ensignes or Standards.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Whether the Romaines did generally speake Latine, or no; Or whither they hadde two seueral Languages.



At the end, that we may not stand in doubt of the thing, which (in my iudgement) is plaine and euident enough, we will deliuer the testimonie of *Cicero*, who in the thirde Booke of his Orator, saith; *The Romaines had a certaine, proper, & singuler Language in their Citty.* Which he prooueth by the example of *Lelia* his Mother in law, who spake in such maner, as they that heard hir, imagined that they vnderstoode *Plautus*, or *Neuius* speaking, her phrase seemed so like vnto theirs. But, because no man should thinke, that *Lelia* had learned another Language, to wit, *Latine*; and yet knew a contrary, to wit, her Mother tongue, which she had (from her Cradle) naturally learned in the house, he saith a little after; *There was no man maruelled,*

Cic. in lib. 3. de Orat.

Lelia Ciceroes Mother in Law.

Cicero vbi sup.

that an Oratour spake Latine. For, if he did otherwise, they wold haue mockt him. And in the first Booke of his *Tusculanes*. The frequent assembly (saith he) in the Theater where were Women and Children, were moued, hearing so rich a phrase. Whereby it appeareth, that one only Language, & namely Latine, had beene, and was then common to all the Romaines, considering that Children and Women knewe the Latine tongue.

Cicero in lib. 1. ad Tuscul.

Neuerthelesse, he was expert in learning, that knew how to chuse his words, and waigh them by direct Iudgement of hearing, which no man could do, without Learning. For, all the Romaines speake Latine, but all knew it not by letters and Learning, as is manifest by Testimony of the saide *Cicero*, introducing *Titus Pomponius*, who (in his *Brutus*) hee maketh to speake thus: *Thou seest the Latine tongue corrected, whereof such as haue beene commended, neuer had knowledge, by reason or science, but as it were by Custome.* And a little after he addeth, *I being a young Childe, haue seen Titus Flaminus, who was Consul with Q. Metellus to bee thought to speake Latine well: and yet notwithstanding he knew not the letters.*

Concerning Iudgement & Learning.

Cicero in Tit. Pomp ad Brut.

Any man then may be freed from doubt heerein, considering that the Prince of Eloquence speaketh it.

And there was no other difference, but that which is likewise amongst vs at this day, to wit; that the Inhabitants of *Rome* spake more eloquently, then those that dwelt abroad. And in regard, that the Language is nowe otherwise in *Rome*, then in times past (speaking *Italian*, insted of *Latine*, and yet not so good vulgar as at *Florence*) it was occasioned by barbarous people and Nations; as the *Goths* and *Vandales*; and others; who gayning heeretofore ouermuch dominion in *Italy*, did likewise corrupt the language which then was in vse. So that by little and little, and by course of time; Antiquitie (by the frequentation of straungers; and corruption of manners) hath bin quite perverted and changed, and noueltie induced. But most true it is, that it is easy to discern their Originall of the *Latine*, The like peruertion and alteration, few Nations in the World, but haue as well felt, retaining very little, or none at all, of their prime Tongue and Language, which

The reason for the difference and alteration of the language.

Other countries Languages altered.

which they then enjoyed: and therefore, Romes change deserueth the lesse meruaile.

CHAP. XXXIX.

How necessarie Water is for the life of man: Of the excellency of this Element: and the meanes how to know good & wholesome Waters.



It plainly appeareth that there is not anie thing more necessary for the life of mā, then Water. For sometimes, when bread wanteth, a man may nourish himselfe with flesh, and other Viands. If fire faile him, hee findeth so many other things to feede on raw, as he may wel liue diuers years without fire. But let there be no water to be had, and then neither man, or anie creature else, is able to liue. There is no herb, or any kinde of plant, which can produce seed or fruite, without water: for al thinges haue neede of it, and must receyue moisture. This is so true, that Thales Mylesius, and likewise Hesiodus conceyued, that water was the beginning of all thinges, and the most ancient of all the Elements, as also the most potent. For, as Pliny and Isidore (in like manner) do say; Water both moisteneth and ruinateth great Mountaines, gooerneth the earth, quenchem fire, and conuerting it self into vapors, passeth thorough the ayres regions, whence afterwards it descendeth, to engender and product all things in the earth.

Likewise, God made such especiall esteeme of Water, that hauing resolued to regenerate man by Baptisme, hee ordained it to be done by the means of this Element. And when he diuided the waters in the beginning of the worlde, hee held it in such account, that the text saith, He placed the Waters aboue the Firmament of Heauen, without comprehending them that circuited the Earth. The verie greatest torment which the Romans inflicted on condemned persons, was interdiction

from water and fire, preferring Water before Fire, as worthy of the highest degree and eminencie.

Seeing then, that water is so needfull for the life of man, we ought (with heedfull care) to seeke out the best: to which purpose, I will set downe some especiall properties thereof, alledged as wel by Vitruuius; as Aristotle, Plinie, and Dioscorides, with diuers other, that write of the election of waters.

The first instruction is, that if a man trauaile into straunge Countreyes, and would knowe, if the Waters there bee good and wholesome for him, and to carie with him elsewhere, according to his necessitie, let him obserue and note the rounde Neighbouring places, vnto the Welles, Springs, or Riuers; as also what the life and disposition is, of the people there inhabiting. Whither they be healthfull, strong, and well coloured in their faces, without any defects in their eies and legges; for such men do testifie the goodnesse of the water, and also the contrary if it be bad. But if the water bee newlie or lately found, whereby this experiment must needs faile, then there are other proofes to be made.

Let him take a Brazen Bason, verie cleanly scoured, and sprinkle some drops of the water (whereof he would make triall) therein: if after the water droppes be dried, no blemish appeare in the Bason by those droppes, it is a manifest signe of the waters goodnesse and puritie. This is also another good prooffe; to boil som of the water in the same Bason, and then suffer it quietly to stand and coole; then when it is emptied forth, if there appear no slime or sand in the bottome, it may be called excellent good; and of both the waters, that which hath the least slime is the better. In those Vesselles or other things, where any Graine is sodden, to make Brothes or Pottages; as Oatmeale, Pease, or any other Pulse, the best Water is that which seetheth them soonest.

To deliuer a sound and certain iudgment in waters, there must be good consideration vsed, concerning the places whence they haue their source; whether the ground be sandie, neate, and cleare, or whither it be muddy, troubled, & foule: likewise, if Ruishes, or other bad and pestiferous Herbes, doo grow thereabout.

The Romans denied water to condemned people.

Vitruuius in li. de Architect. Arist in Proble.

Seuerale experiments to be made of Water.

Waters goodnes approved by boyling.

For sound and infallible iudgment in Waters.

Water, the chiefe thing for support of life.

Plin. in lib: 2. cap. 4. Isidor. de Etym. lib. 3.

The regeneration of man by Water.

Genes: 1;7.

But

But the best and surest way, and to avoid drinking of an vncertain water, or where any doubt is made, is to seeth it with a soft fire, and then let it coole.

Plin. in Lib. 4. Cap. 2.

The reason for drinking boyled water.

Sodden water is not windie or swelling.

Well-water, not so wholesome as other water.

Lakes and Ponds haue the worst water.

The South-waters worse then them of the North.

Pliny saith, that the Emperor Nero caused Water to be so boyled and then cooled it in Snow, glorifying himself for finding out such an inuention. Now, the reason why boyled water is most holsom, is, because the water which we drinke, is not simple in his own Nature, but is mingled with the Earth and Aire. And by the fire, the windy part is exhaled, and resul-teth into smoake. The earthy part also, by Nature of the fire (which is to refine and seperate diuersity of natures) descendeth to the inferiour place, and there abideth; by meanes whereof, sodden water is the lesse enflating or swelling, because the windy part (which it hadde in the begin-ning) is wholly euaporated. It is also more light and subtle, by being purified from his earthy part; and therefore, the more easie to bee kept and preserued: so that it cooleth & moisteneth competently, without any obstructing or alteration. Whereby is perfectly knowne, that the water of Welles is not so good as other water, because it pertaketh most of the earth, and is no way purified, by the suns warme visitation, which makes it the apter for corruption. Notwithstanding, the more water we draw forth of the Well, the lesse hurtfull it is, because the conti-nuall motion hindereth the ordinary cor-ruption, which commeth to enclosed waters, and that haue no course. And then Nature sendeth new and fresh wa-ter in such measure, as present draught is made of that so lately sent. For this cause, the waters of standing Lakes and Ponds, is the worst of al other: for through want of course & current, it corrupteth it self, engendering euill things, and oftentimes infecting the ayre, causing diuers disea-ses thereabout.

It is further to be considered, that wa-ters that haue their course towards the South, are not so good as they that run towards the North; because in the Sou-therne quarter, the Ayre is much mingled with Vapors and Humidities which hurt the waters, and greatly endamage them. But in the Northern parts, the aire is more subtle, and lesse moist, whereby it swelles not the Waters, neither troubles them so much. In regard whereof, the

water which is clearest, lightest, subtilest, and most purified, is the best; because (as we haue already said) it is lesse intermed- led with other Elements; and beside, be- ing neere to the fire, it rather heateth it then the other.

An experi- mental proof of two waters

It is also a singuler prooffe of two wa- ters, to obserue which of them wil be the soonest warmed by one & the same fire, & in like space of time: for they are both arguments of the most subtle and pene- trating substance. And because the mix- ture of the earth among the water, dooth argue his waightines, it is good to make election of the lightest Water, which may bee experimented in this manner. Take two pieces of Linnen cloath, which are of equall poise, and steepe the one in the one water, and the other in the other, till they bee thorowly soaked; then take them forth, and hang them in the Ayre, where the Sun (by no means) may come to them; and when they are drie, weigh them againe, and the piece which waigh- eth heauiest, wil declare which is the hea- uiest water. Some vse to waigh these wa- ters, in vesselles verie cleane and neat, & that are of an equall waight.

A triall of the lighnesse or, waight of wa- ter.

Aristotle and Pliny doo say, that the greatest cause which diuersifieth the qua- litie of waters, proceedeth from the sub- stance of the earth, from stones, trees, and Minerals, and Mettals; thorow which, Riuers and streames make their passage. In regard whereof, some do becom hot, others cold; som sweet, and others salt: for it is a most certaine rule, that the wa- ter which hath neither sauour nor odor, is alwayes knowne to be the best VWater. All such as haue written on this Argu- ment, doo maintaine; that that VWater which passeth thorow Mines of Gold, is the best water. And to approoue this, the most notable and excellent Riuers in the world, are such as engender and conserue Gold in their thin and fine sands. But be- cause we are elsewhere to discourse per- ticularly of the properties of some riuers and other waters, I meane now to wade into no further examples.

Arist. in Lib. 3. de Animal. Plin. in Lib. 22.

Waters pas- sing through Mines of gold

Seeing then, that we haue spoken of the waters of Riuers, VVells, and Foun- taines; reason requireth, that we should say somewhat concerning Raine-water, which is praised by some, and blamed by others. Vitruuius, Columella; and some Physitions, doo highly commend Raine- water

Of Rain-wa- ter.

Vitruuius in li.
de Architect.
Columella in
Agricul.

The reason of
raine-waters
corruption.

Raine-water
purelie taken
and kept, la-
steth lōg time

Plin. in lib. 32,
cap. 3.

Answers
made by Pliny
to the former
reasons.

Against the
impuritie of
Raine-water.

water, when it falleth pure and clear. For (say they) it is light and not mixtured, because it commeth from the vapor, which by his great subtilty, is mounted into the Ayres Region; and therefore, it is to be credited, that heauie and waighty water remaineth in the earth. And albeit some say, that the water descending from heauen, corrupteth immediately, as wee behold in Fishponds, that engender a thousand filthes: yet it is not therefore to be saide, that this ensueth by defect in the water; but rather, because it is stayed in such a place, where Muddes, Infections, and other Vncleanlinesses are met together. And partly, by some filthinesse which it bringeth with it selfe, washing the ground as it passeth along, when as it raigneth in great abundance. Therefore, the cause of his sudden corruption proceedeth from hence; that it is subtle and delicate; and by meanes of the Sunnes heate, and humiditie of the water, being commixed with many Ordures. Neuerthelesse, if this water being subtle, purged and cleared, were gathered as it falleth from the couerture of verie clean houses, or else as it falleth from Heauen, passing thorow the ayre, without touching anie thing, and so conueyed into as clean vessels, it would be better then the other, and coude preserue it selfe for longer time.

There are some other Authors, who hold a contrarie opinion, and namelic; Pliny. He saith, *It is so vniuersall that no man should drinke of it, because the vapors from whence it commeth, do proceed of many things, and by diuers wayes; whereby, it receiueth store of different qualities, as well such as are euil, as them that be good.* And in deliuering other reasons, he answereth to them which we haue aledged, & saith: *That the prooffe is not sufficient to say it is good, in shewing it to be the more light, by being drawne from the Region of the Aire; for such enaporations are exhaled alofte, by a secret vioience of the Sun. And that also, by the same reason, it is a vapour likewise, wherby hard Hail-stones are formed in the Ayre: which water is pestiferous; and so is Snow water.* Hee saith moreouer, *That Raine water (beside his other defects) infecteth it selfe by the heate and vapour of the earth, euen then when it raigneth: & to encrease his impuritie, it sufficeth to see, how quickly it putrifeth and corrupteth; where-*

of true experiment is made on the Sea, wher such water cannot be conserued: and therefore Wels and Cesternes are reprobued. Vpon all these opinions, euerie man deliuereth his owne, according as appeareth best to his owne iudgement. But as for mee, I affect Raine-water lesse then the other, although it be more necessarie. And Pliny who blames it, yet saith; *That Fishes doo fatten in Pondes, Lakes, and Riues; and when it raineth, they are then best; because they haue need of the water of heauen.* Theophrastus saith, *That Garden Hearbes, and all other beside, beeing watered by neuer so much abundance of water, do not so plentifully encrease, as by Raine-water.* In the like manner, Plinie speaketh of Reedes; that neede the water of heauen for their encrease. And Aristotle also, speaking on the abounding and encrease of Fishes.

Plin. 32. ca. 3.

Theophrastus.

CHAP. XL.

By what meanes a good quantitie of sweete and fresh Water, may be had out of the Sea. Why cold Water maketh a greater noise in his fall, then hot Water. And whither a Ship be of heauier weight on Salt water, then on fresh water.

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Aristotle and Plinie do both aduise vs, for to make sundrie vesselles of waxe, hollow within; binding them so strongly, as possible may be, and free from any cracke, hole, or vent. So putting them into Nettes, or some such like matter, well fastened with long Cords, let them down into the sea, and keepe them there the space of a whol day. This being done, to draw them vp againe; and when yee open each of the Vesselles, ye shall find a good quantitie of fresh water, in each one of them, as sweet as anie in the riuer. The reason why salt water thus becommeth fresh & sweet entering thorow these vesselles of wax, is rendered by Aristotle, for hee saith; *That wax being sweet and delicate, the Water penetrateth it, and the subtle part of the Sea water passing through it, sweetneth it self, leaving the earthie part which it hadde, in the superficies of the Wax.*

Arist in Lib. de
Animal.
Pl. lib. 32. cap. 4

Arist. ubi supra

In

vessels of wax
make salt wa-
ter fresh and
sweet.

In verie truth, if this be true. (I say if it be true, because I my self neuer yet made experiment of this secret) it may do great seruice, in diuers necessities, which doo ordinarily happen. Notwithstanding; methinkes, that if salt water will become sweet, by entering into vessels of waxe, it should likewise become sweete; by softe trilling or gliding into wax, wherof such Vesselles may bee made, like vnto those which we haue of stone, to take away the saltnesse of the water. For, by the same reason, these things doe tend to one and the selfesame effect, although there may appeare some difference; by entering into empty vessels, and coming forth of full vessels, because there is an apparance of much greater force and violence; in coming forth of a full Vessell; neuertheless, the curious questionist may trie both the one and other.

An experi-
ment of hot
water & cold.

Yet, in kinde affection to such, as are delighted in like singuler experiences, I will disclose another thing wel worth the knowledge. Take two Bottelles, which are of equall opening and measure, and fill them with water, the one boyling, & the other cold: afterwards, emptie them both together, and the colde water will issue forth sooner then the hot, and make the more lowde and greater noise in his fall, then the hot water, which falls more deafely, and with lesse strength. The reason is, because hote water is lighter then the cold, for that by the heate of the fire, it is more euapored. Likewise, at the beginning of the cold waters issuing foorth of the vessell, the hindmost part striueth to be foremost, so that waightincesse is the cause, that cold water issueth forth sooner then hot, & maketh the greater noise in his fall, then the other can do.

Hot water
lighter then
cold.

This is the reason deliuered by *Aristotle*, who likewise telleth vs another thing, which wee beholde daily, to wit; that a Ship beareth much heavier charging on the Sea, then on fresh Water, because the water of the Sea is more grosse and thicke, and beareth on her bosome anie thing whatsoever, in much greater weight, then any fresh Water is able to do, which is more subtle. To approue the truth heereof, experience maketh daily demonstration. For, if a man cast an Egge into a fresh Water Riuer, immediately it sinketh vnto the bottome: but, throwe it into Salte Water, or the Sea,

A ship bea-
reth a waigh-
tier burden
on the Sea,
then on anie
fresh Riuer.

and it floateth alofte thereof, and cannot
sinke.

CHAP. XLI.

The Reason why all Creatures haue as many
feete on the one side, as on the other:
And on which side, they first beginne to
go, and for what cause.



Who soeuer hath duely considered, the order of Gate or going in al kind of creatures; hath also obserued, that their feete are numbered by paires, as well in those of two feet, as of foure, and more. It is likewise to be further noted, that they are in such manner diuided to them, as the one halfe is on the one side, and the rest on the other. The reason whereof, seemeth to proceed from some secret in Nature, and whereof I purpose to discourse, according to the opinion of the most sprightly, & best iudging Phylosophers. Among all which graue men, *Aristotle* handleth the manner of their common going, and maketh a disputation therof in his Problems. But for our better vnderstanding, we must presuppose, that the motion of all creatures, is composed of rest and trauaile: for to mooue one part, requireth to haue the other firme and in quiet; and afterwards it mooueth also; so that our motion in gate or going, appeareth to bee the one footes rest, while other marcheth: which is a rule most certaine and necessarie, except in leaping, which is formed by the whole body, without requiring the managing of the feet, ech after other. Why then it folleweh necessarily, that when one part or side of the feet do repose and rest themselues, the other mooneth; and afterward rest againe, while the other do aduance their march; and by this course the feete haue their motion alternatiuely.

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All creatures
haue their
feet by pairs.

Arist. in Probl.

The order of
motion in all
creatures.

Of Leaping.

One foote is
not sufficient
in any crea-
ture, neither
a third foote.

To performe then this motion, there is necessarily required more then one foote; and beside, that they must be alike in number, that is to say, either two, or foure, or more, because in hauing three feete, the gate of going had not well bin ordered,

ordered, or equall; for when two hadde mooued themselues, the third (of necessitie) must haue carried the whole burthen. And for the very same reason, all creatures, howe many feete soeuer they haue, either two, foure, or more; are numbered by paires; and they haue the one halfe on the one side of the body, & the other on the other side; to the ende, that the more orderly all the two partes may moue themselues in equal number, and in the manner of their trauaile. As we may obserue in Bees, Flies, & Beetles, which haue fixe feete: and likewise in other Vermine, some that haue forty, and others an hundred, yet are equally deuided by halues on either side. And albeit, that in these creatures hauing so many feete, inequality would appear insupportable: yet by auoyding of such confusion, Nature thus appointed them, for the more perfection.

It is also a matter most notable and memorable, which learned *Aristotle* hath determined in those Books before alledged. Hee saith, *That Men, and all other kinde of Beasts or Creatures, doo euermore begin their motion on the right side*, whereof wee haue verie euident experience in all things that we do. He that prepareth himselfe to runne a race, dooth alwayes set his left foot formost, to the end, that

he may beginne to runne with the right foote, and so to proceed on in his course. If a man do beare any weightie thing, ordinarily he carrieth it on the left arme, or on the left side; because the right part of the bodie may be at libertie, to go on the more lightly. Whereby we discern, that when a man would moue himselfe to do any thing, except it be for some expresse cause, or by reason of a known inconuenience and hinderance, the first part of the bodie directed forward, is the leste, but the right hath the rule and preheminnence.

Likewise, we may behold, when a man would go about anie thing, hee turneth alwayes to the left side, to haue his right arme at full scope and libertie. If he be Dauncing, he turneth with his right arm toward the left. And in mounting on Hors-back, or on any other thing, wherein vse is required of the hands helpe: the right part is still the readiest, both in any mannuall work or motion, in mounting aloft, although a man do put his left foot into the stirrop, and hold by the left hand on the Saddles Pommell, to cast himself into the Saddle. So then wee perceyue; that these kinds of motion are in the left hand; but the right hand is the only chiefe guide and conductor.

Observation
of turning,
dancing, and
mounting on
horsebacke.

Bees, Flies, &
Beetles haue
six feet.

Arist. in Probl.

Motion in mē
and Beastes,
beginne th on
the right side.

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V. v

The End of the Fift
Booke.

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The End of the List
Books



The Sixt Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdome of Fez: Of the Lawes, Customes, and Manners therein obserued, with a true Description of the Common wealth.



Because the kingdome of Fez is great, as beeing the chiefest in all *Barbarie*, and the Cittie verie notable in his lawes and orders: I am

the more willing to make a perticuler Description therof, not thinking that it can be vnthankfully taken: because it is the true food of man, to hear and know the most famous thinges which are in the world.

FEZ, is a verie great Cittie, engirt with high and goodly wals, and is (as it were) wholly Mountainy and Hilly. so that the middest onely of the Cittie is plain, but the fourth part thereof (as I haue saide) is all hillie. By two wayes the Water enters into the Cittie, because the Riuer deuideth it selfe into two partes: the one passeth besides new Fez, which is on the South part, and the other runneth vnto the West. As the Water makes his entrance into the Cit-

A description of Fez.

Of the Waters entrance into the City.

tie, it parteth it selfe into manie Channelles, which runne (for the most part) to the Cittizens Houses, and Courtiers Dwellings belonging to the King, and to diuers other Houses; as also, to all the temples, euery Oratory hauing his part of the Water, as the Innes, Hospitalles, and Colledges haue the like.

10 Neere to the Temples or Churches, are certain Houses of necessary vse, made after a foure-square manner, with little Chambers built rounde about in them, each hauing his feuerall doore for entrance: And in euerie one of them, is a Well-spring; which water issuing from the walles, falleth into certaine Channells of Marble; making an indifferent noyse with the fall; and running thence thorow those needfull houses, conuayeth all the filthinesse of the Cittie into the Riuer. 20 In the middest of these Houses is a lowe Well spring, about some three yardes in depth, foure in bredth, and twelue in length; about which, are diuers Channelles, wherein the water runneth, and passeth along vnder the houses; the whol number of these houses are an hundred and fiftie.

Houses of office in the open City.

30 The houses of dwelling in the Citie, are of Bricke and Stone, verie formallie builded, and the most part of them verie goodlie, beeing beautifed with Stone-woorke of variable Colours. The doores in like manner, are pauered with Bricke, and the Porches with Anticke Tyles of diuers Colours; like vnto the Dishes of *China*.

The manner or building their houses in the Cittie.

The toppes of the houses are painted with curious Vorkmanship, and costly Colours, as with Golde and Azure; the roofes

The height of
their houses.

roofes being made flat like Tables, and plaine, for more commodious covering the whole house, with faire extended painted cloaths, and to sleepe in during the Summer season. Almost all the houses do consist of two Stories of height, & some of three, with sundrie Terrasses curiously framed, which do greatly adorne them, and serue as passages from Chamber to chamber vnder the rooffe, because the midst of the house is wide open, and the Lodgings are deuided, some on the one side, and some on the other. The Doors of the Chambers are made large and high, and men of what quality soeuer, haue their Chambers entrance formed of costly Woodde, verie curioullie Carued.

The Porches
and Portal of
their houses.

Each Chamber hath his Presse or Cupbord, verie fair and cunningly painted, of conuenient length to the Chambers largeness, which serue as VVardrobes for their best and costliest things. All the Portals of these houses, are made vpon Collumbes of paving stone, and beautified (well-neere half) with painted earth, like to that of *China*. Some also are mounted on Pillers of Marble, made with Arches, raised from one Collumbe to another, all couered with artificiall Checkie Stone-woorke: and the Transomes that are alofte on the Pillers, and do support (as it were) the severall Stories, are of VVood, Carued with ingenious labour, and colours of most curious painting.

Houses for
preseruation
of Water.

There are also great store of Houses, made purposely for the pure preseruation of water, much like vnto our Conduites, made foure square, containing six or seauen yards in bredth, tenne in length, and about twelue in depth, all couered and bricked verie artificially. In the length of some of them, diuers pretty low fountains are made, appearing verie fayre to sight, and composed of the foresaid *China* stufte: in the midst whereof, are large Vessels of Marble, such as wee see in our Fountains of *Europe*. As these Fountains do fill themselves, the ouer-flowe of water is conuaid to the houses of preseruing water, couertly: and when those houses are full, it is likewise thence-carried by other priuate Water-courses, that neighbor to those preseruing houses, and haue their fall by little made wayes; and passing vnder the Houses of necessarie

Well Springs
& Fountaines

For conuey-
ance of water
thorough the
City.

vse, runne with quicke streame into the Riuer.

On their houses, they haue Turrets or Towers, wherein are diuers apte and well adorned Chambers: in which Turrets, the women do most bestowe themselves, when they are wearied with their Household affaires, for out of those Turrets, they may suruey the whole City. Of Temples and *Moschaes*, there are about seauen hundred, and these are their places of Prayer. Fiftie of those Temples are very great, very well built, and beautified with Pillers of Marble, and other seemly Ornaments. Each of them hath a goodly fountaine, made of pure Marble, and other faire stones, not scene in *Italy*; and all the Collumbes haue curious Tribunes of Checky woorke vpon them, or Tables very ingeniously ingraued. The tops of the Temples are like to them in *Europe*, and couered accordingly, and the pauements in the Temples, are all couered with Mats, artificially made, and so cunningly ioyned together, as not a iot of the Floore can be seen. The wals are likewise couered with such Mats, but of no more heighth then the stature of a man. In each of these temples there is a Turret, wherinto such men go, as haue the charge to cry & proclaim the house appointed for ordinary praier. There is no more but one Priest belonging to each Temple, to whome appertaineth the Office of Prayer, and care of entrance into the Temple, to wit; Dilligently to keepe the accounts, to disperse to the Ministers of the said Temple, such as do light the Lampes by night, and the Porters of the doors; also, those Officers that haue the charge to cry (in the night time) on the Tower or Turret, and declare the houres of Prayer: because they that cry in the day time, haue not any wages, but is freed from all tenths and payments whatsoever.

In the City, there is a principal Temple, which is called the Temple of *Caruen*, and it is a very great Temple, containing in circuit a mile and a halfe; and it hath one and thirtie gates each one verie high: the couerture is an hundred & fifty *Tustane* yards in length, and little lesse in bredth then fourescore. The Tower wherin the Crier standeth, is likewise very high; and the couering or feeling in length, is sustained vpon 38. Arches, and

Turrets of
pleasure in
the houses.

Temples and
Moschaes.

Fountains be-
longing to the
Temples.

The Pauements & wals
of the Temples.

Turrets in the
Temples.

The Priest of
the Temple.

The Crier in
the Tower or
Turret.

The great
Temple of
Caruen, & the
Tower thereof

Store-houſes
for the Oyle,
Lampes, and
Mats.

in bredth vpon twenty. Round about it, to wit, Eaſtward, Weſtward, & Northward, are certaine Porches, each beeing thirty cubits wide, and fortie in length. Vnder theſe Porches, are diuers Store-houſes, wherein are kept the Oyle, Lampes, and Mats, with al other things of neceſſarie uſe for the Temple: wherein are nine hundred Lampſ nightly lighted, becauſe euery Arch hath his Lampe, eſpecially thoſe Arches in order, which paſſe through the bodie of the Temple; and they only haue an hundred & fifty lampſ, in which rank alſo are diuers other great Luminaries, all made of braſſe. There are places for a thouſand and five hundred Lampſ, all which were made of Bels, wonne from diuers Citties of the Chriſtians, by the Kings of Fez.

The Pulpits
and Readings
in the temple

In the Temple, and as fixed to the walles, are Pulpits of all qualities, wherein many Learned Maſters do read to the people, matters concerning their Faith, and of the ſpirituall Lawes. They begin a little after the breake of day, and finiſh at the firſt houre in the day. In the Summer time they read not, but after the four and twenty houre, and their Readings do continue for an houre and an halfe in the night. And they read not only the faculties and Morrall Sciences; but thoſe ſpirituall alſo, according to the Lawe of *Mahomet*. The Readings in Summer, are perſourmed by none but by certaine priuate men, and none may reade, but ſuch men as are expert in the Lawes, and euerie one hath good and ample Wages for his Lectures, beſide their Bookes and Lights freely brought them. The Prieſt of this Temple, hath no other charge but to ſay Prayers: yet hee may take care of the mony and prouiſion which is offered in the Temple for young Children, and be Steward of ſuch guiſtes, as are left at the Gates entrances for the poor; as mony and Corne, which at euerie Feaſt is imparted vnto all the poore of the Cittie; to ſome more, and to ſome leſſe; according to the quallitie of their Family.

The Summer
Readings.

The Prieſtes
charge of the
Temple.

He that taketh the Office on him, as Collector or Receiuer for the entrance Money of the Temple, hath a ſeperate office, and for his owne prouiſion, hath a Ducate each day allowed him, and fixe men to attend him, that gather the Rent Money of the Houſes, Shoppes, and

The collector
or Receiuer
of Temple.
mony

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other profite, and each of theſe is allowed five in the hundred. He hath alſo about ſom twentie Factors, whoſe charge is to goe abroad, to make prouiſion for daily Labourers, ſuch as Delue in the grounds, looke to the Vines, and woorke in Gardens, and ſuch like offices, whoſe wages may amount vnto three Ducates, each man (monthly) of thoſe twenty. About a mile out of the Cittie, are ſome twenty Furnaces, where Lime is made, and as many more, for Bricke and other neceſſary furniture, for the buildings and poſſeſſions of the Temple, as alſo of the Temple it ſelfe, whoſe allowance is two hundred Ducats daily, but more is ſpent (by the halfe) in the fore-named occaſions. Beſide, thoſe Temples and *Mofchaes* that haue no reuennewes, are furniſhed from this Temple in manie things. And if any ouer-plus of benefits doo remaine, they are ſpent to common vtilitie of the Cittie, becauſe many poore Commoners haue little other benefit. And moſt true it is, that lately in our daies, the king cauſed great ſummes of money, to bee lent to the Prieſt of the Temple for theſe uſes, which as yet were neuer repayed backe againe.

In this Cittie, are two Colledges of Schollers, verie fairely builded, with manie Ornaments of embossed workes, and Carued Tranſomes, couered with fine Slates, and ſupported with goodlye Marble Pillers. In each of theſe Colledges, are manie Chambers, amounting to an hundered and more, all builded by diuers Kinges of the Houſe of *Mari-no*.

One of them is (in trueth) verie admirable, both for Greatneſſe and beautie, which was cauſed to bee builded by the King *Abu Henon*, hauing a verie rare and goodly Fountaine in it of Marble, the Bowle beeing able to containe two Tunnes of Water; and when it ouerfloweth, it paſſeth like a little Riuer in a faire Channell, the bottome whereof, is Paved with Marble, and diuers other Checky coloured ſtones.

In this Colledge, are three faire Galleries, with Beddes in them, verie coſtly couered, and round encompassed with pillers, fashioned into eight Cantons of diuers Colours, and ſo made faſt vnto the Walles. And on the heade of euerie Collumbe, are Arches bowing from

Twentie Fac-
torſ and their
wages.

Furnaces and
Killes out of
the Cittie.

The great
Temples dai-
ly allowance.

Colledges in
the Cittie of
Schollers.

One Colledg
builded by K.
Abu Henon.

The height of the Colledge wals.

The Colledge Gates.

The Kinges viewe of the Colledge building.

Part of the building charges.

The allowances of readers

Former allowance for scholars.

from one to another, adorned with Pinnacles of strange moduling, embellished with Balles of Gold and Azure. The walles about the Colledge are no higher, then a man (standing close by) may reach with his hand, and thoroughout made al of Checquerd stone. And round about on the Walles, are Verses written, containing the yeare when the Colledge was built, and praises of the place and Founder; who was the King *Abu Hengir*: the Letters being grossely engraued, and in Blacke Carraeters on a White Field, for the better sight and reading farre off. The Colledge Gates are of Brasse, verie artificially and ingeniously Wrought, and each Chamber doore, of costly carued wood.

In the great Hall, where Orations are made, is a Pulpit, hauing nine steps or stair es vp to it, made of Iuory and Ebonie, almost myraculous to beholde. When the Colledge was finished, the King would see the Booke of his charges; and hauing not ouer-viewed the left part of the Booke, which arose to forty thousand Ducates, without any further inquisition, he tooke the Booke, tore it in pieces, and threw it into a little Riuer running by the Colledge; alledging two verses of a verie worthy Author among the *Arabians*, to this effect.

*Things deer & faire, can neuer be too deer,
And if they please, no man can pay too deer.*

But there was a Treasurer, Named *Hibuulagi*, who seeking to find out a certaine account, although hee came much short thereof, yet he could alledg the expences of four hundred & 4. score thousand Ducates. All the other Colledges of *Fez*, haue some correspondence with this; and in euerie Colledge, there are Readers in diuers Sciences; some, that read in the Mornings, and the other in the night, all hauing sufficient and verie excellent allowance left by the founders and builders.

In auncient times, euerie Scholler in this Colledge, was afforded his expences and Garments, for the space of seuen yeares. But now in these dayes, nothing is graunted but Chamber-roome, because in the warre of *Sabid*, many possessions and Gardens were spoyled, the benefit whereof went to these charges. So

that now there remaine but some small fragments, where-with the Readers are maintained: some hauing two hundred, others an hundred Ducates, and some lesse. And this perhappes, may be the occasion of the decay of Vertue in *Fez*; and not only of *Fez*, but of all the Cities in *Affrica*.

None doo dwell in these Colledges, except certaine Schollers that are strangers, who haue their liuing of the Cittizens Almes, and from som parts of *Fez*. And if any haue their lodging in the Citie, they may not exceede the number of two. When any of the Lecturers will reade, a Scholler doth first deliuer the Text, and then the Lecturer comments thereon, inducing some expositions of his owne; and declaring all difficulties happening in the Argument. And sometimes, in presence of the Lecturer, the Schollers will fall to dispute amongst themselues, according to the subiect of the Reading or Lesson.

2. In *Fez*, there are many Hospitals, which in forme and beautie, are not inferior to the forenamed Colledges. And it was obserued (as a Custome) in former times, that straungers should haue three dayes entertainment in those Hospitals. There are many other without the gates, no lesse commendable then those within, and these Hospitalles were very rich: but in the time of *Sabids* warre, the King hauing neede of great summes of mony, was conuelled to sel their reuennues and allowances. The common people yeelding no consent thereto, an Atturney (belonging to the King) gaue them to vnderstand, that those Hospitals were builded vpon meere Almes; which had formerlie beene giuen by the predecessours to the present King, who now stobd in daunger of loosing his Kingdome: and therefore, it was better to sell those possessions, to chase away the common enemy, then to stand vpon such immediate perill, considering, the warre should be no sooner finished but now reuennues might be purchased. Heereupon, they were sold, and the King dyed, before any new purchasing followed; so that the Hospitalles remained poore, and in a maner, without any sustentation: yet now there is a Lodging allowed for some forraigne or traouailing Doctor, or to a Gentleman, but very

Strange schollers dwell in the Colledges

The order of Reading.

Of Hospital, and Stoues or Bathes.

Sabids warre, tooke away all the Hospitalles reuennues

The olde reuennues sold, but no newe purchased.

very poorely in the City, to releue foote trauailers, and sickly Strangers, and there is but one of them neither, yet without either Phisition or Phisick; onely lodging and expences is affoorded, till a poore weake man dye, or be recouered.

Respect of mad and irarique peoplc.

In this Hospitall are certaine Chambers, appointed for Lunaticke or distracted persons, that hurle stones in the streetes, and are otherwise dangerous; where they are kept lockt vp, and fast chained, and the doores of these chambers, which front the Galleries or Terrasses, are barred with Iron, both beneath and aloft, and the Windowes with Woodden barres, strongly knit with Iron. He that hath the charge of their dyet, when he perceiueh any one of them to behaue himselve disordetlie; he beats them with a Bastonado, which hee commonly carryeth ready for the purpose. Oftentimes it happeneth, that trauailers walking by those Chambers, the distracted persons will tal to them, and vse many lamentations, that they are cured of their infirmitie, and therefore should be discharged from imprisonment; protesting, that they endure infinite iniuries at the Officers handes. Some, being ouer credulous, will look in at the Windowes, and for their labour, are rewarded with an handfull of noysome filth in their faces. For, although these distracted persons haue their conueient Houses of Office; yet notwithstanding, they will empty their bellies in the midst of the floore, and watch opportunitie for these beastle pranckes: except the Officers (by their dilligence) cleane away the filth, or fore-warne strangers of such an iniury. To conclude, these Hospitals haue all such familiar Attendants, as are to discharge all fitting Offices: as Clarke, Factors, Protectours, Cookes, Butlers, and others for apt seruice to the infirme.

Chastisement for mad peoplc.

The brutish behaiour of lunatick peoplc.

Attending officers in the Hospitals.

Of the Stoues or Bathes.

There are also an hundred Stoues or Bathes, beautifully builded and adorned; some whereof are small, others greater: but all made after one forme and manner; to wit, euery one hath foure places or roomes, of the largnesse of great dining Haules. Without, are certaine Galleries somiewhat high, and ascent is made vnto them by diuers

degrees or staires: where men vse to disrobe themselues, and leaue their garments in safety. In the midst are certain large Wels made, after the manner of their preserued waters; but much greater.

Now, when a man would go to one of these Bathes, when hee hath entred at the first gate, he passeth into a spacious place, which is coole, and there is a coole Well-spring to temper the Water, when it waxeth excessively hot. From thence (by another Gate) he goeth on to the second place, where the Water is hotter, and there are diuers Officers, that attend to wash and make cleane all Commers. From thence he passeth to the third, which is very hot; where he sweateth for a while, and here he endureth heat indeed, for the water is walled round with heate: but it hath conuayance forth into certain Buckets of wood, and to each man they must giue two Glasses of water, or more, to such as shall demaund them, for which courtesie, hee giueth to the attending party, a small peece of Coyne, called a *Baio*; or but two at the most; and to the Patrone or Maister of the Bath, he payeth no more then two *Quatrines*. The water is made thus hot with the Dung of Beasts; which the Maister of the Bath keepeth Boyes of purpose for to gather, who passing through the City, doe load themselues with Dung out of the Stables; and then carrying it forth of the Cittie, they doe make thereof a topping Dung-hill, and so it remaineth there two or three moneths drying. Afterward, to heat the Bath-houses and the water, it is burnt in stead of wood, or other fuell.

Wcomen also haue their seperate Stoues or Bathes, and many are kept for Wcomen and Men together: but men doe determine their time, which vsually is from the third houre; vntill the foureteenth, either more or lesse; according to the quality of the day, and the rest of the day, is perticularly appointed for Women. At the time of their entrance into the Bath, as a manifestation thereof, a Cord is thwarted at the doores passage, and then no man presumeth to enter. But if it happen, that any man then would speake with his Wife: he cannot, but some Seruant

The entrance into the Baths

The coole water, and severall degrees of the Baths

* Valuing two Italian pence.

* The fourth part of an English peny.

Bathes appointed for wcomen.

The order of womens entring into the Bath.

of

Youth vse the Bathes.	of the house must carry her his errand. Many times, the Men and Weomen of the City do banquet together in those Baths, & vsing diuers pleasures, in diuers kinds, singing very often with excellent voyces. The youth also of eyther kind, doe enter into them starke naked, without any shame or offence to either.	sembleth a sacrifice vsed by the ancient <i>Affricanes</i> , at such time as they were Gentiles, and continued in vse euen to our times; as likewise wee finde many notes of their Feastes, imitated by Christians, and as yet obserued, though scarcely well knowne, vpon what occasion those Feastes were vsed. But in euery City certaine Feastes were obserued, and left in vse to the Christians, when they gouerned <i>Affrica</i> .	A Sacrifice vsed by the <i>Affricane</i> Gentiles.
For men of good reputation.	But men of some condition and degree, doe enter with wiping Cloaths wrapped about them, and sit not in any common places: but haue the aduantage of certaine distinct little roomes, which euermore are made handsome, and fitting for men of reputation. When the Seruants and Attendants doe wash any body, they cause him to lye along, and then rub and chafe euery part of him, with Oyntment restoratiue, and sometime with such Instruments, as do take away all filthinesse. But when they wash a Lord, or one of great account;	3. In the said City, there are about two hundred Innes or Hostaries, verie handsomelie built and contriued. But some doe exceede the other in greatnesse: as those that are nere to the great Temple, and mounted three Sories in height, containing one hundred and twentie Lodgings, and some more. In euery one are fare Welles of Water, and Houses of Office, with their conuaying Channels, which quickly rid away all filth whatsoever. Like vnto these, are (in <i>Italie</i>) the Colledge of the <i>Spanyards</i> in <i>Bologna</i> , and the Pallace of the Cardinall of <i>S. George</i> in <i>Rome</i> , euerie Chamber doore entring vpon the <i>Tarras</i> . But albeit these Innes are faire and great, yet they doe afford but verie bad lodging: for there is neither Bed, Bed-stead, nor Sheeres, but euey guest hath a course Couerlet, or Irish Ruggle allowed him, & a handsome Mat to sleep vpon. And if he will care, hee must goe buy his Victuals himselfe, and deliuer them to the Cooke to bee drest.	Of Innes or Hostaries in the City.
For a Lord.	they cause him to lie downe on a cloth of Felt (such as Hats are made of) laying his head also vpon Pillowes of Felt, and so deale with him gently and tenderly.	To every one of these Bathes or Stones, are many Barbers belonging, who pay alike payment to the Maister, for vse of their Instruments there, and washing according to their profession. The most part of these Bathes, do hold their best estate of the Temples and Colledges, and doe pay them great rents: some an hundred, others an hundred and fiftie Ducates yearely, some more, some lesse, according to the greatnesse of the place. Nor will I conceale a familiar Feast, made once a yeare by the Seruants and Youth attending in these Bathes, which is performed in this manner. These young men doe inuite all their Friendes, and goe with Drums, Fifes and Trumpets, forth of the Cittie. Afterward, they take a great Onion, called an Onion of the Sea, and put it into a Bason of Copper, which when they haue couered with a faire linnen Towell: they march backe to the Cittie, sounding all the way to the Gate of the Bathe. Then they put the Onion into a Basket, and fastning it to the door of the house, say: <i>This shall be a signe of benefit to the Bathe, because this yeare it shall bee frequented by many.</i> But me-thinkes, this rather re-	What lodging the Innes doe yeild.
Barbers belonging to the Bathes.	The rents of the Bathes.	Poore Widdowes of the Cittie, that haue neither House, kintred, or Friends; are also allowed accesse to these Innes, where roomes are appointed for them, some seuerall, others two in a Chamber. The Hosts of these Innes are of a certaine generation, which they call <i>Elchena</i> , and go in womanish garments, adorning their persons after the fashion of Weomen: For they shaue close their Beards; and striue to imitate women in their speech. What doe I say, in speech? Yea, they will sow and spin. Each one of these base-minded men, doth keepe his Concubine, and vseth the very same familiaritie with her, as the Husband doth with his Wife: Other loose Weomen also haue resort thither, that make sale of their honesty,	Reliefe for poore widdowes.
A Feast made by the youth of the Bathes, euery yeare.	This shall be a signe of benefit to the Bathe, because this yeare it shall bee frequented by many. But me-thinkes, this rather re-	as	The Inne-keepers of the City, and their base qualities.

Bad guests to be allowed in Innes.

The Inne-keepers pay tribute to the Governour.

Men of much vertue in the Kingdome of Fez.

Inne-keepers forbidden entrance into the Temples, &c.

Of Milles in the City.

as the whores of Europe vse to do. These Inne-keepers haue authority, to buy and sell Wiues, without any dispensation from Court Officers: And in these Hosteries, men of the most foule and vilest life haue continuall resort; as to make themselues drunke, and to satisfie their lust with women of hire: because there they may exercise all brutallie of life, secure from the apprehension of Officers, and other such like deformities, which better besceimeth silence then vtterance. These so well-deseruing Inne-keepers, haue a Consull, and pay certaine tribute to the Castilian and Governour of the Citty: standing bound beside, when any Army is required for the King or Princes; to prouide a great retinue of their Seruants, to prepare foode for the Souldiours, because few other are able for that imployment.

Assuredly, if the strict Law had not enforced me, whereto a true Historian standeth bound, to reueale the truth in such general descriptions: I could more willingly haue buried these foule faults in silence, because they are the grossest blemishes in any Citty, wherein (beside) are many vertues. And setting apart these vices, the Kingdome of Fez containeth men of greater goodnes, than are in all the parts of *Affrica*. And therefore with those dishonest Hosts, (as is credibly auouched) few other haue any conuersation; but onely ribaid persons, of base blood & life: for neither Scholler, Merchant, or any honest Artezane, will so much as speake to them, and they are interdicted beside, from entering into the Temples, or the Market place of Merchants, the Bathes, or any of their Houses. Neuerthelesse, such as keep the Hosteries by the great Temple, are fauoured in lodging Merchants of rare qualitie, but the common people do nothing but scorne and mocke them: And because they do seruice (as I haue already said) to the Prince in the Felde, they are suffered to continue in that wretched kind of life.

4 Within this Citty, there are about some four hundred Milles, for the grinding of Corne, and they may easily amount to a thousand; considering, that the said Mills are made in the man-

ner of a great Haule, and in Collomes, and in some of them are foure, fiue, or sixe seuerall Milles. There is a large streete in the Citty, wherein are nothing else but Mill-stones, and thither do resort certaine Traffiquers, tearmed Meale-men: who doe hold many of the Milles at rentage, and buying Graine for them, cause it there to be ground. 10 Afterward, they inake sale of the Meale in the Shoppes, which they also pay rent for, deriuing very good benefit thereby: because all the Trades-men, that haue no apt means to furnish themselves with Corne, doe buy the Meale in these Shoppes, and make it Bread in their owne Houses. But men of any degree, doe buy their Corne at the best aduantage, and then cause it to be 20 ground in certaine Milles, which are allowed by the Citizens, paying the Miller two *Batces* for the Buil-elles grinding. The most part of these Milles doe belong to the Temples and Colledges, so that but few appertaine to Citizens: and they pay great rent, two Duckets for euery Mill.

5 The Artes and Trades in this Citty, are separated one from another, and those of greatest worth and respect, are in the circuit, and neere neighbouring to the greatest Temple: As Notaries or Scriueners, and of them there are about fourscote Shoppes, one part of them being ioyned to the Wall of the Temple, and the other right against it, two Notaries sitting in each Shop. A little further off, toward the West-side, are about thirty Shops of Booke-sellers or Stationers: and toward the South side, are they that sell Shooes, whereof there are about an hundred and fiftie Shoppes. These onelie doe buy both Shooes, Buskins, and Stockings ready made, in very great store, and so inake sale of them againe: And not farre from them, are the Shoe-makers, that make Shooes for all degrees of persons, and of them are about fifty Shoppes. On the East-side of the Temple, the Sellers of Brasse and Copper haue their place, and right against the great gate, toward the West-side, stand they which sell Fruit, making (among them) other fifty Shoppes. Next to them are the Wax-sellers, that shew

A Streete of Millstones.

A Trade onely of selling Meale.

Of Artificers, Trades, Shops and Market places.

Scriueners.

Booke-sellers

Shoe-sellers, and Stocking-sellers.

Shoe-makers.

Brassers.

Fruiterers.

Wax-sellers.

Mercers.

Floure-sellers

Milke-sellers.

Sellers of Bombast.

Hemp-sellers

Sadlers.

Scabberd-makers.

Salte-sellers.

Pot-sellers.

Lorrayners.

Porters.

shew rare worke-deuises in Wax. And by them are the Mercers; but of both these there are not many Shops. Then follow the Sellers of Flouers, who likewise sell Citrones and Limons: but such as doe behold the rare diuersity of Floures, would imagine to see mid-April when the Fields are in their richest Livery, or when the Gardens make their best shew of beautie. Of these Shoppes there are about twenty: for such as vse to drinke Wine, will alwayes haue Hearbes and Floures with them.

Neere vnto them, are certaine sellers of Milke, whose Shops are well furnished with all *China* Vessels. They vse to buy their Milke of diuers Kine keepers, who make this kind of Merchandise of their Kine, and euery morning these Kine-keepers doe send their Milke in certain wodden vessels, bound about with Iron, very narrow at the mouth, but large in the bottome, and so sell it them of these Shoppes. Such as is milked at night, is bought by these Shopkeepers, and Butter made thereof: and that which is sower, commonly called Butter-Milke, they sell in like manner to the people; so that betweene sweet and sower Milke, fise and twenty Tubs of Milke is daily made sale of. Next to these, are the Sellers of Cotton and Bombast, making (betweene them) thirtie Shops. On the North-side, are the Traders in Hemp, that sell Halters, Horrie-Collers, Packe-thred, and all kind of Cords. By them, are the Makers of Saddle girts, riding Pantofles, and Head-stalles for Horses, some of Leather, and some of Silke. A little further off, are the Scabberd or Sheath-makers, for Swordes, Daggers, and Kniues, who likewise make Leather Breast-plates for Horses.

Next to them stand the Sellers of Salt and Whiting, which they buy in grosse, and sell by retaile. Then they that sell all kind of Stone-vessels, which are faire, and of perfect collours, some that be of one, and others of two collours; of all these there are about an hundred Shoppes. Then such as sell Bittes and Bridles for Horses, Saddles, and Stirrups, of which there are about fourescore Shoppes. Then there is a place for Porters, which are to the

number of three hundred, who haue a chiefe or Commaunder among them, and he appointeth those men weekly, that are to labour and carry burthens, and they must duely attend on al occurrences, which happen in that weeke. When the weeke is ended, he deuiderh the Money duely and equally among them that haue laboured for it. And the Porters loue like Brethren, for when any one of them dyeth, and leaueh a young Child behinde him: they not onely (in common) do pay the widowes charges, vntill she marry againe; but also haue a louing and diligent care of the Cilde, till it be of age to vnder-take some Trade. When any of this ranke marrieth, or the birth of a Child is knowne among them: a Banquet is made for the whole Company, and at this meeting, no one escapeth without one present or other. And no man may enter into their profession, till he haue made a sociable meeting to the whole Company: Or else, if hee presume to enter in labour among them, hee must haue but the halfe moiety of his owne earnings. And they are priuiledged by the Lord of the City, from paying any penalties or taxations whatsoeuer, or the baking of their owne Bread at the Ouen. If any of them commit a fault deseruing death, it is not publikely punished. And when they follow their labour, they goe cloathed in garments all of one colour; but when the day concerneth not their labour, they are habited to their own liking: and to conclude, they are all accounted honest men, & of good life, sildome deseruing any reprehension.

Not farre from the place where these Porters do giue attendance, is the Market place for the cheefe of the Consuls, and Iudges of all things sold for foode. In the midst of this Market-place is a *Serraglio* of Canes, made foure square, wherein are solde Carrets, and other kinde of Garden Roots, by certain men thereto appointed, because none else but they may buy them of the Gardiners, as being thereto especially deputed, and they pay an order of custome therefore to the Receiver. And dailie shall ye see there sold fise hundred Horse-load of these Roots, and many times farre greater quantities, sold at verie

A louing amitie among men of mean qualitie.

Orders obserued among the Porters.

The Market-place for the Consuls.

very cheape rare, sometimes thirty, at (at least) twenty pound weight for a *Baioc*, and Beanes and Pease (at due seasons of the yeare) are sold very reasonably. Round about are certaine Shops, where they sel *Vermicilli*, and other like things, as flesh made into round balles, and fryed in Oyle, every ball beeing about the bignesse of a Figge: which are sold at fixe Quarrines the pound, and they are made of leane Beefe. Beside this Market-place, somewhat more North-erlie is the Hearb-market, where they sell Cabbages, Turnops, Colewortes, and other Hearbes, which they eat together with meate, and there are forty Shoppes of these Traders. Next is the Smoaky Market, where they fry certaine kinds of Bread in Oyle, like to the boiled Hony-Bread sold in *Rome*. These men haue sundry Instruments in their Shoppes, and Boyes singing al the day; for great quantity of this Bread is daily sold; because it is vsed in fasts, especially on Feast daies, and when they intend any solemne-fasting.

These men vse not to roast their meat on Spits or Broaches, but they haue two Ouens or furnaces, made one ouer the other, and they put fire into the neathermost, and when that about is well heated: they put in the meate at a conuayance made aloft, because no fire shall offend their hands. By this means, the meat is exceedingly well Cookt, keepes a delicate colour, and hath a rare relish: because neither Smoke, nor smell of the fire can come at it, but is thus temperately dressed all the night time. In the morning, of this meat, and the Bread before named, there is daile sold to the value of two hundred Duc-kets, for there are fiftene of the Shops, and they haue no other exercise. They sell also, fryed Flesh, and fryed Fish, and other kinds of Bread, made into Paste, like Cakes; but yet somewhat thicker, being kneaded with Butter, and so with Butter and Hony they vse to eat it. They seeth likewise the feete of Beasts, like to our Neates secte or Trotters, & these are commonly sold to poor men, that labour in the grounds, who make their morning breake-fast of them, and afterward goe to their worke. Next vnto these, stand the Sellers of Oyle, Butter, salt and fresh, Hony, Cheese;

old and new, Oliues, Capers, Lemons, Skirrets, and Pottatoes, their Shoppes being furnished with *China* Dishes, making a farre greater shew then substance. They sell their Pots and Vessels of Butter and Oyle, in the same manner as we sell goods at an Out-cry, to them that will giue most, and they that cry these things, are certain Porters thereto purposely appointed, who measure forth the Oyle, when any great quantity thereof is sold together. The pots and Vessels do containe (seuerally) an hundred pound weight, and there the King-keepers doe stand bound, to see that this measure be duely performed, and as they are still emptied, to bee filled againe, and sold in the Cittie.

Neere vnto this place, is the Shambles or Butcherie, and there are about fortie shoppes of them, faire and large, as any of the other professions, where they cut orth meate, and sell it by waight of the Ballaunce. They vse not to kill anie beast in the Shambles, but in apt appointed slaughter houses, by the Riuer side, where they fley off the hides; and then cause them to be brought by Porters into the Market, from the slaughter house, but first they are presented before the *Capro de Consoli*; who hauing seene and examined the goodnesse thereof, he deliuereth the seller a Ticket in Writing, at what price he shall sell the flesh: and this Ticket is fastened by the Butcher to the meate, that euerie one may publickly see and read it. Beside the Butcherie, is another Market place, where wollen cloath (made in the Countrey) is sold, and containe about an hundred shoppes. If any man bring Cloath to be solde, hee must deliuer it to a Crier, who carries it on his shoulders, and so goeth on from shop to shoppe, crying the price thereof, and of these Criers; ther are threescore in number. The cry beginneth after mid-day, continuing till darke night, and the Crier is payed two *Baiocs* in the Ducate; but the Merchants trading in these affayres, haue verie great dealings. Next these, stand the Pollishers and Clensers of Armors and Weapons, as Swordes, Daggers, Partezans, and such like; whereof there are some that both cleanse and sell them. Then are the Fishermen or Fish-mongers, who Fish in the Cities Riuers, both within and without; selling manie good

solde as by Out-cry.

The Butchery or Shambles.

The Wollen Cloth Market, and Cryers of Cloth.

Armourers.

Fishermen, or Fish-mongers

* A small cut Pistmeate, vsed in *Italye* to make potage withal.

The Hearb-market.

The Smoake-market.

Their maner of roasting meat.

Fried Flesh, & fried Fish.

Oyle, Butter, Salt and other comodities,

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* The Chub, or Cheuin.	good and great Fishes at very easy price, at three <i>Quatrinés</i> the pound. They use to take great store of one kinde of Fish, which in <i>Rom</i> is called * <i>Laccia</i> , & they begin to Fish for them at the entrance of October, and so hold on to Aprill.	that hardly is any passage by them; and falling (many times) from scolding to fighting; are much thame to them- selues, and such as behold them.	
Basket and Cadge-makers	Next, are the Makers of Cages, Pens, or Coopes, for Powltrei and Fowles, which commonly they make of Canes, and consist of about fortie Shoppes. For every Cittizen doth keepe a great manie to fatten; and (to auoyd noysomnes) they suffer them not to goe at libertie in their houses, but onely keepe them immured in these Cages.	Now returning to the West part, towards the Temple from the Gate, as we goe to <i>Mecuasce</i> , beyond the smoke market in the direct way: are they that make Buckets of Leather, vsed for ca- suall fires, and drawing Water out of Welles, of which Trade there are some foureteene Shoppes. There are also the makers of Hutches and re- ceipts for Meale and Corn, being about thirtie Shops in number. Next whom are Coblers and menders of old Shoes, purposely prepared for poore & meane people; of which, there are about an hundred and fifty Shoppes.	Bucket-ma- kers.
Sope-sellers.	A little further are the Sope-sellers, who sell verie licquid Sope, hauing all their Shoppes together, because they stand seperated by the street. This Sope is not made in the Cittie; but in the nei- ghoring Hillie Countrey, and among the Mountainers, whence the Mulerers doo bring it, and sell it to the owners of these Shoppes. Then are the Sellers of Flower and Meale, but there are not ma- ny shops of them in this Market, because they are elsewhere placed in the Milles- streete.	Then are the Target and Shield-ma- kers of Leather, according to the <i>Afri- cane</i> manner, and as wee see in some places of <i>Europe</i> . By them are the Lan- derers, which are diuers men of base condition keeping there sundry Shops, with Tubs and Water ready in them. Such as keepe no Maide-Seruants in their Houses, bring their Linnen to be washed by these men Landerers, which they also perform very diligently, hang- ing them afterward on lines to be dried, as they doe in <i>Italy</i> , appearing so pure and nearly washed, as no Wcomen could expresse more cleanly labour. Many other Markets and Trades there are beside, which beeing of meane and filly importance; I forbear to speake of them, and will now procede to the Merchants Market, or place of resort.	Coblers.
Meale-sellers	Next, the fellers of all kind of graine, both for seede, and other-wise; with great store of attending Porters, that carry it thence to mens houses on Hor- ses and Mules, according as it is measu- red out by the appointed measure, in three sackes vpon a Beasts backe, lying one aloft on the other, & men are espe- cially commaunded to haue care of the measuring and measures. Next is the Market-place, where Linnen and wol- len yarne is sold, and the same dressed in such manner as it ought to be. This Market consisteth of a goodly House, with foure seuerall Shops or abidings about it. In one of which sit the wea- uing Merchants, with certaine inferior Ministers or Officers, which weigh the yarne. In two other sit Women, that haue spunne, and come to sell the saide Yarne, and there is no small number of them: Their Market beginneth at noone, and lasteth till euening, making sale in great plenty. Diuers use to go see this Market place, because it is round planted with Mulberry-trees, which giue a comely shade to the Market wo- men sitting vnder them; and they as- semble there together in such crowdes,	6 This Market place is after the manner of a little Cittie, with a Wall built about it, containing in circuit twelue Gates or entrances: And each one of these Gates is ouer-thwarted with a Chaine, so that no Horses, or o- ther Beasts can enter in thereat. The Market-place is deuided into fiftene streetes or passages. Two of them be- longeth to Shoe-makers, that make Shooes for Gentlemen, of which cost and comlinessse, none other may weare them, neyther Artificer, Souldier, nor Courtier. Other two doe appertaine to Silke-men, or Merchants of Silke: One part whereof doe sell faire Tassels and Furnitures for Horses, and haue a- bout	Target-ma- kers. Lauderers that are men.
Corne-sellers	Linnen and Woollen Yarne.	The Market place of Mer- chants and Merchandise.	
Weauing Merchants.	Mulbery Trects.	Shoe-makers for Gentle- men.	
		Silke-men.	

bout fifty Shoppes: The other do sell dyed and coloured Silkes, to worke in Linnen, or any other thinges else, and haue (very neere) as many shoppes. By these, stand some that make Belts and Girdles for women of wooll; but they are vnfighly. Others also, that make the like of Silke, but of no better or hanfomer fashion: because they make them in plaites or tresses, as great as a mans two fingers, some of them beeing thought strong enough to hold a Boat tied. Next to these are two other streets, where stand the Merchants of Wollen Cloth, such as come out of Europe, and all these Merchants are tearmed *Granatini*. There also stand they that sell all kinde of Sattins, Veluets, and other Silkes, Hats, and Bonnets, and raw Silkes. A little further off, stand they that make al kind of Bedding, Pillowes, Mattrasses, and such like necessary furniture. And by them is the place for Toules and Customes. For these cloths are likewise sold by way of out-cry, and such as take charge of them, doe bring them first to bee sealed in the Toule-House, and afterward walke crying them among the Merchants; there being also about sixty Cryers, each man hauing paid him a *Baioc* for a cloth. The there is two other streetes, wherein are the Taylors and Makers of Garments. By whom stand they that make diuers Bonnets of Cloath, to couer the head withal. And then are two other streets, where the Linnen weauing Merchants haue their due place, selling Shirtes, Smocks, and all other wearing Linnen for men and women. These are the richest Merchants in the Cittie; because they make quicker returne in their Negotiations, then al the rest together do. There is another street, where they sell all kind of Cloath-Garments, that are brought out of Europe, and euerie euening an out-cry is made of these Garments, such as are brought to the Cittizens to sell, some old, some new, and for all vses. Last of all, is a place, where all old Linnen is sold, as Shirtes, Sheets, Hand-towels, Wipers, and such like: And hard by are little Shoppes, where they cry Carpets, and Couetinges for Bedd...

7 All these streets are called together

Girdle-makers for women.
Granatini Merchants of wollen-cloath.
 Mercers.
 Upholsters.
 The Toule or Custom-house.
 Taylors.
 Bonnet-makers.
 Linnen-Merchants.
 Broakers and Sellers of old Garments.

Caisaria, an ancient word, and deriued of *Cesar*, as meaning *Cesar*, who was the greatest Lord of those times in all Europe.

For all the Citties from the Riuer of *Mauritania*, were gouerned by the *Romaines*, and afterward by the *Gothes*: and in euery one of them was such a Market-place, that bare the same name. The occasion heereof, is thus rendred by the Historians of *Affrica*, who say, that the Ministers and Officers of the *Romaines* and *Gothes*, were euery where intermingled in the Citties Store-houses, and Ware-houses, where the tribute accounts and collections wer kept together, which many times happened to be spoyled by the people. Hereupon an Emperour was aduised, to make a place like vnto a little Cittie, where all the Merchants of best reputation might assemble together, to make sale of their Wares; And likewise the Officers of the Treasury, to store vp such tributes and taxations, as should bee gathered. Wel assuring himselfe, that if the Cittizens would preferue and defend their owne goods, it was conuenient for them to doe the like to those of the Empire. For they could neuer consent to any spoile, but it returned also to their owne dammage. As many times hath beene obserued in *Italy*, when Souldiours (in particular fauour to some faction) haue entred into a city, & spoyling the contrary part: when the enemies faculties haue not proued sufficient, they ransacked also the houses of their friends.

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8 Neere vnto this little fashioned Cittie, on the North-side thereof, are the Apothecaries, who haue a strait goodly streete, wherein is about an hundred and fifty Shops. This street is shut in at eyther end & with two faire Gates, no lesse strong then large: and these Apothecaries doe keepe diuers Watch-men at their owne charge; that walke about in the night time, with Lanthornes, Dogges, and Weapons, to preuent all inconueniences that might ensue.

Here are sold all matters of Spicery, or belonging to Phisicke: but they doe not make any Sirrups, Conserues; or Electu-

Concerning the name of the streetes, call'd *Caisaria*, so named of *Casar*.

The reason of this generall Markets building.

Spoile in any City maketh no respect.

Of Apothecaries, & other Artes.

All matters of Spicery.

Electuaries, because the Phisitions do see these offices performed in their own Houses, and afterward send them to their owne Shoppes, keeping Seruants for the purpose, who doe see the receipts distributed, according to the Phisitions direction. And the most part of these Shoppes are so conioyned together, with them belonging to the Apothecaries: that the Common people know not the Phisitions from the other. These Apothecaries haue their Shops high, large, and fairely adorned, with beautifull roofes and rich furnishments. In all the World is not a streete of Apothecaries like vnto this. True it is, that in *Tauris*, a City of *Persia*, there is a goodly Marketplace of the same Arts-men: but the Shoppes haue darke entrances, yet curiously builded, and the Porches mounted on Pillers of Marble. But these of *Fez* are much more commended, for their benefit of aire and light; those of *Tauris* being too obscure. A little remote from this street, are many other Trades, whereof, because I haue else-where sufficiently spoken; I may be fauoured to passe them ouer.

Phisitions & Apothecaries haue shops together.

The Apothecaries of *Tauris*.

The second part of the City.

What Trades are in this part of the City.

9 The City toward the East, is ciuile, stored with goodly Pallaces, Temples, and Colledges: but (indeede) it is not so copious and abounding in Artes and Trades, as the other part is; because there are neither Merchants, Taylors, nor Hofiers, but of course and homely Cloth. There is a little Market-place of Apothecaries, wherein are no more then thirty Shops. Toward the Cittie Wall, are the Furnace men, Makers of Bricke, painted Tyles and Dishes. And hard by them, is a great Market-place, where they sell all kinde of Vessels for vse, but no Glasses; as Pots, Dishes, Pans, Treyes, &c. Then is the Market of the Garners, where they keepe all their Corne: And another stands right against the great Temple, hauing all the floore paved with painted Tyles, with diuers Shoppes of Arts about it. There are also, five hundred and twenty Houses of Cloth-Weauers, which houses are made like vnto great Pallaces, consisting of many roomes, with many fair Haules, in each of which are great store of Weauers: and the owners of these

Houses do not handle any working Instrument, but onely the Worke-Maisters, who pay both the wages and rent of euery house. And this is the greatest of all the Artes in the City, for it consists of aboute twenty thousand Men, and as many more are daily exercised in the Milles. There are likewise an hundred and fifty houses of Whitesters of Yarne, all which Houses are builded (for the most part) by the Riuer side, and well furnished with pannies and Cauldrons, for boyling the Yarne, and other necessarie occasions. In the City are fundry great Houses, wherein they saw and cleaue Wood into diuers formes: which labour is performed by certaine Christian Bond-slaves, and of the Money they earne, their Patrones find them their maintenance. They are admitted no time of rest, but onely the halfe of Friday, from noone to the evening; and some eyght other dayes at seuerall seasons in the yeare, at which times are the Feastes of the *Moores*. There are publique Brothels or Stewes, where Strumpets are attendant at poore price: wherein they are fauored eyther by the * *Bargello*, or Gouernor of the City. There are also diuers men, who (without offence to the Court) do exercise the office of Bawds or Pandares, keeping Wine and Women in their houses, making benefit by their lewdnesse, and such as resort thither, doe it securelie. There are fixe hundred heads or Springs of Water, naturall Welles, hemd in with walles, and lockt with close Doores; because some are deuided into many parts, and runne along vnder-ground, passing by Channels to Houses, Temples, Colledges, and Innes. This Water is in much more estimation, then that of the Riuer: because it sometime faileth, especially in Summer. Here to is added, that when they wold make cleane the Kennels, the course of the Riuer runneth without the Cittie, which makes euerie one the more gladly to vse this other sweete Water. And though Gentlemen (in Summer time) haue of this Riuer Water in their Houses; yet will they haue store of the Springes Water, as being more fresh and sweete, but in Winter they doe otherwise. These Springes are (for the most

Weauers the greatest trade in the Cittie.

Christian Bondslaves that cleaue and saw wood

* A Captaine of Sergeants.

Sixe hundred well-springs in the Cittie.

Spring water better then the Riuer.

Stores for
Corne.

most part) on the West and South sides of the Cittie, because the part answering North-ward, is all Mountainie, being called *Teuertino*, and there are very great and deepe places, wherein they keepe much Corne for many yeares, some capable to containe two hundred quarters. And the Inhabitants in those places, who are common vulgar men, doe liue on the profit they make by the rentage of them; which is a quarter vpon euery hundred, at the beginning of the yeare.

Gardens on
the Citties
south-side.

On the South-side, which is halfe inhabitable, are many Gardens, stored with good and delicate Fruits; as Lemmons, Citrones, Mellons, and very fragrant Flowres; among which are the Gessimine, Damaske-Rose, and Wall-floure, brought thither out of *Europe*, and much esteemed of by the *Moores*. In which Gardens also, are diuers beautifull Lodgings, Fountains, and prospects, round engirt with Gessimines, Roses, and other sweete floures. In the Spring-time, whosoever walketh neere those Gardens, shall smell a rare, delicate, and most pleasing odour; & they are no lesse answerable, in contenting the eye with their beauty and splendour. So that, to speake vprightly, no one of these Gardens but it doth appeare like an earthly Paradise; and this is the reason, that Gentlemen (possessors of them) doe dwell in them, from the beginning of Aprill, vntill the ending of September. On the west side, is the Rock-Fort, or Castle, which was builded in the time of the K. of *Lontuna*, and (in greatnesse) may equall an indifferent Cittie. This was the seat (in elder times) of the Governours and Lordes of *Fez*, that is to say; before it was a rofall Cittie: And afterward; when new *Fez* was builded by the Kings of the House of *Marino*, this Castle was left as a dwelling for the Governour only. In this Castle is a goodly temple; built in the time when it was much inhabited; and those faire Pallaces which then were there, are now quite ruinated, and Gardens made where they stood. Onely one remaineth, wherein the Governour dwelleth, and certaine other Houses for his Family. There are also many other places, where the Governour useth to giue audience to offenders; and afford them

Gardens compared to
earthly Paradi-
ses.

The Castell
Rocke, built
by the King
of *Lontuna*.

The Governours
Pallace
in the Rocke-
Castle.

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Iustice. There is likewise a Prison, made in the likenesse of a dungeon, yet sustained with many pillers; which prison is so large, as it may well hold three thousand persons: for there is no separation, or secret deuision of one from another; because they vse not to keepe any man close Prisoner in *Fez*.

10. In the Cittie there are none but meane Officers and Magistrates, who haue the charge of administrating Iustice. The Governour is supream, both in causes ciuile and criminall. There is a Iudge, who is appointed for Canonial causes, that is; the Lawes contained in the Bookes of *Mahomet*. Another Iudge also, who is Lieutenant to the other, and he attendeth causes of Matrimony and repudiation; to examine witnesses, and vniuersally to render Iustice. Next is the Aduocate, with whom they vse to consult on the lawes, and to who they make their appeale from the Iudges; either when they deceiue them, or giue sentence by authority of some lesse excellent Doctor. The Governour enioyeth a great deal of Money, by condemnations made at diuers times: And the whole weight of Iustice, giuen to a guilty offender; is to be deprived of the Governours presence, and beaten with an 100. or 200. stripes. The Hang-man raketh the frustrated person, & putting a Chaine about his necke, leadeth him thorow the Cittie, starke naked, onely the partes of shame reserued, which is couered with a breech purposely made. The *Bargello* goeth along with them, & the Hang-man publisheth all the way, the fact wherein hee hath offended: which being done, he putteth on his Garments againe, and then is returned backe to Prison, but soimes times; many are led in this manner together.

The Governour hath of euery guiltie prisoner, a ducate & a quarter, or fourth part, and of euery one committed to prison, he hath a taxation, which is seuerally paid vnto him, by Merchants & Artificers, deputed onely to that office. But among all other benefits, he hath a Mount which yeildeth him seven thousand ducates of yearely rent. True it is, that he standeth bound to find the King three hundred Men and Horses, in the time of Warres, and (so long as they endure) to be their Pay-maister. The

The Governours
Prison.

Of Magistrates, and
their maner of
gouernment
in administration
of Iustice, and
customarie
habites.

Of punishing
some criminal
persons.

The Governours
fees of
Prisoners.

Judges in Cannonicall causes.	<p>Judges for Cannonicall matters, haue neither wages or reward; because it is forbidden in the Law of <i>Mahomet</i>, that any payment whatsoever should be made to a Iudge, for such an Office. Therefore they liue vpon other wages; as on their readings, or by being a Priest in some Temple. In like manner, the Aduocates and Procuratours, are but simple and vulgar persons. The Iudges haue a certaine place, wherein Debtors are imprisoned, and others for light occasions, or of small moment. In the City are foure Bargelloes, and no more, who make their searches from the foure and twentieth houre, vntill the second houre of night: And they haue no wages neither, but a certaine tribute of them which they apprehend, by their retention; and for certaine smal punishments inflicted on them. But each of them may keep a Tauerne or Inne, and be a Bawd for Boyes or Strumpets. The Governour of the Cittie keepeth neither Iudge or Notary to attend him; but deliuereth the sentence from his owne mouth. There is but one man also, that hath chiefe charge in the Custome or Toule-houfe, who payeth thirty ducates daily to the Kings Chamber, and keepeth Guardians and Notaries at euery Gate, where all thinges (of small price) pay their due at the Gate. But others of greater value, are (by the Guardians) conducted from the Gate to the Custome-houfe, and Guardians & Notaries together, according to the quantity, haue certaine Stipends allowed them. Sometimes the Guardians do go forth of the Gates, to meete the Muleters, because they should not hide or conceale any thing: but if they finde any matter imbezeled, they pay double tribute for the offence. The ordinary payment, is two Ducates in the hundred: And of stone-fruit (wherof great plenty is daily brought thither) they pay the fourth part of the price; But for Wood, Corne, Cattle, and Poultry, they pay not any thing. Onely guelded beasts are not payed for, but in the Butchery, two <i>Baiocs</i> for every such Beast, and one to the Governour, who is the <i>Capo di Consoli</i>. For he keepeth a Court, with twelue Sergeants there attending. And he rideth oftentimes about the city, to approoue the weight of Bread,</p>	<p>Flesh, and other thinges that are sold: And if he find not the eeuē weight, he causeth the to be broken in many fragments, and giueth the Seller so many blowes in the necke with the Bastone, that he leaueth him (in a manner) dead, and the more of such thinges as he findeth too light, the more doth he breake, and publish their shame beside thorow the City. This Office is granted by the King to such Gentlemen as make suite for it: but in former times, it was onlie bestowed on learned men, and of especiall good fame; though now (by the Lordes meanes) priuate and ignorant persons do soonest enjoy it.</p> <p>The Dwellers in the Cittie, to wit; the Noble and worthy sort, are truly ciuill, and cloathe themselues in winter time, with garments of forraigne wollen Cloth. The manner of habite, is a long side Cassock or Coat, worne ouer the Shirt, with halfe Sleeues, and verie strait: ouer which hee weares a long Gowne, seamed or made fast before, & a hood hanging behind. On his head he hath a plaine bonnet, like them worn in <i>Italy</i> in the night time, but without eares: whereon is twice folded about the head certaine fine knotted Cloath, and vnderneath his beard. He weares no hosen, or halfe hosen, but only breeches of cloth: winter time excepted, or when he rideth, and then he weareth Buskins. The popular sort weare long skirted coates with hoods, without any such gownes ouer them as is formerlie named: and those kind of bonnets (simply) on their heads, of small price or estimation. Doctours and Gentlemen of some yeares, doe weare certaine Garments with wide sleeues, much like to the Gentlemen of <i>Venice</i>, who hold much more honorable office. In brieffe, such as are of meane and base condition, clothe themselues in Garments of white Wollen Cloth, made in their owne Countrey, and Hoods also after the same manner.</p> <p>The Women goe very comely clothed, but in hot weather, they weare a long large linnen Garment onely, guirded about the midst with some Girdle, rather rude and course, then otherwise: In Winter time, they weare certaine Gownes with large sleeues, seamed down before as the mens are: but when they</p>	<p>The best sort of Inhabitants in the City, and their Habites.</p> <p>The common sort of people</p> <p>The meanest sort of all.</p> <p>The habites of Women of all conditions</p>
Aduocates & Attorneys.			
Bargelloes Captaines of watch and searches.			
The Governour giueth sentence himselfe.			
Of the Custome or Toule houfe, and Officers thereto belonging.			
Concerning tribute payments.			
The <i>Capo di Consoli</i> his Court, and his riding thow the City.			

they walke abroad, they weare close breeches, which reach so largely, as they couer their whole legs. They also weare a veile or Cloth on their heades, which couers their whole body, after the manner of *Soria*: Their faces likewise is couered with a fine Cloath, so that nothing can be discerned but their eies. In their eares they haue earrings of Gold, and very costly Jewels: but such as are not of the like condition, weare none but of Siluer, and without any Jewels. About their wrists, they weare Manillions or Bracelets of pure Gold, and on each arme, which Bracelets doe commonly weigh an hundred ducates. The ignoble and meaner women, haue their Bracelets of Siluer, and such also they weare about their Legs.

Veiles for womens faces

Of their manner of Dyet and feeding.

Three meals a day, & how obserued.

The vulgar people, and meanest Citizens.

The dyet of Europe & Fez compared together.

II. The Custome of dyet and feeding among the vulgar sort; is to eate fresh Flesh twice euery Weeke. But Gentlemen feede thereon euery daie, according to their appetite, and haue three meales a day. The first in the morning; is but as a light breake-fast, because it is of Bread or Fruite, and a kind of Broth or Pottage, made with Flower and Wheate, rather very thin, then otherwise. But in Winter, in stead of their Broth, they seeth therein powdred Flesh and Hearbs. At noone or mid day, they feede on light meates also; as Bread, light-salted Flesh and Hearbes, Olines, and Cheese; but in Summer time, this second meale is best. At night, their third meale is lightest of all, to wit; Bread & Mellons, or Egges, or Milke. In Winter, their best feeding is on boyld meats, with that kind of Pulse, which in *Spain* is called *Cuske*, or *Cuscusu*, made in Paste like Coriander Seeds, and stewed in a bored vessel, like to a Strainer, to receiue suine from another boyling vessel, and being afterward well mingled with Butter, is serued in with the broth. They vse not to eate any roasted meate, and this is the feeding of the common people, as also of Artificers, and other poore Citizens. But men of account, as aged Gentlemen, Merchants, & Courtiers; they liue in better sort, and fare more delicately.

But in comparison of the dyet vsed in *Europe* among Gentlemen of respect,

the *Affricanes* is truly miserable and vile: not in regard of the small quantity of foode, but the rude and disorderlie manner of their feeding. Which is on the ground, vpon a very low Table, without Table-Cloth, Napkin, or Linnen of any kinde, or vsing any thing, but the hand onelie: And when they eate the *Cuske* or *Cuscusu*, all the Guests are serued in one dish, and grasp it with their fingers, without helpe of any spoone. And each man taketh which part of the meat himselfe pleaseth, tearing it from the rest without cutting, because they vse no knives; and tearing it with their teeth, they hold the rest in their hands, eating and deuouring it very greedily. And no man drinketh, vntil he be well satisfied with eating; then each man drinketh a Mazzer of water, containing the quantity of a quart, and this is the common vse. It may be, that some Doctor liueth more moderatly: but to conclude, the meanest Gentleman of *Italy*, liueth more sumptuously then the greatest Lord of *Affrica*.

12 As concerning Matrimony, this is the manner obserued among them. Whē any man is willing to take a wife, so soone as the Brides Father (if shee haue any) hath made promise to him of his daughter: they inuite and assemble their friends together at the Church or Temple, taking two Notaries with them, who draw the Bargaine and conditions of the Dowry, the Husband and Wife beeing there present. The indifferenter sort of Citizens, doe vse to giue them thirty Ducates in readie Mony, a *Negro* Seruant-Maid, of fifteen ducates price, a certaine piece of cloth, made of Silke and Linnen in diuers colours, Chekerwise, and other fine Cloathes of Silke, for her to weare on her head.

It is their custome also, to present her with a paire of Shoes, fairely wrought, and two paire of Choppinoes, painted with Gold and Siluer, and diuers other small gifts; as Combs, Fans, Perfumes, &c. After that the writings are drawn, and that both the one side and other are contented; the Husband taketh all his company there present, to dine with him; and the Father to the Bride, doth the like to all his bidden guests.

Their rude & grosse maner of feeding.

What maner of custome they obserue in their marriages.

The reasonable sort of Citizens gift.

What the Brides father may give to his daughter beside eu-rome.

The manner of furnishing the Bride.

Furniture for the house.

The manner of bringing the Bride home to her husbands house.

If the said Father will adorne his Daughter with any Garments, he may doe it in respect of his owne Gentility: because, beside the Money giuen to the Husband, he standeth not bound to any other charges; although hee may iustly be taxed with shame, if he be not more bountifull. Now adaies, beside the thirtie Ducates giuen in help of the Dowry; the Father (or hee that vnder-taketh the matter in-like case) spendeth two or three hundred ducates in furnishing the Bride, as well in garments, as furniture for household, but giueth neither House, Vine-yard, nor possession. The custome is, to make her 3. gownes of fine cloth, and three of Silke, cyther of Taffata, Sattin. or Damaske; many Smockes; many Sheets for bedding, listted with Silke on either side; Pillowes and Boulisters. She hath giuen her also eight Beds, foure to be laid vp in store, in conuenient Presses made for the purpose; two for present vse on the Bedsted, the Tikes whereof are grosse and strong, and two other made of leather, which are held as Ornaments to the Chamber. Three faire Couerlets, such as we tearme Quilts, but made of wol-len-cloth, and lined with linnen: one of which is first laid vpon the bed, and then another of Silke ouer it, whereof also she hath three in number, with others made conuenient for Summer; beside hangings for the Wals, fairely fringed and buttond with Silke; And this is as an addition to the Dowry, but many times much more, whereby many Gentlemen haue sustained great impou-erishing.

When the husband bringeth home his new wife to his house, she is first placed in a Tabernacle of wood, made with eight gazings or windowes, al couered with cloth of Gold and Silke, and carried by eight Porters on their heads; being accompanied with her Father, Friends, Husband, Flutes, Trompets, and Drums, beside a great number of lighted Torchcs, and the Friends to the Husband march before with their Torchcs, and the Father with his Friendes following, passing on to the great market place, by the great Temple. When they are come into the Market place, the Husband there salureth the Father and Kintred of his new wife; but shee,

without any further attending, goeth home to the house, ther expecting him in her Chamber. The Father, Brother, and Vnckle, goe with her so farre as the Chamber doore, and there present her to her Husbands Mother. So soone as she is entred into the Chamber, the husband sets his foot vpon his wiuers foot, which being done, they are left there shut vp together: while they of the house prepare a banquet, & one woman remaineth at the Chamber doore, vntil the Bridegroom hath had the honour of the Brides virginity, and the woman then going to her, receiveth a Cloath from her somewhat tinctured with blood, wherewith she goeth among all then present at the banquet, shewing it openly in her hand, expressing with a loud voyce, that the Bride was found to be a virgine. Herevpon, the Husbands Kinred giues her food to eate, and afterward, being accompanied with other weomen, she goes to the House of her husbands mother, where she is likewise honoured, and set downe to meat. But if it so happen, that the Husband findes not his wife to be a virgin; he returnes her backe to her Father and mother, and no one wil eat a iot of the banquet, but depart discontented, as a manifest signe of her shame.

They vse three seuerall Feasts or meetings; The first, is the same night when the Bride is brought home; the second, is the next night after, and then none but women are inuited. The third, is the seauenth night following, whereat the Brides Father, Mother, and Kinred, are al present. On that day, the father vseth to send no meane presents to the Husbands house, beside Comfits, and other banqueting stufte, and it is seauen daies before the Husband goeth forth of his doores; in all which time of his not being scene abroad, a certaine quantity of Fishes is bought each day, and duclie brought him home to his house. Afterward, either the Mother, or some other woman (in her stead) doth cast those Fishes vpon the Brides feete; which they hold to be an exceeding good augurie, and beside, it hath bin a custome of very ancient vse among them: Beside these fore-named Feasts; there are two other also in the Fathers House. The one is, the day before he sends his Daugh-ter

The ceremony in the Bride Chamber.

The Brides shame, being found no virgine.

The Brides three Banquets.

An augury & obserued Custome.

The Feasts in the fathers house.

Of decking the Bride.

The Bride carried to bee publickely scene.

The Order obserued in their dancing among men,

The womans maner of dancing.

The dyet of Gentlemen & Merchants

The dyet of the poor

ter to her husband, & then inuiting the other friendes, the whole night is spent in Feasting and Dauncing. On the day following, the women come thither, that vse to decke and adorne the Bride, there they trim her haire, rub her cheekes, and paint them red, as also her hands & feete blacke, with a certaine tincture that continueth but a while, and this day the second Feast is performd. Then is the Bride placed vpon a caried Scaffold, to be publickly seen as she passeth along; in which time, meate is prepared and deliuered to all them that adorned the Bride. And when the wife is come to the house, all her Husbands dearest Friends, doo send thither certaine Dishes of Bread fryed in Oyle, with others made of Honey, and diuers pieces of roasted flesh; and the Husband (having inuited manie of his Friends) deuideth these seuerall presents among them.

In their Dancing, which continueth all the Night time, they haue both Musicians and Singers, who conforming their voyces to the Instruments, do make their Musicke verie pleasing. No more daunceth then one alone; and when hee hath finished his dance, he taketh a piece of money out of his mouth, and throwes it on the Table before the Singers. And if any friend will do honour to him that danceth, he performeth it on his knees; and then sticking diuers pieces of money on his face, the Musicians presently take it off. Women also haue their Dauncing, but seperately aside from the men, hauing likewise variety of Daunces; Singers, and Musitions, which order is especially obserued, when the bride commeth a Virgin vnto her Husband: but when shee commeth to a second time of marriage, the solemnity consisteth of the lesser reputation; and then they giue course Beefe in their feasting, Mutton of the Ewe, and boyled Hennes. But when they mingle diuers kindes of pottage with their meate, they vse to set twelue great dish-ful before the guests, in a great round platter made of Wood, the Feast consisting often or twelue persons; and this is obserued among Gentlemen and Merchants. The meaner sort of people, vse a kinde of pottage, made with round molded Bread in it, like to the *Lajagna*, used in *Italy* in their *Menestra*; & therein is cut great slices of coorse flesh, al ming-

led together in a large wooden Platter, which they eat with their handes, vsing no Spooones, and ten persons may feed at one of those Dishes.

They vse also another kind of feasting, at the circumcising of their Male-Children; which is seauen dayes after the Childes Birth; whereto the Father calleth the Barber, and other inuited frends, on whom he bestoweth a supper. Which being ended, euery one of the Guestes, giueth a gift to the Barber or Circumciser: some a Ducate, some two, some halfe a Ducate, some more or lesse, according to their seuerall ability. These perticuler gifts of money, are laid each after other, vpon the Barbers childs face (if he haue any, or some other for him:) which Childe pronounceth euery giuers name; quantity of gift, and thanketh him for it; and then the Barber circumciseth the child; which being done, they dance and feast in the fore-named manner. But if it bee a Daughter, lesse ioy is declared.

13. There remaineth also in Fez, certaine Trackes or Imitations, of some Feasts concerning the Christians, wherewith they vse diuers words vnkown vnto themselues. On Christmas day at night, (commonly called Christs birth day) they vse to eat a kind of Pottage, made of seuen sundrie diuersitie of Herbs, as Coleworts, Turnops, Carrets, and such like; being dressed and prepared with all kinds of round Pulse, as Beanes, Pease, & wheat, which is eaten that night, insted of a delicate confection.

The first day of the yeare, Children, masked with Vizards on their faces, vse to go to Gentlemens Houses; there to get variety of Fruits, singing diuers songs made fir for the purpose. Vpon the day, called *S. Johns day*, in euerie street they make verie great fires of straw. And as a Childe beginnes to haue his teeth grow, his Parents make a Feast for other Children, and they tearme this Feast *Dentilla*, which is a proper Latine word. They haue many other Customes and maners in recitall of their Auguries, which I haue scene obserued in *Rome*; & in some other Cities of *Italy*. A Ceremony also there is verie frequent amongst women, when as eyther their Husbandes, Fathers, Mothers, or Bre-

Circumcising their Children, and a feast therfore prepared.

The customary Order of their Feasts, and maner of mourning for the dead.

The first day of the yeare.

On S Johns day.

The feast called Dentilla.

A Custome amongst the women at the death of their Husbandes, &c

Brethren chance to dye, they then meet together, and despoiling them of their vsuall wearing Garments, do put on verie coorse sackcloath. They take the soile and filth from their pots and pans; and therewith do rub and besmeare their faces. Then causing some base and rude men to come to them, cloathed in Womanish Garments, beating on square Drummes; to the sound thereof, they sing extemporall Lamentations, and mournfull Verses, made in the praise of Death.

Funerall Songs and Complaints.

At the end of euery Verse, the Women crie with loude voyces, beating their Faces and Breasts so violently, that blood yssueth forth in great abundance: they rent and teare their haire likewise; mourning and crying bitterly all the way they passe along, and this behauiour lasteth seven dayes together. Afterward, hauing respited the space of forty daies, this time is no sooner finished, but they renewe againe their former complaininges, and so hold on, for the space of three dayes more.

No foode drest in the dead mans house, while his body is there.

This Custome is obserued amongst the Vulgar and common people: but they of better quality, do mourne more moderately, and without any such violent beating. Their friends vse to come and comfort them; and all their neere Kindred, doo send them diuers kindes of foode to eate: because in the dead bodies house, so long as it remaineth there, they vse not to dresse any meate, nor doe the Women accompanie the dead bodie, although it be their Father or Brother.

Of Dooles or Pigeons, and their manner of keeping them.

14. There are men in the Cittie, that take delight in keeping of Pigeons, whereof they haue store of such as are verie faire, and of diuers colours. They keepe them in certaine large Cages, on the top of their Houses, shaped after the manner of the Apothecaries shoppes: opening twice, euerie morning, and towards the Evening, because they conceiue much pleasure in seeing them flye, and such as flye oftencst, and speedyest, are most esteemed.

The feast day of Mahomets birth.

And because many times it hapneth, that one mans Pigeons do mingle themselves among anothers; they quarrel and fall out, yea, and go together by the eares about them; yet to prevent this distemper, they keepe men on purpose; who

stand on the top of the Cages, with nets fastened to the end of long Canes; and when their Maisters Pigeons would flye among the Neighbours, they take them in that Net. In the rowe where the Colliers stand, are seauen or eight Shoppes, where nothing else but only Pigeons are solde.

10

15. Amongst the more ciuill and Gentler sort of men, no other kinde of play or sport is vsed, but the Chess onely, according to the ancient obseruation. They haue diuers other manner of Pastimes, but they are rude, and vsed by the vulgar people only. At certaine times of the yeare, the young men gather together, and they of one streete, doo fight against them of another, with Staues and Cudgels.

Their manner of Sportes & Pastimes.

The sporte of youth, proving (many times) from iest to earnest

20

Sometime it chaunceth, that eyther side do grow into such heat; as from iest they fall into earnest, yea, and kil one another, especially at the solemne Feastes, when the Assembly of these youthfull people is made out of the Cittie. When they can no longer fight with Cudgels, they fall to hurling stones at each other, & will not giue ouer so long as day-light lasteth. Whereupon, when the *Bargello* is not able to part them; he seazeth on some of them, and commits them to prison, afterward punishing them thorough the Cittie.

Dangerous sporte in the night time.

30

In the night time also, some Wilde bloodes will yssue forth of the City, carrying Weapons with them, and run into the Gardens and Fields. But if they meete with as hot resistors (as many times they do) they fight verie fiercely and cruelly together, bearing alwaies deadly hatred to each other: but manie times, they meete with sounde and seuaire chastisement.

Poets in their vulgarrongue

40

16. There are also many Poets, who compose Vulgar Verses of diuerse matters, but especially of loue; some describing their owne Loue, which they beare to Women, and other to Maids, many times setting downe the affected parties name, without vsing anie shame or respect. These Poets euerie yeare, on the Feast day of *Mahomets* Natjuitie, do write sundry Songs in praise thereof; and meeting together early in the morning, in the Market place of the *Capo di Consoli*,

The feast day of Mahomets birth.

50

Consoli, they ascend vp into his seat, wher euer y one (each after other) doth duellie rehearse his song in presence of the people. And he that is iudged to haue done best, and most elegantly declared his owne meaning, that man for the whole yeare ensuing, is called and accounted as Prince of al the other Poets.

A Prince of Poets.

But in the time of the famous Kinges of the house of *Marino*, the King that then liued, vsed to inuite all the Learned wits in the Cittie, where making a banquet for all the worthiest Poets, he would haue them to recite their Verses seuerally (made in commendation of Mahomets Birth) in his owne royall presence; but it was vpon an open Scaffold, and in the companie of many deepe vnderstanding men, according to whose iudgement, the most commended person had giuen him by the King, an hundred Ducats, a horse, a Woman-slauie, and all the Garments which the King at that time did weare. To all the rest he gaue fiftie Ducates for each man, that no one might depart from him vnrewarded. But it is nowe about an hundred and thirtie yeares, since (with the declination of the Kingdome) this custome ceased.

The bounty of a Heathen King to Poets

17. For Children to be enstructed in Learning, there are about two hundred Schooles, each bearing the forme of a goodly great Hall, with seats or degrees round about, for Children to sit on. The Master teacheth them to read and write, not in any Bookes, but in certaine great Tables. And the Lessons read each day vnto them, are sundry clauses of the *Alchoran*, which beeing fully reade ouer in two or three yeares, and then beginning at the Originall againe, a child learneth verie readily, and containeth euery thing well in memory, proceeding so stil on for the space of seauen yeates.

Schooles of learning for the instruction of Children.

No instruction in Bookes.

The Maister also teachieth them some fewe Rules of Orthographie; but both that kinde of erudition, and the Grammar, is ordinarily read in the Colledges, as likewise the other Sciences. These Maisters haue small stipendarie Wages, but as Children do learne to certaine limited places in the *Alchoran*, their Fathers stand obliged to gratifie their Maisters with some gift. And when the child hath learned the whole *Alchoran*, then

Rules in Orthography.

The Schoole-Maister wages

his Father maketh a solemne Feast to all Schollers of that Schoole, wher at his Sonne is adorned with Garments like a Lords sonne; and riding vpon a goodlie great Horse, and of no meane Value, (which Horse, as also the Garments, the Castillane of the Cittie Royall, standeth bound to prouide him) al the other schollers, mounted likewise on horsebacke, do accompanie him home vnto his Fathers house; and as they enter in thereat, they sing many Songs in the praise of GOD; and of the Prophet Mahomet. And then is the Feast made to the Schollers, and al his Fathers Friends; each of the vvhich Friends, do giue some giift to the Maister: and then, the Sonne putteth on his owne Cloaths againe, because the other do appertaine to the Maister. And this is their yearly obserued custome.

The Schollers triumph for the best learner.

They vsed also, to make a Feaste for these Schollers, on the birth day of Mahomet, and then the Father must send a Torch to the Schoole, whereby euerie Childe bringeth his owne Torch: some whereof, do waigh thirty pound waight, some more, and some lesse, according to the persons quality. Those Torches are verie faire, well made, adorned and beautified round about, with diuers Frutages made of Wax, and these Torches doo burne from the breake of day, til the Sun be risen; all which time, the Master bringeth in diuers Singers, that sing the praises of Mahomet; and so soone as the Sun is risen, the Feast is furnished. These are the greatest profits of the Maisters, because sometime they sell their Waxe for an hundred Ducates, and sometime for more, according to the number of their Schollers. No man payeth anie Dutie for his Childes schooling, because the Schooles were founded on Almes, which were left vnto them by diuers persons. The Schollers, not only of these Schooles, but likewise of the Colledges, haue two dayes vacancie euerie weeke, and then they neither read, nor studie.

The Schollers Feast on Mahomets birth day.

The Maisters greatest benefit by their wax Torches.

18. There are a great number of Wizarde or Sooth-sayers, which deuide themselues into three kindes, or (as we may rather say) qualities. The first, are certaine men that Diuine and foretell things by the Art of Geomancy, making diuersity of figures; and are paid for euerie one of them, according as the vse

Of Sooth-sayers and Diuiners, or Foretellers of thinges to come.

Diuiners by the Art of Geomancie.

of

Diiners by a
Basin of wa-
ter.

Strange an-
swers of De-
uils in a Basin
of water.

Women Wiz-
zards preten-
ding great fa-
miliarity with
Deuils.

Sabacat the
Name of the
woman Wiz-
zard.

of them (for imployment) is needfully re-
quired. The second, are some others,
who putting water into a Glasse Basin,
and they letting fall a drop of Oyle into
the saide water, which will appear bright
and transparant, like a Glasse: they then
tell the By-standers, that therein they do
beholde Deuils, troope vpon troope, see-
ming like to an Armie of manie stoute
Warriours, offering to plant down their
Tents or Pauillions, euen as they march
along the way; some on the water, and
some on the Land. Then as the Wiz-
zard pretendeth this confusion to be ap-
peased, he demandeth of them that com
for information, such matters as they
seeke to be resolned in: whereof he then
questioneth those Deuils in the Water,
and they make him aunswere, by signes,
noddess, becke of the hand, or winke of
the eye. Beholde, what grossenesse is in
them, that will credite these fallarions.
Sometimes, hee will put the Basin into
the hands of a Childe, of eight or nine
yeares old, and aske of him if he doe not
see such & such a Deuill, whereunto the
simple Child answereth, that he doth see
such shapes as he tels him.

This do many Fooles verie constantly
beleuee, and spend much mony on such
shamelesse deceiuers. The third sort,
are women, who perswade the common
people, that they holde amitie with De-
uils of diuers kindes: and therefore, they
tearme some to be red Deuils; others they
say are white Deuils, and others they af-
firme to be blacke Deuils. When they
would fortel vpon any ones request, they
perfume themselues with certaine sweet
Odours, and then they perswade the par-
tie, that the Deuill which shee then cal-
leth, doth instantly enter into hir person.
Heereupon, suddenly shee changeth her
voice, faigning that it is the spirite which
speaketh by her tongue. Then the Man
or Woman that is come to bee resolued
in somewhat by her, demaundeth what
shee pleaseth of the spirit, with great Re-
uerence and Humility: and receyuing
answere, leaueth a good gift for that de-
uill, and so departeth, euen as wise as
when she came thither.

But such men, as haue ioyned VVise-
dome with honesty, and wel experien-
ted such matters, doo tearme this VVo-
man Soothsayer *Sabacat*, which aunswere-
th to the like Interpretatiō, as *Fricatri-*

ces doth in the Latine toong. For indeed
they haue a wicked Custome, in taking
Carnall knowledge one of another; and
therefore, cannot be expressed by an ho-
nester vocable.

Moreouer, when among such VVo-
men as come to them, for information in
things that they desire, they perceiue any
one to be faire and beautiful, they becom
enamored of her, euen as a young man
of his affected Mistris. And then, in form
of the Deuil, no other recompence is re-
quired of her, but amorous coniunction
in familiar entertainment. The simple
woman, beleeuing that shee shal haue the
pleasures of a Spirit, sometimes is drawn
to consent; and many haue beene there-
with so delighted, that they grewe desi-
rous for to ioyne in society with them.
Whereupon, counterfetting sickenesse,
one of these Wizards must needs be sent
for, and (many times) the foolish Hus-
band is made the Messenger.

She presently discouereth her desire to
the Wizard, who afterward reuealeth it
to her Husband; telling him, that a De-
uill is entered into her bodie, and that if
he be desirous of her helth, it is very con-
uenient, that he giue her Liberty to make
one in the number of that Societie; and
secretly to practise the Art among them.
The Gull-Husbande beleeuing, giueth
his consent; and (to expresse his greater
folly) maketh a sumptuous Feast for the
whole Order: whch being ended, they
all fall to Dauncing, certaine Negroes
playing on their Instruments, and so shee
is referred to her fortune amongst them.
But some Husbandes will driue the De-
uill out of their Wiues, with the solemn
founde and blowes of a good Bastinado.
And others, dissembling themselues to
be possessed, do deceyue the Deceyuer,
euen by such meanes as his wife was be-
guiled.

19 There is likewise another sort
of Wizards, who are called *Muhazzim-
min*, that is, Enchanters. These are re-
puted to be verie powerful, in deliuering
mad-men, or such as are possessed with
euill spirits: not for any other reason, but
that sometimes their endeuor sorteth to
effect; but if it succede not, they tearme
the Deuill to be an Infidell; or else, that
he is some Celestiall spirit.

The maner of his Coniuring, is thus; he

Fleahly fruits
of Diuination

Of Women
that desire to
ioyne in soci-
ety with these
Wizards.

Fit Physicke
for Foolish
Women.

Of Enchaun-
ters or Con-
iurers.
Muhazzimin.

The manner of his Coniuration, & dealing with a party possessed.

* A hidden science of heavenly and Diuine mysteries, professed by the Rab- bies.

The order of making a Figure after their manner of Cabala.

The twelve Months after the Latines.

he writeth certaine Carracters, and formeth Circles on a Chimney Hearth, or other like place; afterward, hee painteth some signes on the hand or foreheade of the partie possessed; and then sweeteneth himselfe with diuers perfumes. Thus the enchantment being made, he demandeth of the Spirit how he entered into that bodie? By what part? What hee is? And how hee is named? At length, hee commaundeth him to depart. Some there are of another sort, that worke by a rule called *Zairagia*, that is, * *Cabala*. But they fetch not their operations from the Scripture, because this Science of theirs is held to be naturall. And indeed, many of them know howe to giue infallible answeres, to matters that are demanded of them. But such a rule is very difficult, because he that will preuaile therein, must needs bee no lesse a perfect Astrologer, then an *Abbachist* or Arithmatician. Sometimes, he maketh a Figure, which asketh so long time in making, as from Morning till night, in the Summer season; and it is in this forme.

He maketh many Circles one within another, & in the first he shapeth a crosse, at the Confines whereof, hee setteth downe the foure quarters, East, West, North, and South. Within the sayde Crosse, that is; where all his parts meet together, he formeth the two Poles; and without the first Circle, hee frameth the foure Elements. Afterwardes, diuiding the said Circle into foure parts, he deuideth the following Circle into as manie more; and then euery part he deuideth into seauen parts, noting downe in euery one of them, certaine great *Arabian* Carracters, which are twenty eight, or twentie nine Carracters for each of the Elements. In another Circle, hee shapeth the seauen Planets: In another, the xii. Signes: In another, the twelue Moneths of the yeare, according to the Latines: In another, the eight and twenty Tabernacles (or as we tearme them, Houses) of the Moon: In another, the three hundred, threescore and five daies of the year; and without all these, the foure principal windes. He taketh then one letter only, of the thing to bee demaunded; and then, multiplieth it with all the matters numbered, vntill he commeth to know what number the Carracter beareth. Afterward, he deuideth it in a certain man-

ner, and then putteth it into some parts, according as the Carracter is; & in what Element it standeth, insomuch, that after the multiplication, diuision, and dimension, he perceiueth, that the Carracter agreeth with that number whereto it is aduanced. Then respecteth he that found Carracter, according as hee did the first; and so traducing it on from degree to degree, it passeth the eight and twentie seuerall places, or Carracters. Thereof then hee composeth a sentence, and of that sentence a short Oration, which is the answer to the question demaunded, and that Oration euermore agreeth with one measured Verse; beeing the first of those *Arabian* Verses, which are called *Ethauil*, consisting of eight and twelue Sillables, answerable to the *Arabian* Metricall Art.

In the said Verse then, is comprehended the fore-named Carracters, because of them it is compounded, and from thence ariseth a true and vndoubted answer: for first, is discerned the matter demaunded, and afterward the answer to the cause demaunded. The like course as this neuer erreth: and in this *Cabala* of theirs, consisteth an admirable Art: for, neuer was seene a matter (held to bee naturall) that appeareth more super-naturall and Diuine, then this their *Cabala*.

One of these Figures was sometimes made, in the Colledge of King *Abululan* in the Cittie of *Fez*, and the open place where it was made, was paved with fine smooth white Marble, euery quadrant of the place, containing fiftie yarden in length; and two third parts of the place, was employed with such things as belonged to the framing of the saide Figure: three seuerall persons also were verie seriously busied in making it, each man hauing the charge of a proportioned part; and yet they could scarcely conclude it in a whole day. Another was likewise made in *Thunis*, by a verie excellent Mayster, whose father had commented on the said rule in two Volumes; and such as be acquainted with this rule, are held to be verie singular men.

20 There are also many Learned men, who are stiled by the name of wise men, and morrall Phylosophers, who obserue some other Lawes then were commanded by Mahomet. Som of them are

Arabian verses, tearmed *Ethauil*, wherin consisteth their chiefe *Cabala*.

An apparant prooue of this kinde of Figures, by seueral Masters performed.

Rules and diuersities in the Lawes of Mahomet.

are accounted Catholicke, and others not; but the vulgar people repute them to be Saints, although they admit many things for lawful, which were prohibited by the Lawes of *Mahomet*. As by way of example: The Law forbiddeth, that no song whatsoever of Loue, shalbe sung by the rules of Musicke; and yet these men say, that they may do it.

There are Orders in this Lawe, and many Rules, euerie one of which, hath his chiefe defence, and Doctors also, to defend those Rules, exercising manie Workes, concerning spirituall life. This Sect began fourescore yeares after *Mahomet*; and the first and most famous Author thereof, was named *Elhesenibru Abilhasen*, in the Cittie of *Basra*, who began to giue certain Rules to Schollers, but wrote downe none.

An hundred yeares after being passed, there was another most woorthy man in like manner, called *Elbarit Ibnu Efed*, of the Cittie of *Bagaded*, who wrote a learned worke Vniuersally to all his disciples. But afterward, both by the Lawyers and Byshoppes, his opinion was depraued, & all such condemned as obserued those Rules.

About foure-score yeares after, this Sect beganne to spring vppe againe, and had another verie famous man, as defender thereof, who was followed by manie Disciples, and preached the same Doctrine publickely. So that all the Lawiers (assisted by the Byshoppes) condemned both him and all his followers vnto death, concluding, that each man of them should loose his head. Which when the chiefe Leader of this sect herd, immediately he wrote a Letter vnto the Byshoppes, entreating them to afford him so much fauour, as that hee might Dispute with the Lawyers: and if they could conuince him, hee would willinglie dye: but if he could giue demonstration, that his Doctrine was better then theirs, it was no honest case, that so many poore Innocents (by false Calumnie) shoulde perish.

This request seemed to the Bishops to be lawfull and iust, and they graunted his tequest, so that the Learned man came to Dispute with them; and preuailed with such successe, that hee vanquished all the Lawyers, and the chiefe Byshop (in teares) conuerted to bee one of the

same Sect: and (while he liued) continually fauoured it, causing many Monasteries and Colledges to be builded, for the followers of that man. This Sect continued for another hundred yeares, vntill out of the greater *Asia*, came *Maliosath* the Emperör, whose stirpe and originall was of the Turkes. He persecuted this Sect, some of them flying to *Cairo*, some into *Arabia*, and they continued twenty yeares in this expulsion, which was till the raigne of *Caselsab*, Nephewe to *Maliosath*, whose chiefe Counsellour (that was a man of great spirite, named *Nidam Elmule*) being of this sect, did set it on foote againe, planting and combining it in such firme manner, that by the labours of a very learned man, called *Elgazuli* (who composed a worthy work, deuided into seauen seuerall Bookes) the Lawyers and followers of this sect, were reconciled together. Whereupon, the Lawyers had the Title of Doctors, and Conseruers of the Prophets Lawes; and the other were nominated vnderstanders and Reformers of those Lawes. This Vnion continued, till the ouerthrowe of *Bagaded* by the *Tartars*, which was in the yeare, 556. of *Lhegira*. And as yet hath hapned no ditision, because all *Affrica* and *Asia* are full of those Disciples.

In those dayes, none might enter into this Sect; except learned men in euerie faculty; and (aboue al) deepe vnderstanders of the Scriptures; for the better defence of them, and confutation of the contrarie side. But now, within these hundred yeares, euerie ignorant fellowe will enter thereinto, affirming, that there is no neede of learning: because, after knowledge of the truth, the blessed Spirite is sufficient for them of cleane heart: This and other like weake reasons doo they alledge in their owne behalfe. So that leauing the commaundements as superfluous, yet necessarie to the rule in parte, these men intend no other Offices, but euen what the Lawyers do appoint, adding themselves vnto all the pleasures, which are helde lawfull by the rule; and therefore, they make many Feastings, sing wanton amorous songs, & vse long dances. At certaine times, some of these men, tearing off their Garments, according to the proposed matter of the song, or answerable to the idle fantastic then hapning in their brain, wil say: that euen then

The expulsion and persecution of this Sect.

The re-establisment of this Sect, and agreement with the Lawyers.

Who were admitted into this Sect in elder times.

Alteration of these latter dayes.

Feasts, wanton songs, and Dances.

The first Author of this Sect.

Another Author of the same Sect.

A third Author of this Sect.

A request made for disputation with Mahomets Lawyers.

then he is heated with the fire of Diuine loue. But I rather suppose him to bee warmed, with the superfluous plentie of meates, because euery one of these vnmanerly men, will deuoure so much meate, as is thought too much superfluitie for three men. Or which I rather thinke to bee more true, this heate proceedeth of intemperate desire, and lasciuious beaulty loue to yong beardless Boyes. For it is no rare matter, when a Gentleman inuiteth one of these chiefe Maisters to his wedding, bringing all his Schollers with him; they at the beginning of the Feast, do say Prayers, and sing diuine songs. But when all is finished, the elders putting off their gowns to dance, if any of them happen to fall, hee is quickly holpen on his feet by one of the yong Lads, who therefore is sequited with many lasciuious kisses. Heerupon grew a Prouerbe, *That the Hermits banquet, is in euerie mans mouth in Fez.* Signifying thereby, that the feast is no sooner ended, but euerie boy must serue as his Maisters bride; for, they may not take any Wiues, and therefore, they are termed Hermits.

21 Among this Sect, are certain rules held to be hereticall, both by the one and other sort of Doctors, because they not only differ from eithers Lawes, but also from their faith. For some there be, that haue a firme opinion, that a man by his owne good workes, by fasting, and by abstinence, may purchase to himself an Angellicall nature: because say they, they purify his heart and vnderstanding in such maner, as he cannot sin thogh he would, but it behooueth first, that he passe thowrow fifty degrees of discipline. And albeit he should sinne, before he haue passed those fifty degrees, yet God will not ascribe it to him as sin. And these men (at the first) do keepe very strange, & seldom seene the like Fast; but afterwarde, they fall to all pleasures in the World. They haue also a strict rule or order, made by an eloquent and Learned man, in four Volumes, his name was *Esseueradi de Sebi auara*, a City in *Corasan*. There was another Author named *ibnulfarid*, who compiled all his doctrine in verie elegant verses: but those verses are full of Allegories, seeming to intreate on nothing else but loue. VVherfore, one called *Elfargani*; Commented on the saide worke, and

drew thence the rules and degrees which were to bee obserued.

This Poet was of such elegancie, as others (his followers of the same Sect) vsed to sing none but his Verses at their Feasts, so that for some 300. yeates since, not oong was held more polished and delicat, then that receiued from him.

These men are of the minde, that the Spheares, the Firmament, the Elements, the Planets, and all the Starres, are one God, and that no Law or Faith can bee in error, because they inuagine all men to honor in their souls, that which deserueth to be adored. They belieue also, that the knowledge of God is contained in a man, named *Elcrob*, elected and partaking with God; and, as concerning knowledge, a meere God. There are likewise, forty other men besides these, who are termed *Elanted*, that is, Boughs or branches, because they are of a lesser degree, and of more inferiour knowledge. But when the *Elcrob* dieth, another is created out of these fortie men, and he commeth out of the number of seauenty other.

There are likewise 75. other men, whose title I doo not verie well remember: but when one of these seauentie dieth, another is added from these to fulfill their number. Their Law bindeth them, to walke vnknowne in the world, disguised like fooles, or publicke noted sinners, or of the vilest men that can be. VVherfore, vnder these or the like shaddowes, many wicked minded men wander thorough *Affrica*, starke naked, making publicke apparence of their owne shame, & are of such vnbridled disposition, that euen without any respect at all, like vnto brute Beasts, in the midst of an open market place, they will deale carnallie with women; and yet notwithstanding, the Vulgar sort do repute them to be Saints. Of these base people, there are store in *Thunis*, but many more in *Egypt*, and especially in *Cairo*.

It happened on a time in *Cairo*, in the Market place, called *Bain Eleasrain*, one of these afore-named men, tooke a verie faire young Woman, that was newly come foorth of a Stoue or Bath, and bringing her into the middelt of the Market place, hee there hadde carnall knowledge of her. So soone as hee hadde lefte the Woman, all the Beholders came ruining to touch her Garments

The custome at a Gentlemans marriage.

A Prouerbe in Fez.

Concerning Rules, Sects, and superfluous credulity in manie men.

A strange opinion of mans begetting an Angellicall Nature.

Esseueradi de Sebi auara.

Ibnulfarid.

Elfargani.

An elegant Poet.

The strange opinion of some men.

Elcrob, knowing as a God.

Elections out of diuers degrees.

A counterfeit cloake for much wickednesse.

Horrible brutishnesse.

A true History of their vilenesse, done in an open Market place in *Cairo*.

ments, as a matter of Deuotion, because she had beene touched by an holy man. And they saide among themselues, that the holy man did but faigne the action of sinne, and did not commit the deede. When the matter was made knowne to her husband, hee accounted it as a verie gracious fortune befallne him; and praying God for it, made a solemne Feast & Banquet, giuing Almes also for, so happy a blessing. The Iudges and learned men in the Lawes, sought all means how to punish the runnagate: but they were in danger to be slaine by the people, because (as I haue formerly saide) such villaines are held in especiall veneration amongst the common people, and they will bestowe great gifts and presents on them.

22 Certaine other rules, are obserued among some, that tearme themselues to be *Cabalistes*, who haue a strange order of Fasting; not eating the Flesh of anie creature: but haue certaine meates, and appointed Habites, ordained for euerie houre both of the day and Night. They haue also perticuler Praiers, according to the dayes and Moneths, deliuering those Prayers, by the way of number; and wearing on their bodies certain Quadrets, painted with Carracters, and engrauen numbers. They vse to say, that good spirits do appeare vnto them, and speake with them, giuing them notife of all thinges vniuersally done in the world. Of this sort, there was an excellent Doctor, named *El Boni*, who composed their Rules & Prayers, as also their Quadrets.

His most famous Workes are about eight in number, one whereof is named *Ellumba Ennoramita*, that is; *The Demonstration of Light*, and therein is appointed their Prayers and Fastes. Another is termed *Semful Mcharif*, that is, *The Sun of Knowledge*, wherein is contained the manner of making the Quadrets, and it declareth the benefit ensuing by them. A third, is entituled *Sirru Lasme; Elchafue*, that is, *The Vertue contained in the ninety nine names of God, &c.*

There is an Order in this Sect, which is called the Order of *Sunach*, that is; of certaine Eremites, who liue in Woodes and solitarie places, and feed on nothing but Hearbes, Rootes, and wilde fruites;

no man beeing any way able to vnderstand their liues, because they flye and shunne all dwellings of men. But I shall wander too farre from my intended purpose, if I should perticulerly followe the relation of all the Mahometane sundrie Sects.

Therefore, whosoever is desirous of further intelligence in this case, let him read the Workes of one who is named *Elacfani*, who defusedly discourseth on the diuersitie of Sects, proceeding from the Religion of Mahomet, which are seuentie two especiall sects, and euerie one holdeth his owne to be good and true, as hoping thereby for saluation. But the truth is, in this present age, there are no more of these Sects to be found, but two. One is that of *Lesburi*, which extendeth it selfe thorow all *Affrica, Egypt, Soria, Arabia*, and all *Turkey*. The other of *Imamia*, which runneth through all *Persia*, and some Citties of *Corasan*. This held the *Sophi* King of *Persia*, and by the like Sects was almost all *Asia* destroyed, because they held (before) that of *Lesburi*; yet the saide King fought by strength of Armes oftentimes, to contayne himselfe in his owne Religion: but most certaine it is, that one Sect onely, is embraced within all the Mahometane Dominions.

23 In *Fez* also, there are certaine men, who are called *Elcanesin*, that attend only to finde out Treasures, which they beleeeue to haue beene buried in the Foundations of auncient ruines. This iddeot kinde of people, will go forth of the Cittie, entering into many Caues & Grottes, seeking there to finde the forenamed Treasures. For, they hold a verie strong and true opinion, that when the Romaines were enforced from the Emperie of *Affrica*, and fled to the Spanish *Batica*, they were enforced to burie vnder grounde, many verie rich and precious things, which they could by no means beare away with them, but left them there enchanted; and therefore, other Enchanters must be had to find out those treasures. Nor is there any want of such men, as will swear; that in such Caues they haue scene Golde and other Jewels of Siluer: but they could not get them thence, because they had not their enchantments readie, and their fitting perfumes.

Of the *Cabalistes*, & some other Sects.

Their manner of diet.

Their habite & Prayers.

Their apparitions.

El Boni, a famous Doctor

Ellumba Ennoramita.

Semful Mcharif.

Sirru Lasme; Elchafue.

The order of *Sunach*, being Hermites in Woodes.

Elacfani, who declareth all the Mahometan Sects.

The two severall Sectes at this day remaining.

Of Investigators or searchers for hidden treasures

* Now called *Granado*.

Greedines of gaine beguileth many ignorant people, and some beside, that thinke themselves wi. e.

Of Alchimists and what manner of men they are.

Geber a Greeke Alchimist.

Attogrehi another Author.

Mugaribi, of Granada.

Two sortes of Alchimists.

20 21

Of cozening beggerly Mountebanks,

perfumes. Whereupon, the people being led by this vain credality, do make search in the groundes, ouer-throwing thereby (oftentimes) many goodly buildings and Tombes, wandering (at some times) ten or twelue dayes iourney from Fez, because the Riches was drawne by enchantment so farre off. Nay more, they haue Bookes, wherein mention is made of certaine hills, and other obscure places, wherein manie wonderfull Treasures lye hidden, and are there kept by especiall Oracles.

24. Nor is there any want of Alchimists, but they abound in verie great number, that bestow their studie in this foolish vanity. And what are they? None but lowtith filthie Fellowes, that soil and pollute the world (more then any other) with sulphurous, noysome, and offensive smelles. In the night time, manie of them, doo ordinarily meete together in the great Temple, and there dispute on their false imaginations. For they haue many Bookes of that Art, composed by eloquent men: the first & cheefest whereof is intituled *Geber*, who liued an hundred yeares after *Mahomet*, and was reputed to bee a Greeke Renegado; whose workes, and all his receipts are Written in Allegories. They haue another Author; who hath written another great labour, called *Attogrehi*, that was Secretary to the Soldane of *Bagaded*. Likewise another Volume, composed in Songes, reuealing all the Articles of that Art, and the Maister was named *Mugaribi*, said to be of *Granado*. And it was Commented on by a *Mamaluke* of *Damasco*, who was a verie learned man in the Arte; but his Comment is more difficult to be vnderstood, then the Text it selfe. These Alchimists are of two kinds, the one labourereth in search of the Elixer, which is the materiall substance, that toucheth euerie Metall and Vaine; and the other seeketh after the multiplication of the quantities of Mettalles, by meanes of commixing one with another. But both their proper ends, is oftnest found to be falsifying monies, as may be noted in the most parts of *Fez*, without handling.

25. In this great Citie, there is also as great store of that vnprofitable rascality, which in *Italy* are known by the name

of cozening Beggers and Mountebanks. These men go vp and downe the Market place, singing Romants, fabulous Songs, and such like follies, playing on Timbrils Viols, Harps, and other Instruments, selling to the ignorant multitude, certaine Mottos, and briefe words, which (they say) are much auailable against diuers euils. With these are ioyned another sort of vile men, who are all of a familie and Kindred, and they walke thorow the Citie, making Apes and Monkees to dance; and they haue liue Snakes and Adders Writhed about their naked neckes and armes. They can also make some figures of Geomancy, & pretend to fortell what shall happen to women. They lead goodly Stallions along with them, and for a certain price, will cause their Mares to be couered, that are thereto disposed, with promise of successfull speeding.

Heer could I pursu other perticularities; of like base minded men in the Citie, but it shall suffice to say; that (for the most part) they are displeasing and badly affected to straungers, albeit there is no great number of strangers, because the Citie is aboue an hundred miles distant from the Sea; and from the Sea thither, the waies are sharpe; and vneasie for trauailing strangers. I could say also, that the Seigniores are very proud, insomuch as fewe haue dealing with them. The like are the Doctors and Iudges, who (for reputations sake) will conuerse but with very few. Neuerthelesse, my conclusion is, that the Citie is faire, commodious, and wel ordered. Only in winter time, the streets are very dirty, so that men can hardlie passe along; but with certaine hie Choppinoes which they weare; yet much avoidance is made by the Channelles, for (by them) many streets are washed clean. But where there are no channells, the filthie is gathered vp, and conueyed thence vpon Beasts backs, and thrown into the riuer.

26. Without the Citie, on the west side, there is a Town or Burrough, which maketh about fine hundred fires: but all the houses are verie rude, and inhabited by vile people, such as are the Drivers of Cammells, the Carriers of Water, and Wood-cleauers for the Kinges provision. Yet is this Towne furnished with many shoppes, and all kindes of Artificers. There dwel likewise the cozening

and dissembing Comurers.

Cozeners with liuing Snakes and Adders about their neckes.

The Authors excuse from further progression in this kinde.

Townes and Burroughes out of the Citie, & of what householdes they consist.

The chiefe street of the Towne, containing Garners for corn.

Beggars, the players on Instrumentes of small esteeme; and great store of Strumpets, but they are brutish, base, and fluttish. In the chiefe street of this towne, are many Ditches or Trenches, made by working Toolles and Instrumentes, because they are hewed out of a hard rock, where the Corne (for the great Lordes) was wont to be kept, when none els dwelt there, but the Keepers of Corne. But after the warres began, and the Corne was violently carried thence, the Granaries were made in the new Cittie of Fez; and these which were without, vtterly abandoned. These Trenches are of wonderfull greatnes; for, the verie least of them will containe a thousande quarters of Corn, and there are an hundred and fifty of those Trenches, which now are layde wide open, and many people (vnawares) haue falne into them: wherefore, certain little wals haue since beene made about them.

When secret executions are done, how they bestowe the dead bodies.

The Castellane of Fez, when it happeneth, that he performeth any secret execution, the offenders bodies are throwne into these Trenches, for there is a priuie doore out of the Rocke, made answerable and fitting for these places. In this Towne, all cozenages at Dice are lawfully permitted; and heere euerie man selleth Wine, keepeth a Tauerne, and publicke vse of Whoores: whereby it is iustly saide, that this Towne is the receite for all the filth in the City. After the twentieth houre is past, not one man is to be found in any of the shops, for then euerie one falleth to dauncing, sporting, drabbing, and drinking.

A Towne of Leapers only were relieved & maintained

There is another Burrough belonging to the Cittie, wherein diseased Leapers only are dwelling, containing about 200 houses. These sickly people, haue their Priour or chiefe Gouvernor, who gathereth the reuennues of many possessions, giuen only for Gods sake, by Gentlemen and others; and they are attended on in such good maner, as they find no want of any needful thing. This Priour hath the charge to see the City free from any such infected person: and if so be, that he find any one so diseased, to take himselfe presently out of the City, and bring him to this place appointed for the purpose. If any one happen to die there without heires, the one half of his estate is deliuered to the community of the Town; and

The Office of the Priour, concerning his charge.

the other belongeth to him that can shew best right for it. But if the leprous partie haue Children, his goodes are his Childrens.

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It is further to be noted, that in the number of these diseased Leapers, such also are included, as haue any white scabs or scurfe on their bodies, and other incurable infirmities. A little further from this Towne, there is another, wherein dwell none but Muleters, Potters, Bricklayers, & Carpenters, and this Towne maketh about 150. fires. Again, further yet westward is another great Towne, which can make about 400. fires: but they are very simple houses, and inhabited by poore wretched people, that either cannot, or will not abide in any better place. Neere to this Towne, is a great champain field, which extendeth it selfe from this Town to the Riuer, about two miles in length, and three in full bredth Westward. In this field, is a Market held euerie Thursday, and great store of people resort together with all kinde of Cattell. The Shoppe-Keepers also, dooth carrie thither their commodities, and make sale of them there in open Tents. They haue a custome, that some few Gentlemen being gathered together, they cause a Butcher to kill a Sheepe; and diuiding the body among themselues, they giue him nothing but the head and feete for his labour, for his skin they sell to the Wooll Merchant. Litle tol is paid for the goods sold in this Market; and yet I must tel ye, that neither in *Affrica*, *Asia*, nor in *Italy*, are so many people seen at a market, as at this, and such store of prouision, which surely is an vnvaluable matter.

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Without the Cittie, are verie steepe Clifts or Rockes, which do engirt a large Trench of two Miles long: and on these Cliftes, they hew out the stones, wherewith they make their Lime and Chalke, whereby manie Gentlemen growe Rich, but none that are of any Nobilitie. Again, on the West part without the Cittie, are some hundered Cottages, erected on the Riuer side; which are kept by such as vse to White cloaths, and then spread them abroad in a faire field, neere to these Cottages, where they haue euerie thing fit and apt for the purpose, euen as wee see vsed in any other Nation elsewhere.

A Towne of Muleters, Potters, &c.

A great town of 400 house-holds.

A Custom on the Market day.

Rockes and Clifts without the Cittie.

Whitsters of cloath.

27 There

Of Common Graues and buriall without the Citie.

27 There are diuers Fields about the Cittie, wherein they burie their dead bodies; and these fields were giuen (for Gods sake) by sundry Gentlemen, onely for common buriall. They lay a Stone made Triangle-wise, but long and faire, vpon each graue. But on men of more woorth and reputation, they place at his head a Table of Marble, and another at his fecte, whereon Verses are engrauen of consolation after so harde and bitter a passage.

Somewhat lower, is his name sette downe, his house of descent, & likewise, the day and yeare of his death. Among these Verses, some are apt to cause ioy and comfort in death; but others, do rather encrease grieffe and Melancholy, yet patience must be vsed both in the one & other.

28 Without the Cittie likewise, is a faire Pallace towards the North, vpon an high hill, wherein manie Sepulchres are to bee seene, of diuers Kinges of the house of *Marino*, becing adorned with goodly Ornaments, stones of Marble, & Epitaphes verie ingeniously deuised; so that the cost and colours, do (in a maner) fill the Beholders eyes with much admired pleasure.

29 On the North side also, & Eastward and Southward, are many goodlie Gardens and Orchardes, stored with all kind of Fruits, growing on Trees, great and high. By the Gardens entrance, do diuers Armes of Riuer run along: but by the thicke growing of the Trees, the Orchardes appeare to be goodly woodes. The month of May doth water them verie plentifully, which is the chiefe cause of the fruits abounding, and alare of perfect goodnesse, except Peaches, which haue not any pleasing rellish. And it is imagined, that in due season of the yeare, 500. horse-loads of these fruits are sold dailie: and all those horse-loads of Fruite; are brought to one certaine place in the Citie, where they pay a limited taxation, and are there sold by out-cry, in presence of the Fruiterers. In the same market place also, are sold the Negro Bondslaues, and an appointed tax paide for euerie one of them. Moreouer towards the West, is a large plot of ground, containing xv. mile in bredth, and 30. in length, which is all

Of the Kings burial & Sepulchre.

Of Gardens and Orchardes

The Gardens and Orchardes yeilde great plentie of fruits.

The sale of Negro Bondslaues.

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full of Springes and little Brooks, belonging to the great Temple. This place, is rented by the Gardiners; and there they sow Line, Mellons, Pompions, Citrons, Carrets, Nanons, Reddishes, Coleworts Cabbages, and such like Garden fruits in great plenty: so that it is verily supposed, that this place yeeldeth in Summer time, fiftene thousande horse-loades of these fruits, and as many in Winter. But verie true it is, that the Ayre there is verie bad, and the most part of the inhabitants haue their faces of a yellow colour, being continually subiect to Feauers, and verie many do die of them.

30 The New City of *Fez*, is round enguirte with two verie faire, high, and strong wals, being built on a verie goodly plaine, neere to the Riuer, distant from the olde Cittie (on the West part, and somewhat leaning toward the South) the space of a mile. Betweene the two wals, entereth and passeth the Riuer along, to wit, on the North side, where the Milles are; and the other current of the Riuer, is diuided into two streams: one running betweene new *Fez* and the olde, on the rocke side; and the other glideth on further, by certajn Vallies & Gardens neere to old *Fez*, vntil it getteth entrance thereinto on the South side. The other part of the riuer, enters at the Rocke, and passeth by the Colledge of King *Abuttimam*. This Citie was builded by *Iacob*, Son to *Abdu Isch*, first King of the house of *Marino*, who wonne the Kingdome of *Marocco*, and displaced the king, as such time as he was in warre with the King of *Marocco*; the King of *Telenso*, did very much mollest him, being leagued with the king of *Marocco*; because the house of *Marino* should not encrease.

So soone as *Iacob* had ended the war of *Marocco*, he bethought himselfe to be reuenged on the King of *Telenso*, and purposed warre against him, as being cotious of his Dominion, yet wel perceiuing, that the strongest Forts of the kingdome, were faire off distant from *Telenso* it selfe; whereon he concluded, to erect the Cittie in this place, and to translate thither the royall seate of *Marocco*, which he accordingly performd, naming the Cittie *Bianca*, but the vulgar people afterward called it new *Fez*.

The King caused the City to be diuided into

Of the Newe City of *Fez*, and the scituation thereof, as also the description of the Riuer current.

Who was the first Founder of New *Fez*, and vpon what occasion

New *Fez* named *Bianca* by the Founder.

The diuision of the City in to three parts

The first part

The 2. part.

The Market place of the City.

The Custos of the City.

The 3. part.

Temples in the Market-place, and stoues.

The Mint for Coyning money.

The place of the Golde-smiths.

into three parts, euerie one seperat from the other. In one part, he appointed his owne Pallace-Royall, and other Pallaces for his Children and Brethren, commanding each one to haue their Gardens of pleasure; and neere to his owne Pallace, he builded a verie goodly Temple, beautified in meruailous stately manner. In the second part of the Cittie, were erected faire great Stables, for the Horsses belonging to his Royall person, and many sumptuous Pallaces for his Captains, and men of greatest esteeme in his court. From the Gate on the West side, to the gate that looketh Eastward, was appointed and made the market place of the Cittie, containing in length, little lesse then a mile and a halfe, and there are the shops for Merchants, and Handi-crafts men of all sorts.

Neer to the West gate, by the second wall, is a verie goodly lodging, with many other thereto belonging, where the *Custos* of the Cittie, with his Soldiers & Officers, do make their abiding. And neere thereto, is two other great Muzes or Stables, well able to containe aboue three hundred Horsses, deputed only for seruice and guard of the Pallace. The third part of the Cittie, was assigned for dwellings to the Guard of the Kings roiall person, who were certaine stout men of the East, armed with long Bowes, because the vse of Crosse-browes, was not (as then) knowne in those parts. Now, at this present, are many goodly temples in the fore-named Market place, and very stately Stoues or Baths, made with great cost and charge. And neere to the Kings Pallace, is a place where the Money is coined, which is named the *Zecca*, which is made in forme of a quadrant Market place, with certaine Lodgings round about it, and those are the houses of the Maisters. In the middest thereof, is another faire dwelling, which is the house of the Lord of the Mint, where hee and his Notarie daily sit together; because the saide Mint (as in all other Countreyes) is an Office belonging to the King, and for his benefit.

Neere vnto the Mint, is another Market place, wher are the Goldsmiths shops, with their Consull; and he that keeps the Seale and stampe of the Monyes. In *Fez* they may not make any Ring, or anie other work of gold or Siluer, til the met-

tall be first sealed or stamped, on paine of great losse to the feller: but being sealed, an appointed price is paide, and then it may be vsed, as they do their mony. The greater number of the Goldsmithes, are Iewes, who worke al their labour in new *Fez*, and then bring it to sell in olde *Fez*, at a Market place assigned to them; next to the Apothecaries, because in old *Fez*, no Gold or Siluer may bee hammered; neither may any Mahometan vse the Art of a Goldsmith, because they terme it *v-furie*, to sell things made of Golde or Siluer, for anie greater valu then the waight only; but the Lords giue Libertie to the Iewes to do it, because they are accounted *Vsurers*. There are verie few, that make any worke for the Cittizens onely, neither haue they any other recompence then for the making. And that part of the Cittie, where (in elder times) the Guard of Archers dwelt, is now allotted to the Iewes onely, because the Modern Kings haue not kept such Guards, but such as haue first dwelt in the old Cittie, and at all such times as a King died, they were expelled by the Moores. And it was a great trouble to the King *Abusabih*, to translate the Iewes from the old City to the new, imposing a Tribute vpon them: and nowe there they remaine, in a verie long and large Market place, where they haue their Shoppes, Houses, and Synagogues. And they are increased to such a number, as verie hardly can they bee counted, especially since the Iewes were expelled by the King of *Spaine*. They are contemned of all men, and none of them may weare any Shooes; but they vse certaine Pantofles, made of Sea-Bulrushes, and on their heads they haue blacke *Tolibants*; and they that will weare Hats or Caps, must haue a piece of red cloth fastened thereon, to bee publickely noted from other men. Their tribute is to pay the King of *Fez* foure hundred Ducates euery month.

In brieft, this City was within the space of an hundred and forty years, furnished with strong Walles, Pallaces, Temples, Colledges, & al those Ornaments which a City can haue: and I am of the minde, that the cost was greater, bestowed on those ornaments, then on the wals which do engirt it.

VVithout the City, are manie great wheels made, to mount the water out of the

A Seale or stamp appointed for Gold and Siluer.

Concerning the Iewes in *Fez*.

The Iewes dwelling place assigned by it self.

The great number of the Iewes, & how they are despised generally.

The time of the Citties compleating.

Wheels for conuayance of water into the Cittie.

Who deuised the water Channels.

Who inuented the wheels.

Menthat refuse Offices in Court.

The order of the K. of Fez his Court.

The Law of Mahomet against temporall Lordes.

Forcible dominion, both in the East and West.

the Riuer, conuaying it vpon the City wal, where certain Channel gutters are made, which carry it to the Pallaces, Temples, and Gardens. And these Wheels haue been made in our time, to wit, within an hundred yeares: because before, the Water came into the Cittie by Channels, that is, by Water-guides, which issued from a Spring or Fount, distant from the Cittie the space of ten miles, which Channels were made vpon certaine Arches, very formal and artefiiall. And it is said, that those conuayances were inuented by a skilfull man of *Geneway*, at such time as Merchants were much faouored by the King. And the Wheels were made by a *Spanyard*, which are (indeed) very admirable thinges; especially, because in such a power of Water, they turne no more but foure and twenty times both by day and night. I should adde to this discourse, that not many Noble men dwell in this Cittie, or such as are allied to Lords, or Courtyers, because all the rest are meane people, and imployed in base offices. For men of reputation and quality, thinke scorne of admission to any Court offices: beside, they hold it a disgrace vnto them, to match their Daughters with any that are of the Kings house.

31. Among all the Lords of *Affrica*, it is not found, that any was created King or Prince, by election of the people, or called from any Prouince or City. By the Law of *Mahomet*, there was not any Temporall Lord, that could tearme himselfe ligitimate, except the chiefe Priests or Bishops. But after that this authority consisted in the Bishops onely; all the heads or commanders of the people, which liued in the deserts, began to approach to inhabited Countries, and (by force of Armes) instituted diuers Lordes against the Law of *Mahomet*, and likewise against the Bishops prerogatiues. As it happened in the West, that the *Turks*, *Curdes*, and *Tartares*, with others comming from those parts, got dominion of what Lands they could attaine vnto. Also in the East raigned the people of *Zeneta*, and they likewise of *Lontuna*; afterward the *Pradiatores*, and after them, the family of *Marino* ruled there. True it is,

that the men of *Lontuna*, came in ayde and fauour of the western people, to deliuer them from the handes of Heretiques: and heerein the Lordes were Friendes to the people, vntill they began to grow to tyranny, as apparantlie hath beene noted. Vpon which occasion, no Lordes are now made by true inheritance, nor by election of the people, or by the greatest, or by some Captaine: but euery Prince, before hee dyeth, leagueth and bindeth the greater and most potent men of his Court, to create (as Prince) after his death, either his Sonne, or Brother of the said Son. Wherein many times an Oath is giuen them, or else (as it hath often hapned) they would elect for their Lord whom themselues pleased. In this manner have they vsed to create the Kinges of *Fez*, & so soone as the King is publickly named; he maketh one of his noblest persons his chiefe Counseller, assigning him a third part of his Kingdomes Reuenues. Then doth he elect a Secretary, who serueth for Secretary, Treasurer, and chiefe Steward of his House. Afterward, hee createth the Captaines of his Cauallerie, who are deputed to the Kingdoms custody, and therefore are most times ready with their Horses in the field. Then, for euery City is a Governour established, who enioyeth the benefits of the City vnder Obligation; to keep such a number of Horses at his owne charge, ready for the Kinges commaund; that is, so often as he shall neede to leuy an Armie.

Next, certain Comissaries are made, and Agents ouer the people that dwell in the Mountaines; and likewise ouer the *Arabes* that are his Subiects. The Comissaries doe administer Iustice, according to the diuersitie of Lawes, appointed for the people. The Agents stand charged, to gather the Reuenues, and keepe diligent account of ordinary payments, as also such as are not ordinary. Then are certaine Barrons appointed, who are tearmed in their language, *Custodes*: euery one of them hath a Castle, or else one or two Villages, from whence they deriue certaine allowances for liuelode, and to maintaine their quality and condition, in accompanying the King with his Armies.

Also,

The order of Princes creation at this present in Fez

After publike nomination of the King, the Creation of new Officers

Arabes Subiects to the King of Fez.

Comissaries and Agents, and their seuerall offices.

Allowance for keeping Light-horses.

Christian slaves, Servants of the Stable.

The Commissary for the Camels.

The Steward for the Kings provision.

Officers of the Kitchin.

Maister of the Horfe.

The Commissary for Corne, and his vnder Officers.

A Captain of fifty Horfe.

Captaine of the Guard.

Also, they keepe light Horses, whose charges they beare when they are in Fielde: but in times of peace, Corne, Butter, and powdred flesh is allowed them all the yeare, but very little Monney; and they take charge of the Horses abroad, no lesse then in the Cittie, because the King furnisheth them with all things. And all the Seruants of the Stable are Christian Slaues, who doe wear great Iron Chaines at their feet: but when the Army goeth abroad, the said Christians doe ride on Camels of burden

There is another Commissary ouer the Camels, who giueth entertainment to the Shepherds, and other Hards, & dispenseth with them for the fieldes, being a Prouider also for a number of Camels, only for imployment in the kings businesse, and every Cameller keepeth two Camels in ordinary, for the Kings carriages onely, and according as commaund is giuen. Then there is a Steward, who hath charge to furnish, provide, keepe and lay forth Monies, for providing the Kinges dyet, and for the Army, and he keepeth tenne or twelue great Pauillions, wherein he disposeth the Victualls, still changing and rechanging the burdened Camels; to the end, the Army may suffer no want, and vnder his controule are the Officers of the Kitchin. Then there is a Maister of the Stable, who hath care of all the Horses, Mules, and Camels, belonging to the King; and he prouideth all thinges necessary for them, and for the familie vnder his charge, laying out whatsoeuer is therein thought expedient. He hath also vnder him a Commissarie for the Corn or Graine, conuaying the Oates, Barlye, and other provision for the Beastes, from place to place: and this Commissarie hath Chancellours and Clearkes, who doe set downe all the Corne which is spent, and yeildeth an account thereof to the Maister of the Houshold.

There is likewise a Captaine of fiftie Horfe, who (after the manner of Cursors) doe ride to lay impositions, on behalfe of the Secretary to the King, and in the Kinges name. And there is another much more honorable Captaine, who is chiefe of the secret Guard, and hath authoritie (in the Kings name) o-

uer the Officers that doe executions, and for confiscations in cases of Iustice. Hee may apprehend the greatest persons, commit them to prison, and vse seueritie of Iustice on them, when hee is commaunded by the King. The King hath also neere him a faithfull Chancellour, in whose keeping is the Kinges Seale; and he writeth the Letters that passe the Kings hand, sealing them with the same Seale.

Of Lackeyes and Footmen there are a great number, who haue a Captaine ouer them, that entertaineth, dischargeth and deuideth among them their most and least Wages, according as he iudgeth of their sufficiency. And when the King graunteth audience, the saide Captaine is alwaies present, and exerciseth the Office (as it were) of a cheefe Chamberlaine. There is also a Captaine of the carriages, whose Office is, to the conuay Tents and Pauillions fro place to place, wherein the Kings light Horse-men are lodged: but the Kinges Pauillions are carried on Mules, & those of the Souldjors on Camels. There is a company of Ensigne-bearers, that carry the Streamers and Standards on the waies: but one of them goeth alwayes before the Army, bearing a verie high pointed Standard. And all these Ensigne-bearers are guides, knowing the waies and passages ouer Riuers, woods, and Deserts, keeping a great companie of Drummers, that play vpon Drums made of Copper, like vnto great Kettles, broad aboue, and narrow beneath, being couered aboue with Skinnes, and they carrie them on Horfe-backe, with certaine counterpoizes directly against the Drummes, because their weight is heauie. These Horses are of the best, and swiftest of pace that can be gotten: for it is held as a very great shame, when any drum is lost. And those drummes sound so strongly, and with such a loud noise: that they may bee heard (a long while) a great way off, making the horses and men to tremble; and they play vpon them with Buls Pizzels.

The Trumpets are not kept at the Kings charge, but they of the Cittie are bound to keepe a certaine number of them, at their owne cost: and they attend vpon the Kings table, as also when he goeth to battaile. There is a Maister

The Lord Chancellour.

Captaine of the Lackeyes

Captaine of the carriages.

Ensigne-bearers, & drums of Copper, carried on horfe-backe.

Great shame to loose a Drum in war.

The trumpets

Maister of the Ceremonies, and his office

The Kinges Household Negro slaues, and his Wre.

The Kinges dominion and reuenues.

The manner of payments.

Toule paid in the great Citie onely.

Mahomets law against reuenues.

Concerning Lands, and reliefe of the poore.

Tyranny and vsurpation in the Lords.

ster of the Ceremonies, who when the King calleth his Counsell, or admitteth audience; alwaies standeth at the Beds feet, or-lering their places, and causing them to speake each after other, according to their degree and dignity. The Kings Family or Houshold, are (for the most part) *Negro*-slaues, and of them also are the Chamber-Maides and Women: Neuerthelesse, he hath his Wife alwaies white. Hee hath also diuers Christian slaues, and they are *Spaniards* or *Portugals*; And all the Weomen are vnder the Guard of Eunuches, who are all *Negro*-slaues.

This King (in truth) hath a great dominion, but smal reuenues, which hardly doe amount to the value of three hundred thousand Ducates. And the fift part thereof also commeth not to his hands, because the residue is assigned, as we haue formerly declared: and the one halfe of those Reuenues, is in Graine, Cattle, Oyle, & Butter, comming in by diuers wayes. Some places doe pay for so much Land, as can be Ploughed in a day by a paire of Oxen, a Ducate and a quarter. Others pay for euery Chimney or Fire, as much. Other places there are, where for euery Man (from fifteene yeares vpward) is paide as much, and in other plces, both for Men and Women. Nor is there any other oppression of Toule, but in the great Cittie onely.

I may not conceale, that (by the law of *Mahomet*) Temporall Lordes might not hold any Reuenues or Rents, except the tribute appointed to them, which was: that euery person who had an hundred ducates in ready Mony, stood bound to pay the Lord (out of that summe) two ducates and a halfe yearly, so long as such a quantity lasted. And euery one, that gathered of his owne Land tenne quarters of Corne, was bound to deliuer the tenth part: And such rentages were yeilded into the Bishops hands, who, beside the Kings supplic, made store of the ouer-plus to common benefit, wherewith were relieved the poore sickely persons, Widdowes, and warre maintained against the Enemy. But from the time that the Bishops power failed, the Lords (as hath beene said) began to vse tyranny: and it did not suffice them to vsurpe on those

Reuenues, spending them according to their owne appetites; but they annexed vnto them new tributes, so that, thow all *Affrica*, few Countrey people are found, that can allow themselves so much, as wil be sufficient for their food and rayment onely. And hence ensued it, that no learned man, or of honest conuersation, will haue familiaritie with temporall Lords, nor seede with them at one Table; much lesse accept any gift or present from them, because they account the faculties of those Lords, to be worse then robbery.

The K. of *Fez*, keepeth continually in pay, sixe thousand Horse, five hundred Crosse-bowes, and as many Shot, all on horse-backe, and ready in order at euery command: but in times of peace, they are kept a mile off from his person; that is, when the King is out of the field, for being in *Fez*, he careth not for any guard. If it happen, that Warre is to be made with the *Arabes* his enemies; then those sixe thousand Horse are not sufficient, but he calleth such *Arabes* as are his Subiects to his ayde, of whom a great number are leuyed at their own charge, and they (indeede) are more practised in warre, then the sixe thousand belonging to the King. The pomp and Ceremonies of this King is verie small, and not many are willingly done vnto him: but at Feastes, or in some publike shewes; of necessity then they must be afforded, as in this manner. When the King will ride abroad, first of all, the Maister of the Ceremonies makeith it knowne to all the Cursores in the Kinges Name; then they giue intelligence thereof to the Kings Kintred, to the Captaines, *Custodes*, and to the other Cavallery, who meete all together in the Market-place, which is before his Pallace; comming thither by al the neereft waies. And as the King issueth forth of the Pallace, the Cursores doe deuide all the Horse-men in order.

First do the Ensignes lead the way; next the Drummes; then the Maister of the Stable, with all his Officers and Familiars; then the Steward with his Attendants; then the *Custodes*; after them comes the Maister of the Ceremonies; then the Kings Secretarie, the Treasurer, the Iudge, and the Captaine of

Contempt of the temporall Lords.

The Kinges continuall preparation for warre.

Of war with the *Arabes*.

The pompe & ceremonies of the King.

When the K. rideth abroad the order of euery degree in their feuerall places.

The King and his attendants

of the Army. In the next place rideth the King, with his chiefe great Counsellour, and with some other Princes: certaine Officers riding directly before the Kings person; one bearing a sword; another a Shield; another carrying the Kings Crosse-bow; with all the Footmen and Lackyes round about them. One of them beareth the Kings Partizane; another the Couering for the Saddle, and Head-stall for the Horffe. When the King alighteth on foot, the Saddle is covered with the couerture, and the Head-stall put ouer the Bridle, to hold the Horffe by. Another Foote-man carrieth the kings Pantofles, which are wrought with great cost and curiosity. After the King rideth the Capitaine of the Foot-men; next the Eunuches; and then the Kinges Household. Then follow the light Horsemen; and next them the Crosse-bowes and Caliuers.

The footmen and their office when the King is alighteth

The Kings weareing garments.

The habite which the King then weareth, is meane and honest, and such as know him not, will scarcely think he is a King: because his Foote-men are more proudly cloathed, in rich cloath, curiouslie embroidered. No King, or Mahometane Lord, weareth any crown or any thing that may resemble it; because the Law of Mahomet doth forbid it. When the King remaineth in the

The King weareth no Crowne.

The order of the Kings being in the field.

Field, first the great Tabernacle of the King is planted in the midst, which is made like to the Walles of a Castle, with Turrets and Quadrants on each side, containing fifty yardes in length; and on the top of euery side, are little Towers, made of Cloth, with Spires, Piramides, and round balles on each Turret, which seeme to be of Golde. This Tabernacle hath foure Gates, at euery onewhereof standeth the Guard of Eunuches, and in the midst thereof there is another Pauillion. The Chamber wherein the King sleepeth, is made in such manner, that it may be very easily taken vppe, and set downe againe as occasion serueth. About this Tabernacle, are the lodgings of the Officers; and such Courtiers as are most fauoured by the King: And round about them againe, are placed the Tents of the Custodes, which are made of Goats skines, like to them of the Arabes. Euen as it were in the midst, are

The Kinges resting chamber in the field.

The Custodes Tents.

the Buttry, Pantry, Seller, and Kitchen, belonging to the King, and they are all verie great Pauillions. Not far from them, are Tents wherein the Light-horsemen Souldiors have their lodging, who doe all feede on the Kinges common dyning boord, but in very base manner. A little further off is the Stable, being certaine covered places, wherein the Horffes are kept one by another. Without the circuit of these Lodgings, are the Muleters abydings for the Kings carriages, as also diuers Boothes of Butchers, Pedlers, and other retailers. Merchants & Artificers that follow the Fielde, are ranked by the Muleters. So that all the Lodgings about the Kings Pauillions, do appeare like a builded City; because the Custodes Tents serue in stead of Wals, which are made and planted one by another, that no man can enter into the saide Lodgings, except it bee by appointed waies. About the Kinges Tabernacle, is the watch kept al night; but the watch men are silly persons, no better then Armour-bearers. The like Guard is about the Stable of Horffes; but by the simplicity of these Watch-men, not onely are the Kings Horffes many times stolne; but also diuers enemies vnto the King haue entred, with purpose to kill the King. The King (almost all times of the yeare) is in the fiede, as well for safety of the Kingdome; as to preserue in peace and amity the Arabes his Subjects, wher they spend the time in hunting, or playing at the Chess.

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The Light-horsemens Tents.

The Stable.

The Muleters Tents.

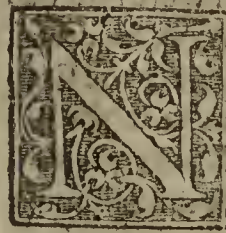
Merchants & Artificers.

Watch about the Kings Tabernacle, and about the stable of horffes.

The King in field well neere the whole yeare.

CHAP. II.

Of diuers Customes and manners of burying the dead; Of ancient Obsequies, and their Ceremonies. Who was the first Inuenter of them; And how the dead haue haue beene lamented for.



Numa Pompilius was the first Inuenter of Obsequies for the dead, and instituted a chiefe Bishop, who had the care and charge thereof. The ancient

Numa Pompilius first deuised Obsequies.

ancient *Romaines* had two kindes of burying their dead. One was, to lay them in the ground, and cover them with earth. And the other was, to burne the body in a pile of Wood, which they rearm'd * *Rogus*: but this manner of behauour continued not long, and the first of the Senators that was burned, being dead, was *Sylla*. The order obserued therein, was thus: First marched the Torch-bearers, and after them all the Colledges of Priests. Then followed an Image of Waxe, made in true resemblance of the dead party; before which also went a man, who should counterfeit the deceased in countenance, called * *Archimimus*. The bodie was carried in a bed, with many Escutchions of Armes fastned thereon, before which went the founders of Trumpets, if he were a man mature of years: but those of young daies, were carried with the sound of Flutes, and followed with Songs. For *Macrobius* saith, those Auncients verily beleued, that Soules being deliuered out of their bodily Prisons, returned to the original of Musical sweetnesse, that is to say, to Heauen. Some thinke, that it was so done, because the Soule is held by many, to be harmonious, which *Herophyus* first of all credited. When they came to the place where the fire was prepared, the body was laid therein, and there burned, which done being in presence of the Parents, neereft kinred, allyes and friends to the dead party: they gathered vp the Ashes, which being put into Vnes, or other vessels, was placed in some tomb, with other pots full of Wine & Milke, and fire in others; that burned for many yeares, it was so wonderfully composed. Then one of the neereft Kinred, pronounced a Funerall Oration in his praise, which being ended, the woman, who was hyred to lament and mourne for the dead, being called * *Præsica*, would cry with a loud voyce these last wordes, *I, Licet*; as if shee would haue said, *Ire Licet*, as much to say, as *He must needes depart*. Then the bones and ashes were put into a Sepulcher, before which (as *Seruius* saith) an Altar was readie furnished. All these Ceremonies being finished, the last *Adieu* was deliuered with a loud voyce, in this manner, *Adieu, Adieu, Adieu; Mee must follow*

* The buryall Fire.

Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 3.

* The chiefe Actor.

The manner of carrying the body.

Macrobius.

Alexander Aphrodisens (in his *Problemes*) giueth another reason.

Of burning the dead body.

* A Woman mourner, going before the Corps.

Vide *L. Gregor. Giral. et Seruius*.

chee; according as the course of Nature shall permit vs.

And because heere a question may be made, to wit; how it should be possible, to select and know the Ashes of the body, from among them of the Wood and Faggots, all of them being burned together: I will set downe that which I haue read in the Geography of *Raphaell Volaterranus*. Hee saith, that the bodies of great Lords were sowed vp in a Cloath, made of the Stone called *Amiantus*, which neuer can be consumed in Fire, but onely that which is enclosed in it; and that Cloath was made in the Isle of *Eubæa*, now called *Negropont*, in the Towne *Carystos*, very neere to *Chios*. This custome of burning dead bodies, continued among the *Romaines*, til the time of the *Antonine Emperours*, when then they began againe to bury them in the earth.

The first Honour which they vsed to performe in the Obsequies of famous persons, was, to commend the partie by an Oration: And the first that made Funerall Oration, in praise of the dead, was *Valerius Publicola*, on the death of *Brutus*. The second Honour, was the play of the *Gladiatores* or Fencers: And *Marcus* and *Decius*, the Sonnes of *Iunius Brutus*, were the first that made shew thereof, in honour of their Father. The third honour, was to make a banquet of magnificent furnishment. The fourth, was a distribution of flesh to all the common people. They had likewise an order, that within some while after the Obsequies, they would strew diuers flowers and swete odours vpon the Sepulcher: as the *Romaine* people did on *Scipio*. And such as could not be buried with the like, and so great pomp (for the expences were insupportable) were buried in the night time, by some which were thereto deputed, who were rearm'd *Vespillons*, that carried the dead body to the graue, clothed in white, and he or shee that were neereft of Kinred, closed vp his eies.

No long time after the sicke person had surrendred vp his Soule, the Chamber was set wide open, and all of the Household were permitted to enter, as also the Neighbours, and three of them (with a loud voyce) called him by his name three times. Afterward, his body

Of knowing the Ashes of the body..

Raphaell Volaterranus in Geography.

* Some say Salamanders haue.

The Honours done in the Obsequies of great men. The first Honour.

The second Honour.

The third Honour.

The fourth Honour.

Another Custome.

Of buriall in the night time by the *Vespillons*.

Ouid in 6. de Fast. After the soul was departed.

Of Tarquines washing.

Plat. in Lib. 12 de Legib.

The order of Funerall pompe in Plo-toes Citty of Athens.

Of carrying h'm to the Graue.

The manner of buriall in other nations

Of the Greeks

The Funerall of Patroclus.

Of the Persians.

Of the Massagetes and Derbices, who did care their

dy was washed with warme water, and this Office was done by certaine good Weomen, according as *Euaius* reporteth. The good Woman, that washed and annointed the bodie of *Tarquine*; the Heire gaue her the House, with some other rewards thereto designed: And ouer the doore of the house, were boughes of Cypres thickely placed. If the party deceased were a worthy man, and of authoritie; the Cittizens were inuited to his Obsequies, by one to whose trust the office was referred, and the Wife of the dead Man, with al the Women of his Kinne, went along with the Corpes in white Garments. *Plato* writeth, that the Funerall pompe in his Citty, was in this manner. Such as were in white habites, neither shed any teares, or vsed any lamentations. Two Quires of Singers, the one of fifteene Boyes, and the other of as manie Maidens, continued about the Coffin, while the Priests (ioyning with them) sung all the praises of the dead person; and this lasted the whole day, in commendation of his felicity. On the morrow following, early in the mornig, the younger sort carryed him to his Graue, and chaste men, that neuer had beene married, rode before on Horse backe, and then came next, the band of footemen in their Armour. The young Lads followed, singing Hymnes in their paternall language. The Maides accompanied with aged Women, came after, and then he was ensepulurde, as we vnder-ground lay our dead in a vault.

But among other Nations, the custome of burying their dead was diuers. The Greekes also were burned after death, as *Lucian* witnesseth. The Noble-men among them, were neuer burned alone, as *Homer* recordeth in the Song at the Funerals of *Patroclus*; for with him were burned Oxen, Sheepe, Dogges, Horses, and twelue stout and valiant Sonnes of Noble *Troyans*. And *Achilles* would needs haue his haire burned, with the dead body of *Patroclus*. In *Persia* they neuer interred the bodies of the dead; except they had formely beene torne and dismembred by Dogs or Fowles.

The *Massagates* and *Derbices*, people of *Scythia*, did account them to be most miserable, that died by any oppression

of sicknesse. For when their Fathers, Mothers, and Kinred, had passed the age of seauenty yeares; they would cut their throats; and deuiding their bodies in pieces and gobb. *Q* did eate them among their Mutton, Goat, Veale, and other flesh: accounting it much more conuenient, thus to sustaine their owne bodies with their friends, then to suffer them to be deuoured of Wormes. Only the bodies of old women they would not touch, but abstaining from them; when they had first stified them, then they buryed them. Which custome, most sauage, *Tertullian* in his Bookes against *Marcion*, attributeth to the *Pontique* people, saying: *They serued their Tables at Feasts, with the Flesh of the bodies of their slaine Parents, eating them with other Beastes*. Such as ended not their liues in this kind, their death was reputed most vnhappy vnto them.

*Stobeu*s writeth, that they of *Colchos* neuer buried their dead, but hung their bodies vpon Trees, and this kind of Sepulture they teatmed *Ayry*. The *Egyptians*, so soone as any one among them was dead; they would draw his braines forth at his Nosthrils with an Iron Instrument, filling the place againe with sweete perfumes. Then they made incision into his belly, with an *Aethyopian* Stone, called *Laigne*, and hauing taken out his bowels; filled the body againe with many sorts of sweete odours, beaten and compounded together. Then, for the space of seuentie daies together, they salted the body with *Niter*, and annointing it with *Gumme*, wrapped it in a Sheete. And the neereft kinred to the partie dead, hauing made an hallow Image or Statue of Wood, according to his resemblance; therein they enclosed the dead body, and then buried it. The *Scythians* vsed to bury in the Graue with the dead body, such as were dearest and nearest to him. The *Bactrians* and *Hircanians* kept Dogges publicely, and some privately in their chiefest Citties; by which Dogges (each man according to his degree and faculty keeping them) they were after death torne and dismembred. For they held this kind of buriall to the best, and they called those Dogges by a vocable in their owne Language, to wit; *Sepulchraux*. Which cruell and inhumaine behaviour,

dead Fathers and Mothers.

Tertul. in lib. cont. Marcion.

Of the *Colchians*.

Of the *Egyptians*, and how they buried their dead.

Of the *Scythians*.

Of the *Bactrians*, and *Hircanians*.

Nicanor Lieutenant to great Alexander.

our, when Nicanor (Lieutenant to Alexander the Great, against the Bactrians) fought to reforme; hee lost almost the whole Kingdome. Saint Hierome saith, that the Hyrcanians were not only torne by Dogs after their death; but were also throwne halfe aliue to the Fowles of the ayre. As the Poet Lucretius singeth; *Viva vident viuo sepeltri viscera busto.*

The Poet Lucretius.

*Sauage people nere to Mexolis, and the Riphcean hills.

Which is as much to say; That in a living Sepulcher, they saw their entrailles buried aliue. The * Effedones, Scythians of Asia, celebrated the Funerals of their Fathers and Mothers, with Songes of great ioy, & all the kinred being assembled; would teare their members in pieces with their teeth, mingling it in their banquet with the flesh of other beastes, as formerly we haue said of the Massagates.

Solinus in Polihist. Cap. 25.

And they vsed the skull of the head, called *Cranes*, in stead of a Cup or Mazzer to drinke in, it being round enchased with Gold: And this (saith Pliny) was accounted an especiall great Office of piety.

Plin. in lib. 9.

The Thracians buried their dead laughing, and highly reioyced, because (as they said) That they departed were from euill, & arrived at beatituade.

Pomp. Mela. in lib. 2. Cap. 1. Herodot. in Melpom. Stobaeus de For. Ser. 7

The Celtes, neighbors to the ocean (as Stobaeus affirmeth) accounted it as a villainous shame to shunne the ruine of a Wall or House when it fell to the ground. And when any inuadation of the Sea happened, they would run out armed, and withstand (so long as they could) the waters fury, euen til they were drowned in the deepe; least, by flight away, they should be reputed fearefull of death.

Strabo in lib. 4.

The wise Brachmanes, a people of India, did wonderfully despise death, and (as Strabo reporteth) did greatly exercise themselves in contempt thereof.

Vide Arrianus de Gest. Alexā.

The history of Calan the Philosopher, one of the Gymnosophists of India, is very notable; who when he was resolved to dye, threw himselfe voluntarily into a great fire. The like did Zarmanocheegas the Indian, in Athens, vpon whose tomb was written these wordes following.

Zarmanocheegas his Epitaph. Plutar. in vit. Numa Pom.

Zαρμανοχηγας υψος ετιο βλεπει τις κατ'επιταφια ενδραπει εν ευατορ ανδραποδιστος. That is to say; Zarmanocheegas, the Indian of Bargas, making himselfe immortal, according to the customes of the Countrey of India; lyeth heere. Numa Pompilius prohibited the Romaines, to vse any sorrow for deceased Infants; or vnder three

yeares olde: and for such as had passed that time, he appointed so many moneths mourning, as they were yeares aged. Women vsed to mourne for their Husbands, ten months at the least: and if any one married againe, before the time of mourning were expired, shee was very greatly blamed and reprobud. It was also a custome among weomen, when their Husbands were dead; to teare their haire, harne their faces, and beat their handes one against another, which sottishnesse is yet to this day obserued in Rome. For many times, I haue seen Matrones & Ladies of Rome, to teare the faire tresses of their Haire, and throw themselues on the dead bodies of their Husbands.

How long women mourned for their Husbands.

An idle custome yet obserued in Rome.

CHAP. III.

Whence the custome grew, of saying to such as sneeze; God saue ye, or Christ help ye. And for what reason, a man maketh the signe of the Crosse on his mouth, when he yawneeth or gapeth.



He yeare of our saluation, 619. in Italy happened a strong and very strange diseased, that when men sneezed, they died suddenly. Which gaue admittance and entrance thence-forward, to a good and commendable custome: that when any were seene or heard to sneeze; every one present, or neere, would say, GOD help ye, Christ blesse ye; and from that time hitherto, the custome hath not vnprofitably continued. Yawning and gaping, was likewise an occasion of as sudden death, without ability of bringing the iawes together againe. For remedy whereof, and to preuaile (so faire as men might) against this hurtfull inconuenience; whē any one yawned, he was aduised to vse the like good words inwardly, as *Cod defende me*, or *Christ keep me*, and (withall) to make the signe of the crosse on his mouth; and it pleased God that this sudden euill ceased. For which cause, it hath not bin thought discommendable, to keep the same fashion

A strange disease appearing in Italie, in the yeare 619.

Yawning and gaping caused people suddenly to dye.

The reason of
making the
signe of the
Crosse.

Tertulian lib. de
Corona. Milit.

Farre be su-
perstition fro
any Christian
foule.

still in remembrance, and in all Christi-
an Nations, the vse thereof is maintai-
ned. Yea, and so much the rather, be-
cause the signe of the Crosse is our first
badge of Christianity, and we receiue
it in Baptisme; to the end, that when
further yeares shall enable vs, wee may
not be ashamed to fight vnder that stan-
dard, being a reuerent signe and memo-
riall of our Redeemers passion, who
would suffer on the Crosse, for the sal-
uation of all his people. To which
purpose, Tertullian saith, in his Booke
of the Crowne of Warfare, as follo-
weth. *Ad omnem progressum, atque pro-
motum; Ad omnem aditum & exitum;
Ad vestitum & calceatum; Ad lauacra;
Ad mensas; Ad limina; Ad cubilia; Ad se-
dilia; quacunq; nos conuersatio exercet,
frontem signaculo terimus.* That is. *At eue-
ry steppe, and moouing; At euey entring,
and departing; At apparrelling, and vn-
cloathing; At washing; At the Table; At
the doore Threshold; At bedding, sitting
still, or what conuersation else soeuer is v-
sed; this signe on the forehead is not offen-
sive.* Not that any superstitious opini-
on is conceiued thereof, or that the
bare signe hath any power to defend,
without the maine helpe of all, which
is Gods gracious assistance: for wel we
know, it is not the signe, but he that was
thereon so cruelly handled.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Originall, of vsing these
wordes: *Ie vous baife les mains; I kisse
your hands.*



Romponius Letus writeth, that the vse of kif-
sing handes, did come
from the ancient Em-
perors, who first of all
gaue their handes to
Noble-men, and then after came the
kisse; but to meaner people, they gaue
forth the knee to be kissed. And thence,
as I am perswaded ensued this manner
of speech; *I kisse your hand*, as declaring
that so should the man be saluted, who
is worthy of empire and soueraigne-
tie. Else, it may be thought to be de-

For two rea-
sons, we say, I
kisse your
hand.

riued from the *Carthagenians*, who mee-
ting each other, vsed no salutations
by wordes; but in signe of friendly ami-
tie, closed with their right handes, and
so each of them kissed the others hand.
I am of the minde, that wee doe not
hold this Custome from so long a con-
tinuance; but my opinion is, that it ra-
ther proceeded from the homage of
some Vassailes and Lidge men, that
stood obliged to doe such seruice to
their Lordes, Iustices, and Guides: for
in many places, in stead of this homage,
some stand bound to kisse the knee, in
case of a new Recognisance. For some
prooffe hereof, I haue a Court-roule of
rents appertaining to me, called *De Lu-
riac*, made in the yeare 1352. which ma-
keth Affidavit heereof, in euery one of
the Tenants answers, where it is set
downe in the words following. *Pro
quibus rebus, fundis & possessionibus ipse
fecit homagium ligium dicto Domino de
Luriaco, vt assuetum est genibus flexit,
manus suas iunctas tenendo inter manus
ipsius Domini, eiusque pollices osculando.*
That is: *For; and in consideration of all
which Landes, Goods, and Possessions; hee
maketh himselfe a Liege Man in homage,
to the said Lord of Luriac. So that, vsually,
vpon his bended knees, and his hands ioyntly
vpheld, between the handes of the said Lord,
he kisse his Fingers.*

The Authors
coniecture of
the originall
of this cour-
tesie.

Prooffe by a
president of
his owne.

CHAP. V.

Of the denision of the yeare, and diuersitie
thereof among the Romaines. Who first
found out the Houres, and made Clockes
and Dyals. What is meant by the Bissex-
tile; by a Month; by a day naturall; a
weeke, fortnight, houre, point, minute,
ounce, and Atome.



Most certaine it is (as *Iose-
phus* writeth, in the first and
fourth Bookes of his *Iewish
Antiquities*) that the He-
brues deuided the yeare in-
to twelue moneths, and so ordained it
afterward in *Aegypt*: for the auncient
Aegyptians made the yeare to consist
of

*Ioseph. in lib. de
Iudaic. Anti-
quit. lib. 1. et 4.*

The Hebrues deuided the yeare into 12. months.

The Romaines conformable with the Greeks.

Julius Caesar his ordination of the yeare.

Dies intercalares, the odde day of the leap yeare, which falleth euery fourth yeare.

* L. Quum Bis sextus F. dezer. signifi.

Julius Caesar his deuisions of the yeare, months, weeks, daies, houres, &c.

Of the begin- ning of the yeare among the Romaines.

of two moneths, and afterward of foure. The Arcadians of three; the Carians and Arcanians, of fixe. The Greekes accounted their yeare, to bee three hundred fifty foure daies: And the Romaines, from the time of Romulus, finished their yeare in as many daies as the Greekes did; comprehending it in ten months, and beginning it in March, though it disagreed with the course of the Sunne and Moone; to the circumference whereof Numa Pompilius brought it, by addition of fifty six daies. And yet the yeare being not fully sufficient, Julius Caesar made it apt to the course of the Sunne, making it to containe 365. daies, and in taking away the Dies intercalares, said he did it; because that a day might be added to the month of February, which then was the last of the yeare, and that day wanted to make the yeare compleate. Whereupon hee concluded, that from foure to foure yeares, one day should be added to the month of February, which was called Bissextilis Annus, the Leape yeare. And the reason of this name, was, that two daies of equall degree, were tearmed the sixt of the Calends of March, euen as now we find it to be, * and therefore do account two daies for one.

The same Caesar deuided the yeare into twelue months; the month into foure weeks, and some odde daies: each weeke into seauen daies; the day into foure partes, and to each part hee appointed fixe houres. And to euerie houre, foure points or quarters; to the point or quarter, ten moments or minutes; to a moment, two and twentie ounces; and to an ounce, forty seauen Atomes, that is to say, numbers indiuisible; for ἀτομος in Greeke, is as much to say, as without diuision. The month is part of the Solary yeare; the Weeke, foure partes of the month; the naturall weeke day, part of the weeke; the Quadrant, foure partes of the day; the hour, the sixt part of the quadrant; the point, the fourth part of the houre; the moment or minute, the tenth part of the point; the ounce, the twelfth part of the minute; and the Atome, the fourth part of the ounce.

The ancient Romaines hauing dedicated the Moneth of March to their God Mars; began the yeare with that

month. Afterward they tooke Ianuary for the first month of the yeare, as Plutarch writeth; because that after the Kinges were expelled, the first Consuls were created in the Calends of Ianuary. Wherefore, this they did, in memorie of their liberties reconery, and vtter abolition of tyranny. They obserued also the great yeare (called by some the Platonickall yeare) which they saide was to bee ended, when all the Planets should haue made their intire reuolution, and were returned to the same place againe. And concerning this yeare, Authours haue not well accorded. For some say, that it finisheth in 2484. yeares; and others in 5552. Some doe hold, that it cannot be concluded, but in 49000. Romaine yeares; and others say, in 36000. Iosephus hath left written, that the great yeare consisteth of 1000. yeares. Our ancients began the yeare diuersly. The Greekes (in the first place) making their glory in the destruction of Troy, began their yeare at that time. The Romaines counted from the building of Rome. The Mahometanes counted, and yet doe, their time, from the daies of the false Prophet, and imposture Mahomet. And we Christians do deriue our date, from the Natiuitie of our Lord Iesus Christ, the true Son of the euer-living God, or else from his Incarnation, which we hold to bee the truest course.

The houres tooke their name of the Sun, which in the Aegyptian language is cald Horus. Hermes Trismegistus hauing obserued in Aegypt, that a certaine Beatt (consecrated to Serapis) pissed twelue times in a day, keeping euermore equal space of time: deuised, to part the day into twelue houres, and this number of houres, was long time obserued, and afterward deuided into 24. The Sun dyal, whereof the shaddow (which is called Gnomon, that is to say, Measure) demonstrateth the houres: was first inuented at Lacedaemon, by Anaximenes the Milestian, and he called it Sciathericon, ἑὸς τῆς οὐραε; that is to say, Of the shaddow. Ctesippus Alexandrinus, inuented the Clepsidra, or water dyall, to discover the passage of houres, by drops of water falling from a vessell; expressely made for the purpose, like to a Garden watering pot, whereof Cicero maketh mention.

Platoes great and wonderfull yeare, about which the Authours much vary.

The Grecians.

The Romaines. The Tutks & Mahometanes

Christians.

How the houres tooke their name. V. de Macrobi Saturnal Lib. 1 Cap. 21. * A God in forme of an Oxe among the Aegyptians. The inuenter of the dayes deuision into houres. Of the Sundyall.

Of the water dyall.

Vitruvius in lib 9 de Architect. Cicero in Lib. 2 de natur. Deor. & 2. Tuscul.

The vsuall Dyall.

Of Clockes.

Afterward, by diuine and ingenious cunning, the Horologe or dyall of mettall or Iron, was found out, euen such as we now make vse of in these daies; with toothed Wheelles and counterpoises, which declared the houres, partly by shew; and partly by the sound of Belles. These did so naturally represent (by the same artefice) the course of all the Planets, Sunne and Moone: as it would seem to ye, that ye discerned the very same heauen. Like vnto that which is at Venice, on the place before Saint Marke, all richly guilded, & made with infinite cost.

CHAP. VI.

Vpon what occasion, and wherefore the daies of the week were called FERIA, HOLIDAYES, or FESTIUAL daies.

Pope Syluester the first, altered the daies of the weeke from the Gentiles custome.



Pope Syluester, the first of that name, labouring to extirpate the memory of vaine and false Gods: ordaind, that the daies of the weeke, which before did beare name of the Gods of the Gentiles, & Idolaters, should be otherwise altered and tearmed. For whereas our Sabbath day bare the name of the Sun; Munday, of the Moone; Tuesday, of Mars; Wednesday, of Mercury; Thursday, of Ioue or Jupiter; Friday, of Venus; and Saturday, of Saturne: they were deuided to the number of FERIA, or Holy-daies, and called the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth FERIA, after the same manner as the Hebrues had distinguished their daies, by the name of Sabbats, or Sabaoths. He called the day of Saturne, Sabaoth, according to the ancient vocable of the Law, which is interpreted Rest, or Repose; and imposed the name of Dies Dominicus, which we call Sunday, on the first FERIA, as a day sacred to the Lord, and which before had carried the name of the Sunne. This he did (as is said) at the request of the Emperour Constantine; albeit the Apostles had dedicated this day to God: because vpon the like or same day, our Lord and Re-

Feria prima, Sunday. Feria secunda, Munday, and so of the rest, not intending Holy-dayes only, but any day of the weeke.

The Apostles dedication.

deemer arose from the dead.

Yet so it is, that this name of FERIA, hath not, nor is obserued; but in matters Diuine and Ecclesiasticall; onely the daies of Sunday & Saturday excepted, which are not to be called FERIA. Likewise, the other fiue (among the Layicks) haue recouered their ancient names: a matter (questionlesse) much to be moaned, and whereat wee may blush with shame, because no more care was had in former times, to giue other Christian names to al those daies, to the end, that all memory of the Gentiles Gods might be lost among vs. These FERIA (among our ancients) were such daies, as it was not lawfull to trauaile on them, & were so named, a feriendis victimis, Of smiting the beasts in the sacrifices: Or else, a ferendis epulis, Of bringing victuals, which then were principally giuen to be eaten. The Romains sollemnized infinite feasts, causing them to be published by a common Cryer to the people, to the end, that they should not bee transgressed. Moreouer, they would haue no worke to be done on those daies; for hee that gaine-saied, was grieuouly punished.

Of the ordinary fiue daies in the weeke.

The FERIA in elder times were Festiual daies.

Feasts of the Romaines.

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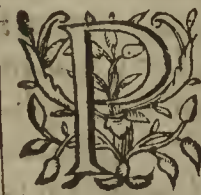
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CHAP. VII.

How, and by what meanes, Phisitions learned to take blood from diseased persons: And who it was that first wrote concerning Hearbes.

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Phisition learned to recouer sickly people (by that which is tearmed Phlebotomy, or blood-letting) of the Hippopotamus, which is called the Horse of the Riuer. It is a Beast of Nylus, who when hee feeleth himselfe filled with ouer-much meate, and to bee immeasurably fat or foggy: he commeth forth vpon the banck, seeking for new cut Canes and Reedes. And when hee feeleth any that are verie sharpe indeed, pressing downe his body vpon them; he pierceth a veine, whence blood immediatly issueth, and by this meanes, his body is discharged of the former sicknesse, and he closeth the wound againe with his owne Dung.

Plin. in Lib. 8. Cap. 26.

A beast liuing in the Riuer Nylus, hauing feete like to an Oxe, his backe & mane like a Horse, with a winding taile, and tusked like a Boare.

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There

* A Bird in Egypt that killeth Serpents.

Polid. Virgil. in Lib. 1. cap. 21.

There is likewise a Bird in the same *Agypt*, called * *Ibis*, somewhat like to the *Storke*, which Bird doth wash that part with her crooked Bill, where all Fowles doe annoyd their Excrements; and thereby (saith *Polydore Virgile*) came Phisitions to the knowledge of giving Glisters. *Orpheus* was the first, that of all other (bearing memory) wrote carefully concerning Hearbs, and (after him) *Museus*: albeit, some are of the mind, that they both liued in one and the same time. *Dioscorides* came after them, and *Pompeius Lenus Libertinus*; who being enfranchised by *Pompey* the great, traduced the Bookes of *Mithridates* out of Greeke into Latine, which concerned the property and nature of of Hearbs.

CHAP. VIII.

A true and admirable History, of a Maiden in *Poictu*, who for the space of three years, and more, liued without receiuing eyther meat or drinke.

The wish of Euripides.

Euripides desired, that either we might liue dumb, in perpetuall silence; or else, that dumbe thinges (without any Ambiguitie of wordes) might speake to vs. As for my selfe, I could wish, that eyther wee were like those *Indian* people called *Aslomi*, whom *Pliny* describeth to liue without mouthes: or else, contented like them, with the sole benefit of ayre, we might heere spend our time without eating or drinking. For, by this meanes, it might come to passe, that our Spirit, (which with a firme eye, cannot contemplate naturall things, no more then the *Owle* is able to looke on the bright raies of the *Sunne*) being freed from those *Mistes* and thicke *Vapours*, occasioned by the vse of *msates*; would comprehend with one looke, the *Ideas* and formes of things nakedly, & according as they are indeede. *Chrissippus* then, should not neede to take *Helleborus* with such obseruance, for the purging of his vnderstanding; to the end, he might the more subtilly see the strength of his Ar-

Plin. in lib. 7. Cap. 1.

The disability of the spirit in naturall things.

Heracl.

guments. Our soule (against her nature) would be no heavy burden at all vnto vs, for she should not serue as salt to our body, to keepe it from corrupting: But rather she would be there like to a *Pharos*, which (in our *Diuine Navigation*) would discouer the way, for our attaining to the *Land of Heauen*.
But in regard, that our life is maintained by the bodies nourishment; and that (by one mutuall assistance) both together do conserue themselves; euen while wee our selues doe study how to support this life, by continuall care for furnishing it with foodes: It ensueth, that thereby we altogether abase, and cast downe that part of the soule to the earth, which otherwise (of it selfe) would couet nothing more, then to eleuate it selfe to high and heauenly things. Notwithstanding, *Plato* was perswaded, that Man is provided of store of repletion, & cloying for the entrails or intestines; to shew thereby, that God created him a Creature full of reason; without which, as *Plantes* are continually tyed to their *Rootes*, for their feeding; so should he alwaies haue meate in his mouth, or else (like the beasts) his mind would be perpetually labouring, in seeking after nothing but fresh pasture. You may see it thus verified. While the food doth conuay it selfe by the passages of the belly, the Spirit naturallie sendeth hir strength vegetatiue and nutritiue thorow the body; and by this commixture, life, and the motion of the body is maintained so well, that this more sublime part of Nature would passe on much further, to declare the effects of her power and vertue: if (after food hath sustained the body) the Spirit were not called to the desire of new meats, and compelled to yeelde it selfe to the bellies appetite. For there is nothing (saith *Pliny*) more painefull to a man, then his belly; for contentment whereof, the most part of *Men* haue employed their whole life time.
This importuning vessell of the body; is euermore at hand with vs, like to a greedy *Creditor*, summoning vs many times in the day to his attendance: but he must not be listned alwaies when he calleth; if he haue had his due paid him; no more then the young *Scholler*, who would not allow his *Tutor* the charges

Life preferred by feeding the body

Plato in his Timæus, concerning mans provision.

A very apt comparison in this case.

Plin. in lib. 26. cap. 8.

The appetite of the belly is neuer satisfied.

The De. alim. pap. prest. c.

The Stoickes did eate, to a- noid eating.

* A very great Riuer in Col- chis

One Instru- ment of life, giuen to all Creatures naturall heat.

The triple substance of the body.

Hippocras in lib. 1 Aphorism. 14

Hippocras in lib. 1 Aphorism. 13.

of his feeding, as if hee liued on winde, hauing bin neuerthelesse with him, and fed on his purffe. But whosoever shall, or doth deale so, the Emperour adiudged him not receiueable, but let him go seeke his dyet else-where. Notwithstand- ing, it is so, that the bellies necessity is so borne with vs; as the *Stoickes* them- selves; who excluding all the sense of mā, were constrained to feel the bellies gripings and murmuring, and did eate, but how? To the end, they might shun eating! Quite contrary to many Gour- mands and Gluttons, who eat & drinke, only because they would encrease their eating and drinking; hauing no other God but their bellie, whereon they be- stow whatsoeuer serues to excite their luxury: for maintenance whereof, the Seas are trauerfed, euen so far as the Ri- uer * *Phasis*, ransacked her entrailles, for contention agreeing with an insatiable appetite. And this is that part, where- in we come the neereft to brute beasts, who (by their proper nature) are led to desire whatsoeuer their belly demands, and with whom we haue (in common) this necessity of eating & drinking. For Nature hath giuen one Instrument of life to all Creatures, which is naturall heat, that (euen as our wood in the fire) hath his Seate in the triple substance of our body; to wit, solide, humorall and spirituou, which (without intermissi- on) he ruinate and consumeth. So that in a very small while, all would bee quite wasted, if it were not maintained by a fresh supply of Meats and dringes; neyther more or lesse, then as the flame of a Lampe, which extinguisheth it selfe, so soone as the Oyle is consu- med, if no more bee put thereinto, for longer lasting. And hereupon, *Hippocra- tes*, the Prince of Phisitions said; *That the bodies of young Men haue neede of more nourishment, then others: because they haue more heate then they; For otherwise (saith he) their bodies would consume them- selues.* Contrariwise, the bodies of old men; because they haue but little store of heate; they neede therefore as little nourishing.

Hence may we draw a confirmed argu- ment, by that which *Hippocrates* himselve hath said: *That old men very ea- sily endure Fasting; next to them, such as are in the strength of their age, yet much*

lesse then they that are in youth-hood; and Infants least of all other, especially such as are liueliest, and readiest in their bodily functions. For the smalnesse of heat, the tenacitie of the primitiue moysture, and the density or thicknesse of the bo- dy, hindereth in old men, that the triple substance cannot wast it selfe at all. From whence it proceedeth, that they haue not such great need of meate, and desire or appetite after food (if I may so say) which is hunger; is in them much languishing. As contrariwise, in young men it is so much the more ar- dent; as the naturall heate is super-a- boundant, the vitall humor more fluxi- ble, and the composition of the body more thin, and lesse heaped together. Which three things, as they cause the receiued food to consume: euen so (by little and little) they repaire any defect there arising.

To approue the truth heereof; *The substance of euery Creature dissolues it selfe into the ayre, by the pores of the skin which enuiron it, saith Galen.* It followeth then of necessity, that the very neereft parts of the skinne, should bee first destitute of nouriture, and that by their owne force and vertue, they should draw nourishment from other neighbouring partes, to restore that which (through want of sustentation) is impaired: those there, from the veines; these heere, from the Liuer; the Liuer, from the in- testnies and ventricle (by the mesentery veines) calling what is most con- uenient to their nature. Then the ven- tricle, seeing her selfe empty; by a meer naturall vnderstanding which shee hath of her owne want, is incited to desire meates, where-with she may be sustai- ned.

But if there be some bodie, which hath small store of heat, and more of the radical moisture; wherto the pores and Respiracles of the skinne do giue place: there cannot be made any great Euacuation of the triple substance, and so consequentlie, there is no neede at all of great nourishment. Neither is it altogether necessary (as *Galen* testi- fieth) in those places, where (beside that already saide) the Ayre which encom- passeth vs, is cold, and the body heavy, berummed, and without motion: be- cause the little troughes or openings in

Old men haue not such need of food, as young mē.

Galen. de Simp- tom... Caus. 7.

The particu- lar parts of supply.

Concerning some particu- lar bodies.

Galen de veris- sict. aduers. Eras.

Aproued examples in diuers Beastes, which keepe their Dens al Winter.

in the skin, are as mouths, and yet little or nothing at all passeth out at them. This he giueth to vnderstand, by the example of sauage Beasts, which (in all the time of winter) will not forsake their Dens and Cauernes: in regard whereof, he calleth them *φωλεούσια ζῶα*, such as are Beares, Bats, or Dormice, Serpents, Lizards, and diuers other. Al which, hauing at spring time (by warmth and heat) the conuoiues of their bodies released & opened: when they finde that the inward warmth is resolved, and they beginne to bee hungry, they come foorth (by their owne proper motion) out of their prisons, and (guided by Nature only) do seeke in al parts, such feeding as is aptest for them. From whence he gathereth, that assidue blowing or breathing, which is performed by respiration, causeth this defect, and it also prouoketh the appetite and desire of eating. For Nature hath giuen this property to the empty part, that it shold demand to be re-filled. So that, if the causes ceased, for which the body hath need of nourishment, it would ensue as necessarily, that euen penury it selfe, & meere vnderstanding what hunger is, by little and little would cease also: and that for this reason, the Beasts which are hidden in dennes of the earth, may liue without the vse of food.

In like manner, by the report of notable men, and well worthy credence, there haue beene found in the Lanthornes and Boxes of Pixes, of Altars and aged Sepulchres, burning Lampes, which the inscriptions (on the saide Tombes & places) haue witnessed, that they were put thereinto, almost infinite yeares before the finding of them. As that wherof *Lodouicus Viues* speaketh, discovered about the yeare, 1,00. which *Hermolaus Barbarus* saith, was found in the Territories of *Pania*, without date of day, or of Confull indeede: but yet notwithstanding, it hath beene there enclosed aboue eight hundred yeares, as *P. Appianus* gathered by the inscription. Such Lampes then were preserued or maintained, so long a time, with little or no supply, because the very moisture of the places, doth strongly enable them, and they perish but very little. V hether it may bee thought by the humidity (which the Alchimistes tearme Radical) of Gold, which only among all naturall bodies, is beleeued to

The guifte of nature to the empty parte, to require sustentation.

S. August. de Ciuit. Dei lib. 21. Cap. 6.

Lodouicus Viues. Hermolaus Barbarus.

P. Appianus. A Lamp last-ed burning aboue 800 yeares, without any supply.

suffer no diminution of his substance, or of something else, neere enclining to his Nature, I am not able to censure. But so it plainly appeared, by the Testification engrauen on a Vessell of earth, which *Barbarus* (before mentioned) hath written downe in these words:

10 *Plutoni sacrum munus ne attingite fures,
Ignotum est vobis hoc quod in orbe latet
Namq; elemēta graui clausit digesta labore,
Vase sub hoc modico maximus Oiybius.
Adsit fecundo custos sibi copia cornu,
Ne pretium tanti depereat laticis.*

Hermolaus Barbarus his Latine Verses.

And these lines which follow, were written or carued on another vessell of earth, and enclosed within the former in this manner:

20
30
40
50
*ABITE. HINC. PESSUMI.
FVRES.
VOS. QUID. VOLITIS. CVM.
VOSTRIS. OCVLIS. EMIS-
SITIIS.
ABITE. HINC. VOSTRO.
CVM. MERCVRIO. PETA-
SATO. CADUCEATOQVE.
MAXVMVS. MAXVMVM.
DONVM. PLVTONI HOC
SACRVM. FACIT.*

Other Latine lines founde on another earthen vessell

In this Earthen Vessell, was and had beene kept this Lampe, placed betweene two Flagons or Bottels, the one of gold, the other of Siluer, and these were imagined, to haue giuen nutriment vnto the Lampe, that continued burning for so many ages. The same *Barbarus*, called this Licquor, *Heauenly Water*, or rather, the *Alchimis Diuine water*, which he also noteth to haue beene called (by *Democritus* and *Mercurius Trismegistus*) sometimes *Diuine Water*, sometimes the *Scythian Drinke*; sometimes *Spiritual*, that is to say, a spirite drawne from the Celestial Nature, and * *Fifte Essence* of things, whereof *Aurum Potabile* is composed, and the *Phylosophers stone* or sand, in search whereof, so many people haue vainly consumed themselues. To this Diuine Licquor of Golde, I knowe not whether I may attribute, or no, the meruaile of a Lampe continually burning, whereof *Cedrenus* speaketh, which from the time of the Emperour *Iustinian*, was found in the Cittie of * *Edeffa*, with an Image

How the Lampe was placed in the founte.

Heauenly Water.

The Alchymists Diuine water.

Scythian Drinke.

* Or Quintessence. *Aurum Potabile.*

Cedrenus in the Abridgement of his Histories.

* A City of Syria, beyond Euphrates.

A Lamp burning 500. yeares.

A matter of great meruel

This was written in the yeare, 1602.

The Maid of Confolans, and her Parents.

A Feauer seizing on her body.

Speechles 28. dayes.

A benumbing of all her senses.

Oesophagus.

Image of our Saviour Christ. It had bin inclosed or hidden ouer a certaine Gate, immediately after the passion of Christ: and yet neuerthelesse, it had also remained there five hundred yeares, without extinguishing.

Moreouer, some of the Oyle which was found in the saide Lampe, being cast into the neereft fire to that place: it burned (intirely) all the warlike troopes of *Chosroes*, King of the *Perstans*, who was an enemy to the Christians. But bee it howfoeuer, neither this, or any thing els before alledged, do I account to bee so strange, as an example now to be apparently scene; a matter rare, and almost incredible, but that both our eyes and iudgements haue bene witnesses thereof, happening within our owne quarters of *Poictu*, to wit, the wonderfull Faste or abstinence from foode, of a Mayden of *Confolans* or *Conflans*, in *France*, who for the space of three yeares hath liued, and as yet dooth liue without receiuing anie bodily food or sustenance.

This Maiden is about fourteen years of age, and is named *Jane Balan*, her Father *Iohn Balan*, a Locksmith by profession, and her Mother, *Laurencia Chambel-la*. Her stature is answerable to her age, she being somewhat Countrey-like of behauiour, a Natiue of the Towne of *Confolans*, vpon the Riuer of *Vienna*, in the Confines of *Limofin*, and also of *Poictu*.

In the cleauenth yeare of hir age, being seized on by a continuall Feauer, the 16. day of February, 1599. she hath since then, bene assailed with the excessse of many other sicknesses, and (beyond all the rest) with a continuall casting or Vomitting, for the space of twenty daies together. The Feauer hauing somewhat left her, she grew to be speechlesse, & so continued eight and twentie dayes, without the deliery of any one word. At the end of which time, shee came to her-selfe againe, and spake as she had done before, sauing that her words were full of feare, and void of good sence. Then came a weakenesse vpon her, and a benumbing of all her senses & bodily motions, from beneath the head, in such sort, that *Oesophagus* it selfe (being that part of the stomach, which serues as a conduct for passage of meate and drinke, into that which we terme the little belly) being dissolued,

it lost the power attractiue. Since which time, not any one coulde perswade this Maiden (in any manner) to eate: albeit they made triall to haue her but sucke, or to licke delicate meates, fruits, and sweet things, agreeable to one of soyoung years. Neuerthelesse, the vse and motion of her members, came to her againe, about sixe months after, only one hip excepted; on which side, she yet goes with some difficulty. And one onely impotency remaineth to her, that shee cannot swallow or let downe any thing: for both meates and dringes, she altogether loaths, and mightily abhorreth.

In this time (a thing most strange) the inferiour part of her belly, by little & little grew leane in such manner, and so dried vp, that downe from her sides, and along from her Nauill, there remaineth nothing of the belly which he hadde before. There is only in this place, or insted thereof (to wit, vnder the auncient belly, where we may say it hath bene) a Cartilage or Gristle, hanging pointed downe (from **Thorax*, or *Sternum*) after the manner of an Eaves or Pent-house, which throwes off from the building, all the water that falles on the top or couerture. Heere hence, and from the points of these Bastard-sides, the skinne (vnderneath) doth suffer great pain and feeling, both of extension and diuulsion, as may easily be perceiued, by the moanes which the Maid her selfe maketh. And hence it ensueth, that all the Muscles, Intestines, Bowelles, and other parts of the belly, being withdrawne and annihilated by want of foode, one would iudge, that they had been rackt or rent away; for there remaineth nothing else but Lappings and Filaments; for, all the Fleshie substance which filled those partes, is perished and gone.

As concerning the other parts of her bodie, it would bee thought conuenient, that there should be likewise an answerable diminution: and yet she hath a large Breast, her pappes prettie and round, her armes and thighs fleshy, her face also indifferent round, but brownish. Her Lips (indeede) are drawne inward a little; and yet her words are prompt and ready, her head couered with haire of good length: for her haire and nailes doo keep their due encrease, in each beseeing parte. There comes no excrement from hir, hir belly

Recouerie of her senses againe.

Loathing of meates and dringes.

Her bellie dried vp.

*That part of the Breast, wher the ribs meet & ioyne together.

Shewes of moane made by her selfe.

The other parts of her body.

No auoy-
dance of Ex-
crements.

belly yeelds no Ordure, neyther doth any
Vrine at all passe from her body, or is the
matrix impeached by her Menstruall
Flowers. Her head is not charged with
Scurfe or Dandriffe, but sheweth it selfe
very sound and well, as well in the exte-
riour part of the skin, as in the inwarde
Organes of sence. For, neither doo her
nose or eares yeeld any excrements; but
only from her mouth comes a little spet-
tle, and sometimes from her eies issueth
a little moisture, or few teares.

The bodie
yeild des no
sweat.

The whol bodie ouer, yeelds no sweat
at all, but we (and such as haue touched
her) do find all her skin to bee colde and
drie, and not heated or chafed by anie
motion (except the arme-pits, and those
parts which Neighbor neer to the hart.)
Yet shee doth trauaile about the house,
go to the Market for Victualles, sweepe
the house, spin at her Wheele, Reele off
her Quill; and giues her selfe to all ser-
uiceable Offices in a family, and seemes
as if she were not defectiue in any part of
sence, or motion of her body.

When the bo-
die receiueth
encrease, it
hath most
neede of nou-
rishment.

By all which thinges, we may gather
the rarity and meruailous nouelty of this
example. For, the accident hapneth in
such an age, when as the bodie receyues
encreasng, and those things which doo
encrease haue need of good store of nou-
riture: but especially, in bodies of such
Constitution, as this Maidens is, slender,
thinne, and colde, where the internall
parts are accustomed to bee most hote.
Hence comes it, that our Ancients haue
saide: *Our Bellies in Winter are more hot,*
then at other times, with causeth a much
readier concoction, and an hunger lesse
tollerable, especially when it is prouoked
by exercises, whereof this Mayden ma-
keth no spare, especially such as her age
is capeable off, the ayre and soyle also
wherein she liueth, affoordes the people
to be verie hungry. All which occasions
of appetite and hunger, were taken from
her by the accident of her continual Fea-
uer: and in the end, all her naturall func-
tions became asswaged, and seized on by
a kind of dead palsie.

Hippocrat. lib. 1.
Aphor. 15.

The exercises
of the Maide.

And now to begin with the first and
principall, the little belly or maw (which
otherwise is the receptacle of foode, and
Officer for the first Concoction) being
lagde and rent by the Ordure of Crude
& raw humors, hath languished in such
fort, as it had no power either to retaine

Of the little
belly or maw.
Hermocrates in
Hippocrates.

the meats therein enclosed, or to receiue
in any other. Euen so in *Hippocrates, Her-
mocrates* being surprized with an extream
burning Feauer, did euermore cast the
Food he receiued; because this facultie
had lost his strength, and that was quen-
ched in him (saith *Gale* in the same place)
whereof the Office was, to feele lacke in
health, and to desire what was familiar
for him.

Many woulde attribute the cause of
this Symptome, or passion ensuing sick-
nesse, to some wicked power in an Ap-
ple, which an old Woman had giuen to
this young Maiden, two or three months
before; because when he had eaten it, she
had a distast of her meats, and felte some
alteration of her spirits. But in regarde,
that (besides this) nothing hath hapned
to her, which outwardly hath impeached
her health, or her naturall functions, vn-
till shee became surprized by the afore-
mentioned Feauer: I see no reason at al,
that yeelds any subiect to beleue, how
the euill power in the Apple, could re-
maine so long time hidden, without yel-
ding any effect. Her vomiting ceasing,
shee became dumbe, by reason of those
Nerues resolution, which we call, sur-
rent (that happened to her soone after,
thorow all her bodie) the Flegme colde
and raw, being liquified by the heate of
the Feauer, which (by this means) wrought
a debilitie in the Braine, and caused that
she could not be sound or well in spirite.
Heere hence it necessarily ensued, that
she must needs loose the sense of tast and
sucking; and likewise the vse of swallow-
ing meate and drinke; which onely hath
procured abolition of the animall appe-
tite; and by little and little, it hath bene
followed by a total priuation of the natu-
ral appetite, which *Hippocrates* noteth by
these words, *γίνεσθαι δὲ δυνήσασθαι*, if we
may giue credit to his most graue Inter-
preter *Galen*. And hee casts the cause of
this passion, vpon some blame in the Li-
uer; who being the beginning of the Ve-
getant and Natural soule, so soone as she
is wounded, shee is constrained, that her
auxiliary or succouring faculties (to wit;
the Attractrice, the Retentrice, the Assi-
miliatrice, & the Expulsatrice, in whom
lies al the power of nourishing) must needs
sinke and fall, and so consequently, the
appetite which cannot be compleat and
perfect, but by attraction. The same
Au-

Opinion con-
ceiued of an
Apple giuen
to the Maide.

An answer to
that obiection.

The Nerues
tearmed re-
current.

The reason of
loosing her
tast and vse
of meats.

Galen his con-
iecture of the
passions cause

The helping
faculties four
in number.

Caten. 1. Epid. Sect. 3.

Heraclides his sicknesse.

The Liuer is the fountaine of the Naturall facultie.

Galen. 5. Deloc. affect. Cap. 1.

Her naturall heate quite dried vp.

A reason for this Fast and abstinence from meates.

Galen 1. De loc. affect. 1.

Author gathers it to be the sicknesse of the liuer in *Hermocrates*, by this, that the sixt day of his sicknesse, he was noted to looke yellow: and yet notwithstanding, in all the course of his disease (which was for 27. dayes) this yellownesse neuer left him, as it had don in *Heraclides*, to whom the selfesame passion happened, and on the very same day, neither by sweating, neither by the voyding of much choller, nor by the conuoy of his belly, nor by Vrine, nor yet by vomiting. And therefore, it was easie to be seene, that the naturall faculty (whereof the Liuer is the Fountaine) was ouerthrowne in verie strange manner. Which being so, all the strength of appetite doth becom so weakened, saith *Galen*, that sicke folkes desire rather to die, then to receiue in anie thing at their mouths, or haue it so much as but to touch their lips.

In the Maid, of whom we speak at this present (who hath not bin dealt with, by any cunning or helps to Nature) the Liuer hath beene so besieged with the burthen of hurtfull humors, that her Naturall heate being broken, and hauing no more force, it hath (by little and little) dried quite vp, with all the neather parts of the Belly, yea & so, as there is nothing indeed to be wondered at, when we perceiue the functions of the naturall Oeconomy to be also abolished. This then is one of the causes of this distast of meates, and of the Fast or abstinence thereon ensuing, that this drying vp of the Liuer, and of all those parts seruing to nourishment; from whence attraction beeing taken, it hath bin followed; with a priuation of sucking or swallowing, which is the beginning of hunger.

In this opinion, I haue *Galen* for my warrant, who saith; *By reason of the liuers debility, the bodie can receiue no nourishment.* And yet notwithstanding, it may subsist a long time, to wit; so long as the heart remaineth sound. Neuerthelesse, *Hermocrates* died at 27. dayes end, because the corruption of humors had gained the substance of the hart, which likewise the quality of the Feauers heate (by altering) had consumed, after it had chased away the Naturall heate. But this

Maide hath beene preserued, in regarde, that the Feauers fire beeing extinct, the Naturall heate which remainned, beeing but weake, hath beene detained in a bodie fast locked vp, couered with a wrinkled colde and drie skinne. By making but small decay of this heate in her, shee hath not much neede of maintaining it; and this may serue for a second and third reason, of this defect in appetite.

For all that shee exhaleth by the meanes of respiration, as breath and Naturall heate, the same is still supplied and repaired, first of all, by the ayre drawne as well by inspiration, and receyued at the heart, by the Pipes and Organes of the Lunges and Lights: as by this insensible transpiration, which (according as I can iudge by her disposition, is almost vtterly wasted in her) receiued in the whole bodye, by the Arteries. After this, Nature (thus lagde, and scantly vigorous) delights her selfe with this crude rhumie Humour, which cannot otherwise in this young bodie, but must needs (of it selfe) much abounde and encrease, according to the qualitie of her sexe and age.

And the same more especiallie may be now discerned, by some litte Decadence of her bodie thorough the pallsie, which is not (as yet) perfectly cured. Now this Humour (in time) doth seeth it selfe, and conuertes into foode, proper and aptest for nourishing of the bodie. And there is no want of manie other thinges, which haue their maintenance in our bodies, wherewith Nature may serue her selfe; when (pressed by Hunger) shee pleaseth to vse them for sustenance: As Fat, Marrowe in the Bones, and Phlegme; all which thinges, the despoyled partes of the bodie dooth drawe to their Naturall seatings, to furnish well their owne expences withall; and they receiue them (like a dispersed Dew) thorow their whole substances.

The reason of the Maides preseruing in this maner.

Her exhaling by respiration

Natures delighting her selfe.

The Maide troubled with the Pallsie.

Many things in the body to supply nature withall.

CHAP. VII.

A further Discourse on Fasting, approving that manie Creatures do fast in verie strange maner.



Proceeding on further in this Argument, concerning Fasting, I finde one that saith, *Snailles in the Ayre, having drought, if no dew fall to them from Heaven, they live by sucking of themselves.* And hence grew it, that *Plautus* said:

Quasi, cum caletur, cochleæ in occulto latet, suo sibi succo vivunt, ros si non cadit.

And so the Snailles on the earth, when they will defend themselves against the sharpe cold of Winter, they make a certaine white covering before their shelles entrance, hard like Plaister, and live so within (sixe months together) vnder the ground, neere to the rootes of Hearbes; sustained only by the internall humour; which redoundeth from themselves. And diuers other kinds of creatures; do the same; such as are accustomed to decline from the rigour of Winter; by withdrawing into Dennes: As Serpents, Frogges, Flies, Wormes, Dormice, Rats of the Mountaines, Turtle Doues, Swallows, &c.

As concerning Serpents, almost all of them (shunning the colde) doo remaine all Winter hid within the earth, as *Aristotle* saith. From whom, albeit *Plinie* hath borrowed that which he saith concerning Serpents, he hath (neuerthelesse) against reason, taken *Aristotles* intent contrary to sense, there where hee saith; *That of all Serpents, the Viper only seeketh places vnder ground: and the other, the hollowes of Trees, and of Rockes.* Whereas (quite contrarie) *Aristotle* hath written truely; *That the Viper is well nigh alone, that during the Winter, withdrawes himselfe vnder stones or Rockes, and the other vnderground; for then sleepe serues them instead of foode.* Nay, and much more, *Vipers*

do endure a whole yeares hunger together, without counting the time of Winters cold, so saith *Pliny*. Which we haue knowne by experience, wee that haue abundance of them heere: of whom, we haue kept some (a yeare) enclosed in Bottles of Glasse, without anie Foode at all.

As for Frogges, whom *Pliny* thinkes (after a life of sixe moneths) to resolute themselves into slime and mud, and reuiue again at the Spring times comming Waters, they are soundly deaded with colde, but yet not reduced to nothing, as *Pliny* holdeth. For, they remaine in the Cauernes on the Coasts, where not only they abstaine from al nourishment: but are likewise halfe dead, and they may be seene in this estate, in your Fennes on the Sea-coasts (which are not subiect to Freezing) at all seasons of the yeate. So likewise in the Ditches, whether they are retired; where you shal not only see their young ones, but also the Frogges of the other yeare.

Your Flies benumbed with the colde of Winter, remaine hidden in Riffes of Planchers, and pieces of Woode; and come not out, but by Fire Artificiall, or by the renewing heate of the Spring or Summer. During this numnesse, they live not so much by reason of their Bodies smalnesse, or littlenesse (as *Aristotle* argueth) as by the cold which is in them. For that which is hot, desireth Foode, and digests it verie soone: Contrariwise, that which is cold, doth very easilie let it alone.

Among Flies, they that make Honey, do forbear to come foorth in the same time, and abide close in their litle Hines, yet without eating: whereof we may easily make prooffe; in that, if one bring food, and set it before them, they wil not so much as touch it. And if it chaunce, that any one gets forth; you shal see the same to haue a transparant bodie, vterlic emptie of all nourishment: From the heart of Winter, vntill the yeares renewing, they live in sleepe, without any nouriture, so saith *Pliny*.

Above all other Creatures, the Grasshopper doth fast the longest: for the moisture (which is super-abundant in their bodies) doth sufficiently furnish them with store of nourishment.

Wormes, growing to bee olde, their skin

Plin. in hist. Nat. Lib. 8. Cap. 39.

Plin. in hist. Nat. Lib. 3. Cap. 40. Of Frogges.

Of Flies.

Ari. de part. Anim. lib. 4. ca. 5.

Arist. Lib. 8. Cap. 14. Of Bees.

Plin. in hist. Nat. lib. 11. Cap. 16.

Grasshoppers *Arist. lib. 4. cap. 5. de part. Anim.*

Of Wormes.

Symmach. lib. 1. Epist. 33.

Plaut. in Capti.

Arist. in Hist. Au. l. 3. Cap. 13

Creatures that do inwardly sustain themselves.

Of Serpents.

Arist. in Hist. Animal. lib. 8. Cap. 15.

Plin. in hist. nat. Lib. 8. Cap. 39.

Pliny reprooved.

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Chrysalides.
Aurelie.

skinne doth outwardly waxe very harde, and because (that skinne) then lookes of Gold or yellow colour, the Greeks were wont to call them *Chrysalides*, and the Latines named them *Aurelie*. After they haue once taken this forme, they will receiue nothing more into their bodies, neither doe they voidc or cast anie thing forth.

Of the Silke-
Worme.

Among these, the Silke-worm sheweth a Myracle in Nature about the midst of Summer, for being then fast closed vp within her huske of Silk, she liues (at the least) for fortie dayes together, not onely without eating; but imployeth besides, verie much of hir substance in making of silke. And comming forth of her shell or couerture, shee becommeth a Butter fly; & yet this liberty maketh her not to seeke any nourishment.

Of the Bat or
Dormouse.
Arist. lib. 8. c. 7.
Plin lib. 8. c. 57

The Bat or Dormouse, remains hidden (all Wintet) in a perpetuall sleepe: and during all this time, shee hath no other nourishment then sleepe.

Of the Moun-
tain Rattes.
Arist. lib. 8. cap.
17.

The Rattes of the Mountains, like vnto Dormice, do sleepe hidden al the winter, and for sixe moneths together, in full continuance, they are busied in such a profound sleepe, as being cast vp out of the grounde, by digging, or otherwise, they will not awake at all vntil such time as they be brought into the sunne, or laid before the fire, and they beginne to feele heat. They carrie Hay, Chaffe, & such like other things into their Cauerns, onely to keepe them from colde: but yet all this, hinders them not from sleeping soundly.

Prouision to
keepe them
from cold.

Of the earth
Tortoise.

The Tortoise of the earth, lieth al winter within the earth, and ther passeth that season, like as the other creatures doo. And *Rondeletius* witnesses, that not only in Winter, but likewise at all times, shee can liue longest without any foode, yea, albeit shee haue her head cleft or cut off, and this is by the power of the cold moisture within her selfe.

Rondelet in lib.
de Amphib.

Of the Loriot
Arist. in Lib. 9.
Cap. 29.
Plin. in lib. 10.
Cap. 24.

The Loriot, a kind of Bird hauing this Nature, that if a man see her, when he is sicke of the Jaundise, the man shall wax whole, and the Bird die immediately: lyeth all the Winter hidden in the earth, and sheweth not her selfe, till about the Solstice of Summer.

Of Swallows.
Arist. in lib. 8.
Cap. 16.
Plin. 10. c. 24.

Your Swallowes, as well those of houses, as they that are wilde, to shunne the sharpnessse of Winter, when it draweth

neere, do retire themselues to secret places in the Neighbouring Mountaines, where you shall finde them Naked, and without any Feathers on them. And you may see them (almost) in the same condition, euen at the Spring time. As for them which are called Swallowes of the Sea-coasts, they withdraw themselues to the sides of Riuers, Lakes, Marishes, and of the Seas, where the Rockes doe serue them for a retirement: There shall you see them in multitudes together, as newly assembled to chase one another. In such sort, that (as *Agricola* saith) the Fishermen many times, take them out of the Waters, so fast tied and ioyned together, that our New Phylosophers, may cease henceforward, to fordge their new Colonies in *Affrick*, and other places beyond the Seas.

Swallowes of
the Seacoasts

Turtle-Doues, they beginne to hide themselues when they are fatte; and although they leaue their Feathers in their holes, yet notwithstanding, they keepe their fatnesse.

Of Turtle-
Doues.
Arist. in lib. 8.
cap. 16. Hist.

Some one peradventure (becing a more diligent searcher into natural things) may discover a great number of other Birds, which might be thought to be strangers, because (in Winter time) they hide themselues thus; and yet neuertheless are of our country; As Kites, Stock-Doues, Black-birds, Stares, Hoops, Backs Gripes, Owles, and others; which are sustained and fed by the fat within themselues; in all which time, the course and office of the belly ceaseth. For *Galen* holdeth; *That when hunger is not thoroughlie contented, the fat, Marrow, and Flegme, do gieve nourishment to the Naturall heate.*

Other Foules
of like nature

Whence also we may relieue a doubt, arising from that which *Hippocrates* hath written; and maintaineth, that a man can hardly liue out the seauenth day, without eating; which day, although he chaunce to ouer-passe; yet notwithstanding, hee will die soone after. For, albeit it may be true, and that which hee hath Written might haue been manifested in this maid of *Consolans*, the Intestine receyuing no foode at all, did during this time, so shut vp it selfe, that it could not afterward admit the receipt of any, yet notwithstanding, it is not altogether so constrained, that by this restriction of the Entrayles, death should follow thereon so readilie. For, it is recorded of the *Scythians*, that

Galen. 4. vsti-
peri. & Com. 2.
de rat. viti. acut

Hippocrat. in
lib. de carn.

Comparison
with the Fa-
sting Maide.

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Long fasting endured by the Scythians.

A Maide of Spire, that fasted 3. yeares

Observations concerning the Maide of Spire.

A lerned Phisition in France writing on the Maide of Spire.

Plat. in Lib. de Repub.

Herus Pamphilus.

Plin lib. 11. Cap. 54.

Diog. Laertius. ex testi. Diceac.

if by any occasion happening them, they are to endure long Fasting, they wil bind vp their bellies strictly with large bands, to the end, that hunger may not charge them so soone, because they haue lefte little or no space at al, for the bellies conuoy. Moreouer, the maide of *Spire*, of who ran such great report, that she had bene three yeares without eating: yet, after the superabounding humor in her was consumed, she returned (according as they report that wrote thereof) euen as one from banishment, to hir first right course and vse of feeding, beginning (as it is very likely) with Pottages and liquid thinges, if it bee true which those Authours haue recorded. Or rather, if the mother of the Maide, did not impose this on the honest people (as the rumor ran) therefore, there hath bin some occasion of remaining in doubt, by their owne proper writing. For it might be noted, that hir Nose voided much filth, her ears wanted no part of their Ordure, and that she deliuered abundance of teares at her eyes: which sheweth, that the languishing powers haue bin often releued with some food, albeit not solid, whereby these Excrements (by a secret posier in Nature) were sent into proper Organs.

Nor dooth this make any thing at all, against the Paradox, which *M. Ioubert* hath in the second Booke of the first Decade, where (among many other examples, of long fasting and abstinence) hee produceth, as an *Hypothesis* or argument disputed, that Historie of the Mayde of *Spire*. For, beside a great number of observations of the same qualitie, which he placeth before, & that haue bin approued by the auouching of manie graue Authours, we haue also notable confirmations, as well by experience of elder ages, as of our moderne, newer, and later. *Plato* in his Commonwealth, maketh report of a certaine man, named *Herus Pamphilus*, who remained ten dayes together, among the dead bodies of the which had bin slaine in a battell. And two daies after that he was broght thence, as hee was laying on the pile of wood to bee burned among other dead bodies, he was found to be aliu. As for *Pliny*, he is not perswadable, that thorow lacke of foode, a man should yeild to death at the 7. daies end. *Diogenes Laertius* declareth by the testimony of *Dicearchus*, that *Pythagoras* the

chief master of abstinence continued 40. daies together without drinking: by whos doctrine also, *Apollonius Thyaneus* lerned (out of long vse & custome) to endure fasting for many daies. *Pliny* assures vs, that drought or thirst may be surmounted by constant perseuerance, and that the *Roman* noble Knight, *Iulius Viator*, hauing had warning (in his yong years) by Physitians not to drink any water at all, by reason of an indisposition in him, leaning to the dropsie, so turned the custom of Nature, that he passed al his age without drinking

Fresh yet in our memory, & all *France* hath seene the same in the person of the Lord Marquesse of *Pisani*, who is a man of such merit, as the K. himselfe employes his seruice in matters of great importace. There are many Books of deuout enstructions, which do recount meruails of diuers frequent and voluntary abstinences, as of *P. Aleantara*, a Monk in *Spainne*, and that for 8. daies & more in euery month. But beyond all others, there is a historie verie famous, of a certaine Maide, named *Catharine*, a Natiue in the land of *Colberberg*, who hath bin known to liue 7. years together, without drinking or eating any thing whatsoever. She was carefully tended by *Henry Smetius*, at this time Professor in *Heildeberge*, & *John Iac. Theod.* Physitions, till the 24. of Nouember, 1584. by the commandement of *John Cestmir*, Count *Palatine*. And since then also, foure graue Matrons were appointed to keepe hir company. who haue acknowledged with the Physitions, that this fast or abstinence is most true. Three yeares after, this History was traduced into *French*, & printed at *Frankford*, by *John Wetzel*, in the yeare, 1587. with an aduertisement in the end, that the maide then liued still in that maner, without drinking, eating, sleeping, or deliuering any excrements. Beside all those, *Ioubert* (concerning this argument) hath set downe such pregnant & necessary reasons, as I cannot thinke, that any one needs to make doubt thereof.

Neuerthelesse, being my self afterward to discourse on the same subiect, I happened (being in a Booke-sellers Shoppe) as mine eyes wandered ouer vewes of the Bookes, to light on a little Treatise, bearing this Title in the forehead: *Fieri non posse, vt quis sine cibo & potu plures dies & annos transingat.* I tooke the book, which in regarde it was *VV* ritten by *I. Haract*,

Apollon. Thyaneus. Plin lib. 7. cap. 18.

Iulius Viator a famous Roman Knight, drank not in all his age.

The Lotde Marquesse of Pisani.

P Aleantara a Spanish monk

Catharine of Colberberg fasted 7. yeares.

Prooffe made of the truth in this case, by diuers Phisitions of great credit.

The Authors discoursing on the same Argument.

I. Haruet, Doctor of Physicke.

In Page 74.

The reason of his further pursuit in this point, to satisfie D. Haruet.

Triall made by persons of Honour and respect.

Eye-experience is an vndoubted persuasion.

The validitie of Iouberts writing.

a Doctor of Physick, of the same condition with vs, and as we are;) I read it verie seriously from the one end to the other. But coming to the place, where he argues on the negligence of the Authours of so manie notable examples, who (hee saith) haue beene somewhat deceyued, by the inueterate beleefe of this extraordinary fasting, I thought good that hee should be satisfied in this point; and passed my promise thereon, in the name of our Maide of *Consolans*. Albeit during so many months and yeares, I could not giue my selfe to consider all her actions and motions: Neuerthelesse, it is verie likely, by that which in all places is sayde of her, to approue the three yeares Faste now in question. And yet such as haue seene her naked, as we haue done, could coniecture no otherwise, if shee bee not changed since the last time I sawe her, which was in the moneth of Iulie last, 1602.

Some say, that she is a little more full of flesh, and yet she hath neuer receiued any foode at all, that could possiblie bee knowne. Beside, this truth ought to receiue credite generally, by the faithfull report of so many persons of honor and goodly quality, who (for trials sake) haue kept her in their Houses amongst their Maids and Children, some for three, others for foure months and more. If anie one bee further desirous, and would willingly see her, he hath free liberty, & the Maide her selfe will not contradict, what other proofes he or she can make of her. But in my minde, *Ioubert* would haue receiued no meane contentment, by the sight of an accident so strange: For, if to so many pertinent reasons he could haue had but an eye-experience, he should not nowe (perhaps) haue had *Haruet* for his aduersary. Who being in the humour to combate both against sence and reason, it may bee, it would then bee the harder for him, to vndergoe the demonstration of *Ioubert*. For they are vnder-propped with principles soundly assured, & drawn from the Oracles, euen of the great Dictator of Nature.

CHAP. X.

The matter and manner of so straunge Fasting, disputed betweene Ioubert and Haruet, with many excellent and approued examples, tending thereto.



First of all, *Aristotle* enstructeth vs, that all kinds of creatures, haue a certaine naturall heate in them, which is combined to the soule with so strict a Bond, as the one cannot bee without the other, and those Creatures (while they liue) haue this heat, but death approaching, they are cold immediatly. In another place, *There is* (saith he) *in the seede of all Creatures, the thing that causeth fecunditie*, and that it is it which wee call heate. Further he saith; *In the earth, and in the Waters, the Creatures and plantes doe ingender*, because in the earth there is a moisture, and in the moisture is a spirite; and in this great substance is the animall heat, to the end, that all things should be somewhat full of soule. Thus he doth hold that all things are made by heat, and that all functions are performed thereby. *Galen* also is of the same opinion, and sayth; *That heate is either the substance of the faculties, or at least, the most chiefe and necessarie Instrument of them.*

It is no meruaile then, if *Haruet* think it strange, that *Ioubert* saith (according to *Aristotle*) *That life dependeth vpon heat only*. For that it must needes be so, life is nothing else, but an abiding and attendance of the soule with heate, according to the same *Aristotles* iudgement. And wee cannot in this obscuritie of thinges, finde any more assurance of this present life, then by the functions thereof: of all which, heate (as the especial instrument, and without other means, is the author, the motiue cause and effecter.

Nor hath *Ioubert* (vnaduisedly) defined life by heate, when *Aristotle* hath designed death by the extinction of the same heate: for *Ioubert* groundeth on this Axiom, that of two contraries, the con-

Arist. in lib. de vita & mors, & resp.

Arist. in lib. 2. de gen. Anim. Cap. 3.

The animall heate which performeth all things.

Galen in lib. ad Glauc. & in lib 4 de usu par.

What life is. *Arist. in lib de resp.*

Ioubert defined life by heate.

consequents are contrary. And *Galen* himselfe (who holdeth death to arrive then, when heate, being weakened and broken by frequent action, becoms faint, and that the temper of the Elementarie qualities, which are in vs (being out of square) comes to yeelde it selfe vnder the tyranny of one alone) giues thereby, reasonably to vnderstand, that the course of life keeps it selfe for so long time, as naturall heate doth abundantly disperse it selfe about the radicall humor, and that the Elementarie qualitie do hold a good simparchie amongst themselues, in their harmonie and kinde accorde, which we call temperature. And therefore, it is blameles to define life by these two causes, Heate and Temperature; because it behooueth to take the definition, from and by the cause which is most neere. Now, heate is the most neere Instrument of the soule, and temperature next vnto that of Naturall heate, which disposeth and accommodates it vnto diuerse actions. Then this causeall definition, is well deriued from the chiefe and principall occasion of Life, which heere we haue alledged by the Authoritie of *Aristotle*.

Neuerthelesse, *Haruet* goes after another fashion, he defineth the life of man, to bee an action of the reasonable soule, producted into the bodie of man: but this definition is not subtle enough. For first and formost, life is no action of the soule, otherwise it should bee the soule that liueth, and not the bodie. But, as it hath bene saide already, life is an abiding, or an Vnion of the soule with the bodie, according as *Aristotle* describeth in another of his Bookes, whereof action proceedeth afterward. Heere to I adde, that the actions of life being to vnderstand, to smell, to mooue, and to nourish: if life were an action, why then it should be an action of action, which is most absurd. Or else, if life bee an action of the reasonable soule; insomuch as she is reasonable, the corporeall parts should bee driuen to performe their operations, as receiuing food for nourishment, and to beget hir like, only by reason of the intellect, and not by any natural sence. But per aduventure, *Haruet* hauing drawn his definition from others, hath read, that life is an act of the reasonable soule; which word of act, hee hath conuerted into action.

How long the course of life keepeth it selfe.

How to take a definition in his right form

After what maner *Haruet* defineth the life of man.

Arist in 8. Act.

The actions of life.

The bodily parts in their operations.

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Now let me tell ye, Act is that which the *Greeks* call *εντελεχεια*, which is a perfection, energy, & mouing power of it selfe, far enough differing from that which they terme *εργον*. And so one may (to some purpose) define life: an Act of the soule in the body, that is to say, a power & vertue of the soule, by the vnion therof with the body. Whence is easily vnderstood, that taking life generally, it should rather bee imputed to naturall heate, as to the Organ of the soule, then vnto reason. In case notwithstanding, that this heate doe still abide vnited with the radicall Moisture; which although it be (day by day) consumed by this heate: yet nature prouideth a daily subrogation of new, which shee borrows from the nouritures we receyue, as hath bin said already heerebefore.

But *Haruet* imagineth, that these nourishments doo yet serue to another vse, which is (saith he) to releue and fortifye the spirits; the which *Iouber* hath omitted: as if vnder this name of radical moisture, we should comprehend only moisture by it selfe, & not the spirits likewise. And what is hee, who will deny, that the spirits are not restored and strengthened, both by eating and drinking? But to speak truly, many things are piled and heaped vp in the body, very vnprofitably, and to small purpose. Moreover, that which he proposeth against *Hippocrates* in the 14. Aphorisme of his second Booke, is altogether Paradoxical, to wit; That hee in whom heate is most languishing, hath the more neede of nourishment: which he proueth by example of a fortie yeares aged man, who (sayeth hee) receyueh more Foode, then an Infant of two or three dayes: in whom notwithstanding, there is greater aduantage of this heate, according to *Hippocrates*.

Beholde (in my iudgement) a verie feeble Argument, if all should be alledged that he failes in; and also, if we should oppose the Organes of both kindes, the one against the other. For, to the ende, that vnder this worde Infant, no cauillation may be couered, I call all them Infants, which are vnder foureteene yeares of Age, in the verie same manner as the *Greekes* do vnderstand the word *παιδιον*. They, I say, that according to the proportion of their Mawe or little Bellie, do take more foode then men of middle and perfect age: as well by reason of

Act insted of action.

Life an act of the soule in the body.

Heat abiding with the radicall moisture.

The vse of nourishments.

The spirits restored by eating and drinking.

Hippocr Lib. 2. Aphor. 14.

Comparison of an Infant, and a man of fortie yeares.

Cauillation auoyded about the word Infant.

the power of the facultie, which seeths or boyles the foode (whence proceedeth a speedie riddance thereof) as by their frequent exercises: during which time, good store of their substance, glides it selfe thorow the pores of the skinne. Heere also I may bee silent, in those two necessities alledged by *Hippocrates*, which Infants haue of eating, to witte; for Nourishing, and to giue encreasing to the bodie.

The two necessities in Infants in feeding.

Of the facultie that boyleth the food in the stomack.

Nowe, the strength of the facultie which boiles the meate in our stomacke, dependeth much vpon temperature and moderation, but that is, when it is excited and prouoked on by naturall heate; which, albeit that after one foode bee digested, the introduceth not any other nouriture of her selfe, as *Haruet* sayeth; yet notwithstanding, in regard that this first foode is digested by heate, there growes immediately, a feeling of penury & want of foode, at the mouth of the Ventricle, which we call hunger. For this cause,

Galen. in Com. 2. Aphor. 13.

Ioubert referreth onely to heate (as the principall Agent) the quantitie of those meates, which are afterward receyued, and gouerned by the appetite of hunger. *The facility of supporting hunger* (sayth *Galen*) *acknowledgeth it selfe, when anie one hath no appetite to meate; and yet neuertheless, feelth not thereby some endamage-ment or defect.* Which *Haruet* brings in thus, that such as are restored from sicknesse, haue a good appetite; and yet notwithstanding, no such meates are giuen them, as their appetites doo desire: but when aduise is giuen for restoring their powers it behoueth also to haue regard to the infirmitie of Naturall heat, which must not be ouerthrowne, bur still supported. This is thus doone, because that the temperature, beeing not (as yet thoroughly recouered, and the naturall Faculties feeling themselues (as yet) diseased; the Organs cannot boile the meates received in too great a quantitie. Now

For restoration of the powers, and maintenance of the temperature.

Old men haue not neede of often feeding

Ioubert in his demonstration, is vnderstoode to speake of the healthfull, not of the sicke, or else of them that are neutral. And therefore he concludeth, that olde men haue not neede of meate often, because they do not desire or apeteite often, principally considering, that they haue cold bodies: whereto *Haruet* in no wise wil agree, for he saith; That al the action of mixed bodies, cometh from that qua-

The action of mixed bodies

litie, which wins the vpper hand in the Elements assembling. Now, so it is, that in liuing bodies, heate ruleth ouer the other qualities; of which heate, euery action hath his originall, and not of colde. I willingly admit the proposition with *Aristotle*, as concerning mixt inanimat things, and which acknowledge the simple forms of the elements for their principles. But in animate bodies, which haue a more noble forme, and wherein are contained those other more ignoble (euen as the Triangle within the Quadrangle) it is not a thing so easie. For, they acknowledge, (as principall of their functions) that nature, which I say is properly called the soule, that is; the moouing vertue of the body naturall and organicall, liuing by power.

Arist. in Lib 2. de gen. anim. c. 5

Of bodies that haue soules, and their forme.

As concerning that which *Haruet* placeth in the assumption of his argument, to wit; that heate (in the liuing bodie) surmounteth the other elementarie qualities, I cannot allow thereof, except hee will haue vnderstood by this heate, that it (being diffused thorow the bodie) gouerneth and moderateth the whol Oeconomy therof; and so long as it is in essence, maintaineth life; but approaching neere quenching, then death of necessity must follow. This also surmounteth and subiecteth to it selfe, not only the cold, moyst, and drie elementary quality, but euen the hot elementarie Nature also, as beeing (in it selfe) truly celestiaall. For, if hee meane the predominant heate of the Elementary heate, as it seemeth to ensue by his Sylogisme: then let me set the Salamander before him, which (in his mixture) is composed of so colde a temperament, as his verie touch doth quench the fire, euen as if it wer ice. He liueth neuertheless, yet not by the heat mixed or elementary, which being weak in it self, cannot exceed the power of this cold. It followeth then, that it must needs be by celestiaall heate, which likewise maintaineth life in Serpentes, and euery one knowes them to be temperately cold.

Of heate, surmounting the other elementary qualities and the power thereof.

The predominating heat of the Elementary heat

How the Salamander liueth by celestiaall heate.

This then which hath bene said, that cold (in Olde men) maketh them to hate the abounding of foode; it must bee, that *Haruet* meanes it in such sorte, as that cold hath no Dominion or superioritie ouer human bodies, neither that actually it can haue. Put for the cold of *Hippocrates*, it is the same which *Galen*, & all

Hip. in Com. 1. Aphor. 14. Galen Com. 3. Aphor. 15.

Phy-

Physitions (by comparison) do call a soft heate : and therefore, their weak and feeble heate, hath need of some small helpe. Euen as the slender flame of a Lampe is maintained, by putting in Oyle by little and little, but it is easily extinguished, in being smothered by a superabundant effusion.

Hitherto we haue spoken of Naturall heate, as beeing the Primitiue Agent; wherein wee haue defended for M. Iou- bert, that according to the aboundance or tenuitie thereof, the bodye hath neede of much or little nourishment. Let vs now speake of the Primitiue humor patient, and of his Nature, and how it is subiected to this heat.

With consent of all Physitions, wee haue constituted heate, to bee the first essentiall cause of our life, and haue sayde; that thee cannot product any effect of her Functions, without a proper aliment or foode, which is the radicall moysture and primitiue abounding, mingled with her heate in the seede and Menstruall blood, the principles of our generation.

But by the swift flight of yeares, it greatly decayeth and diminisheth it selfe, to our harme, by continuall embracement of her heate: for retardiment whereof, as we do warily renew the Oyle in the burning Lampe, euen so do we as diligently giue feeding to this heate; feeding, I say, which serueth to restore this humiditie, & deliuer it from so strict an embracing.

So that, if in the bodie there be some superabounding humour, which the partes cannot any way disperse, Galen calles the same. *πρωτογενεσ υποληπτικου*, and the Schooles, *An unprofitable excrement.*

As that, saith he, which remaineth within the little hollow places of the Bones; like the froathy humidity in the Lunge, the Clewy humour in the ioyntes, the seede in the Testicles, and Pipes whereby it is voided forth, or as spettle vpon the tongue, and Milke in the Breastes: euen so this holdeth a place of Foode, and serueth the fomentation and kindling of naturall heate, as Ioubert hath verie am- plic

Written in his Paradoxe, and wee our selues haue heeretofore declared. Therefore, so long as this humour remaineth in the body, there is no neede of meat or drinke; and yet it is all this while, nourished; and liueth: Which Haruet verie ob-

stinately denieth, and reiecteth al the reasons of this demonstration. But for our owne credite and respect, without further amusing our selues, to cul out his writings by parcels, where himselfe both maketh and faigneth Obiection, answering also to them, as any newe Appren- tize in Physicke might doo the like: wee will confound those reasons, which seem to bee best furnished with apparance: albeit, wee cannot endure any error, how little soeuer it be, in matters of such moment.

In the beginning of this proposition, hee imposeth on Ioubert, who hath Written, that not onely the smallest heat helpeth, to make abstinence or Fasting the more easie, but also in this regarde, that the superfluous humor, and which holdeth the place of Naturall heat, might be more abundant.

This dooth Haruet interprete in his sence, as if Ioubert hadde sayde, that the sole smallest heate, not only helpeth vnto render abstinence the more easie: but also causeth, that the superfluous humour, which holds the place of Naturall heate, should bee the more plentifull. From whence hee deriueth this following proposition, that the least heate causeth the superfluous Humours abounding. Against which proposition, he so distilleth out his owne Spirite, and Tormentes it so tediously, euen as if it were on Iouberts himselfe.

Next, hee makes it a great case, and thinkes hee hath attempted an acte be- seeming another Hercules, in shewing; that the Excrement dooth sometime sup- plie the place of Foode, and that Nature serues her selfe with vñ thereof, and it can repaire that, which is impaired by the power of heate. In trueth, the Excre- ments do not fall vnder one and the same consideration: For, there be some which are quite against Nature, and vterly un- profitable, & which haue no resemblance at all with vs: and therefore, can neuer conuert themselues to our vse, to bee in- corporated with vs. The Greekes call them by an apt name *πρωτογενεσ*, as the Ordure, Vrine, sweat, &c.

There bee others more according to nature, which are profitable to som part of the bodie: and yet are excrements, not in regard of the whol body, but for some part

Haruets obsti- nate denial a- gainst appa- rant truth.

Haru in pag: 47

Iouberts words not truly in- terprete d by Haruet, but wrested to his own purpose.

In pagina 52.

The Excre- ments not all vnder one co- sideration.

Excrements that are aun- swercable to nature, and profitable to some parts of the body.

Natural heat the primitiue Agent.

Repetition of what hath for- merly bin said

Swift course of yeares decayeth the life of men.

Galen in Lib. 5 Apbor: 39.

The superabounding humour, and in what manner it alideth in the body.

Of the *Chylus* or white iuyce converted into blood.

The Spleene, and her superfluous euacuation.

Gal. 2. de fact. nat.

The two partes of blood.

Of the diuers kinds of choller, and the Serofities.

H. vnes obiection of rhume or Flegme.

The answer. Galen. De fact. nat. 2.

part thereof only. Like as the *Chylus*, or white iuyce, proceeding of the meat digested in the stomacke, whereof blood is engendred, after that the Ventricle is satisfied, it is sent to the Intestines, as an excrement and vnprofitable charge. When it is drawne by the Liuer, then that which was an excrement of the ventricle, is made an aliment vnto the liuer. There while blood is made of the *Chylus*, the Spleene and the bladder of the Gall or Choller, do attract gall both from the one and other, being their familiar nourishment, and yet the excrements of the Liuer. Hauing receiued their conuenable portion, they send away the rest as an excrement, which can doe no more Seruice, nor yeeld contentment to anie one part. The Spleene sends that which shee holds superfluous, by a little Vessel at the bottome of the Ventricle; and somtimes by the Hemorrhodes, and from thence to the Intestines. The Vessel of the Gall or Choller, sends it by the *Parancholidocum*, to *Duodenum*, or *Intestinum primum*, and other parts. By which demonstration, *Galen* induceth, that all these two parts of blood (to wit, the thick and earthy, which the Spleene draweth, and the most subtle of all, drawne by the bladder of the Gall or choller, which hauing past the examen of heat, converts it selfe into choller) are according to nature, and do serue her to some vse, because their proper vessels were ordained for them, and to be receiued thereinto.

But as concerning the sundrie kinds of choller, and all the sorts of Serofities (being the watterishnesse, or thinner partes of the masse of blood, like to Whay in Milke, which floats vpon it, after it hath bin let out of a Vaine) because they are things vnprofitable, and out of Nature, there is not any vessell allowed to them. Only to Flegme or Rhume, nature fayled in allowing it a perticuler receptacle, although it be beneficial: but rather hath lodged it in the vaines with the blood, there to bee boyled, and made capeable for nourishing the bodie. *Haruet* obiection, that this Rume or Flegme, holdes no part of an excrement, but is Naturall and Elementarie, to wit; a fourth humor of blood: I answer, that by conference of other humors, which are of the nature of Excrements, it appeareth manifestly, that by that place of *Galen*, excrementall

Flegme, is meere vnderstoode. For thus hee compareth all the excrements. As (saith he) among the diuers kindes of Gall, one is profitable and Naturall in the Creature, the other vnprofitable and out of Nature: Euen so, in Flegme, that which is sweete, is healthfull and Naturall in the liuing creature; but that which is salt, is out of Nature.

10 Moreouer, to approue this, in euery concoction, there is some excrement separated from the blood, which then shall bee the excrement of the Elementarie Flegme. For example, the Melancholy iuyce hath his excrement; the billious or Chollericke hath also his, and yet it is not that which is lodged in the stomack, and in the Intestines: for it hath not (as yet) attained so farre as the Liuer, which is the Shop or Work-house of this concoction.

20 In brieft, Flegme is not held to haue any perticuler Instrument, because, that if somtimes thorow want of eating, there shall be a defect of blood, the same turning it selfe on the blood side, shall serue as nutriment to those parts. For naturall Flegme it nourisheth and maintaineth continually, not by power and want of Food only, but the parts colde and moist actually.

30 It is then an excrement, but profitable, which *Galen* in the place before alledged, saith; *That abyding in the bodie it may be changed.* And he doth not any way contradict the same, in the first of his Prognostickes, where hee calleth it (not as he doth heere) *Nourishment halfe boyled*, but an *Excrement of the nourishment halfe boyled*, whereof the bodie being filled, men may (so saith *Hippocrates*) not only bide from eating once a day, but also much more easily, endure an extraordinary hunger.

40 *Haruet* obiectioneth two things. The first in the Dropsie, named **Anasarcha* (which the Latines call *Intericus*) all the parts of the body being swoln with flegm or Rheume; and yet notwithstanding, the patient must haue food giuen him at all times, whereof if there be any want, he seemeth readie euery houre, to giue vp the Ghost. I answer, that all Flegme is not proper to nourish the body, but only that which is sweete. Now, that of the Dropsy is salt, by reason whereof, it putrifieth and sendeth noisom sauors to the

*Galen*s comparisons.

Prooffe of concoctions, by euident example.

Flegme hath anie perticuler instrument.

Of Naturall Flegme.

Galen ubi sup.

Galen, in 1. de Prog.

Hippocrat. 2. de ac. sec.

*A Dropsie vniuersallie spread ouer the body, betweene the skin, and the flesh.

The answer to *Haruet*s obiection.

the parts which it toucheth. And *Galen* calleth it earthy, or deadly, because, beeing commixed with some other humours: he not only changeth his true and naturall colour (as *Galen* saith in the same place) but also his temperature. So that, both by *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, it is more often designed by the word Water, then of the Phlegme or Rhume. Vpon which occasion, *Serenus* calleth it *Aquosus languor*. And *Horace* tearmeth it, *Aquosus albo corpore languor*.

This solution may also satisfie the obiection which he makes soone after, concerning the excrements of sick persons, which (saith he) if they haue power to nourish during the disease, wherefore then (they being consumed) doth not the sicknesse it selfe cease also? And if the sicknesse cease, why then are all the parts in the body depressed? Alas (good man) those excrements are wholly contrary to Nature, and the body desires nothing more, then to be deliuered of them, as *Galen* speaketh of the *Sereons* waterish humour. That is more strong, which hee alleadgeth a little before; that *Ioubert* doth not conclude well, saying; that if the ventricle (being filled with the Phlegmaticke humour) hath no appetite: in like maner, all the partes of the body (being filled) can haue no desire or hunger. For the appetite of the ventricle (now in question) is animall appetite, which being not in the other partes, this Phlegme cannot communicate it selfe vnto them in the same kind.

I answere, that there are two sortes of appetites in the ventricle, the animall, and the naturall. The Animall appetite is a certaine molestation and anguish of the ventricle, proceeding from the sucking, or compression of the food; whereby (being made angry or offended) it desireth meate. But the naturall appetite, is a power, bred and borne in all parts of the body, which continually desireth what it wanteth, and is thereto agreeable. The one is appeased by vapour of the meats receiued, and by (how little soeuer) it be of substance; the other, by the only application of foode. The Animall appetite is perticuler to the sole-ventricle: the naturall is common, as well to the ven-

tricle, as to all the other parts, whereby (being carried to the Superiour Orifice of the same Ventricle; he exciteth the Animall appetite, which serues vs as a Spurre for the taking of our meats. So long then, as the raw and Phlegmaticke humour remaineth at the ventricle, and that there (by naturall strength thereof) it is boyied and brought into good estate: the tunicles (which make the body of the ventricle, in taking their competent portion; yea, and the very best thereof) doe conuert the same to their owne profit. So, the naturall appetite being contented, the animall appetite is not offended, neither complains at entrance of the ventricle. If all the body were full of one and the same humour, all the parts (whereto this appetite is common, and communicateth the strength of this emotion) would borow thereof, and draw thence what should be seruiciable for them.

These are the Arguments, wherewith the learned *Ioubert* hath fortified his opinion: Arguments, which (in my iudgement) vntill this instant houre, there could be no man found, that did know (deseruedly) how to stand against them. Whereto there are adioyned many examples, both of Plants and other Creatures: that not onely preserue themselves many daies, but many yeares also, without any nourishment outwardly taken. As in Plants; the Onion and the Garlike, &c. In Graine, Wheate, Rie, Barley, Oates, Millet, and others. In and among Beasts, Serpents, Lizards, Dormise, Beares, Crocodiles, and Camelions. The authority of which examples, *Harnet* labourerth to eneuuate, by opposition of dissimilitude, and great disproportion, which is betweene the life of brute beasts (yea much more of Plants) and that of man: because his principall is referred to the reasonable soule, and theirs to the soule irrationall. Beside, that heart (the instrument of both) is much more noble in man, then in the vntreasonable Soule; and yet is more in the vntreasonable soule, then in the Plant. Whereto I answere, that the similitude of these examples doe very well agree together in that kind of life, whereof we speake in this place; which is, *The faculty of feeding, and nourishing the body, and which is equally*

The superior Orifice of the ventricle.

The Coat-armours of the ventricle.

The body is not filld with one humour.

The strength of Iouberts Arguments.

Examples of Plants, Grain and beasts.

Dissimilitude of life in men and brute beasts.

The similitude of life defended.

Gal in 1. de Prog. Hippoc. in Aphor. 6. 14. & sect. 2. Galen Aphor. 482. couc. Serenus. Aur. in Od. Lib. 2. pag. 66.

Concerning men in time of sicknesse.

Gal. 2. De nat. fac.

The appetite of the ventricle.

Two appetites, animall and naturall.

The appeasing of both the appetites.

*Arist. in Lib. de
Gen. 2. Cap. 5.*

In Pagina. 78.

The humour
abounding in
crudity.

Abounding of
Phlegme to
to cause the
Apoplexie.

*Gal. in Com. 3.
Aphor. 20.*

Concerning
life.

*Arist. in Lib. de
gen. 2. Cap. 9.*

A vegetatiue
soule in man.

Arist. ubi supra.

equally distributed, as well in beastes as in Plants, saith *Aristotle*. Moreouer, that they agree in kind of the cause, to wit, the raw and Phlegmaticke humour; where with their bodies are as well filled, as those of men. But who can, (saith *Haruet*) support such a great abundance of Phlegme in *Diaphragma*, without a palpitation of the heart, sicknesse of the stomacke, and paine of the collicke and raines? And who can retaine them in the head, without an Apoplexie? I answer, that this humour, doth there seeth it selfe in the body, and yet not corrupt it selfe. For, being according to nature, it cannot create any accidents or diseases against nature. Perhaps he will obiect, that the very abounding of Phlegme, causeth an Apoplexie.

But (I say) that it is an Excrement properly of the braine, which hath not bene wont to goe lodge it selfe at the ventricles thereof, neither doth, except it be driven by the spirit, or the vapour. He may say, that in these Natures, the Spirits are more languishing, and have not power sufficient, to make an impetuosity so violent. Whereto I reply, that albeit (otherwise) exercise of the body is healthfull, according to *Galen*: yet notwithstanding, if ye will exercise a Man full of Phlegme, or subiect to one and the other choller, or else full of blood; ye shall forward him (by such exercise) either to an Epilepsie, or Apoplexie.

Now, whereas he saith, that our life is differing from that of Plants and beastes, and that her principle (which is the soule) is much more noble the theirs: what is he that will deny it? Seeing *Aristotle* himselfe believed, that she onely was diuine, and came from somewhere else abroad, to lodge within our body. But because he encloseth within his obiection, the vegetatiue Soule of Plants, and the sensitiue of beastes: it behooueth to let him know, that our body hath a vegetatiue Soule, and nourisheth it selfe as a Plant; senseth or senseth as as brute beast, and hath discourse of reason, of which it maketh vse like to a man. Marke but his beginning, saith the same *Aristotle*; he liueth as the Plant, and hath onely then the vegetatiue Soule. Afterward (in time) hee

gaines the sensitiue; and at length, comes to the intellectuall and reasonable, which bringeth all perfections with it. For he is not wholly (at one time) both animall and man; neyther an Animall and an Horse (though this kind of reasoning is scant seemely, in the mouth of a Christian Philosopher.) He must bee first of all an Hearbe, as a Beete or Lettise; afterward a Dogge, Horse, or the like thing; and last of all he comes to be *Cesar* or *Caro*.

But *Haruet* holdes on yet, and pro-ueth by *Hippocrates*, that our fore-fathers would neuer haue sought out a proper manner of feeding for man; if one selfe-same eating and drinking had bene sufficient, for the nourishment both of men and beastes. Neuertheless, he omitteth that which *Hippocrates* addeth; that in the first age, men vsed one and the same kind of food, as other Creatures did, because the inuention of sowing and planting was (as yet) vnknowne to them. Then they fed on such Fruites, as nature (in her owne kindnesse) produced, without any tillage. Howbeit, the omnipotent Creator of man, had a will from the beginning, that he should not liue onely by the fruits of the earth; but also that he should vse the vnreasonable Creatures for his nourishment. What would he haue *Hippocr.* more to say? That which our ancients did, declared a wil, to provide for the infirmity of our naturall heat, which being vnable (sometimes) to digest meats of such crudity; is much better supplied and maintained, by those that are prepared and corrected by art and experience, in doing whereof, the health of man is the lesse subiect to perrill. Otherwise, a man (if he had been vsed thereto) might feed on Hemlocke (dangerlesse) with the Stare; and on Helleborus with the Quaille; or vse poysons (as *Mithridates* did) and not be poisoned: for man being invred to such a custome, they would be to him as naturall viands.

In like manner, an old Woman of *Athens* (recorded by *Galen*) vsed familiarly to eate Hemlocke; as *Thrasias* did *Helleborus*, by report of *Theophrastus*: A maide being sent by the King of the *Indias* to *Alexander*, did (for long time) feede in the sight of all beholders, on

Napellus,

Of mans being both animall and man

*Hippocrat. de
Prisca. Med.*

Mens food in the first age, before tillage was knowne.

The care of our elders in the first age, for naturall heat.

What meats a man might eate in some kinds.

*Gal. in lib. 3. de
Simpl. fact.
Theophrast. in
lib. 9. Hist. plant.
Cap. 18.
Arist. de reg.
pr. in.*

Napellus, commonly called Woolfesbane, without any prejudice vnto her health.

But without all these, hath not our good Mother the Earth, yeilded (out of her bosome) many other things necessary to maintaine life? Yes truelie hath she, and euen in such estate as shee receiued vs, when wee arrived in the Inne of this World; in the very same manner shee doth both entertaine and sustaine vs: shewing her selfe euermore benigne, sweete, indulgent, and readie to doe (whatsoever she can deuise) to serue our vse. When she is tilled and husbanded, what diuersity of foodes doth shee produce, apt and proper for our nourishing? How plentifully is she furnished without Tillage? What Oudours? What Sauours? What Iuyces? What Colours? And yet (all this while) we will needes exercise our cruelty vpon brute beasts. We will keepe those Creatures imprisoned, on whom Nature hath freely bestowed, the large and spacious Pallace of Heauen Why are not we more curious, to make banquets in simplicity, and without Butchery (after the manner of *Pythagoras*) rather then warre in the Ayre; aduventure life on the Seas and Riuers, and rage ouer the Earth, as wee doe? Our Elders report, the age which we tearm the Golden Age, was happy in this; that it sullied not her mouth with the blood of Creatures.

The Philosopher *Appolonius Thyaneus*, being demaunded by the Emperour *Domitian*, why he kept not the common manner of feeding, which consisted in the vse of Flesh; but rather fed on Roots and Fruites, such as the earth yeilded? Returned this answer. *All that the Earth bringeth forth to vs, is wholesome and healthfull. Ineede not then goe seeke after the Fowles of the Riuer Phasis, or the Francotines in Ionia. Alasse, with me (as with Countrey Horace) much better agreeth the Oliue, gathered from the Trees fat Braunches, or Sorrell, growing in the field, or Mallowes, wholesome for wearied bodies.*

Haruet pursueth, to confute the alleadged examples, saying; That that which is reported of Serpents, Dormise, &c. is meere lie fabulous. For, as concerning Serpents, that abide all the

Winter in their Dennes: they nourish themselves with Earth. Bears and Dormise, they make their prouision of food in Autumne, whereon they liue like vnto the Ant. The Camelion feedes himselfe with Flyes. The Crocodile cannot liue long out of the Water, according to *Aristotle*, &c. Whereto I answer. That the Serpent should nourish himselfe with earth onely, the reason of the same Philosopher doth repugne. For, he saith; *A mixed body cannot be nourished, with one sole and simple Element*; whereto also, the successe in thinges is conformable. For we haue many times obserued, that as among Fishes, the great ones eate vp the smaller Fry: the selfe-same is in practise among Vipers, Adders, Snakes, and such like. But that Serpents can liue very long without foode, *Aristotle* shewes the same, by experience of such as haue bene kept by Apothecaries, whereof we haue spoken heeretofore. And as concerning that which was said to the Serpent, in the third of *Genesis*; *Thou shalt eate earth all the daies of thy life*; this nothing at all concerneth our earthly Serpents, but onely the ancient Enemy to mankind, whose slauiish Seruants doe eate earth, that is to say; they can relish nothing but earthly thinges, according as our learned Diuines haue expounded it.

Aristotle writes, that the Dormouse (in Winter) is not onely hid in the Caves of the earth, but also in the hollowes of Trees, and that (during this season) he fattens by sleeping. *Haruet* thinkes, that he eates the prouision he hath hidden; and labours himselfe against *Aristotle*, saying: That sleep euacuates the body, when as the ventricle is emptied, by reason of heat, which euermore consumeth moysture. But behold heere the Aphorisme of *Hippocrates*, which is flatly against him. They (saith *Hippocrates*) which in the night time doe become altered in body, and thirsty; it is best for them to sleepe, although they be neuer so dry. For sleepe (aboue all thinges else, doth keepe the body moyst, very pleasantly: yet not that body which is wholelie empty and dry, but that which is filled with foode, or with crude moysture. For the natural faculty (all this while) bestoweth her vttermost power, in concoction of the meats

Of Serpents. Of Beares & Dormise.

The Camelion The Crocodile. *Arist* in lib. 2. de gener. An. m.

A comparison of Fishes with Vipers, &c.

Arist. Anim. lib. 8. Cap. 7.

Gen. 3. 14.

D. Aug. in Gen.

Arist. in lib. 8. Hist. Cap. 17.

Hippo. in lib. 5. Aphor. 27.

How necessary sleepe is for the body.

Our Mother the earths care for our maintenance.

The earths plenty without tillage.

The freedom bestowed on Creatures by nature.

Ouid. 1. Metam.

Domitian his demaund of *Appolonius* I by *aneus*.

The Philosophers answer.

In *Pagin. 67. 68. 69.*

Plin in Lib. 11. Cap. penult.

and raw humours. Who will make any doubt then, that a sloathfull Creature, and full of cruditie, may not fatten himselfe by sleeping? Pliny saith; It is best making concoction in the time of sleepe, for gathering corpulence, that is. to say, for fatning of the body. And Martiall, willing to waken those Students, which sleepe away (as one saith) the fat of the morning, hath addressed these two verses to them.

Martiall.

Doruitis nimium, glives, vituliq, marini, Nil mirum si vos crassa Minerua premit.

Gal in lib. 2. de Temp.

We see many beasts, which (at Spring-time) comming forth of their dens; are fatter then other, because they haue found the time fauourable to the. And Galen saith, Women are more fat then men; by reason that they are more cold, and greater sitters in the house, then vsually men are. Aristotle prooueth by two reasons, that Bears do not eat any thing, during the time of their winter retirement: the one, because they come not forth at all; the other, in regard their bellies are restrict, and their intestines empty. But Haruet wrangleth against the first; because (saith he) they haue wherewith to feed on. But a beast of such greatnesse, what store (I pray ye) needes there, of Roots, apples, or such like, for all those daies, and all those months? As for the second reason, Aristotle iustifieth the same by eye-experience. For one saith, that their intestines (thorow lack of eating) do close vp in such sort, that they almost touch or cling together. And therefore, when they come abroad againe, they feed on a certaine hearb, called * Aron, onely to get loose their entrailes. The first seauen daies that they lie hidden in their Caues, they are so soundly ouercome with sleepe, that although one smite vpon them, yet they awake not; so saith Pliny & Olaus. They say both, that they fatten wondrously by this heauy sleep; and principally, by licking their right foot. Which is to be vnderstood in this manner, that after they haue past 14. daies in sleepe; they arise and sit on their buttocks, & lue by licking their foremost fecte, vntill such time as the Spring comes againe, and then they issue forth. As concerning the Male Beares, they are very fat: but

Arist. in Hist. Anim. Cap. 17. Lib. 8.

Of the Bears feeding in Winter.

* Wake-wort to vnloose the Beares entrailes.

Plin in hist. nat. lib. 8. Cap. 26. Olaus in Hist. Septentr. lib. 18

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not the Females, because (at this time) they nourish their whelps. Nor are they any such masse or lumpe, of white and deformed flesh, which by little and litle (in licking) they bring to a forme, as ignorantly hath bin credited of antiquity: but a young litle Beare, well formed, such as great Scaliger witnesseth, to haue been found (not long since) in the belly of a She-Bear, which one rent in pieces.

The same Scaliger, first (before Haruet) declareth, that the Lord John des Landes, when he was in Syria, bought a Camelion. And it was noted, that by prompt mouing of his tongue (which he can cast and recast (in an Infant) out of his mouth) hee tooke a Fly that was on his breast. This was newes to them, who supposed it onely (among all others Creatures) to liue without foode or drinking: and onely to nourish himselfe by the Ayre, euermore fasting, without enduring any languishment, as Tertullian saith. Neuerthelesse, it is not altogether from the purpose, to imagine, that he should liue by the aire: because he hath beene obserued to passe a whole yeare together, without eating any thing, as the same Scaliger testifieth. Also, that after he hath yawnd or gapt, and taken ayre: hee hath shut his lawes, & then his belly became blowne full (like a bladder) with this ayry substance. There be some, that say, that turning himselfe to the Sun; he seemes to swallow downe his beames, and so pursues them (yawning) all about. Tertullian hath auouched as much, when (speaking of the Camelion) he saith, He nourisheth himselfe by yausking and yawning, he chawes, and blows vp himselfe like a foot-ball, the wind is all his food.

The Crocodile, by the testimony of Aristotle, and (after him) Pliny, passeth alwaies sixe moneths of Winter in his Caue, without eating. Aelianus saith, that he remaineth threescore daies only so hidden, during which time he eateth nothing. Symmachus, one of a Consuls quality among the Romaines, caused Crocodiles to be brought into the Theater before the people, after hee had made them to fast fifty daies. Long time afterward, he kept two, without giuing them any foode: reseruing them, to haue them seene at the arriual of certaine friends of his. Albeit (saith hee) they

The Male Beares very fat, but not the females.

Scalig. Exerc. 6 15.

Exercit. 196. 4.

That the Camelion can catch Flies.

Tertul. De pag.

Scalig. vbi sup.

Tertul. in Lib. de Mans.

Arist. in Hist. An. lib. 2. ca. 13. Plin. in Hist. Nat. lib. 8. Cap. 25.

Symmach in lib 8. Epist. 14.

Arist. in Hist. Anim. lib. 8. cap. 20.

* That live as well on Land, as in the water. Lib. 2. cap. 20.

Of the Bird of Paradise.

How the Bird of Paradise nourisheth her selfe in the Ayre.

Cardan in lib. 9 cap. 20.

they made shew, not to live long time without eating. As for that which *Haruet* alleadgeth from *Aristotle*, that the *Crocodile*, being out of the *Water*, cannot live any long time. It receiveth interpretation, by the very same place, where he writes. *Albeit the Crocodile delights her selfe in the Water, and that in such sort, as she cannot live, being enclosed out of watry places: Nevertheless, shee dyes, if she receiveth not Ayre, as she is wont to doe, and nourishing her young ones out of the Water.* For as much then, as she is a Creature partly watery, and partly earthy; he holds, that she is to be ranked among those Creatures, called * *Amphibij*, which are not of a staid Nature, whom he calleth *επιαμφοτεριστοι*. Other wise hee should contrary himselfe having written before: *That she spendes the day on the Land, and the night in the Water: both the one and other shee affecteth, by reason of the warme moisture she loveth.* Which he would have to be vnderstood, of the time when shee doth not hide her selfe, because cold is so contrary to her: as when it is faire seasonable weather, she must needs be on the Land in the day time, and in the water all the night.

I might here avouch the *Indian Birds* without feete, which the *Sacrificers* to *Mahomet*, did somtime make the King of the *Molucques* to beleue, that it dropt downe out of *Paradise*: because she is not found but in vnknowne places, separated from resort of the world; in regard whereof, they of that Countrey call it, the *Bird of Paradise*. Shee lives continually in the *Ayre*, and neuer at any time toucheth the earth, till after she be dead: whereon then she lieth, and preferueth her selfe (long time) without corrupting. This Bird dooth not nourish her selfe on *Mushromes*, & other insect thinges, as *Sparrowes* and *Swallowes* doe. For she liueth in the middle Region of the *Ayre*, where are no Creatures (knowne to men) whereon she may feede: but vpon the *Ayre* onely, or on the vapour arising from the *Isles of Molucques*, which doe send forth (on all sides) a very sweete and *Aromaticall* saour. *Cardanus* holdeth, that shee cannot live of the ayre alone, and perfectly, because it is very subtil in those Countries. But he that gaue

her the *Ayre* for food, hath power likewise so to thicken the aire: as to render it selfe apt enough for her nourishment.

And no lesse admirable is the Bird, which *Plutarch* calleth *Rhintaces*, verie common in *Persia*; which hath nothing emptie in her body, but is all full of fat within (as are the * *Benericks* in *Languedoc*.) And yet notwithstanding, this *Aythour* saith, that shee lives not but of the *Ayre*, and of the dew therein. *Aristotle* the Prince of truth, writes, that in the *Furnaces* in *Cyprus*, where the *Melters* and *Casters* of *Copper* are, they haue a little Creature, of the bignesse of a great *Fly*, which they call *Pyrusita*, that hath *Winges* and *four* feet. So long as there is fire in the *Furnace*, this worme or *Fly* liueth: but let it be neuer so little off from it, it dyes presently. And yet notwithstanding, this Creature is most cold, hauing no other maintenance, then the heat of the *Fire* onely.

But why should I dwell on these examples, whereof *Haruet* (in euery place) holds, that (by them) wee can draw no consequent to men. Peraduenture then, some examples (deduced from men themselves) may make him to acknowledge a truth. And therefore I will produce one, which is out of all scruple, and whereof *Princes* (worthy of beliefe) made recitall to King *Henry* the third, being in *Poland*. He had there many great *Lords* of *France*, *Councillers*, beside *Physitions*, &c. And among others, *Monsieur Piduxius*, our *Deane*, skilfull not onely in the *Phisicke*, but likewise in whatsoever concerned knowledge of the naturall *Historie*. He was then *Physition* to my Lord the Duke of *Neuers*, and called to Counsell with the Kings owne *Physitions*. From him was it, that we verbally heard this *History*, which also is written by *Alexander Guaguinus* of *Verona*, *Captaine* of the *Foot-men* in the *Cittadell* of *Virebcka*, on the Limits of *Mosconia*, and in his description of the said Country.

He saith, that there are certaine people in *Lucomoria* (which is a Region, in the vtmost *Confines* of the *Sarmates*, towards the North) which dye (or rather remaine entranced, like *Frogges* and *Swallowes*) euery year, the twentie

Plutarch in vit. Artocer.

* The little Blacke-Bird, called a Gnat snapper.

Arist. in hist. A. n. m. lib. 5. ca. 9. Plin. in lib. 11. cap. 36.

Examples concerning men.

Manifested to Henry the third, K. of France.

Alexand. Guaguig. Veronens.

People in Lucomoria, neede the Sarmates, that dye, or are entranced.

ty leauen day of the month of Nouember, by reason of the extreame cold in that part of the Country. Afterward, at the Spring-times returne, the twenty foure day of Aprill, they come to life againe.

People called
Grustintzians
& *Sperponomptzians*.

These people make their Commercers with their Neighbours, who are the *Grustintzians* and *Sperponomptzians*, after this manner. When they feele the time of their entrancing to draw nere; they then locke vp their Merchandises in certaine places, and the *Grustintzians* and *Sperponomptzians* doe there take them, and leaue other (in their stead) of answerable value. The time beeing come of their reuiuing, they take the Merchandises left in exchange, if they perceiue they may make profit of them: if not, they demaund backe their owne againe, whereby ariseth (oftentimes) quarrels and wartes betweene them. By this sleepey trance, the naturall heat in these bodies (which otherwise are accustomed to this Ayre, and boyled againe, (as *Albertus Crantzianus* saith) is no whit extinct: because all the pores, places, passages, and conuoyes (beeing lockt vp and stopt) it gathers it selfe about the entrailes, and by this *Antiperistasis*, or repulsion of euery part; shee encreaseth her selfe, and makes her power the more vigorous for the Spring time ensuing.

The reason
of this sleepey
trance in this
people.

Above all other parts of the body, the daunger lyeth principally in the braine; which hath great store of large openings, and (among others) the nostrils: were it not, that when they be ginne to waxe stiffe with cold; a tart rhume or moisture distilleth from the Nostrils; which (by report of the said Lord *Piduxius*) euen as it flowes, congealeth it selfe, no lesse then the spittle doth, and so it waxeth hard, before they fall to the ground, according as *Sigismond de Herbestein* describeth in the Historie of *Moscovia*. By meanes whereof, the Nostrils and other parts beeing so lockt vp; the mallice of the ayre cannot so easily pierce vp into the braine. And if any one of them, to shunne this cold vnfriendliness of the Ayre, doe thinke (by couering himselfe with skins and other things) to forestal the Icles hanging at the Nostrils and mouth, &c. immediatly the Ayre (being exces-

The greatest
danger in the
braine.

Their eyes,
ears, nostrils,
and mouthes,
are softly fro-
zen vp, be-
fore they fall
into this
trance.
*Sigif. Herb. in
Hist. Moscoui.*

Daunger in
seeking to
preuent this
cold.

siuely cold) steppes vp into the braine, and there extinguisheth the naturall heate. So that these *Lucomerians*, in stead of a temporall entrancing, doe then fall into one perpetuall and endlesse. But the time being come, that the Sunne gaineth rule ouer the world, and brings againe the sweetnesse of the Spring season: the Ice moysture (at the parts fore-named) melting it selfe; heate (by little and little) insinuateth into the bones; feeling and vigour creeperth againe into all the members, and then hath the body the same Oeconomy, which it had before.

The manner
of the peoples
recouery.

Haruet concludeth this whole discourse, with the fasting of *Moyse*, *Helias*, and our blessed Sauour, which (saith he) would be held as no Miracles; if (according to Nature) so long an abstinence might be endured. *Ioubert* hath answered, that in sicke persons, and such as are subiect to much sicknesse; long Fasting or abstinence is naturall: but supernaturall in such bodies, as are otherwise perfectlie well, and of good temperature.

Haruets con-
clusion of his
discourse.

And *Haruets* obiecting the place of *Auicenne*, cited by *Ioubert*: That the same might also happen to healthfull Men. For our selues, wee will embrace *Iouberts* opinion in such sort, as we holde the accident heere happening among vs, occasioned by a sicknesse against Nature, and yet (in time) may be recouered. But as for men of such rare sanctitie, we are not so deuillish; as to thinke, that their Fasting should ensue by any sicknesse: but onely by the especiall will of God, and that naturall appetite is returnable againe, at such time as is limited by his prouidence.

Auicenne his
opinion of
healthfull me.

Last of all, where he exhorteth euery one, to imitate a certaine Gentleman, who (by care and dilligence) discovered the imposture of an Hermit in *Sauoy*, that (by feigned Fastings) had long time deceiued the peoples opinion: For our selues, not knowing how to goe against authoritie, of so many rare and cleare sighted Phisitions, nor how to steale into our eyes, the credence of what they haue seene: wee loue rather to referre the causes of such extraordinary workes in nature, euen to the most curious Enquisitour, then (like to the companions of *Vlisses*) charmed

Haruets finall
exhortation.

An Hermit
imposture in
Sauoy.

* A Tree in Affrick, cald the Lor-tree.

charmed with the Fruit of the * *Alister*, or *Lot-tree*; to serue or know no other Gods, then *Edusa* and *Potina*.

CHAP. XI.

Of the authority giuen to the Germanes, to make election of the Emperour: What and who the Electors are. Also, of the manner which the ancient Romaines obserued, in consecrating their Emperours, and ranking them in number with the Gods after their death.



Pope Gregory the fift; a Native of the Countrey of *Saxony* in *Germany*, & Kinsman to the Emp. *Otho*, to the end, that the Empire might remain in their hands, who wer of his nation, made a law (but with consent of the said *Otho*) as concerning the election of the Emperour: which afterward was obserued, euen to our time, and so is (as yet) maintained. Whereby it was lawfull, and permitted to the *Germanes* onely; to elect the Prince, that should be called *Cesar*, and King of the *Romaines*. Also, to be stiled the Emperour *Augustus*; when the Byshop of *Rome* had approued and confirmed the election. The said Pope likewise gaue authourity, to be elected by three Ecclesiasticall, and foure Lay persons, to wit: To the Arch-Byshops of *Magonce*, *Treuers*, and *Colongne*: And to the Marquesse of *Brandenbourg*; to the Count-Palatine of *Rhine*; to the Duke of *Saxony*; and to the King of *Bohemia*; and to their Successours in all those dignities: And the said King of *Bohemia*, was added as the seauenth Electour, to take away all differences, which might happen in the election, and to iudge aboue them all.

Now I hold it very conuenient, being in a matter of this Argument; that I should also say somewhat in this place, concerning the maner obserued by the ancient *Romaines*, of inserting their Emperours in number with the Gods, after they were dead. They buried the deceased body with sumptuous Funerall pomp, making an Effigy or Image of

Waxe, so neere resembling the dead Corps as possibly might bee, wan and pale, like to a sicke person. This Image was laide in an high and stately Bed of *Iuory*, at the entrance of the *Imperiall Pallace*. About this Bed (for the more part of the day) were seated in this order: first, all those of the *Senate* on the left side, cloathed in mourning; then on the right side, the *Noble Matrones*, all in white Robes, but wearing neither *Chaines* nor *Jewels*: This order was continued seauen daies together; and euery day the *Phisitions* came to the bed side, saying (after they had seen the Image) that he daily waxed worse and worse. The seauen daies being ended, and he reputed to be dead, the youngest *Noble-men* (chosen among the orders of *Knights* and *Senators*) carried the Bed vpon their shoulders; first, to the old *Market place*; then to *Campo Martio* without the *Citty*, where a *Tabernacle* was prepared; after the fashion of a *Tower*, on that side where the fiede was most spacious. This *Tabernacle* was filled within; with old dry *Logges* and *Faggots*, and a great quantity of sweet saouours: without, it was adorned with rich *Cloath of Gold*, faire Images of *Iuory*, and sundry sortes of beautifull *Pictures*. The *Bed*, and the *Image* in it, was shut vp within this goodly *Tabernacle*, and when the accustomed *Ceremonies* (in such cases) were finished: he who was the neereft to succede in the *Empire*, hauing a lighted *Torch* in his hand, first began to giue fire to it, and consequently all the other, fiering it on all sides: so that, in short time it was wholly burned. Then from some high place, suddenly was an *Eagle* let loose, by which Bird the people verily beleued, that their *Princes Soule* was carried to *Heauen*: And by these means, the *Emperours* were honoured among the other *Goddes*. Whosoever is desirous, to be further acquainted, with all the ceremonies touching this case: let him read *Herodian*, at the beginning of the fourth Booke of his *Histories*.

The Imperial Bed, and the attendants about it.

The carying of the Imperial bed.

The burning of the Imperial Bed and Image, & the Eagle's flight.

The Electors of the Emperour, were created by Pope Gregory the fift

This Law was made in the yeare 1001.

The seauen Princes Electors by their seuerall names.

How the ancient Romaines defied their Emperours after death.

CHAP. XII.

Who first found out the Art of Nauigation; deuising Ships, Gallies, Oares, Sayles, Ankers, Rudders: And who first of al fought vpon the Sea.

NEptune inuented the Art of Nauigation, if wee may credit Diodorus, speaking thus. Neptune (as the Candians say) hauing found out the Art of sayling; leuied an Army, whereof he made Saturne chiefe Commaunder. Which hath bin the occasion, that such as succeeded him, did verily belecue, that Neptune had full power on the Seas. The men of Misia, and the Troyans, found Skiffes, made of many pieces of wood fastned together, like to a Raft or Float-boat of Timber; whereon they began to Nauigate, passing on the Hellespont to encounter the Thracians. Some others doe giue assurance, that such vessels were first seene in the Brittain Ocean, which were made of Leather. The Sydonians builded some such of Oziers and Reeds, and with the went not onely a Fishing; but made no doubt of sayling in them on the chiefest Seas. In a long space of time after, the Inhabitants of the Isle of Coronta, aduentured to build Gondolots of wood onely, without any Oziers or Leather skins. Pliny saith, that the Nasselles or Skiffes were first put in vse vpon the red Sea, and that King Erytheus first sayled with them among the Islands. Thus, from the beginning, men frequented the Seas. But afterward, hauing left these small Boats, wherein (at first) they had practised nauigation: they began to builde ships as great as houses, therein to traueise all the Seas. Iason was the first that made vse of a long Ship; and the inuention thereof is (by Diodorus) attributed to Sesostris, King of Ægypt. The Erythreans deuised the Galliot, called the light-Galliot, with two Oares. The Gally (according to the opinion of Eusebius) had original, by the Samothracians, or (as Clemens will haue it) of Atlas: but Pliny saith, that Danaus brought it out of Ægypt into Greece. The Trireme,

or Gallie with three Oares on a banck; was inuented by Aminocles the Corinthian. The Quadrireme, or for 4. Oares at a banke, was the Carthagenians inuention, as it is affirmed by Aristotle. That of five Oares for a banke, called by the Grecians πεντήρης: was first of al made by Nesichron of Salamina, and such kinde of Gallies did the Romaines build in Italie; in the time of their first wars in Affrica. The Gally of six orders, or of six Oares for a bank (which the Latines knew not how to expresse in one word, and Titus Linius was constrained, to call it by the Greeke name Hexeres) was deuised by Zenagoras of Syracuse. The said Titus Linius, maketh mention also, of Gallies of 7. and of eight oares for a banke; which he tearmed Hepteres, and Octeres. Nesegiton was the deuiser of them of tenne Oares for a banke. The Enneres, of eleuen Oares, were much vsed by Ptolomeus Philadelphus, who had a great number of Gallies: as some of 13. Oares, some of 14. others of 20. yea, and of thirty orders, according as Athenens writeth. Alexander the Great, deuised the Gally of 12. orders, to wit, of twelue oares for a bank. Ptolomeus Soter inuented the Gally of fiftene Oares. Ptolomeus Philopater, that of forty Oares; and it was two hundred and fourscore cubits in length; and in height to the top, about eight and forty cubits.

Hippias the Tyrean, was the Inuenter of ships of burden, or Merchants boats, which vulgarly in Flemish, are called Hulques; and by Appian and Thucidides, they are tearmed Holcades: of which kind were the Wine-Boates, the verie greatest whereof, we tearme Bottomes or Lighters, carying sometimes fifteen hundred Tuns, and the least, which are called Lusandes, doe carry but three hundred. Vlpian calleth them Vintners Shippes. Of the same kind are the woden Boats, for carying of Sand, Hay, & Coales. Such Ships of burden as these, are those for the transportation of Souldiours, which Thucidides (in his eyght Book) plainly calleth στρατιώτικα, of carying Souldiours, that the Grecians named τοὺς στρατιώτας, which name our vulgar hath retained to this day, in taking away onely one letter: for he cals Stradiot a man at Armes, armed for lightnesse. The Hippagines or Hippagoges, were certaine

Diod. in lib. 6.

Skiffes founded by the Mysians and Troyans.

Skiffes of leather on the Brittain Ocean.

Gondolot is a Venetian wherry.

Plin. in lib. 7. Cap. 3.

Leauing smal Boats, they builded tall Ships.

Diod. in lib. 6.

The Light Galliot.

The Gally. Plin. in lib. 7. Cap. 56.

Plin. vbi sup.

Arist. in lib. 6.

Polib. in Lib. 2. Tit. Linius in Lib. 7. Deca. 4.

Tit. Lin. in Lib. 7. Deca. 5.

Athenens in lib 5. Cap. 4.

Plin. in Lib. 9.

Plutar. in vit. Demetr.

Appian de Bel. Ciuil Lib. 5. Thuci in Lib. 6.

Vlpian in Lib. Vulgar. F. de furt.

Thuci. in Lib. 8.

Tit. Liv. Deca. 5
Lib. 4.

Cesar in Com.

Foylts and
Brigandines.

Tit. Liv. Deca.
3. Lib. 3.

Discouerie
of the Punick
Army at Mar-
seilles.

Plin. in lib. 7.
Cap. 56.

The Germans
nere Danubie.

* A City of
Beotia, nere
Cepbisus.

Diodor. in lib. 6.

Plin. in lib. 7.
Cap. 57.

certaine Ships among the *Greekes*, for cariage of *Horses*, as well on *Rivers*, as on the *Seas*, being imployed for the service of warre: which were invented by them of *Salamina*, and in our language are cald *Passe-horses*. There is another sort of Ships, which the *Latines* named *Actuarias naues*, and *Cesar* calleth them *Victoria navigia*. These comprehend all kinds of light Foylts, as *Brigandines* and others: which onely were invented for pleasure, and with the swiftest legerity; to cut through the *Seas*. These Foyltes were not ordained for any war-service, but to be as *Seruitors* to other Vessels: and for this reason, they were named by the *Greekes* *ὑπερίπτα*, as *Seruiants*.

There are many kindes of *Actuary* Ships, among which, are the *Explorators* and *Speculators*, which we tearme *spies* or *scouts*, being very swift of saile, and are vsually sent to discover the enemies forces. Two of these *speculatory Galliot*s, which were sent forth by the of *Marseilles*: brought tidings back, that the *Punicke Army* was at the mourh of the *Rivers* entrance. The *Lembus* is likewise in number of the *Actuary* Vessels, and was invented by the *Cyrenenses*. So is the *Cymba* or *Barke*, which the *Phoenicians* first made vse of. The *Celox*, so called for her swiftnesse, was first deuised by the *Rhodians*. The *Cypriots* doe attribute vnto themselues, the invention of the *Cercuron*, which is ranked in number of the *Actuary* vessels: albeit *Nonius Marcellus* saith, that it should be a very great Ship. The *Illirians* first founded the *Squiffe*, called in *Latine* *Scapha*, ἀπο τοῦ ἐκκέντησι, *ab excavando*; because first of all, they began to hew them out of very great trees. The *Germanis* which dwell about *Danubius*, invented little Boats, made of hollow trees: which the neighboring *Rivers* made vse of, in sted of *Ferry-Boats*. The people of *Copa*, invented *Oares* and *Skuls*; and *Icarus* deuised *Sailes*, though *Diodorus* doth say, that *Aeolus* first found them out. *Dedalus* deuised the *Mast* and *Crossyards*, with their fit furniture belonging to them. *Pisens* invented the *Stem* or *Beak-head* of the ship: And the *Tyrrenians* the *Anker*, which *Eupalimus* first made with two fangs or teeth. *Anacharsis* found out the *grapling hooks* or *Irons* for ships; And *Tiphis* the *Rudder*, or *Instrument* to go-

uerne Shippes or *Gallies*. What else the Reader would further bee enformed in, concerning these matters, he may more amply see set downe in the *Book*, which *Lazarus de Baif* hath written of *Nauall affaires*. *Minos* was the first that made war on the *Sea*, as *Pliny* hath confirmed.

Plin. in lib. 7.
cap. 44.

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CHAP. XIII.

Whence the custome came, of giuing New-yeares gifts. The originall of *Masques* and *Momimeries*: As also of our *Shroue-tide*.

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THE custome of giuing new-yeares Gift, to wit, the Gift whereof a present is made at the beginning of the year; came first from the ancient *Romaines*. For the *Knights* vsed euerie year, on the first day of *Ianuary*, to offer new-yeares gifts in the *Capitole*, to *Cesar Augustus*, although he were then absent: which maner of behavior, hath since those daies descended to vs, albeit in sundry kinds of vses. For in *Italy*, the greatest persons doe giue to the meanest: And in *England*, *Subiects* giue to their *Princes*; and *Princes* to the *King*, who returneth the some Gift in recompence. We imitate those *Ancients*, in the representation of *spectacles*, *plaies*, *huntings*, *lousts*, *running of Horses*, & likewise in the reciting of *Comedies*, euen in the same manner as they did: during their *sollemnities* of the *Quinquatria*, certaine daies dedicated to *Minerva*. Also of the *Megalesian Playes*, done in honor of the great Mother of the *Gods*: going *Masked*, wearing false *vizages* through the *Citty*. So haue wee learned a custome, to make *Masques* or *Masqueradoes*, not for a day or two, as they did in their *Sacrifices*; but euen for two months together before *Lent*: which giuing the greater licence to sin, hath bene the occasion of many *mischiefes* each day committed, yet passing without any punishment. As if it were lawful (by these meanes) to be *vicious*, or else, as if men imagined that they did not sin, because their faces could not be seene: And as *God* saw nothing at all, who is wholly iust, in recompencing both vices and vertues, assigning paines to the wicked, and praises to the good.

New-yeares
gifts came
from the old
Romaines.

Of Italy and
England.

Other imita-
tions of our
Elders.

Quinquatrie.

Megalesian
Playes.

Of Maskes &
Masquera-
does.

Maskes haue
bin the cause
of many mil-
chiefes.

*Ops and Fer-
ra, Rhea, Bere-
combis, and
Pessantia.*

Of Momme-
ries.

Mimicke scof-
fers and Plai-
ers.

How the
name of Mom-
mer first rose.

Sueton. in lib. 4.

A witnesse re-
proued for be-
ing a Player.

The meaning
of Socrates.

Knowledge of
mens disposi-
tions veiled
vnder maskes

The great
hurt and vil-
lainy commit-
ted vnder this
colour, in pre-
tending loue
to women, &c

* I haue read, that the *Corybants*, Priests belonging to the Goddesse *Cybele*, first inuented Masques and Mommeries, & sullied their faces with blacke: from whence grew the name of smearing, which is tearmed in *Italian Mascarati*, a Masqued face. *Varro* writeth, that one of *Aeneas* cōpanions, which he brought with him into *Italy*, brought likewise Mommeries first into vse, which the Peazants and Country Boores only exercised, dancing in the Sacrifices of *Bacchus*, wearing false vizards, made of the barks of trees. Then the Mimicks, that is to say, Scoffers and lesters in Playes and Enterludes, vsed such Masques and counterfeited vizards: to the end, they might the more boldly reprehend and mocke at men, and make countenances both apish and ridiculous. For the Maske could not blush, even as yet the *Italian Commedians* doe obserue in their *Zanies*. And this name of Mommer, came of the Latine word *Momus*; that is, a Mocker; a very conuenable name for such masked men, who come to no mans house but to mocke, although themselues doe better deserue to be mocked. According as *Suetonius* exprobrated to *Nero*, who by often masking himselfe, sullied the pure glory of royal Maiesty. And the very truth is, Maskes, Mommeries, & such floutings, do instly carry infamy with them. For I haue haue heard a witnes reproched in iudgment, for hauing plaid in publike vpon a Stage, the part or person of a masked Bawd. And as concerning Maskes and Mommeries, they are nothing else, but to shew a man otherwise then he is indeed: quite contrary to the intention of *Socrates*, who said. *Nature failed greatly, by not making windowes in our breastes, or Lattices at the least; to the end, that by those meanes, the courage, thought, and disposition of vs all, might be discerned.* But nowadaies, men study how to hide vnder these false vizards, the small iudgement which can bee gathered, either of the goodnesse or badnesse of men, by plaine appearance of their reall face; & which (in truth of nature) they know not how to dissemble so deeply, as by the aduantageable helpe and cunning of these counterfeited Maskes. I speak not of the robberies and assassines, which vnder the shaddow of these vizards are com-

mitted. I speak not of the obscenity procured by these Maskes; occasioning many times, that good women shall be solicited, and pursued in quest of their honor; yea, and in the end debauched. Some hold opinion, that ther is no better meanes of making loue to a woman, then by being thus masked: for then they hold theselues vnder safe defence, to giue Rings, Jewels, Letters, &c. to Ladies, which cannot bee free from an immodest signification. If a man would but well consider, the power and preuailance in *Gyges* ring, which made men to walke inuisible, and wherein was suspicion of nothing else but liberty. But if to the girdles of Ladies such rings were fastned, as whilome was to the Ceston or girdle of *Venus*; Husbands would (by no meanes) suffer their wiues to receiue of Maskers such Girdles, which manie times are too liberally giuen them, and wherewith they are ouer-readie in girding themselves, because they thereby oblige and tie themselves to the giuers. Here I may not forget to tell ye, that such disguisings and changings of habits, are highly reprooued by the holie Scriptures: For God menaceth malediction, against all such as vse them, speaking thus by his Prophet *Sophony*: *I will visit all such as are clothed with strange apparrell.* And in *Deuteronomy* he maketh this prohibition. *The woman shal not wear that which pertainerh to a man, neither shal a man put on womans raiment: For all that doe so, are an abomination vnto the Lord thy God.* But we doe very badly obserue the commaundements of God. And herein, England stands exempted only, for euer hauing there vsed any such maskings, or euer will admit them. And the *English-men* haue a law, which forbiddeth any man so to maske himselfe, vpon the paine of life. Now, because Lent followeth so suddenly after Shrouetide; we Christians are then very curious, in eating dainty meates, being ouer-much addicted to care for the belly, eating immeasurably without any necessity: euen as if wee would supply abstinence before hand, with that which ought to follow, after we haue gluttonously deuoured flesh, like brute beasts. For Shrouetide is held but for a kind of little ceremony, yet to too great abuse, by hauing all thinges then

Example of the Ring of Gyges.

Venus her Ceston or girdle.

Disguising of apparrell reprooued by the Scriptures.

Sophon. cap. 1. 8

Deut. 22. 5.

England only exempted from such Masquings.

Of Shrouetide and Lent among vs Christians.

The extreame
excesse of
Shroucide,
more then at
any other
time.

then in extreame of excesse, feeding
and consuming, as if they then made a
celebration for the bursting of their own
guts; according as one hath very well
said. This is so much the worse, in that
it is done among Christians, and that
they should make such slender esteeme
of Lent: without any feare of God; in
meere contempt of the Magistrate, and
transgressing the ordinances of the
Church, at such time as good and reli-
gious lawes are appointed, for a fit and
conuenient season of Fasting.

CHAP. XIII.

When, and what time it was, that Heresies
had their Originall and beginning: and
who was the first Heretick & Schismatick.

NO Citty, no people, no Common-
weale, did euer continue in such v-
nion and concord: but the Cittizens
(about some occasion) haue been deu-
ided into diuersity of opinions; a matter
so euident and notorious, to such as are
skilfull in Histories, as there needeth no
further speech thereof. From hence
(then) did Sects deriue their sourse and
originall, which made deuision both in
Citties, and in Religion, and was tear-
med by the *Greeks*, *Heresies of choise*: be-
cause euery one made election of his
maner of life, and which was best to his
own liking, as among the variable sects
of the Philosophers. The people of the
Jewes in like maner, albeit they held one
and the same Law: yet were they deu-
ided into diuers sects, as much to say; as
Heresies, to wit; the *Pharises*, *Essians*,
Sadduces, *Samaritaines*, *Nazarians*, and
Herodians. But be it howsoeuer, we haue
the Apostles of God Authours of our
Religion, who made no election or
choise of any, to be recelued or embra-
ced after their fantasie: but faithfullie
taught all people, and Nations, the Do-
ctrine of Iesus Christ, truely God and
Man. It is not then lawfull for vs, to in-
troduce or elect any nouell things: but
to follow those, which haue bin ordai-
ned by the holy Apostles, & confirmed
by counsels of learned Bishops and Fa-
thers. Wherefore, and in this respect,
the vocable *Heretic*, is esteemed among
vs impious. And therefore our Diuines

or Theologians, do tearme that Chri-
stian an Hereticke, that shall deuise or
follow any Sect, contrary to the foun-
dation of Christian Religion. Of which
accursed impiety, to wit, of all Heresie,
Simon the Samaritaine, called the Sor-
cerer, was chiefe Authour, with his im-
modest Wife *Selena*, his companion in
all wickednesse, and whom he had ta-
ken out of the common Steues.

This *Simon Magus*, causing himselfe to
be baptized in *Samarita*, by *Philip*, one of
the seauen Deacons; was the first of all
that endeouored himselfe, to corrupt the
Christian faith. And of him, al supposts
and counterfeits, were tearmed *Symoni-
acques*, who would sell the grace of the
holy Ghost, and preached, that our na-
ture proceeded not from God; but of
(I know not what) power from aboue,
and supernaturall vertue. In this maner,
Simon (from the beginning) sowed a
deadly poyson, only to kill the roots of
encreasing Religion. Against which
hurt, the Apostles could make no bet-
ter resistance, then by rooting vp & dis-
annulling it altogether: because, that
continually there would bee false Pro-
phets, of whom we should be well ad-
vised, and stand vpon our guard; *Being
such as come vnto vs in the habit of sheepe,
but inwardly are rauenous wolues*. This *Si-
mon* well perceiuing, that the Apostles
gaue the blessed Spirit to such as they
touched, who were sound of hart, and
had a good zeale to be conuerted: effai-
ed to obtain that of *S. Peter* by the price
of Mony, which was not to be purcha-
sed but by faith and piety. But the Apo-
stle said vnto him. *Thy Mony perish with
thee, because thou thinkest, that the giift of
God may be obtained with Mony. Thou hast
not any part in this faith: for thine heart is
not right before God*. *Simon* being thus ex-
pulsed from *S. Peter*, hee remained (al-
waies after) his sworne enemy. Com-
ming fro *Samarita* to *Rome*, in the raig-
ne of the Emp. *Claudius*: he began there to
exercise his works of Magicke, becom-
ming thereby very famous, and much
renowned. Within a while after; in the
time of the Emp. *Nero*, he made himself
better knowne and reuerenced: so that
he was reputed as a God in the City of
Rome, and a Statue was erected in his
honour, beeing placed ouer *Tyber*, be-
tween two Bridges, bearing this inscrip-
tion

* He was of a
village in Sa-
marita, called
Triton, accor-
ding to *Ter-
tullian* in lib. 1.
de Heres

Simon Magus
was christened
in *Samarita*, by
Phillip, one of
the seauen
Deacons.

Christ's admo-
nition of false
Prophets.
Math. 19. 34.

Simons dea-
ling with *S.
Peter*.

Acts 8. 26. 21.

Simon Magus
his going fro
Samarita to
Rome.

Vnity & con-
cord broken
by diuersity
in opinion.

Heresies of
choise.

Sects among
the Jewes.

The Apostles
of God.

Election of
nouelties vt-
terly prohibi-
ted.

Definition of
an Hereticke.

Read *Iustine*
Martin in his
Apologies.

Symon contended
with *S.*
Peter in working
Miracles

Symon Magus
flyeth in the
Ayre.

S. Peter prayeth
to God.

Symon falleth,
and died soon
after in *Affrica*.

Iren. in Prefat.
lib. 1. de Heres.
& in cap. 20.

Seets that ensued
Symon
Magus by severall
forgeries.

Elymas the
Sorcerer in
the Isle of
of *Paphos*.

tion aloft: TO SYMON THE HOLY GOD. In the end, he grew to so great and audacious folly, that hee dared to contend with *S. Peter*, in working of Miracles. And as he employed his Art, to raise a dead Childe to life, which was neere of kinne to *Nero*: he made it to stirre a little, but the bodie budged not a jot from the place, being stiffe, and stretched out long. But *S. Peter*, after he had called on the name of Christ: raised the dead child to life. For which Miracle, *Symon* (moued with no mean fury) made an offer, that he would flye in presence of all the people, from *Mons Capitolinus*, to *Mons Auentinus*: prouided, that *S. Peter* would follow him, and that this piece of work should declare, which of them two was best beloued of God. Thus *Symon* (by his diabolicall Art) did put forth himselfe to fly, and *Saint Peter* exalting his hands to Heauen, desired of God, that he would not permit so famous a people to be abused, and deceiued by such Magicall charmes. His prayer being ended, the Magitiõ hauing fled halfe way between the two Mountaines: fell downe to the ground, and brake one of his Legs, and through the pain thereof, he died soone after in *Affrica*, whither hee was caried by his owne followers, after he had receiued so great a shame. He held horrible propositions, which are particularly declared in *Ireneus*, *Epiphanius*, *Philaster*, and *Theodoret*; and therefore, to auoyd prolixity, I spare but onely to speake of them heere. But very true it is, that *Ireneus*, in the Preface before his third Booke of Heresies, saith. *That Symon was the Father of all Heretickes*. And in another place he writeth: *That all Heresies came of him*.

Many sorts of Seets issued from this Monster, to wit; the *Dositheans*; the *Cleobanians*; the *Georthenians*; the *Masbothenians*; the *Adrianists*; the *Eutyichists*; and the *Canists*: all which severall seets (hauing forged some peruerse mutations of this one wicked deuiser) could haue no long continuance, but soon fell into vtter obliuion. There was also in the Isle of *Paphos*, a false Prophet, a Jew Magitian, and a Disciple to *Symon Magus*, named *Elymas Bar-Iehu*, who deceiued many persons by his illusions and enchantments, and resisted against the

Doctrin of the Gospell; when he perceiued that the Proconsull *Sergius*, leained somewhat to the Doctrin which *Paul* preached. Who being a man led by the spirit of God, expressing grauity in his countenance, and fixing his eyes stedfastly on *Elymas*, thus reprovod him saying. *O man, ful of al fraud and mischiese, child of the Dewill, and enemy of all righteousnesse: wilt thou not cease to peruert the strait waies of the Lord? Now therefore behold, the hand of the Lord is vpon thee, and thou shalt be blind, and not see the Sun for a season. And immediatly there fell on him a mist and darknesse, and he went about, seeking some to lead him by the hand.*

After *Symon Magus*, succeeded a certaine Samaritain, named *Menander*, who in the time of *Titus* ruling the Empire, abused many people with false doctriens: going beyond his Maister in malice and deuillish Arts, making very admirable enchantments. He made his vant, that the Angels were vanquished by his Magick. He tearmed himselfe to be the Sauiour, that descended from Heauen for mens saluation; and no man could conquer Deuils, without beeing armed by him in Magick art, and made immortall by his Baptisme, which he deliuered after a contrary maner. *Eusebius* writeth, that the maine end of his Heresie, tended to obscure the merits of the Son of God Christ Iesus, and the doctriene concerning the peoples saluation, and the Resurrection.

It is said, that the Heresie of the *Nicholaitaines*, had his beginning from *Nicholas* the Profolite of *Antioche*, one of the seuen Deacons, which were instituted with *S. Stephen* by the Apostles: vnder the Empire of *Domitian*, and Pontificacy of *Anacletus*, about the yeare of our Lord, 83. This man beeing ieaious of his Wife, was reprovod by the Apostles, before whom he brought her, and there forooke her, to him that would haue her. And hence it came, that such as (inconsiderately) followed his Act, and embraced his Heresie: did repute it lawfull, to haue their wiues comon, and to paillardise impudently. And yet, according as *Eusebius* declareth, *Nicholas* neuer thought to do any such deed, neither euet had conuersation with any other Woman, but her to whom hee was espoused. But as honest a man as he

was,

Act. 13. 10. 11.

Menander, disciple to *Symon*
Magus, excell-
ling his Maister
in deuillish
Arts.

Euseb. in lib. 3.
Cap. 26.

Nicholas the
Profolite of
Antioche, of
whom came
the *Nicholai-*
taines.
Acts 6. 5.

Euseb. in lib. 3.
Cap. 29.

was, and full of pietie, being very obedient to the Apostles: he brought his wife in publicke before the Apostles, to reiect the crime imposed on him, and to purge himselfe, because it was said, that he was ieaalous of hir. It was also to demonstrate, that carnall delectation was more to bee contemned, then followed. This Heresy then proceeded of a false imitation. These *Nicholaitans* were in *Asia*, and *S. Iohn* maketh mention of them in his *Apocalypse*, where speaking of the Church of *Pergamus*, hee saith: *Thou hast them that hold the Doctrine of the Nicholaitans.* *Saint Ignatius*, in his Epistle to the *Trallians*, speaketh thus: *Flye from those most foule Nicholaitaines, louers of voluptuousnesse, wicked Calumniators.* Read *Rupertus* also vpon the *Apocalypse*, what mention there he maketh of them.

Cerintus, another Hereticke, well inured to wicked manners, affirmed, that it behoued to obserue Circumcision, contrary to the precept of *Saint Paule* to the *Galathians*, where he saith; *If you bee circumcised, Christ shall profite you nothing.* And in the matter of Baptisme also, wher it is said, *God is not pleased that wee shoulde fall into this damnable Heresie, which falsly affirmeth, that wee must obserue the Lawe with the Gospel; and Circumcision with Baptisme; and that (necessarily) we must keepe the Lawe of Moyses.* This *Cerintus* sayde, that the God of the Iewes was not God, but an Angell: And that Christ was the naturall sonne of *Ioseph*, and of *Mary*; & man only, hauing in him nothing more then other men, onely he surpassed them in Wisedome and Vertue.

Hee taught moreouer, that the Kingdome of Christ should be earthlie, after the resurrection, wherein the Saints shold liue at *Ierusalem*, with iouissance of all delights, aboundance of meats, women, and all temporall commodities: in which estate (he saide) they should continue the space of a thousand yeares. And for this cause, the Disciples and followers of this *Cerintus* (who were in their full power in the raigne of the Emperour *Adrian*, and Pope *Nixtus*, first of that name, & about the yeare of our Lord, 130.) were called *Chiliastes*, that is to say, *Millenarias*. *Saint Marke* in the twelfth Chapter of his gospell, reprobued the foresaide Sect, saying; *In the Kingdome of Heauen, neyther Men marry, nor wines are married, but are like*

unto Angels.

It should appeare, that the Mother to the Sons of *Zebedeus*, was attainted with this Heresy of *Cerintus*, to wit; that the Kingdome of Iesus Christ was earthlie: when she desired, that her two Sonnes might sit, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left, in his kingdom. Historians haue left no memory, of what Countrey or Nation he was. I thinke notwithstanding, that he was a Iewe and in the number of them, who (as it is said in the Acts of the Apottles) descending from *Iudea*, taught the Brethren, saying; *Except ye be circumcised after the maner of Moyses, ye cannot be saved;* about whose dissention, the first Counsell was Celebrated by the Apottles.

It appeareth, that this *Cerintus* liued in the time of *Saint Iohn* the Euangelist, by that which is testified by *S. Ireneus*, when speaking of *S. Polycarpus*, he sayth; That *S. Iohn*, comming once to the *Bathes*, found there the Heretick *Cerintus* in company of his followers, disputing verie vehemently, and like a bolde Blasphemer, impudently denied Iesus Christ to be God. *Saint Iohn* arising, admonished such friends of his as were there; to depart out of that place with him; for God would no longer suffer such impudent blasphemies. And so soone as they were gone out of the doors suddenly the house fell to the ground, and slew *Cerintus* with his adherents: which was a manifest example of the Diuine vengeance against them, who being full of impietie, blasphemed the name of God, and his Holie Doctrine, which the iust wrath of God would not permit to passe vnpunished.

The *Ebionites* began about the eightieth yeare of Iesus Christ, vnder the Empire of *Titus*, & Prelacie of *Anacletus*: A certaine man, named *Ebion*, was Authour of that Heresie, which proceeded of a commixture with the Iewish Religion. *Nicephorus* saith, that they were called *Beggers*, according to the word *Ebion*, which by interpretation is a Begger, because they were poore, beggerly, and destitute of true faith. They maintained, that Iesus Christ was not before his Mother. To confound and destroy such an erroneous opinion; *Saint Iohn* who wrot his gospell last of all, being desired by the Priests of *Asia*, and willing to declare the Diuine Nature

Clemens in lib.3

Nicephorus in lib.3. Cap. 15.

Apoc. 2, 15. S. Ignat. in Epi. ad Tral.

Rupert sup Apoca lib:4 cap:9

Cerintus the Hereticke, of whom came the Cerinthians Galath. 5, 2.

Extravag. Bap. Cap. Maiores:

Tertul. in lib:2 cont. Heres.

The Heresies of Cerintus in his doctrin.

The Disciples of Cerintus, at what time they florished

Thousand-yeares-men.

Marke 12, 25

The Mother of Zebedeus children supposed to be a Cerinthian.

Cerintus imagined to be a Iew.

Acts 15, 2.

S. Ireneus in lib. 3 Cont. Her. cap. 3

Cerintus an horrible blasphemer.

The death of Cerintus, and some of his followers.

The Ebionites came of Ebion the Hereticke.

Niceph. in lib. 3. Cap. 13.

The Heresie of the Ebionites.

John 1, 1.

Tertul. in lib. de
Preser. de heres.Irenæus in lib. 2
Cap. 26.Of Martion
the Heretick.Cerdon and
Valentine, He-
reticks.

Eus. in l. 4. c. 30.

The Gnosticks.

The Heresie
of Cerdon and
Martion.Irenæus in lib. 1
Cap. 26.The reason of
Cerdons opini-
on of the iust
God.

Nature of Christ, began to speake aloud thereof, in this manner; *In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word.* They wold receiue no more of the New Testament, but the Gospell according to Saint *Mathew*, and reiected the Epistles of Saint *Paul*. whom they tearned an Apostat, because he reuolted from the Law of *Moyse*. These members of Sathan preached also, that men ought to keepe the Lawes and manners of the Iewes. This Sect began according to the testimony of *Epiphanius*, in the Village of *Cocaba*, and spread it selfe thorough the Region of the *Bisanites*, after that *Ierusalem* was destroyed.

Afterward, about the year of our Saluation, one hundred and nine, in the time of *Thelesphorus*, Byshop of Rome, and first of that name, *Martion*, a Stoycall Phylosopher, a Natiue of *Pontus*, & Sonne to the Bishop of the said country, sowed his Heresie, and followed the Errors and Blasphemies of *Cerdon* and *Valentine*, who liued in the time of *Martion*. And some say, that they were all three together in the Cittie of Rome: Albeit some others do hold, that they came thither one after other. But *Eusebius* sayeth, that all of them came thither vnder *Higinus*, in the yeare of our Lord, one hundred forty three.

Martion held the same opinion, as the *Gnostiques* did; and made profession of *Cerdons* Heresie, from whose hand hee receiued it: but hee added something thereto, out of his owne craftie Braine. *Cerdon* and *Martion* were so bolde in folly, as to say: That there were two beginnings, and two Gods; one good, and the other bad: the good God did perfourme good thinges, and the bad God, wicked thinges.

Moreouer (as *Irenæus* sayeth) *Cerdon* maintained, that one of those Gods was iust, and the other euill. And, that that God, which was fore-told by the Lawe and the Prophets, was not the Father of Iesus Christ: and that the God which made and created Heauen was knowne, but the Father of Iesus Christ was vnkowne. And the cause which mooued *Cerdon* to say, that one of the Gods was good and iust, was: That the iust GOD had commaunded in the Law, that an eye should be taken from him, who did put out another mans eye, and a tooth taken

for losse of anothers tooth. But the God which he called good, had commanded in the Gospell, that a man shoulde turne his right Cheek, to him that had smitten his left: And to him that had taken away his Coate, he should giue him his cloak also.

Besides, the iust God had appointed men to loue their Friends, and hate their enemies: but the good God had enioyned them to loue their enemies. *Martion* agreed heerein with *Cerdon*. But *Epiphanius* addeth, that *Martion* had set downe three beginniges, to wit; the first inuisible, the second visible, or the worker; the thirde, a meanes betweene the inuisible and visible, which was the Deuill. *Theodoret* the Byshop affirmeth, that *Martion* had forged foure increate substances, and taught his Disciples (saith *Iustin* Martir) to deny God the Creator, and that they must belieue in another God much greater then the Creator.

It is further auouched, that he forged two Christes: One that was reuealed in the time of *Tyberius*, for saluation of the Gentiles: the other, he whom the Creatour had destinied, and should one day come to re-establish the state of the Iews. This Hereticke, affirmed Christ to be borne, and had endured only by opinion and imagination, and onely in the shape of a seruant, but not in verie deede. And his reason was (as himselfe saide) that Nature would neuer suffer, that a Virgine should bring forth a Childe. For which blasphemies, and other detestable propositions, held by this wicked *Martion*, *Irenæus* called him, *The Mouth of the Deuill*. The *Martionites* his followeis, dared to maintaine, that the Serpent was better, and more excellent then the Creator, because the Creator did forbidde to participate of the Tree of knowing good and Euill, and the Serpent freelic did permit it.

As concerning the Heresye of *Valentine*, a *Platonist*, and the imitater of *Basilides*, *Carpocrates* and *Prödicus*, hereticks; it had beginning in the sixte yeare of the Empire of *Antoninus Pius*, and in the yeare of our Lord, an hundred forty sixe. This wicked man saide, that there were many Gods, because the Prophets hadde tearned God by diuers names, to witte; *Eloy*, *Sabbahot*, *Adonay*, and others. He laboured to prooue, that God the Creator

His reason for
the good GodEpiphan. lib. 4.
Three begin-
nings main-
tained by Mar-
tion.Foure incre-
ated substan-
ces.Tertul. in lib. 4.
cont. Martion.His blasphe-
mous opinion
concerning
Christ.Iren in lib. 3.
cap. 14.Valentine the
Hereticke.Heresy of ma-
ny Goddes.

Math. 12, 17.

His Heresie concerning Christ, & the blessed virgin

Marke a Magician and an Hereticke.

The spreading of his heresies.

The successors of Valentine, & Sectes issuing out of his Schoole.

The Cataphrygian Hereticks.

Apollinaris the Hereticke.

Montanus the Hereticke.

Priscilla and Maximilla feined Prophetesses.

tor of the world, was another God, then he that was the Father of Christ. And because it is said in the Gospell: No man hath knowne the Father, but the Sonne; by this place, he saide, it was very likely, that the God knowne of the Prophets, and declared by them; was not the Father of Iesus Christ. He said moreouer, that the Sonne of God brought his flesh downe from heauen with him; and receiued nothing of the Virgin *Mary*: but passed thorow her, as water dooth in a Brooke or Chanell. And therefore he vsed to say in this manner: Iesus, borne by the Virgin, but not of the Virgin. He was of opinion, with one *Marke*, a Sorcerer and an Heretique, that mens soules onely were saued, and not their bodies. And his reason was, because Saint *Paule* said, *That flesh and bloud could not inherite the Kingdome of heauen*. Before such time as *Valentine* came to *Rome*; he had declared his peruerse Doctrine, and left some feedes thereof in sundry partes of *Egypt*; to wit: in *Atropatia*, *Prosoyatia*, *Arsenoria*, and *Thebais*, which are the inferior partes of the maritime Region, and vnder the gouernment of the *Alexandriapolites*. He and his sectaries vsed all thinges in common, and at free liberty, hauing their wiues common, and addicted themselues inordinately, to all kinds of villainies, Whordomes, Addulteries, and Incests. His successours were *Ptolomeus*, *Secundus*, *Heracleon*, *Bassus*, *Colarbasus*; and many sects (of very strange Names) yssued out of this Schoole of *Valentine*: As the *Barbeliotes* or *Borborians*, *Naasimians*, *Strationitaines*, *Pheunionitains*, *Sethianians*, otherwise called, *Ophites*, *Cainnians*, who commended *Caine* and *Judas*, *Antitactes*, and *Perates*.

In the time of Pope *Pius*, first of that name, the heresie of the *Cataphrygians* beganne and encreased, in the seauenth yeare of the Emperour *Commodus*, and after the incarnation of our Lord, one hundred, eighty five yeares. The heresie of *Apollinaris*, was the occasion and entrance thereof. And these *Cataphrygians* ensued the heretike *Montanus*, who became Frantique and distracted in his senses, by hauing seene some vision; and admitted mad women into his company, namely; *Priscilla*, and *Maximilla*, that stiled themselues by the Title of *Prophetesses*, the more easily to allure men into

their errorrs. These were called *Montanists*, who held a strong opinion, that the Holy-Ghost was not giuen to the Apostles, but only to them.

At the verie same, a man named *Tatian*, a *Syrian* by Nation, and very learned, who had read Rhetoricke at *Rome*, with great honor and grauitie, puffed vp by a foolish perswasion of eloquence and ambition; seperated himselfe from the Church, and became the chiefe of the *Encratites* heresie. A name but badly agreeing with their actions; and which is as much to say, as men of abstinence. They would drinke no Wine, and abstained from eating flesh, and all other things that had a soule. Neuertheles, they would giue License to all filthie finnies; and shadding themselues vnder this modest and honest name, condemned Marriage, saying; that it was an inuention of the Deuill, and that a woman was the Workmanship of the Deuill, or Sathan.

By a verie ridiculous reason, these *Encrates* saide they, were followers of Iesus Christ, because hee was neuer married. There were other Heretickes that descended of this *Tatian*, and hee was the author likewise of their Sect, who were named *Hydoparastes*, because they presented water in stead of Wine, in celebrating the Supper. And some others were of this band, in the quarters of the higher Easterne Countreyes, who were named *Seucrians*; of a certaine man called *Seuerus*, that helde all the opinions of *Tatian* and of the *Encratites*.

They beleueed no part of the Olde Testament, nor the resurrection of all Flesh, neyther would they drinke anie Wine, because they were foolishly perswaded, that the Deuill and the earth had brought foorth the Vine. They helde Opinion, that man was composed of two parts: One by God, and the other by the Deuil (to wit;) that part from the Nauill vpward, was the work of God; and that part thence downward, the worke of Sathan.

Florinus and *Blastus*, two other Heretickes, continued on the Heresy of *Valentine*, about the time of the Prelacy of *Eleutherus* the first. *Irenaeus* wrote against them both, to wit; against *Blastus*; in an Epistle bearing Title of Schisme: and against *Florinus*, in another Epistle of

Tatian the chiefe of the Encratites. Irenaeus in lib. 2 de heres. ca. 30. Hier. sup. Amos. & Epiphanius in lib. 2. con. 80 Heres.

False imitators of Iesus Christ.

Hereticks called Hydoparastes.

Seucrians Heretickes.

Nicephorus in lib. 4. cap. 4.

Man composed of two parts.

Florinus and Blastus, two Heretickes.

Euseb. in lib. 5. Cap. 5.

of the Monarchy. Wherein hee declared, that the opinion which he helde of God (to be the worker of euill) was false. For *Florinus* and *Blastus* both held, that God was the Author of euill things, contrarie to this saying; *GOD hath made all things good.*

The Helchefsaites, hereticks

These men were in the yeare, 230. *Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. l. 6. ca. 28* *Nicephorus in lib. 5. cap. 24.*

Novatus a Romaine Priest, the author of Schisme.

Novatus his ambition and lewdnes perceived, and therefore forsaken by som of his followers.

Catharians, vnspotted people, and their errors.

The *Helchefsaites*, so named of a false Prophet, called *Helchefsaites*, diuulged their Heresie, in the time of Pope *Fabian* the first. These men did altogether reprove the Apostle *Saint Paul*, renewing the errors of *Cerinthus*, *Ebion*, and of the *Nazarians*, saying; It was no sin to denie *Iesus Christ* in the time of persecution, because it was a matter of no importance; provided, that a man had a good and sound heart, with a willing intention to continue in faith. And for prooffe heereof (saide they) God hath more regard to the heart, then to the tongue. *Cirigen* confounded their errors, as likewise he did those of some others, who affirmed, that the soules of men died so soon as their bodies and yet afterward, should newly be raised againe with those bodies, in the generall resurrection.

From such priuate and perticuler opinions in men, which wee call Heresie, came those publick discords, called Schismes in the Greeke Language, whereof *Novatus* (a Romaine Priest) was the Author. This man, seeing himselfe frustrated in the attempt of a Byshoppricke, which hee vnder-hand laboured for, and being verie much offended, that he could not attaine to such a dignity (albeit hee faigned another matter which hee hadde then in his heart) raised vp a new heresie, drawing vnto him some honest meaning Priests, to assise him with their ayde and fauour. But they, hauing well perceiued the ambition, periuries, deceits, & lies of this afronter, seperred themselues from him, and returned againe to the church, only such excepted, as found themselues euery way equal to him. He would needs enforce, that all such as followed his sect, should be called *Catharians*, that is to say, pure and cleane persons. He condemned second Marriages, and saide moreover, that such men ought no more to be receiued into the Church, as had once false, or were in Apostasie, although they were repentant therefore. And by this place of Scripture, *I will disclaime such as shall disclaime me*, hee made his foundati-

on, to proue, that the repentance of such as had false, was vaine, and of no value. Vpon this occasion, a Counsell was celebrated at *Rome*, of seauenty Byshops, and of as many Priests, beside many deacons: by whom, the heresie of *Novatus*, and of *Novatian* his Disciple, was reprooued as false: because (according to the example of *Iesus Christ*, al repentants ought to be pardoned, and then were all of that Sect condemned as Schismatickes and Heretickes.

Thus *Novatus*, in the yeare two hundred fifty five, was Authour of the first Schism, as *Saint Cyprian* witnesseth, writing to *Cornelius*, where after he had spoken many things, he addeth; *This is the same Novatus, that kindled the fire of Discord and Schisme.* *Socrates* in the 4. Book of his Ecclesiasticall history, Writeth; *That Novatus was executed to death, in the time of the Emperor Valerian.* And yet notwithstanding, his heresie extended verie farre, and lasted a long time, before it could be laid to sleepe.

In the time when *Sixtus* held the See of *Rome*, neere to *Ptolomais* there arose a false Doctrine, full of blasphemies; against God the Father, and *Iesus Christ*, denying him to be the Sonne of God, & begotten before all other Creatures, and taking away also the intellect of the blessed Spirit. The Sectaries of this doctrine were tearmed *Sabellians*, of *Sabellius*, the Scholler to one *Noctus*: and it had been debated in *Affrica*, by *Praxeus* and *Hermogenes*, before there was any speech of *Sabellius*. He held, that the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy-Ghost, were onelie one substance, and one person, hauing three Names. And to approoue this, he tooke his reasons out of the Olde and New Testament, though ill vnderstoode, and worse applied, as these that ensue. *I am God, and there is none other then I: I & my Father are one: Heare Israel, the Lorde thy God is only God, I am the God of your fathers: I am the first, and wil be heereafter. Thou shalt haue no other Gods before mee. They shal worship in thee, and make prayers in thee: for there is no other but God. I am in my Father, and my Father in me.* *Saint Basile* writing to the *Neocesarians*, reporteth another reason and foundation, of this peruerse opinion in *Sabellius*, which is this: Because our Lorde *Iesus Christ* had saide; *Go, teach all Nations, baptizing them*

A Counsell holden at *Rome* against *Novatus*, & his scholler *Novatian*.

S. Cyprian in *Epist. ad Cornel.*

Socrates in *lib. 4. de Hist. Eccles. Anno 247.*

Sabellius the Hereticke, of whom came the *Sabellians*.

The Heresie held by *Sabellius*.

S. Hillar in *lib. de Trinit.*

S. Basile in *Epist. ad Neoces.*

them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy-ghost: Having said (quoth he) in the Name, and not in the Names; it is not therefore conuenient, that there should be three persons. Was not this a goodly Consequence?

There was likewise, one of the Byshops of Egypt, named *Nepos*; who fel into the error of the *Chilistes*, determining certaine thousands of yeares, for pleasures and voluptuous delights, and saying; that the Saints shoulde raigne on earth with Iesus Christ, in all kinds of Delectations. Which he supposed, to haue well approued by the Apocalipse of *S. Iohn*, and dared also to write a Booke, which hee entituled of *Allegoristes*. This heresy was long time much debated in the City of *Arsenoria* in Egypt; and the Sectaries thereof were called *Nepotians*, according to the name of the Author.

At the same time, *Paulus Samosatenus*, a Byshop of *Antioche*, began to renew the heresie of *Artemon*, to gratifye *Zenobia*, Queen of the *Palmyrians*, whom the *Persians* after their victorie, obtained against the *Romaines*, had established as their Regent in *Syria*. He was of the same opinion with the Jews, who reiected not the heresie of *Arteman*.

The Byshoppes were assembled many times in *Antioche*, to refute the errors of this *Paulus*. And in the last Counsell congregated against him, being in the yeare, 273. He was publickly conuincd, & his heresie condemned: he was named *Samosatenus*, in regard of *Samosata*, a City in *Mesopotamia* of *Syria*, scituate on the Riuer of *Euphrates*, whereof he was a Native.

In the fourth yeare of the Emperour *Aurelianus*, the error of the *Manicheans* did spread it selfe in the world. Of which heresie, one *Manes* a *Persian*, was the author, and of him, *S. Augustine* (almost in euery place) maketh mention, and in sted of *Manes*, calleth him *Manichean*, a word that signifies one out of hit wits. For this *Manes* was a *Demoniacke*, and a madde man, and I am of the minde, that thereof came the word *Maniacus*. The same reuerend Father addeth further, that the disciples of *Manes*, had formerly chaunged the name into Greeke, and called the author of their opinion *Manicheus*; that is to say (quoth they) *A Distributer or Disperser of Manna*, only thereby to auoyde

the other Title of madnesse. This wicked man (as *Epiphanius* reporteth) called into his Companie, twentie two Disciples. *Eusebius* speaketh but of twelue, after the imitation of Iesus Christ our Saviour: among which number, three of them wer named *Thomas*, *Hermas*, and *Abdas*, and they helde the most false and monstrous Opinions, as euer were heard of. Afterward, the King of *Persia* caused him to be flayed aliue, with a Reede or Cane, because his Sonne died in his custodie, hauing taken him foorth of the Physitians hands, with an absolute promise to cure him. When he had beene thus flayed, his skinnie was stuffed with Straw: and it is kept (as yet to this day) in *Persia*, according as *Suidas* for credit affirmeth.

After *Manes*, arose vp *Hierax*, in *Leontis* of *Egipt*, who promulgated another heresie: hee was a man exceedingly well learned, and perfectly seene in the Sciences of the Egyptians; as also, in the Documents of the Grecians, with the addition of Physicke and Astrologie, which he had not only read, but made profession of Magicke also: he was admitted into Christian Religion, but in the end he forsooke it; to deale in those nouell Errors, and dyed aged about ninety yeares.

In the time of great *Constantine*, and when *Siluester* was Pope, *Arrius* the Priest raised a great heresy in *Alexandria*, which verie mightily afflicted the Catholicke Church, and endured a long time. This man, beeing more adorned with outward apparance, and comly stature, then any inward Vertue, began to sow discorde in the faith of Iesus Christ, and laboured by his damnable opinion, to seperate the sonne of the eternall and ineffable substance from the Father, not beleeuing the Sonne to be together with the Father, in one selfesame substance & equalitie of dignitie. Which pestiferous conceite, was condemned in the Counsell of *Nice*.

Afterward, during the Prelacy of *Iulius* the first, the Emperour *Constantine* (fauouring *Arrius* and his Sect, and compelling his owne people to like thereof.) appointed a Counsell in *Laodicia*, a City of *Syria* (or as some others say) in the city of *Tyre*, where met a great company of Catholicke Fathers, and *Arrians* also, disputing there daily, whither Iesus christ ought to be consubstantiall with the Father;

Epiph. in l. cont. 80. Heres.

Euseb. in lib. 4. cap. 12.

Manes the hereticke was flayed aliue.

Hierax the Hereticke of *Leontis* in *Egypt*.

Arrius the hereticke of *Alexandria*.

The Heresie of *Arrius*.

This was in the year, 315. *Constantinus* being Emperour.

Nepos a Bysh. of *Egypt*, an Hereticke.

This was in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 264.

Paulus Samosatenus reuiu'd the heresy of *Artemon*.

Paulus Samosatenus conuinc'd, and his Heresy condemned.

The Heresie of *Manes* the Persian, of whom came the *Manicheans*.

A spreader abroad of *Manna*.

ther, or not.

Athanasius Byshop of *Alexandria*.

Athanasius accused by *Arrius* to be a Magician.

Ioan. Carion in *Chronol.*

Athanasius repeald from banishment.

The Byshops praier against *Arrius*.

The iust and deserud deeth of *Arrius*.

Pelagians, *Donatists*, *Abigenis*, and other hereticks.

Athanasius Byshop of *Alexandria* (a man of great and profounde Learning) maintained the Son to be consubstantiall with the Father, which he approoued by good Reasons, and strong Arguments. But *Arrius* being vnable to make any auailing answere (ore-lying only vpon impudent and villanous Calumnies), *Athanasius* was accused by him to be a Sorcerer. In regard whereof, the holy and Religious Father was condemned by *Constantius*, and being constrained to flight, remained hidden (for the space of seauen yeares) in a Cisterne that had no Water in it. And yet *Ioan. Carion* speaketh nothing heereof, but only saith; That *Athanasius* being proscribed by *Constantius*, came out of Egypt to Treuers. And albeit, the flight was very long, yet was hee compelled to continue banished, and lay hidden verie secretly, for the space of eight yeares. Yet was he repeald afterward by *Constantine* the Brother to *Constantius*. And this holy Byshop made the worthy Symbole & Song, which beginneth thus; *Quicumque vult saluus esse, &c.* Whereby he taught the Son of God to bee *ὁμοτιμος* with the Father, that is to say, of one selfsame substance, and equall with him that begotte him. While matter thus continued, *Alexander*, Byshop of *Alexandria*, was to dispute with *Arrius*, vpon a day appointed by the Emperour. The Byshop spent the whole night before in Prayer, desiring of God so to shew his power in the Temple, that he would permit the poison of *Arrius* to spread it selfe no further. On the Morrow morning, when the hour of disputation was come, as *Arrius* entered among the Auditory, a sudden pain in the belly began to seize him, in presence of a great multitude of Byshops, & the common people. So that, being constrained to go to some secret place, to discharge the burthen of his belly, his bowelles and entrailles fell from him, into the Priuy, & there he died suddenly. Vndoubtedly, a death well befitting so wicked a man; and yet notwithstanding, the Heresy of *Arrius* ceased not, but continued verie long time after.

There were many other Hereticks & Schismatickes, as the *Pelagians*, *Donatists*, *Albigensis*, & others, which I ouer passe, because I would not make a Volume of them, rather then a Chapter. It remay-

neth now to report, what penalties such Authors of Heresies is to vndergo. *Saint Paule*, writing to *Titus*, sayth; *Resect the man that is the Author of Sectes, after the first and second admonition, knowing, that he that is such, is peruered and sinneth, being damned of his owne selfe.* *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, Emperours, ordained, that Heretickes should be punished by ignominies, stripes, banishment, and death: as is contained in the *Code*, titled, *De Heretic. l. Arriani*, where the Law commandeth, to punish this wicked kind of men with the vttermost punishment. *Hostiensis*, expounding this Edict, in his Summe on the Titles of the Decretales, saith; *Albeit that in Heresie, the Law imposeth the last punishment, which is another Law, ff. de penis interpreteth to be death: yet notwithstanding, the custome (for such people) is to be burned.*

Abbas Siculus was of the same minde, after *Hostiensis*, on the Chapter, *Ab abolendam extra. de Heretic.* Writing thus; *But the Ciuill Law punisheth an Heretique with capitall punishments, to wit; death, by the Lawe Arriani, Codi de Heretic. & l. vltimum supplicium. ff. de penis.* Now, the Canonically, Ciuill, and Common Lawes do consent heerein, that the Hereticke should commonly bee punished with the paine of fire, as thinking it most conuenient.

The Emperour *Fredericke*, first of that Name, in the yeare of our Saluation, one hundred eightie, made a Law, to burne Heretickes, as appeareth in one of his Constitutions, beginning, *Vt Commissi.* And Pope *Lucius*, thirde of that Name, ordayned, that whosoever was a Priest, and furnished himselfe with Sacred Orders, becomming an Hereticke, hee should first of all bee degraded; and afterwarde, deliuered vnto the Magistrates of the place, to put him to death by Fire; as it is declared in the said Chapter, *Ad abolendam.*

And this appeareth, to be sufficiently receiued and approoued, by the institutions of *Moyse*, who (first of all other) had ordained to punish (with death) wicked Doctors, and Maisters of pestiferous Doctrines, when in the thirteenth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, hee speaketh in this manner:

If there arise among you a Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dreames, and shall say vnto ye: Let

Tit. 3, 10, 11.

Lawes of Emperours against Heretickes.

Code. de Heretic. Arriani.

Hos. in Sum. tit. Decret.

Ab Sicul. sup. Cap. Ad. &c.

All Lawes ad- iudge the hereticke to bee burned.

The Emperour *Fredericke*, his Law to burne Heretickes.

Pope *Lucius* the third.

The Lawe of *Moyse*.

Deut. 13, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Gods triall of his Children, whither they loue him, or no.

No naturall consanguinity must turne vs away from God.

The fals Prophet must die the death.

Whence grew the custom of burning Hereticks.

Let vs go after other Goddes, which thou hast not knowne, and let vs serue them. Thou shalt not hearken vnto the wordes of that Prophet, or to that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proueth ye, to know, whether ye loue the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soule, or not. Yee shall walke after the Lorde your GOD, and feare him, and shal keepe his Commandements, and obey his voyce, and yee shall serue him, and cleaue vnto him.

But the false Prophet shalbe put to death, because hee hath spoken to turne yee away from your eternal God.

And a little after, he addeth; If thine owne Brother, or thy Sonne, or thy Daughter, or thy Wife, or thy Friend woulde perswade thee to the like:

Thou shalt not consent vnto him, nor heare him, neither shall thine eye pittie him, nor shew Mercie, nor keepe him secret.

But thou shalt kill him, thine hande shall bee first vpon him, to put him to death: and afterwarde, the handes of all the people.

And thou shalt stone him with stones, that hee die: because he hath gone about to draw thee from the Lord thy GOD, which brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, from the house of Bondage.

Hee further addeth, When thou shalt heare say, that in any of thy Citties, Wicked men are gone out from among you, and haue seduced the Inhabitants of the City.

Thou shalt seeke and make search, and enquire diligently: and if it be true, and the thing certaine, that such abomination is wrought among you.

Thou shalt euen slay the Inhabitantes of that Cittie, with the edge of the sword, and destroy it utterly.

And thou shalt gather all the spoiles of it in the midst of the streets thereof, & burne with fire the City, and all the spoile thereof euerie whit.

Hence (as is supposed) came the obserued custome of condemning heretiks to death, and burning them aliue.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the sottish and ydle opinions, obserued among the Sects of Phylosophers: disco- uering (briefely) all Sci-nces, Arts, and Doctrines, with their abuses and vanities.



Having (cursorilie) run ouer he Sectes of some Heretickes and finding heere a meete and conuenient place, to speak of those men which were called Phylosophers, I wil proceed to a succinct declaration of them: Questionlesse, all the whole troope of them were contentious persons, Couctous of Glorie, Proud and Contumelious: and, to vse the very words of the Poet Homer, An vnprofitable masse of men on the earth. They were al dissonant in their opinions, and fell into many Sects, and diuers Labyrinthes of excogitated fallacies. Some were called Platonists; others, Pythagorians, Peripatetiques, Academiques, Ceanethliques, Stoicks, Cinicks, &c.

Some other called themselves, by names much more ridiculous & foolish. After they had once vsurped on the venerable name of Vertue, they walked about with exalted countenances, and I know not what manner of mishapen habites. In outward behauiour, they made shew of detesting all other men whatsoever, vsing such lockes and actions, as is frequent among Players of Comedies & Tragedies: from whom, if their Maskes, false Vizards and habits were taken, nothing of matter remained in them. They were such as I say, Vniuersall Despisers of all men but themselves. They kepte Schooles of vaine propositions, and full of Ambiguities, preaching and enstruc-ting their Schollers, to commend & extoll temperance and modestie, containing (with bitter execrations) worldlie Riches and pleasures.

But when they were alone by themselves, they needed no enstruc-tions how to tosse the Wine-Bowles, as being en-

ccc. clined

This begin-ning is taken out of Homer & out of Lucian in his Dia-logues.

Several sects of Philoso-phers.

Their out-ward shape, & apparance.

Their Doc-trine in their schooles.

They were men vterlie vaprofitable.	<p>clined and burning in libidinous Concupiscence, and Carnall immundities. And that which (among all things else) was most grienous, they did not any thing auailable, either in publicke or priuate: but remained vnbeneficiall, because they were neuer found good, either in counsell, or for polliticke or ciuill administration of Iustice.</p>	<p>anouched (vnder Oath) that the Sunne was a massie body, as hot as fire; Vnder which, the Moone had her motion. And that the Starres were watery substances, or steeped in Water, which the Sunne had drawne vnto them out of the sea, euen as if hee had powred it out of a Bucket, and so distributed vnto them all their waterish humor. It was not possible for any man to know the woonderfull repugnancie, which consisted in their seuerall sayings.</p>	<p>Their iudgement concerning the Sun.</p>
Their disputations.	<p>They would do nothing but dispute of incertainties, straunge beginniges, and conclusions of thinges, with an heape of Transmutations, Metamorphosis, Symbolizations, Corruptions, and Generations of foure Elements, hauing foure principall qualities in them, which they affirmed to be subiect to Corruption & mutation in this fraile world.</p>	<p>10 First of all, they held diuers and dissonant opinions, concerning the vniuersall world. Some saide, as <i>Aristotle</i> and his followers, that it was without beginning and seemed to him that it shoulde neuer haue ending. Others, as <i>Plato</i> and his Academists affirmed, that it was made by some Workeman. Their disputations of</p>	<p>Repugnancie in their sayings.</p>
Their vsuall kind of talke.	<p>Also, they talked of Realities, Identities, and infinite Ideaes, that is to say; Formes, Figures, or Originall kindes of thinges: and each one of them woulde constrain beleefe by his alledged reason, albeit no Co-herence did ensue thereon.</p>	<p>20 <i>Ideaes</i>, and of things incorporeall, as also of Dreames, which they tearmed to bee finite and infinite, was wonderfull. One described and defined a certaine ending vniuersally. Others on the contrary, wold say, that it was not possible to finde anie ending. They made demonstration, that there were many worldes, and blamed such as arrested their disputes vpon one</p>	<p>Aristotles opinion of the world.</p> <p>Platos opiniõ.</p> <p>One contradicting another.</p>
Their opinion of supernatural iudgment in them selues.	<p>There were some among them, who being meerely blinde thorow age, would yet say, that they saw the Circumference and endes of Heauen. They measured the Sunne by their owne immaginations, and not satisfied with knowledge of palpable and Visible thinges in this neather World, they mounted vp to places about the Moone, and (as if they were newly descended downe from Heauen) measured the greatnesse of the Wandering Starres and Planets, and would describe the Figures of the Signes and Starres, with all their Vertues and Effects.</p>	<p>30 onely. One wise man stept vp, and maintained discord to bee the cause of the generation of all things. Another replied, that it was amity, and a naturall and symbolizing colligation. Some thought the Diuinity to be I know not what, without body, and without forme: but others imagined it to be some certain body. Some held the Firmament and world, to bee supported without anie Lord or guide.</p>	<p>The cause of generating all things.</p>
A blinde kind of Cosmography in such high matters.	<p>Many times, such as scarcely knew ten miles by Cosmography, would bee so bold as to declare, how many Cubites, Miles, or Stades, was between the Sun and the Moone. They would measure likewise the height and wideness of the Ayre, the profundity of the Sea, the circuite of the whole earth, the distance of one Towne or Cittie from another; the Longitude and latitude of all Regions & Climates, according to the measure and consideration of the degrees and minuts of heauen.</p>	<p>40 Others defended, that the Heauens and the superior world, were gouerned by celestiall intelligences of the Diuine <i>Ens</i>, which is the Father, Creator of all things. They wer very curious in enquiring, how great the Moone was, and what was the cause, whereby she increased and decreased. Some said, as <i>Anaximander</i>; That it was a Circle, full of fire. <i>Heraclitus</i> held, That it was a land, round inuironed with one cloud. <i>Pythagoras</i> supposed, that it was an enflamed body. Others saide, that she was as a Glasse or mirrour, hanging ouer the Sea, and that the light which she had, was respectiuey proceeding from the Sun. They had no fitall determination in their sayings, but still drew the eyes and spirits of vnskilfull men into admiration.</p>	<p>Of the Heauens and superior world.</p> <p><i>Anaximander</i> his opinion of the Moone. <i>Heraclitus</i>. <i>Pythagoras</i>.</p>
	<p>Moreouer, they designed and portrayed Triangles vpon Quadrangles, with Sphericall Paintings, whereby they would measure al heauen. Some of them</p>	<p>50</p>	<p>In</p>

Descriptions in Astrology, familiarly cauzed among the Philosophers.

12. Signes of the Zodiacke.

The two Solstices.

No subiection to death aboue the Moone.

Of the soules of men in their humain bodies.

Of the Stoicks, and their pecuni opinions.

In talking of the Hemispheres, of Poles Articke and Antarticke, of the Circles, Epyciles, and Celestiall Houses; of dimensions and Paralels, as well of the Inferiour worlde, as superiour; Of Horoscopes, Aspects of the Planets, both good and euill: Of the Ascendent, Descendent, Triplicities, Quadruplicities, Sextiles, and all that which concerneth the intellection of the Vertue, and Influence of the Starres, and celestiall Orbes: they hadde verie admirable apprehensions.

Also, of the tweiue Signes of the Zodiacke, thorow which the Sunne maketh his anuall course, descending so far as the Circle of Capricorn, and mounting againe to the Circle of Cancer. These Circkles are the two Solstices, by meanes whereof are made the verie longest and shortest dayes, and the Dayes like to the Nights; the dayes being called Equinoctiall. These are in two seasons of the yeare, that is to say, at Spring time and Autumne, when hee passeth by the Equinoctiall Circle.

Some of them haue saide, that there were many Moones and Sunnes, and that all aboue the Moone is not subiecte to death, but euer liuing: and all vnder it subiected to mortality. Some woulde maintaine, that we are gouerned by Diuine providence: but others said, by fortune, and aduenturous accident. Some reputed the soules of men to be mortall: Others affirmed them to bee immortall. Some supposed them to be sent into bodies of brute beasts: but others thought they would speake more mannerly, affecting rather to say, that the soule was a winde or vnloosed spirit, diffused & spread thorow the body of man.

To contrary which coniecture, some stucke not to say; That it was a Quintessence, or a Nature without any bodie, euermore moouing it selfe, being totally immortall: but when it departed from the bodie, it flewe away with other thinges, which are of that Nature.

As for the *stoicks*, they had a perswasion, that the soule of him, who had not liued vertuously in this world; died immediately with the bodie; But that the soule of an honest and Vertuous man, with all her powers and perfections; tooke her seate in the highest Celestiall places, albeit some others constituted

the end of goodnesse in the bodye; and their contraries referred it to the minde or reasonable soule.

There were also some amongst them, that abused themselues in the apprehension of diuers vnprofitable and Diabolical Sciences, getting them sundrie spirits by perticuler Names, which serued them in diuers Offices, by vsing manie Carracters, wherein the Names of them were written about them. Then there were some that Diuined by water; Others; by the earth, by the Ayre, by hurling points of Kniues, of Bodkins, and such like: By Aspect and regard of mens Faces, by the flight of Birds, and by carrying of Phitonicall Spirites in Ringes or Jewelles; which spirits, they made subiect and bound vnto them for euery day, to make answere of all matters, either in the Ayre, on the Earth, or in the fire, because some of them were said to bee *Iouialists*, others *Mercurialists*, others *Venerists*, and so of many and diuers complexions. Nay they would mount much higher, presuming to meddle with the *Great Worke*, to make subiect vnto them those four great Princes, which gouerne ouer the nine Princes, and all the Legions of the saide spirits, which they saide to bee in number sixtie sixe thousand. To them (on certaine dayes) they offered Sacrifices, giuing them swordes of Golde and Siluer, with some strange Virgin Parchmentes, Licensing them with Amber, Muske, & other abhominable and infamous gifts, which they offered to them; and (indeed) deserue not to be written. For they adapted all the high and diuine names to such Idolatries, illusions, and follies: As *Adonay*, *Agius*, *Athanatos*, *Alpha et O Primogenitus*, *Propheta*, *Potestas*, *Redemptor*, *Altissimus*, *Paracletus*, *Trinitas*, and others.

They had many kinds and manners of Sciences, for some leatned Astrology diuinatory or iudiciary, which spake of the reuolutions of yeares; of questions, elections, intentions, cogitations, & vertues; to know al future things, without any exception. Also they would know by Phisognomy, the affections of the soule and body; and what should be the fortunes & destinies of men, by pronoking one vnder *Mercury*, another vnder *Sol*, and another vnder *Mars*. By *Metroposcopy* (they saide) they knew (beholding a mans forehead)

Magical Arts and Sciences.

Sundry kind of diuinations

Phitonicall spirites, wonne in Ringes, Jewels &c.

The Great worke of the spirits.

Sacrifices offered to spirits

High, Holie, and Diuine Names, by them abused.

Of Diuinatory & Iudiciall Astrology.

Phisognomy.

	<p>head) his reall Nature and inclination, the progresions of his life, & how shold be his ending.</p>		<p>Naturall Magicke.</p>
<p>Chiromancy.</p>	<p><i>Chiromantie</i> they obserued, by looking in the palme of the hand: for, in regarde of the Planets number, they formed seauen Mountaines or Hilles, and by Lines there discerned, the Complexions of men were known, their liues, affections, and fortunes.</p>		<p>Scrutators of Nature.</p>
<p>Pyromancy.</p>	<p><i>Pyromancy</i>, was that, which taught them to Diuine by fire: as when a man obserueth thunder, and the Lightninges flash, to gather thereby what the Fire may signify.</p>	<p>10 Angels of Light. Naturall Magicke, is to gain knowledge in the greatest and most Soueraigne power, of the forces and vertues of all Naturall things. There are likewise Scrutators or searchers into Nature, who by Mathematicall Scriptures only (the influxions of the Heauens being appeased) make diuers bodies to goe and mooue, which (notwithstanding) haue not their Animall Vertues. Veneficall Magicke, or that tearmed <i>Pharmatitall</i>, is a Science wherein Beuerages, Potions, and sundry poysonous Medicaments are vsed.</p>	<p>Poysonous or Pharmatitall Magicke.</p>
<p>Hydromancy.</p>	<p><i>Hydromancy</i> is performed by Water, and was the principall, and most of all, vsed by <i>Numa Pompilius</i>: yet thereby hee was deceiued, beholding the formes and Images of some dead persons in the Water, which the Deuils would haue had to be reputed for Gods.</p>	<p>20 Heereby <i>Democritus</i> made his Children fortunate, making his Birds also to speake. And by Ceremoniall Magicke, which is <i>Turgie & Goetie</i>, they couenanted with false spirites, whom they called by certaine words, charmes, and vnlawfull Ceremonies. These men (by the meanes of euill spirits) enchanted other people, and brought spirits to them, called <i>Paradres</i>: in exercise whereof, they made vse of Infants, Virgins, and Innocents, causing them to looke in a Basen of water, and on their Nails, which they annoint with Oyle, and then call Diuels to them, who make answeere to such questions as they demand of them. And to attain to the effect of their Coniurations, they sometimes menace Heauen, and the Elements, attributing Signes and Characters to them.</p>	<p>Ceremoniall Magicke.</p>
<p>Geomancie.</p>	<p><i>Geomancy</i> declares it selfe, by pointes throwne at peradventure, or by the power of some figures, or thinges attributed Celestiall, composed by number, <i>Par & impar</i> (or Euen and odde, as wee vse to say) and by those Figures the Diuination is made. And there is another kind of this cunning, which is done by some Coniectures taken from similitudes, by noyse and sound of the earth or motion, or by a loud cry, or by thunder.</p>		<p><i>Paradres</i>.</p>
<p><i>Par & impar.</i></p>	<p><i>Almadack</i> the Arabian was the Inuenter thereof, & <i>Pythagoras</i> therein was instructed. But Magicke Arts were before this, and the Inuenter of them was <i>Zoroastres</i>, King of the <i>Bactrians</i>.</p>	<p>30</p>	<p>Abuse of Infants, virgins & innocents.</p>
<p><i>Almadack</i> the Arabian.</p>	<p>Concerning <i>Augury</i>, they seemed thereby to haue a kinde of light of presaging, descending ouer each creature in this neather world, as especiall signes obserued by their flight, moouing, gesture, sitting, progresion, voice, food, and colour, so that by al these things they could foretell somewhat. The Art <i>Speculatory</i>, made Interpretation of Thunders, lightninges, and other impresions of the Elements, by signes and prodegies; and yet notwithstanding, they had no other help therein, but by coniecture only. They say, that <i>Turgie</i> is profitable to purge the spirituall part of the soule, to witte; the fantasticke or imaginative part: because by this Art, men are made to see the Images of Goddes, who are nothing else but Deuils, that trans-figure themselves into</p>	<p>40</p>	<p>A further relation concerning <i>Turgie</i>.</p>
<p><i>Zoroastres</i> was Inuenter of Magicall arts</p>			<p>The Signes of the Zodiack, and the seuen Planets.</p>
<p>Augury.</p>		<p>50</p>	<p>Prestigators in Magicke.</p>
<p>The Speculatorie Art.</p>			<p>Ma-</p>

Mathematicall Magicke.
 Necromancy.
 Aruspicy.
 Capnomancy.
 Botonomancy.
 Cleronomancy.
 Ichthyonomancy.
 Coscinomancy.
 Afcinomancy.
 Gastronomancy.
Au. 7. in et 8. de Civ. Dei.
 The Sciences of the Cabala.
 Vnwritten Theology.
 Knowledge of the angels.
 Princes and Angelles of Light.

Mathematicall Magicke cannot be vnderstood or knowne, without her naturall Vertues; neither without Disciplines and Mathematicall Sciences. It finds out the meanes to attract the influences of the Starres, to such occasions as men would make them; and in this Science, *Albertus Magnus* was very expert.

Necromancy or *Necromancie*, maketh Diuination and prediction of things, by Conference with dead bodies raised.

Aruspicy considereth the flight, songs and gestures of Birds in their flying.

Capnomancie, is a Diuination made by fumes and smoakes.

Botonomancie, is performed by hearbs, and is the only proper Art of Sorceries, with *Goetia* or Witch craft, whereof we haue formerly spoken.

Cleronomancie, is a Sooth-saying by Lottes.

Ichthyonomancie, is by Fishes. And yet there are diuers others, as *Coscinomancie* by a Siue; *Afcinomancie*; and *Gastronomancie*; which are spoken of by *Proclus*, *Porphyrus*, *Iamblicus*, *Colophonius*, *Apuleius*, *Cornelius Agrippa*, and *Saint Augustine*, in his seuenth & eight Books of the City of God. O good God, what brags, arrogances, and Bedlem-trickes? What contentions and Vanities; with scrupulous words, prodigies, & enchantments? What lost labors, Lyes, ambages, and all manner of deceiuings are among them?

And yet there are some other, who would pretend to knowe the Sciences of the *Cabala*, and say, that such as can rightly vnderstand them, haue so much power as to raise vp dead bodies. Now, such as haue knowledge heerin, must be irreprehensible of sinne, and of holy life and conuersation. Moreouer, *Reuslin* and some others haue written, that this Science is nothing else; but a kinde of vn-written Theologie; and that therein is a much greater part of beleefe and speculation, then of discipline. For it consisteth in knowledge of the Angels, that somtimes did administer both sciences and doctrines of inuisible things to men: And these Sectaries do hold, that in liuing holilie, and neere vnto the Angellicall life; so far as the flesh and rude bodie can imitate; verie great intelligences are to be receiued. And by hauing knowledge in the names of some Princes and Angels of Light, a man may attaine vnto the perfection of

things, resembling (or truly being) myracles. But because it is not receiued, but by denuntation of the Father to the son, and that the Hebrewes (on whom it depended) haue written nothing for reuerence of the Mystery: there are but fewe people, so full of erudition, as to produce such effects, as it did customarily restore. Som termed the Art *Cabala*, diuine Magicke, which diuideth it selfe into the Science, named *Berefcith*, and *Merana*.

Berefcith, according to the Hebrewes; discourseth of beginnings, Originals, and causes of creatures, as also of their properties and inclinations. *Merana* speaketh of things sublime and high, as of the diuine and Angellicall vertues, of holie Names, which haue great signification and mysteries in them, with Letters, Numbers, Figures, Names, and little pointes of Letters, Lines, Punctuations, and Accents. *Merana* also diuideth it selfe into two Sciences, to wit; *Arythmancie*, and *Theomancie*. *Arythmancie* is as much to say, as diuination made by number, which hath consideration and contemplation of Angellicall Vertues; of Names, Signacles, Natures, and Conditions, both of diuels and other creatures.

Theomancie is a Diuination and Vaticination of Diuine things, which consider the Mysteries of the Diuine Maiesty, the Emanations, the holie and sacred names. This Science (according to many opinions) *Moses* had, by means whereof, he wrought so many signes and Miracles, as when he transformd his rod into a Serpent, changed water into blood, into Frogs, Flies, Lice, Locusts, and other things contained in Exodus.

There is another science depending on the aforesaide *Cabala*, called *Cosmologie*, which consistes in the reason, consideration and contemplation of the world. It expoundeth (by Phylosophicall reasons) the great secrets of the Law; and of the Bible. Other fooles (abusing themselves) labor to Philosophize by Mettals; weening to deriue cunning from the sun and Moon, and therein haue proceeded in many maners. For *Merlin* said, That the Philosophers stone was of many colors, participating of the 4. Elements, beeing by nature Ayry, earthy, watry, and fry; drie in a soft degree and hidden, but hot in a high degree, and manifest; moist & cold; of all these complexions, one is made.

Merlins words
of the Phylo-
sophers stone.

It is not farre off from the Nature of fire, and of the Flame; and yet is Licquid and flowing, like to the Oyle of the Oliue. It engrosseth it selfe, and of it selfe is conceiued and engendered. It liueth of it selfe, and by it selfe; and yet it killeth it selfe. This stone hath a red dye, white & chearfull, and yet it conceiueth and maketh Gold, if it be ioyned vnto the white fume or smoake. It is the way wherby we liue; and by which, the true and purest Gold is made. Thus farre are the verie words of *Merlin*.

Geber his Re-
lation concer-
ning the Phy-
losophers
stone:

Geber, speaking thereof, sayeth; Our Art consisteth not in the multitude of things, neither is any iot perfected in or by them. For it is a Stone onely, which is a Medicine, wherein the Maisterie and height of our Art relyeth. And it is to be vnderstood, that we adde nothing thereto, that should be; or is a stranger, neyther do wee diminish any thing; except they bee such matters as are superfluous in preparation of the saide Stone. And we conclude, that it is nothing else, but an vnsauoury smelling spirit, and a liuing Vault or Graue, which we may wel term dry, washed by an naturall (yet liuely) proportion of such an vnion, as it cannot go out of his essence, by the things whereto it is annexed, and is couered in abreuating the worke, hauing an extenuated & perfect bodie.

What the
stone is.

Cornel. Agrippa
in lib. de Philos.
Ocult.

Cornelius Agrippa, in his Booke of secret Philosophy, saith; Fire is an Element which penetrateth and ouer-commeth all things. It is a thing created by God, a subiect of all mutability, which can be in heauen, and in the earth. It is moreouer, a thing actually animall, Vegetall and Minerall, that is to say, which seemeth to haue soule and vegetation, and an effectiue Vertue and quality of mineral things. This thing so high and Noble, is not found out by many people, nor knowne by any person, or well expressed in his proper name: but is continually hidde in numbers, Figures, and Enigmaes; without which (neuerthelesse) neither the Art of Alchimy, nor of Magicke, can attaine to, or haue their perfects ends. *Augurellus* saith; *This Stone is White, and is nothing els but a powder, long time boyled; and so conuerted from a White, into a redde colour.* *Gregory Rech*, in his Marguarite of Philosophy, saith; *The Art of making this Stone is not by any labour; but is (as one*

A strange and
hidden secret

Augurellus:

Gregor. Rech.
in Marg. Phil.

saith) *The worke of Women, and the sport of children.* *Virgil*, in the sixt Booke of his *Eneidos*, speaking of the branch of Gold, which is hidden within a calignious tree, intirely describeth the perfection of this worke.

Virgil lib. 6. de
Eneid.

Others do proceed heerin by another manner of way, which is dangerous for the soul, for the creature being kept captiue 9. moneths, which they nourish and feede with straunge meats, mingled with the iuice of hearbs, Mercury, and Siluer, it maketh him to change his nature, and so (with other creatures) is taken and put to confect in a potte very close couered, wherin also they put seuen sorts of herbs, the most part wherof doo congeale the Mercurie. And the principal is the hearb called *Lunaria maior*, which turneth the water against the streame, & yet maketh it to returne againe at the houre when it is cut. And after the fire hath wrought, then *Cibele* makes her operation, & *Titan* also for two or three times the principal of the subiect beeing receiued, from that which is aboue vs. And when the proiection should woorke it selfe within the pottes, then vse is made of common Salt, Arsenick sublimite, and Salarmoniack; and hitherto there is no offence at all. But afterward, for the perfection, casting the matter in the said pots, and seeing to conuert the Saturn or lead which is therein; the action cannot but be dangerous. For euery faithful soul knoweth, that this came not from the inuention of men, but from some vile and wicked spirits: for the siluer which is taken forth of the pots, prooueth as good as the naturall siluer. Then for augmentation of Gold, they make an adaption of Vermilion, Siluer, *Crocum Ferri*, and other matters by number; which they say passeth the Teste, and *Ciment-Royall*. A man would be amazed to behold them all differing in their opinions, yet each one to anouch sufficient vnderstanding in the Science.

Another Phi-
losophers
stone, which
is written E-
nigmaticall,
comming fro
the inuention
of euill spirits

The proiection
in working
it selfe.

The making
of Gold.

Very true it is, that by the Artefice of Fire, verie singuler things are made, and almost as faire as those produced by nature, to wit; Emeraldes, Iacintes, Saphires, Rubies, Pearles, Corral, Amber, Glasses, and Vessels mingled with diuers Colours: and the principall is, to haue good and fresh stufes, and knowledge in the Art of Fire. But leauing this Argument,

What things
may be made
by the work-
manship of
Fire.

Variety of mens studies.

ment, let vs come to the application of other studies, according to mens severall inclinations.

Logick.

Some haue delighted most in Logick, which is a Science of disputing, and reasoning in all things. Others affected the Art of *Lullijn*; to wit, the invention of *Sophistry*, which sheweth a Doctrine of quaint beguiling (and had name first of one named *Lullius*;) it enstructeth how to circumvent in words, by craft, calumnie, fiction, and caullation.

The Art of Sophistry.

The Mathematickes.

Others, desired to know the *Mathematickes*, which taketh it selfe (in generall properly) for all naturall Sciences, euen for all them that can be taught to man.

Cosmometry.

Cosmometrie, sheweth the reason of the World, by measures of degrees and minutes of the Heauens, and the differences of Climats, Daies, and Nights; the Eleuation of the Poles; diuersity of the Noone-tides, and shaddowes in Dyals, and deuideth it selfe into *Cosmographie* and *Geography*. *Cosmographie* is the generall description and measure of the World; And *Geography* sheweth how to measure the Earth by Stades, Leagues, and Miles; by Mountaines, Woods, Forrests, Lakes, Riuer, and Seas.

Cosmography. Geography.

The Art of Memory. Cicero in lib. de Quest. Inst.

It likewise maketh knowne, the difference and distinction of Nations, Kingdomes, Prouinces, Citties, Ports, Hauens, and whatsoever is throughout the earth. Some others doe practise the Art of *Memorie*, which is nothing else (according to *Cicero*) but an indiction and reason of certaine rules, consisting in places, Images, and Carracters: which doe as much seruice, as proper Writings presented to his eyes, who would speake of, or remember any thing whatsoever. This Science was inuented by *Symonides Melicus*, borne in the Isle of *Cea*, who also first deuised the Verses called *Lyrici*.

Symonides Melicus.

The parts of Ethick Philosophy.

Nor must this be thought any disparagement, to the true Philosophy of the *Ethiques*, which enstructed men how to liue well among themselues; and likewise in generall, without any carke or care for any kind of Prouision. And the *Oeconomique* also, giuing rules for well liuing in Domesticke Community, and for best ordering of a Family. The *Pollitique*, it gaue Documents of good

Oeconomick Philosophy.

life, for publique community among Cittizens: because it discoursed on common Ciuility, and in it are comprehended all secular estates. There is yet another part of Philosophy, which is principall, and in double manner; that is to say: Abstracted from mouing, and conioyned with mouing. Abstracted from motion, is called *Metaphisique*, which discourseth on the highest matters of God, and of intelligence, exceeding our sense and imagination; and the Science is tearmed *Metaphisique*, because it transcendeth Nature.

Another part of Philosophy

Metaphisique

That part conioyned with motion, speaketh of moueable things, and is named *Phisique*: which considereth and speculateth the beginnings and causes of naturall things, and accordinglie beereunto hath eight parts of Philosophy. These doe speake of Heauen and the World; of Generation and Corruption; of Meteors; of Mines in the Earth; of Vegetable things; of Plants, and the Naturies of Creatures; of watching and sleeping; of Memory, and all other powers of the Soule. Then there is *Morall Philosophy*, treating of Vices & Vertues; and disputing wherein consisteth humane Felicity; as also distinguishing good from euill. And the Word *Philosopher*, is nothing else but to tearme a Man, a Louer of wisdom.

Phisicke, with her 8. parts of Philosophy.

Morall Philosophy.

Wee come now to the seauen liberall Sciences. First *Grammer*, whereby is knowne the difference, between congruate and incongruate speaking. *Logicke*, describeth the false proposition from the true. *Rhetoricke*, demonstrateth how to speake with ornament of choise words, and elegantly. *Astrology*, obserueth the course and influence of the Starres, Celestiall bodies, Mansions, Parasanges, Hemispheres, and the Poles Articke, and Antartick. *Geometry*, describeth the dimension and measure of the Earth; with the distance of one place from another. *Arithmeticke* delighteth most in numbers; And *Musique*, how to play and sing By due measure: Nor may we omit the Art and Stile of *Poesie*, very highly and greatly commended. As that named *Elegiacall*, which is a rescription of miseries, reciting the calamities of men, the que-
rimonies

The seauen liberall Sciences. Grammer. Logicke.

Rhetoricke.

Astrology.

Geometry.

Arithmeticke Musicke.

The Art and Stile of Poesie.

Elegies.

Satires.	rimonies of loue, and deploration of the dead. <i>Satires</i> , are inuectiues and reprehensions, composed in verse, repro- uing Vices, and discovering the secret finnes of men. <i>Comedy</i> , describeth the affections of men, rauishment of Vir- gines, and facetious matters. <i>Tragedie</i> , discourseth the calamities of Kings and great Lords, giuing them enstruptions for amendment of life. But <i>Theologicall</i>	occasions. So that she onely presageth and foretelleth, the aduentures of acci- dents which are to ensue, and accord- ingly with-holdeth and hindereth the entrance of casuall & sinister fortunes. Temperance, contemneth all Corporal voluptuousnesse, for (in her) the order of our whole life is discerned; because she holdes the firme and Moderne Do- minion of reason, against all Vices whatsoeuer.	Temperance, and her pre- rogatiue.
Comedy.			
Tragedy.			
Diuine Poets	or Diuine Poets, were they that wrote Songs and Hymnes of the Gods: de- scribing Heroycally the deeds and gests of Noble-men and Warlike people, with Martiall attempts, and Militarie Stratagemes.	10	
Heroyckes.			Fortitude & her authority, discerned three wayes.
Seauen Me- chanical arts. Husbandry.	The seauen Mechanicall Arts also, are very comendable; as Agriculture or Husbandry: whereby the Art of la- bouring in the ground is perfectlie known, with planting of Vines, and en- tring young Trees. Cloathing, com- prehendeth all endeouours, vsed eyther in Wooll, Linnen, Haire, Silke, and semblable things. Nauigation, com- priseth the Art of all Mariners & Ship- men, as well on the Seas, as other Riuers. Hunting, containeth vnder that name, all manner of Fowling for Birds, and taking of all Beastes and Fi- shes. The Art of Fabricke or Archite- cture, containeth the condition of Car- pentry, Masonry, Imagery, Gold-smi- thery, & whatsoeuer is to be wrought, either in Wood, Stone, or Mettalles.	20	
Cloathing.			
Nauigation.	And the Art of Medicine, comprehen- deth in that one Word, both Chirur- gians, Apothecaries, Hearbalists, Mai- sters of Bathes, and Barbers. The Art Military, bringeth vnder her protecti- on, all subtilties and secret conducts of war, with all good Regiments and Go- uernments of Captaines.	30	Justice & her preheminece
Hunting.			The Ciuile & Canon lawes.
Architcture.			
Medicine.			
Military Dis- cipline.	Heere may we not omit the due and desertfull praises of the foure Morrall Vertues. As Prudence, which is the cause of direct and vpright govern- ment in all thinges, with fore-sight and good ordination. This Vertue respec- teth all the actions of humaine life, ru- ling, conducting, and consulting (by reason) on great and doubtfull matters, both by syllogismes, and sound deba- tings. It compareth and conioyneth thinges already past, with such as are present; and by due discussion made of them, giueth iudgement also on future	40	Faith.
The four Mo- rall vertues.			The summe of Faith.
Prudence, & her sacred power.		50	Charity.
			Hope.
			What men ought most to esteeme.
			else

The praise of the word of God.

The power of the Scriptures

Of our Saviour Iesus Christ.

The Gospell and meaning thereof.

The great benefits received by Iesus Christ.

The great Ambassadour from the Father.

else whatsoever; because those things are vaine, wherein the knowledge of God is not. For, by knowledge of the heavenly word, and obseruation of that which is commaunded vs in the Gospell: we are made the Lords Children, fellow Cittizens with the Saints in the Kingdome of Heauen, and Heires of God with Iesus Christ. By them, the poore are made rich; the feeble, strong; Fooles, wise; Sinners, iustified; the desolate, comforted; the doubtfull, resolved; and Seruants enfranchised. There is the way and the truth, and the Key which openeth the Kingdome of Heauen to the faithfull, releasing them from sinne: because the Gospell is the Testament, and new Couenant of our Saviour Iesus Christ. He is both New and Eternall, that waxeth not old, and faileth not for euer. For he hath been and is the Mediatour, and he hath ratified and confirmed the Scriptures by his death: accomplishing in them, plenarie, and intire remission of all preuarications, that remained vnder the first Testament.

The Scripture is called the Gospell, that is to say, good and glad tydings: because therein Iesus Christ is declared, to be the onely, naturall, and eternall Son of the liuing God, and was made Man for vs, to make vs the Sons of God his Father by adoption. In like manner, he is our Saviour, in whom intirely lyeth our Redemption, Peace, Iustice, Sanctification, Saluation and life.

He dyed for our sinnes, and rose againe for our Iustification. He ascended vp into Heauen, to make our entrance thither. He tooke possession for vs, and in our name; euermore to assist vs before his Father, as our Aduocate and perpetuall Sacrificer. He sitteth on his right hand, as constituted King, Lord, and Maister ouer all: to the end, that he might repaire all things both in heauen and on earth, which none other else was able to doe. He was the great Ambassadour, sent from his Father, here below to performe the saluation of all men. All things are demonstrated, declared, written, and signed in his Testament; whereby hee hath made vs heires of the Kingdome of God his Father, and appointed vs his will, to put the same in execution he being: the on-

ly way, life, and saluation. In breese, if we haue him with vs, we shall finde nothing so accursed, but it shall be blessed by him; nothing so execrable, but it shall bee sanctified; nothing so wicked, but it shall turne to our good.

This is *Isaac*, the dearely beloued Sonne of his Father, who was offered in sacrifice; and yet (notwithstanding) could not be overcome by death. This is the vigilant Shepheard *Jacob*, which had so great care of the Sheepe committed to his keeping. This is the good, louing, and pittiful *Ioseph*, who accounted it no shame to him, to acknowledge his poore Brethren, even in his greatest glory. This is the chiefe Sacrificer and Byshop *Melchisedech*, who made the eternall Sacrifice once for all, and for all the sinnes of the World. This is the Soueraigne Law-giner *Moyse*, writing his Law in the Table of our hearts; by his sanctifying Spirit. This is the faithfull guide and Captain *Iosuah*, that conducteth vs to the Land of Promise. This is the Noble and vertuous King *Dauid*, subiecting (by his hand) all rebellious powers.

This is the Magnificent and Triumphant King *Salomon*, governing his Kingdom in peace and prosperitie. And this is the strong and vertuous *Sampson*, who (by his owne death) ouerthrew all his enemies. He hath paid the debt for all mankind; and he to whom no death was due, hath yet for vs endured most bitter and cruell death.

Hee that was innocent, was written downe among malefactours. Hee was ranked among debtors, that was free from any kind of debt, and therefore payed the debt of Nature. And when he suffered death without any deseruing; hee deliuered from death all such as had deserued it. And when he was vniustly apprehended; he deliuered out of prison; such as were there iustly detained. Behold (O bitter death) the obligation of nature discharged. Behold it fast fixed vnto his Crosse. Behold the Ensignes of sinne there torne in peeces. Behold no more memory of any mallicious subscription. For the eyes of his body, paid the debt of those eyes that had wickedly wandred. His cares made satisfaction, for those which had listned to impure perswasions: Likewise, his tongue

Figures of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ. Isaac. Jacob.

Ioseph.

Melchisedech

Moyse.

Iosuah.

Dauid.

Salomon.

Sampson.

Theodore the Cyprian bishop; in his Sermons on the prouidence of God

The benefit received by Christs crosse

The maine debt discharged.

tongue, handes, and other members, satisfied for those members of Man, that had committed all their severall euilles. Seeing then that so great a debt is discharged, it remaineth verie conueniently; that such as continued Prisoners therefore, should bee deliuered out of prison, enioying their auncient libertie, and to returne home into their first borne Country.

The Authors Conclusion.

To conclude, it is he that hath regenerated vs in liuing hope, redeemed vs out of darknesse, and humbled himselfe, to exalt vs. Hee became a Seruant, to set vs free from seruice; became poore, to enrich vs; was solde, that we might be redeemed; was made a Captiue, for our deliuerance; and was condemned, that we might be acquitted. For our Benediction, hee was made Malediction; the Obligation of Sinne, for our righteousnesse; and vtterly disfigured, to bring vs into a perfect figure.

The triumphs of the death of Iesus Christ.

He died for our life; so that (by him) rudenesse became sweetnesse; angers appeased; darkenesse illumined; In-iustice made righteousnesse; weakenesse made vertuously strong; discomfort consolation; Sinne impeached; contempt disuised; feare assured; debt discharged; labour asswaged; sorrow reioyced; misfortune happinesse; difficultie easinesse; disorder conformitie; deuision vnity; ignominy fame; rebellion subiected; menaces out-menaced; Ambushes scattered; assaults confronted; power ouer-awed; Combats out-combatted; Warre ouer-warred; vengeance reuenged; torments tormented; damnation damned; perdition perished; abisme ingulffed; Hell harried; Death killed; and mortality made immortality. In brieife, Mercy hath swallowed vp all miserie, and goodnes all wickednesse; so that, wee may well glorifie our selues, and say now with

1 Cor. 15. 55.

Saint Paule: O Death, where is thy sting? O Hell, where is thy Victorie?

The glory of a true Christian.

CHAP. XVI.

A profitable Interpretation for all Christians, of some words being Hebrue, Greeke, and Syrian, contained in certaine places of the sacred Scriptures.



Ecause in many places of the holie Scriptures, and in the seruice vsed in the Church, wee finde some wordes deriued from the

Hebrue, Greeke, and Syrian, vnderstood by few persons, to whom they seeme somewhat strange: I thought it a matter very necessary, to make a further relation of them in this manner. Iesus is an Hebrue name, which (by Interpretation) signifieth a Sauiour; the Etymology whereof, the Angell Gabriell declared to the blessed Virgine Mary, saying in Saint Mathew: And his Name shall be Iesus, because hee shall saue his people from their sinnes. There was one named Iosedech, a great Priest, the Sonne of Iosedech, who figured Iesus Christ our Sauiour; as likewise Zorobabell, who was of his royall Linage, and (according to spirituall intelligence) signified him. Iosedech is turned (saith Saint Hierome) יהוה, that is to say, God Iust. In like manner, Iesus Christ is the Sonne of the Iust GOD. Messias is an Hebrue word, which signifieth as much as Christ in Greeke; and both of them are interpreted Anointed. Saint Augustine writeth, that Messias signifieth in the Punicke Language, as much as Anointed; and the Hebrue, Punicke, and Syrian tongues, do come very nere and resemble one another. The Patriarches (in the Olde Testament) were called Christes, of whom it is written in the hundred and fift Psalme; Touch not mine Anointed; and doe my Prophets no harme. And in the first Booke of Paralipomenon, or the Chronicles, al those which departed or came out of Aegipt, were cald Christes. The same S. August. saith, that the word Christus cometh of Christmata: because as the ancient Kings were anointed with holy

Interpretatio of Hebrue, Greeke, and Syrian words.

Hierom. sup. 5. Math. Cap. 2.

Aug. de verb. Apost. Sermon. 3. Et cont. Pelag. Lib. 2.

August. sup. Agge. Cap. 1.

Aug. sup. 10. 1. 1 tract.

Conference of languages.

Psal. 105. 15.

1 Reg. 12. 19

Aug. in Scrm. clxxxi. de Temp.

holy Oyle; so our Saviour Iesus Christ was filled with the infusion of the blessed Spirit.

We read in the thirtieth Chapter of Exodus, of the Priest-hoodes vnction, or the Oyle of holy Oyntment, wherewith (afterward) the Priestes (in Leviticus) are said to be annointed. Then there was another Oyle, wherewith Kings were annointed in their Kingdomes, and whereof the Prophet Esay maketh mention in his forty five Chapter: *The Lord spake these things to his annointed Cyrus.* Yet there was a Propheticall vnction, wherewith *Helias* was commanded to annoint *Heliseus*: *And Heliseus, the Sonne of Shaphat of Abell Moholash, shalt thou annoint to bee Prophet in thy roome.*

But about all other kindes of vnctions, there is one called Spiritual; *The vnction of Gladnesse*, wherewith our blessed Saviour was annointed, and it was said to him: *For this cause, thy God hath annointed thee with the Oyle of Gladnesse, above thy Fellowes.* I hold this word Fellowes, to concerne them, to whom S. Iohn speaketh in his second Chapter of his first Epistle, saying: *But yee haue an Oyntment from that holy one, and know all things.* And a little after, he addeth: *But the annointing which ye receiued of him, remaineth in you, and ye haue no neede that any man teach you.*

Emanuel is an Hebrue word, and signifieth as much, as *God with vs.* Our Saviour obtained this name, by the effect which followed, to wit: that hee who was God, pleased to cloath himselfe with our flesh, and to conuerse with vs. *Nazarian* or *Nazarite*, signifieth Holy. The seauenty Interpreters turned the word *Nazarite*, to *Sanctified*; and *Symmachus*, to *Separates*. *Rabbi* is interpreted Maister, or Lord. *Paracletus* is a Greeke word, signifying Aduocate, Doctor, Comforter. *Paschall* is an Hebrue Vocabule, and a Greeke name, as Saint *Hierome* affirmeth, expressing as much in speaking, as passage, or Passouer. *Epiphany* in Greeke, sounded apparition, manifestation, or demonstration, in our vulgar tongue: because as on that day, our Redeemer was made knowne by a Starre.

Pentecost is a Greeke word, and is as much in expression, as fifty; because, from the Resurrection of Iesus Christ,

untill the time of this sollemnity, there were fifty daies of Interuallam. *Scenofagia*, is an Hebrue word, declaring the making of Tabernacles or Tents, which was a very sollemn Feastiuall. *Encenia* were the Feast daies among the *Iewes*, cald the Feast of *Dedication* of the Temple of *Ierusalem*. *Kyria-eleison*, is a word composed of *κύριε*, that is to say, *Lord*, and of *ἐλεησον*, that is, *Haue mercy.* *Alleluya*, are also two wordes in Hebrue, which signifie, *Praise God*: for (as Saint *Hierome* testifieth) there are ten seuerall names, whereby the Hebrues tearmed God. * *Antiphona* in Greeke, is a Song deliuered at times, and it may be turned into one word, as the resfrer, burthen, or downe of any Song.

Homilie, is a Greeke word, signifying, as when we vse to say, a Sermon, Canon, or Rule. *Osanna* in the Hebrue Language, is as much, as if we should say; *O Lord saue me.* *Sabbahot* is thus interpreted; *Lord Almighty, Lord of vertue, or of Armies and Hoasts.* *Eucharistia* is a Greeke diction, thus conuerted, into *Giuing of Thankes*, and intending also the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper. *Euangelium*, or *Gospell*, signifyeth *Good, or Glad Tydings.* *Paradise* in Greeke, and a Garden engraffed with Apples, is all one. *Parable* is a Greeke word, signifying a similitude or comparison. *Symbote* is an assembly or congregation; as when a man putteth his part in common, and euery one hath his share or proportion. *Peter*, in Greeke, signifieth a Flint-stone, or Rocke-stone, as *Cephas* dooth the like in the *Syrian* tongue: hauing this implication, of solidity and firmenesse, because Saint *Peter* was firme in confession of the truth. *Philacteria* is a Greeke word, signifying keeping or preseruing; because in warily-kept Scroles of Parchment, the memories of the *Iewes* Lawes were conserued.

That which the Greekes called a *Si-nagogue* or Church; we may well expound to be an Assembly. *Mammori*, according to the opinion of S. *Hierom*, is a *Syrian* name, of the Singular number, and Masculine Gender, signifying Riches. *Eschnicke* is a Greeke word, signifying a man that is a Gentile, Pagan, or some other Sect. *Profelite* is a Greek word also, and (by Interpretation) is as much

The Feast of Tabernacles.

The Feast of Dedication.

Ten names for God. * *Vox reciproca duobus choris alternatim psallentibus.*

The Iewes beeing of Willow branches.

Eucharistia.

Euangelium.

Similitude or comparison.

Scroles of Parchment among the Pharises.

Hierom. sup. Math. Cap. 17.

The Iewes manner of a Profelite.

The Oyle of holy oyntment Exod. 30. 25.

Annointing of Kings. Esay 45. 1.

Prophetical Vnction.

1 Reg. 19. 16.

The Oyle of gladnesse. Psalme 45. 8.

1 Ioh. 2. 20. 27

Hierom. sup. cap. 9. de Esay.

Augu. in Sermon. 4. de Natiuit.

παράκλητος

Hierom. sup. Ioan. ap. 14.

The wise mens Star.

Pentecost.

The place of dead mens skulls.

The Mount Calvary.

The Treasure of the Temple among the Iewes.

Hierom. sup. Ioan. Cap. 7.

Visions by dreames.

much to say, as a Stranger. And the Iewes vsed to tearme him so, that (being of another Nation) conuerted to their Law and Religion. *Scandalize*, is a Greeke Verbe, and valueth as much, as to offend: euen as *Angaria* (a Persian word) signifieth to smite and expulse. *Golgotha* is Syrian Vocable, which Saint *Hierome* declareth, to bee the place of Baldnesse or Nakednesse, tearmed in Latine *Caluaria*: So was a place in *Ierusalem* called, by the Mount *Sion*, towards the North: because there lay the heads of such as were condemned to death, and our Sauour Iesus Christ being crucified in that place, did there accomplish the saluation of all mankind. *Corkona*, or *Gazaphylacium*, composed of words Persian and Greeke, relateth a Chest or Coffer, wherein the Mony was reposed, giuen for vse of the Ministers which serued in the Temple. According to that which was said: *He that serueth at the Altar, ought to line of the Altar*, for *Corbone* signifyeth a guift. *Eleemosyna* or *Almes* being a Greeke word, implyeth Pitty or Mercy. *Diabolus*, Deuill, is interpreted a Calumniatour. *Beelzebub*, is the Father of Flyes, as by the word Fly an Idoll is specified. For *S. Hierome* enstrueth, that *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, was among the *Hebrues*, as the Word Idoll with the *Greekes*. And *Zebub*, Fly, as if a man should say, the Idol of a Fly: for *ἰδωλον* is a simulacre or statue. That which the *Greekes* called *phantasma*, and the *Latines* *spectrum*; wee tearme a vision by dreame, or else some vgly dreadfull Image. But to conclude, *Amen* is an *Hebrue* word, signifying so much as *So be it*: but when it is found to be repeated two seuerall times; as *Amen, Amen*; then it implyeth *Veritie*, *Verily*, for confirmation of a truth.

CHAP. XVII.

Examples of grosse errors in Politicians, and worldly wise men. Also, how farre a man may trust a reconciled enemy.

Lewes the eleauenth, King of France, and one of the most politique Prin-

ces that France euer had, being at war with his owne Brother *Charles*, Duke of *Normandy*; *Frances*, Duke of *Brittaine*; and *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and desiring greatly to separate the last from the other two, to the end that he might be the better reuenged on them: sollicit him by his Ambassadors, to come to conferre with him. Which the Duke yeilded vnto, so that the meeting might bee in a Towne of his owne, in the frontiers of *Flanders* and *France*, for his better security; where-with the King was well contented. The meeting therefore being appointed at *Peronne* (whether the Duke was come with his Army) and safe-conduct sent to the King, by a Letter of the Dukes owne hand: the King went thither without any forces or Guard, to shew the confidence hee had in the Duke, to the end, to oblige him the more, and to gaine his goodwill. But the Duke seeing now his Enemy in his owne power, and vnderstanding at the same time, that *Liege* was reuolted from him, by the sollicitation of certaine Ambassadors of the King: tooke him Prisoner, and would not release him, vntill he had recouered the Towne of *Liege*, whither he forced him to beare him company; with no small danger of his person. And in the end, hauing made him to grant to some hard conditions, in fauour of his confederates (against whom the King had especially plotted that conference and treaty) he released him.

Now then, who seeth not in this example, how grossely this great Politike erred in two things, wherein it might be presumed, that a man (of any experience) could not haue beene deceiued. The one, that hauing imployed certaine Agents or Ambassadors, to stirre vpthe Towne of *Liege* against the Duke: hee did not countermaund it, when he resolved to put himselfe into his handes. For who could be so simple, as not to consider, that if the practise should take effect (as it did) whiles he should be in his power: not onely the peace and amity which he desired to make, would be hindred thereby; but also his person endangered? For that the Duke should haue iust cause to detzine him, at least, vntil he had done him reparation of the wrong.

Phillip de Comines de reb. gest. Lodouici, 11. in Cap. 33.

Lewes the 11 king of France ouertaken in his owne policy.

Liege reuolted from the Duke of Beutgundy.

The manifest error of King Lewes in two kinds.

The first part of his error.

Consideration is the conduct to safety

The

The other note of the Kings great folly.

What learning K. Lewis the eleventh required in his Sonne.

Math. 7. 2.

Micha. Princ. Cesar Borgia Duke of Valence, the patterne of Machiuel's Prince, overthrowne by his owne pollicy.

Guicciard. Hist. Lib. 6.

The other error was, that he would (vpon any security or safe conduct) put himselfe into the courtesie and mercy of his Enemy, without any vrgent and ineuitable necessity: knowing how little assurance is many times in wordes or Oathes, when present commoditie (eyther priuate or publique) is offered by the breach thereof. Besides that, his own rule (which he was wont to say, & was all the Latine hee would haue his Sonne to learne, to wit; *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare, Hee which knoweth not how to dissemble, knoweth not how to raigne*) might haue mooued him to haue doubted in his Enemy, that which he practised in himselfe, and was apt enough to suspect in his best friends: And this he had iust cause to feare in the Duke of Burgundy, whom hee had deceiued before by a false composition, which hee made with him at *Constans*, and brake presently after: whereby he had both incited, and also taught him, to pay him with Money of the same stamp. Wherein may bee noted, as well his notable error, as also Gods providence and Iustice, in punishing his double dealing with the like, according to the saying of our Saviour. *Qua mensura, &c. What measure you shall make or giue to others, the same shall bee measured or made vnto you againe.*

An example no lesse notable, both of the one and other, may be obserued in *Cesar Borgia*, Duke of *Valence*, whose great wisdom *Machiuel* so much admireth; that he maketh him a Mitrouir and Patterne for a Prince: whom hee might (more iustly) haue made a Mirrouir of mischiese, and patterne of all perfidiousnesse, cruelty, and impietie. This *Cesar*, being (after the death of his Father) spoyled of all the estates, which he had by force and fraud laid together in *Italie*, and in danger (as he thought) of his life, or liberty at least, by the displeasure of Pope *Iulius* the second, then governing: resolved to flye (for his security) to *Hernando Gonçales*, Generall in the Kingdome of *Naples*, for *Ferdinando*, King of *Arragon* and *Castile*. Forgetting, or not considering, the manifold causes of offence which hee had giuen to him, and to the King his Maister in sundry occasions. And

so, trusting to his safe conduct, hee put himselfe into his hands, and was (shortly after) sent by him Prisoner into *Spaine*, by order from the King. Whereof *Gonçales* excused himselfe, pretending, that his Faith and safe conduct, ought not to hinder the execution of the King his Maisters commandment, against whom (he said) he could giue no security. And so the Arch-politick of his time, who had by subtilty and treachery overthrowne very many: was himselfe (by Gods iust iudgment) ouer-reached, and (as I may well tearme it) tript in his owne play; to his vter ruine and overthrow, as (vpon another occasion) shal be declared more amply hereafter.

Therefore, what was become of all his accustomed craft? Where were all his profound pollicies, that excellent iudgement, that sharpnesse of wit, and those rare inuentions, which made him such a worthy patterne of *Machiuel's* Princes? For, whether we respect true wisdom, or the common craft and subtiltie of worldly men (which is now commonlie called *Machiwillian* pollicie) he erred in the principles of both. For subtilty and craft (which excludeth all Charity) teacheth so to distrust; as neuer to trust, nor to pardon an Enemy: nor to leaue to hate, hurt, and reuenge; when opportunity is offered, notwithstanding any reconciliation. Besides that, the mallice of men so farre extendeth it selfe in such cases: that Politikes hold it not secure for him that doth offend any man, to trust him euer after. To which purpose, the *Italian* Prouerb saith: *Chi offende, non perdona mai.* Whereby it is signified, that he which dooth any notable iniury to another man, can neuer after (with his owne safety) trust him, or yet spare him; if he may overthrow him; for feare least (at some time or other) he may seeke to be reuenged. So then, this Arch-politicke (according to the rules of his owne art and profession) should neuer haue put his life into the hands, of one whom he had once offended, and much lesse of an enemy reconciled.

And as for true wisdom, though it euer keepe it selfe within the bounds of Charity, and teacheth vs, not onely to pardon, but also to loue our enemies; yea, and to doe them what plea-

Cesar Borgia the Arch-politicke of his time.

How faire a man may trust a reconciled enemy.

The large extendure of mens mallice

An Italian Prouerbe.

A lesson for crafty Politicians.

Concerning true wisdom.

Seneca Epist. 5. A reconciled enemy not to be trusted.

sure wee conueniently may : yet it so ioyneth *The prudence of the Serpent, with the simplicity of the Doue*; that it warneth vs to be beware of them, and not to trust our liues or states in their handes, when we may auoyd it. Remembring euer the counsell of *Seneca*, who saith: *Neuer beleue that he will be faithfull vnto thee, who of an Enemy is become thy Friend.*

Eccle. 12, 10, 11, 12.

Which also the Holy-Ghost teacheth in the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, where it is said. *Neuer beleue or trust thy enemy, for as old Iron groweth euerie day more rusty then other; so encreaseth his rancour. And if he humble himselfe, and crouch vnto thee: yet haue an eye vnto him, and keepe thy selfe from him. Place him not neere vnto thee, least he put thee out of thy place, and make thee know (to thy cost) how true my wordes are.* And againe to the same purpose, *Salomon* saith in his Prouerbs. *When thy Enemy shall*

Prouer. 12, 25

speake softly vnto thee (that is to say, shal flatter thee, or speake thee faire) then trust him not, for then is his heart full of mischief. In all which, the holy Ghost enstructeth, and aduiseeth vs to be wary, but not malicious; to be circumspect; but not suspitious; to haue an eye to a reconciled Enemy, but not to hate or hurt him, or to reuenge olde wrongs.

Aduise giuen by the blessed Spirit.

Therefore *Salomon* counterpeyseth the fore-saide Doctrine, with precepts of compassion, and charitie towards our Enemies, saying. *When thine Enemy falleth, bee not glad thereof, and let not thine heart reioyce in his ruine; least the Lord seeing it, be displeas'd with thee, and turne his wrath from him.* And in another place. *If thine Enemy (saith he) be hungry, giue him meat, if he be thirsty, giue him drinke: For thou shalt lay coals vpon his head, and our Lord shall reward thee.* Thus farre this King and Prophet,

Prouer. 24, 17.

whose words also *Saint Paule* reciteth, and our Sauiour confirmeth by his Commaundement, saying: *Loue your Enemies, and doe good to them which hate you, &c.* And the like in sundry other places.

Pro. 25, 21, 22

Thus we see, how true Wisedome and Christian Charitie doe concurre, and how the prudence of the Serpent, is to bee ioyned with the simplicity of

Rom. 12, 14.

the Doue. In so distrusting our Enemies, that we leaue not to loue the, and yet louing them so, that we trust them no further, then may stand with our owne safety; euer fearing the mallice of mans Nature, which is so abstruse and hidden, that no man can bee assured of his best Friend, but much lesse of a reconciled enemy.

In which respect, it is Wisedome so to loue and trust our Friends, that wee remember withall; that they may become our Enemies. And therefore *Seneca* aduiseeth vs so to liue: *That our actions may bee as iustifiable before our Friendes, as before our Enemies.* To which purpose also, the Holy Ghost in the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, saith: *Ab inimicis tuis separare, & ab amicis tuis attende. Separate thy selfe from thine Enemies, and beware euen of thy Friends.* And in another place. *A filijs tuis & domesticis attende. Take heede of thine owne Children, and of thy Household-Seruants.* Which neuerthelesse, is not to bee vnderstood, as though a Man should trust no body; which were not onely a miserable case, but also extreame follie. For, as *Seneca* saith. *It is as foule a fault, and as great folly in a Man, to beleue and trust no body; as to beleue and trust euery Man.* And many (saith he) whiles they feare to be deceiued; doe teach men how to deceiue them, vrging them iustly therevnto, by suspecting them wrongfully. The which *Plutarck* also confirmeth, saying: *That Fooles for lacke of wit, to prouide other-wayes for their owne securitie; doe thinke it the safest and wisest way, to distrust all men, and so (in the ende) they procure their owne ruine.* Therefore, in this point of confidence and diffidence, the wisdome consisteth (as all vertue dooth) in the meane, to wit: that wee neither trust nor distrust all Men, neyther commit our liues and whole estates, to any Mans will and pleasure. But onely in case of necessitie, and then also, to make choise of approoued, wise, and vertuous friends; but neuer of a reconciled Enemy. And in this sence, it is well and wisely saide, that *Diffidentia est mater securitatis, Distrust is the Mother of Security.*

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But now perhaps you will aske me, how the rule of perfect Charitie, and of

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In what manner we may distrust our enemies.

How to loue our friends.

Seneca Epist. 3.

Eccle. 6. 13.

Eccle. 32, 22.

Seneca Epist. 3. No lesse folly to distrust all men, then to trust euery man.

Plutar. in Diom.

Of confidence & diffidence.

How distrust may be called the mother of security.

How distrust and suspicion may stand with true prudence and charity.

1. Cor. 13, 5. *Chris. Hom. 33. in 1. Cor. 13.*

1. Cor. 13, 5.

Chris. ubi. sup.

How suspicion is excluded from prudent circumspection.

An ancient witty English Proverb.

Chris. in Hom. de S. Susanna.

of true prudence can agree herein? Seeing Charity (as Saint Paule saith) *Non cogitat malum, Doth thinke no euill*; that is to say (as Saint Chrysostome expoundeth it) *suspecteth no euill*. How then can I distrust my reconciled enemy, but I must suspect that hee will betray mee? Whereto I answer, that two things are to be considered in Charity. The one, that it beginneth at a mans owne selfe; for no man is bound so to loue another, that hee hurt himselfe. The other, that as Saint Paule testifieth of Charitie; *Non agit perperam, It dooth nothing foolishly or unadvisedly*. For as Saint Chrysostome saith, expounding the same place; *Charitas non est temeraria, &c. Charity is not rash and heady, for it maketh a man wise, graue, and constant.*

Now then, to shew how suspicion is excluded from this prudent circumspection, which Charity admitteth: is to be vnderstood, that I may bee wary and circumspect, though I doe not suspect, but onelie vpon a generall supposition, of mans ordinary frailty and mallice, and the inscrutability of his hart.

In such a doubtfull case I may take the surest way, to wit; that although I verily hope, that my reconciled Enemy be so good and honest a Man, that there resteth no mallice in his heart towards me: Neuerthelesse, I will be so considerate and prouident, that, put the case he should haue the will for to hurt me; yet he shall not haue the oportunitie, or occasion to doe it by any Act of mine. In which sence, our English Proverbe may be well vnderstood, which saith: *If my Friend betray me, I beshrew him; but if mine enemy betray me, I beshrew my selfe*. And this aduised and wary proceeding, is so farre from the breach of any Charity: that it standeth well with all kinde of loue and friendship; betwixt Friend and Friend, Father and Child, Brother and Brother, Man and Wife, Prince and Subiect. And therefore, in respect that it seemeth to include some kinde of suspicion, and (withall) admitteth all charitable affection: it is called by some, *Beneuola suspitio, A friendlie or louing suspicion*. In which sence, Saint Chrysostome saith: *Maleuola suspitiones sunt calumniantium; beneuola suspitiones sunt*

gubernantium. Mallicious suspitions are proper to Calumniators; beneuolous and friendlie suspitions, belong vnto Gouernours.

Therefore, to returne to Duke Valentine. Hereby we may see, that he was destitute, not onely of true wisdom: but also of all wit and reasonable discourse, when he, in whose handes, no Brother or Friend could euer be secure; expected security in the handes of his Enemy, and perswaded himselfe, that Faith should bee kept with him, who had neuer kept it with any man. But because I shall haue more occasion to speake of him heereafter; I will passe to Moderne example, of mans ignorance and weaknesse, in the miserable end of Monsieur Chastillion, Admirall of France, massacred at Paris: who for the great opinion of his Wisdom and prudence, had no meane conduct of chiefe affaires in France, some yeares in the first troubles of King Charles the ninth.

After some yeares of cruell warre, betwixt the Catholiques and the Protestants; peace was concluded in the year 1570. And for the better assurance thereof, a marriage was agreed on, betwixt the King of Navarre. (afterward, the most Christian King of France) and the Sister of Charles the ninth, then King of France. All the chiefe heads and leaders of the Protestants were invited to the Court, as well for the sollemnization of the marriage, as for confirmation of the peace. Whereupon, there was held an assembly of the Protestants at Rochell, to determine: whether it were conuenient, that they should all goe to the Court, or no. And it seeming good vnto them, that some of the principall should stay at home (especially the Lord Admirall) to preuent the worst, in case there should be any double dealing on the Kinges part: The Admirall onely was of opinion, that it was conuenient they al, and especially himselfe should goe, and alleaged many reasons to that purpose. Yet finding them (neuerthelesse) vnwilling therto; he did put them in minde, how often hee had yeilded to them (contrary to his owne opinion) in diuers consultations. And therefore requested them, that they would condescend vnto him: not doub-

His returne to D. Valentine.

The great Admirall of France.

Monsieur Castillon sought his owne destruction.

The massacre of the Protestants at Paris 1570.

Boldnesse and vndaunted spirit, working against it selfe.

The error of
the pollicke
Admirall of
of France.

Eslien Pasquier
lib. 5. Epist.

The answer
of the Admi-
rall of France
to the King.

him; yea, and forced him to make a dis-
ting, but it would turne to the publike
benefit of their cause. Well, to bee
briefe, they yeilded vnto him: rather to
satisfie his importunity, then for any
liking they had therto, and so he went
with the rest: And within a few dayes
after their arriuall at *Paris*; both he and
they all (by damnable treachery) except
some two or three that escaped by
chance, were slaine by order from the
King. Who doth not here behold, an e-
uident example of mans weaknesse and
ignorance in pollicy, especial in the Ad-
mirall, who hauing lit so many occasi-
ons (before this time of his ouerthrow)
shewne himselfe so prudent and prou-
dent; that he could neither be ouercom-
by force, nor circumented by fraud: yet
had not so much wit, as to follow the
aduise of others, but thought it safe and
secure for him and them, to aduenture
(as a man may say) al their goods in one
bottome, yea, and without any necessi-
ty, to put themselues to the mercy of a
Soueraign King, whom they had high-
ly offended. And this may be the more
wondred at in the Admirall, for that in
the beginning of the second troubles, he
wisely foresaw the like danger & incon-
uenience to himselfe, and warily auoy-
ded it. For the King, hauing gotten some
inckling of new broyles intended, and
fearing most the Admirall, in respect of
his great iudgement and experience,
both in matters of war and peace: sent
vnto him *Monsieur du Tore* his Cozin,
to aduertise him that he had great and
important affaires to communicate
with him, wherein hee would gladlie
haue his aduise, and therefore desired
him to repaire to the Court with speed.
The Admirall hearing the message, and
suspecting (as it should seeme) that the
King meant no good towards him: said
to *Monsieur du Tore*, that he should tell
the King from him; *That there were no
Count Egmontes in France.* Meaning, that
he would not so easily suffer his head to
be cut off, as *Count Egmonte* had done
lately before in *Flanders*; and this was
all the answer hee would giue him.
Whereby it appeareth, how circum-
spect and suspicious he was of the king,
when (as yet) he had giuen him far lesse
cause of offence, then afterwards, when
he had the second time rebelled against

honorable peace. And yet notwithstanding,
he could not be dissuaded, from
putting himselfe, and all the rest of his
friends into his hands. So blinde is the
wisedome and pollicy of man, when
God determineth to punnish him: for
then, the first blow that God common-
ly giueth him, is in the braine, whereby
he taketh from him his iudgement, that
he may run headlong vpon his own ru-
ine. And as the Psalmist saith of vngod-
ly men: *That they are ouer-taken in the
craftie wilines; which they themselues haue
devised and imagined.*

Now, it shall not be amisse to consi-
der here, by occasion of the former ex-
amples; whether the most valiant, pru-
dent, and pious Emperour *Charles* the
fift, committed an error or no, when
(after many yeares warre, betwixt him
and *Frances*, the first of that name, king
of France, and the said Kings disgrace at
Pavia, and his imprisonment in *Spaine*)
he passed notwithstanding thorough
Fraunce, vpon a safe conduct giuen by
the King, to giue remedy to the tumults
lately before raised in *Gant*. Wherein,
the good successe, as wel of his safe pas-
sage, as of the speedy pacification of
those troubles, may seem to be no small
Argument of his prudent designment.
Neuerthelesse, weighing the matter ac-
cording to reason of State, and not ac-
cording to the successe (which depen-
ding wholly on the hand of God, is ma-
ny times good and fortunate, though
the counsell and designment be impru-
dent) I cannot approue his resoluti-
on therein, for the reasons before de-
clared, and the extreame danger that he
exposed himselfe vnto, and the small
profit he could expect to receiue there-
by; in comparison of the dammage that
might haue succeeded to him and his e-
state, if he had bin made away, or detai-
ned. For, although it imported him ve-
ry much, presently to quench that fire
kindled in *Flanders*, before it should
grow to a greater combustion: yet the
danger thereof was so great, as would
haue bene in the inconuenience of his
death or imprisonment, if it should
haue chanced.

For, the reuolt of the Country might
haue bene remedied, either by force, or
perhaps by faire means, as long as hee
had life and liberty: but the other had
bene

The first blow
that GOD
giueth to
a wicked man
when hee will
destroy him,
is in the brain

Psalme 10. 2.

The passage
of Charles the
fift thorow
France into
Flanders.

*Sirius in Com-
mentariis rerum
in orbe gestarum.
Anno. 1539.*

Consideratio
according to
State.

Quenching
the fire be-
gun in *Flan-
ders*.

Liberty and
life are the
assistants of
many great
occasions.

beene remedilasse, and the great detri-
 ment that could befall him, and there-
 fore not to be aduentured vpon, but on-
 ly when it could not be auoided. And
 this (no doubt) was his owne opinion
 when he came into *France*, being admo-
 nished of his great danger, not onely by
 his Sister, then *Queene of France*: but
 also (as some men thinke) by the Kings
 owne Son the *Dolphin*, who, in respect
 of the good affection he did beare him,
 from the time that he had been hostage
 for his Father in *Spaine*; cast himselfe vp
 behind the Emperour on his Horse, at
 his arriual before he alighted, and clap-
 ping him vpon the shoulder (vnder co-
 lour to giue him a familiar welcome)
 said openly and merrily to him; *Yield thy
 selfe Emperour*: but after told him secret-
 ly in his eare, of the Counsels resoluti-
 on to stay him. Whereupon, the Em-
 perour thinking it necessary to gaine
Madame d'Estampes (who was greatlie
 fauoured by the King, and thought to
 be his Enemy) took occasion as he was
 talking with her, to let fall before her a
 rich Diamond, as it were by chance, and
 when she in courtesie tooke it vp to re-
 store it vnto him: he would not receiue
 it againe at her handes, but entreated
 her to accept it as his giuft. Whereby
 (as also by his good perswasions) it was
 thought hee procured her friendship,
 which concurring with the endeauors
 of his Sister the *Queene of France*, and
 his owne good dilligences done with
 diuers of his Counsell; was thought to
 facilitate his escape.

But who, or whatsoeuer was the
 meanes thereof, it is not to be doubted;
 but that it proceeded principally, from
 the providence and mercy of Almightie
 God towards him. To which pur-
 pose it is to be considered, that it was
 reported, not onely by his owne Ser-
 uants; but also by the Ambassadors of
Flanders, who attended vpon him in all
 that iourney: that hee spent two or
 three houres euery night in prayer on
 his knees, and as much euery morning
 secretly in his Chamber.

In regard whereof, and of the great
 seruice he had done, and was to doe to
 Gods Church: no doubt but God did
 especially fauour and protect him.
 Wherof also it pleased his Diuine Ma-

iestly also to giue publike testimony, by
 deliuering him twice (while he was in
France) from euident daunger of death.
 One time, from stifeling in a smoake,
 that vpon a sudden was raised (in great
 aboundance) by an arteficiall fire, vpon
 a staire as he was going from his cham-
 ber. The other time, from the fall of a
 great boord, that did light (some part of
 it) vpon his head, and brake it. And al-
 though it might haue been conceiued,
 that these thinges proceeded of some
 practise (in which respect, the King
 would haue punnished the Authours
 thereof with death, for better satisfac-
 tion of the Emperour;) yet hee would
 not suffer it, but obtained their par-
 dons.

By these daungers, and the happy es-
 capes of the Emperour (inferiour in
 wisdome to no Prince in his time)
 three thinges may euidently be gathe-
 red. The first, his error; the second,
 the infirmity and weakenesse of mans
 wit; the third, Gods most mercifull and
 prouident care, in the preseruati-
 on of his Seruants, whom he suffereth some-
 time to erre, and to fall into great diffi-
 culties and dangers: partly for their hu-
 miliati-
 on, and to exercise their Faith;
 patience & confidence in him, for their
 greater good; and partly to make mani-
 fest, as well to themselues, as to all o-
 thers, the louing care which he hath of
 them. And that, as the Psalmist saith;
*Salus iustorum à Domino, & protector eo-
 rum in tempore tribulationis; The saluati-
 on of the righteous commeth of the Lord,
 and he is their Protector in the time of trou-
 ble.* Heere then may all Princes learne
 of this prudent and pious Emperour,
 what is their best remedy in like cases of
 danger, to wit: to haue recourse (as he
 had) to Almighty God, and to craue
 his assistance, saying with the worthy
 King and Prophet; *Oculi mei semper ad
 Dominum quoniam ipse euellet de laqueo
 pedes meos: Mine eyes are euer looking vn-
 to the Lord, for he will deliuer my feet out
 of the snare.*

The danger
 that Charles
 the first esca-
 ped in passing
 thorow
France.
Surius ibidem.

*Madame d'
 Estampes* the
 Kings fauo-
 rite.

The great pi-
 ery and deu-
 tion of the
 Emperour
Charls the first.
Surius ibidem.

The Empe-
 rors admira-
 ble escape
 twice from
 death.
Surius ibidem.

The Empe-
 ror inferiour
 in wisdome
 to no Prince
 in his time.

Why God suf-
 fereth his ser-
 uants to fall
 into dangers.

Psal. 37:40.

Psalme 25:14

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ Of Errors committed by whole Senates, namely of Rome and Venice, &c.



Hat maruaile is it, that particular men (bee they neuer so wise) are overseen in matters of State: seeing that the most wise and grauest Senates, haue also erred therein many times? Whereof I will (for breuities sake) alleadge onely three or foure examples. Cicero reporteth, that the Senate of Rome hauing taken great summes of Money, of certaine tributarie Citties, to make them free: forced them afterward to pay their old tribute, without restoring them the Mony that they had paid for their freedom. Which he saith, was *Turpe imperio*, A shame to their Empire. *Piratorum enim (saith he) melior fuit fides, quam Senatus: For the Faith of Pirats, was better then the Faith of the Senate.* This then being so great a fraud, that (in any well-gouerned Common-wealth) it could not passe vnpunished in priuate men: must needs be a foule and shamefull fault in a whole Senate, not onely for the In-justice of the fact; but also for the errour they committed in gouernment, to wit; in giuing to their Subjects, an example of fraudulent and deceitfull dealing, which being authorised (as it were) by their publike Act, would the more easily insinuate it selfe into the Common-wealth, euen to the great detriment thereof. To which purpose, Cicero saith: *Princes and Gouernours, when they offend, doe not onely endamage the Common-wealth, in that they are corrupted themselues; but also, in that they corrupt others, and hurt more by their euill example, then by the offence it selfe.*

Seeing then nothing can bee more pernicious to any State, then that fraud and In-justice should haue course therein (for, as Cicero saith, *Faith is the foundation of Justice, and Justice the stay of State*) the Romaine Senate did erre most absurdly, in opening the gap to all kind of

Cicero. in lib. 3. de Officijs.

An errour of the Senate of Rome.

A whole Senates errour exceedeth that of any priuate man.

Cicero. in lib. 5. de Legibus.

Cicero. in lib. de Officijs 2. et 2.

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cozenage in the Common-wealth, by their owne bad example. Besides the losse of reputation, which must needs follow thereon to their Empire, as well with their owne Subjects, as also with their Friends and Confederats. A thing so daungerous to State, that the same Senate (in former times beeing better aduised) did make restitution and reparation of like wronges, to recouer credite with their Friends and Confederates. And therefore they restored to the *Ardeatines*, a piece of Land which the people of Rome (against all reason and equity) adiuaged and had taken to themselues some yeares before, when the said *Ardeatines*, and the *Aricinians* being in controuersy for that land; had remitted themselues and their cause to their iudgement.

Likewise at other times, the Senate resolved to deliuer most notable Men to their enemies; rather then to infringe Iustice, and incurre the infamie of fraud and deceit. In which respect, *T. Verturius*, & *Spurius Posthumus*, both of them Consuls, and *T. Mutius*, & *Quintus Aemilius*, Tribunes of the people, were deliuered Prisoners to the *Samnites*: rather then the Senate would ratifie the peace they had made with the. Besides that, the famous Consull, *M. Attilius Regulus*, being taken Prisoner in *Affricke*, and dismissed vpon condition, that the Prisoners of the *Carthaginians* should also be deliuered: was (by his owne motion) sent back by the Senate; because they neither thought good to deliuer the Prisoners, nor yet to loose their credite and reputation of Iustice; by recouery of their Consull, contrarie to the condition.

But perhaps you will say, that the error which I here reprove, was committed when the Common-wealth was growne to corruption, and declined from the integrity of vertue and Iustice, wherein it flourished in former times. Therefore, let vs consider the same common-wealth in her purity, I meane in her beginning, about 120. yeares after the expulsion of the Kings. For although the Senate did (at that time) giue many notable examples of singuler prouidence and exact Iustice: yet it failed sometimes in both, to the great damage of the State.

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Restitution made by the Senate of Rome by the *Ardeatines*.

Tit. Livi. Dec. 1. Lib. 4. Idem. Dec. 1. Lib. 3.

The great care that the Romains had of their credit & reputation.

Cicero in lib. 3. de Officijs.

Romes Common-wealth growne to corruption.

Another error of the Romaine Senate.

When *Brennos* the Brittain (as some say) being Captaine of the *Gauls* that passed into *Italy*, besiedged a Towne called *Clusium*, beyond the *Alpes*, and demanded of the Inhabitants some part of their Territory: the *Clusians* finding themselvs too weake to resist them, craued succour of the *Romaines*, who sent Ambassadors to treate peaceably with the *Gauls* in their behalfe.

The sledge of *Clusium* by the *Gauls*.

During which treaty and siege, there chanced to passe some acte of Hostilitie, betwixt the *Gauls* & the *Clusians*, wherein the *Gauls* perceiued, that the Roman Ambassadors (contrary to the Lawe of Armes) had borne armes against them, and killed a principal personage of theirs. Whereupon, they presently sent to *Rome*, to enquire the *Romaines* to punish their Ambassadors, for reparation of the wrong which they had done them. But the Senators, although (as *Liuy* confesseth) they knew well enough, that the *Gauls* demanded no more then was reasonable: yet they were partly so partiall in behalfe of the Ambassadors; and partly so confident of their owne forces, that they not only refused to do them Iustice, but also made the same Ambassadors generals of an Army, to be sent in succour of the *Clusians*.

Tit. *Liuius* in Dec. 1. Lib. 5.

Great Injustice done by the *Romaines*.

Vppon the knowledge whereof, the *Gauls* were incensed with such fury, that calling God and man to witness of the wrong, they presently raised their sledge from *Clusium*, and went directlie in all hast to *Rome*, and ouerthrowing (by the way) the Armie of the *Romaines*, they entered the Cittie, sacked, spoiled, and burnt it, with the greatest damage & disgrace to their state, that euer the *Romans* receiued, in the space of aboue 1100. yeares after that *Rome* was built, I mean, vntill the first sacke thereof by the *Goths*.

Rome sacked and spoyled by the *Gauls*.

Gods iudgement inflicted on the *Romaines*, for their iniustice and pride.

The which may be ascribed, partly to Gods iust Iudgement, in punishing their Iniustice; and partly to their error, in that they so much contemned, so huge an army of so valiant people, as to exasperate them by open iniuries, and to draw them vpon themselues with a redoubled furie. Whereas (in all reason of State) they should haue sought to pacify and diuert them by all conuenient meanes; considering, he is no Wiseman that feareth not the doubtfull euent of warre, especially

at home, where the victorie of an enemy is most dangerous, and in case most of all, where the whole State was to bee aduentured, against an out-ragious multitude of desperate Vagabonds, that hadde nothing to loose. So that this error, was no lesse costly to the Common-wealth, then inexcusable in the Senate.

A despeerat hazard to fight against a beggerly multitude.

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Heere to I might adde diuers examples of the Senate of *Venice*, to the which, *Guicciardine* saith: *It is fatall some yeares to be deceiued diuers times.* But two examples shall suffice. The first may bee their resolution, to make League with *Lewes* the twelth, King of *France*, to assilt him in the Conquest of *Millaine*, against *Lodouico Sforza*, Duke thereof, following the opinion of *Antonius Grimanni*, which *Guicciardine* saith, proceeded partly of passion, and partly of desire to enlarge their Dominions, by ioyning *Cremona* to the rest of their States in *Italy*: notwithstanding, that *Marchio Trenisano*, had dissuaded the same, with most strong and pregnant reasons, representing vnto them (by examples then fresh in memory) how dangerous it would be for them, to bring the *French* into *Italy*, & to haue so potent a neighbor, in the state of *Millaine*, as a King of *France*, whereof they sawe the effect shortly after, when King *Lewes* hadde it in possession. For then were they in such feares of his forces, as they durst deny him nothing that hee demanded of them, as *Guicciardine* noteth; in their deliuering of the Cardinall *Ascanius*, Brother vnto Duke *Lodouico*, and Viscount *Baptista*, and diuers other Noblemen of *Millaine*, who had put themselues in their protection; vppon their publick safe conduct, with expresse mention of safegard against the *French*.

Guic. Hist. lib. 4

Ibid. lib. 4. hist.

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The error of the *Venetians* in making league with *Lewes* the 12. K. of *France*.

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Guic. lib. 4 in fine.

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Another error of theirs, more dangerous and dammageable to them then the former, was their great ouer-sight, as well in their vnadvised proceedinges, towards their Confederate and Friend, *Frances* the first of that name, King of *France*, as also in the iniuries which they did to the Emperour *Maximilian*; and to the Pope, whereby they droue them all (that before were deuided) to vnite themselues with the King of *Castile*, and diuers other Princes, against them in the league of *Cambray*. And neuerthelesse, when the Pope demanded of them the restitution of a Towne or two of his, vpon condition,

Guicciard. lib. 8. iunto.

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The error of the *Venetians* in ioyning with K. *Frances* of *France*. Anno 1508.

dition, not to enter into that league, nor to ratifie the same, but rather to procure the dissolution thereof, they refused it by the perswasion of *Dominicus Treuisano*, Procurator of Saint *Markes*, though other of the Graue and Wifest Senators, were of contrary opinion.

Therefore, the yssue of the matter was, that all these Princes (ioyning their forces together, according vnto their agreement) spoyled them of all their possessions in *Italy*, and diuided the same amongst themselves. And had prosecuted their victory further, if the Pope had not beene a mediator for them, and procured their peace; vpon their humble submission to the Emperour, whome they most wronged.

Seeing then, these famous and renowned Senates, consisting of so manie wise and Graue men, haue committed such grosse errors, to their owne great preiudice and danger of their States, what assurance can any man haue, of mans wit, plots, and designments, if so bee he confide either in himselfe alone, or in the only counsell and iudgement of man. How vngratefull & simple then are those men, that presume so farte on their owne wits and sufficiency; that neither for their priuate, nor for their publicke affayres, they make any account at all of Gods helpe and assistance? Vngratefull, I say, for that hauing good parts and Talents, and many temporall blessings, which nature and reason teacheth them, not to come of their owne purchase and prouision, but of the Liberality and bountie of Almighty God, they do neuertheless, so admire the giift, that they forget the giuer, and so enioy the benefite, that they do not so much as thanke him that bestowed it vpon them; yea, and in steade of thanks, praise, honor, and seruice which they owe him, do render him contempt, dishonor, and no seruice at all. And therefore no meruaile, if Almighty God in punishment of so great ingratitude, do giue them ouer sometime to a reprobate sence, to the end, that as they offend him by an ouer-weening of their owne Wisdome, so they may be punished, yea, and perish by their owne folly. This ingratitude of man, Saint *Augustine* worthilie calleth, *The roote of ail spirituall Euill, the drie and burning Winde that blasteth al our Corne, and stoppeth vp the Fountaine*

The issue and clusio against the *Venetians*, to their great losse.

A consideration of mans imbecility, & weaknesse of wit, and of the neede he hath of Gods direction.

The ingratitude of such as do not acknowledge the bountie of God towards them.

Proud men giuen ouer to a Reprobate sence.

Aug. in l. Soliloq

of Gods mercy towards vs.

But heerein appeareth not onely the ingratitude, but also the extreame follie of such men (be they accounted neuer so wise) seeing that their weaknesse and imbecility is so manifest, euen to themselves if they list to consider it, that they may easily perceiue, that they are not absolute of themselves, but do depend vpon an higher power. And yet neuertheless, they are so vnadvised, as to cast themselves into the innumerable dangers & difficulties of this Worlde, without any regard, yea with contempt and offence of him, on whome they depend, and who can direct & guide them aright. Wherein they may be compared vnto some simple and selfe-willed fellow, that will needs put himselfe to Sea in a terrible tempest, without a Pilot, or vndertake a iourney thorough a dangerous desert in a darke Night, either without a guide; or els, hauing a deere and louing friend to directe him, vseth him so vnkindly and contemptuously by the way, that he forceth him to forsake him in the midst of the Wildernesse, and so perisheth worthily, thorough his owne folly and ingratitude.

Therefore, I conclide with these notable words of Saint *Augustine*, speaking to man: Thou receiuest (sayth he) the benefite, and doost not acknowledge the author thereof. The giift is manifest, and though the giuer bee hidden, yet thine owne reason may teach thee, that it is not thy due, but the giift of another. And therefore, whosoever the giuer bee, thou maist thinke, that as he hath bestowed exceeding much vpon thee, so hee hath loued thee much, seeing hee would giue thee so much. And this being so, what extreame folly is it, not to seeke and desire the loue of such a potent and kind louer? And what peruerse ingratitude and impiety is it, not to loue one that loueth thee so exceedingly? If then, thou Loue and esteeme his giifts, loue him that bestowed them vpon thee, and loue them as things that are subiect vnto thee, and as things that should serue thee, as pledges of thy Spouse, as giifts of thy Friend, as benefites of thy Lord; & so, as thou maist euer be mindfull, how much thou art his debter; yea, and loue his giiftes, not for themselves, but for his sake, not together with him, but for him. And lastly, loue them so, that thou maist loue him by them,

The extreame folly of such men as trust whollie in themselves.

An apt comparison of wilful minded men.

Aug. in Lib. 4. Meditat.

A notable discourse of S. *Augustine* concerning the ingratitude of man towards God.

them, and about them. Thus saith this Famous and Learned Father, which I wish all men would print in their hearts, and practise in their actions. So shoulde their Counfels and deliberations be free from error, and their actions from ill successe, which manie times is not so properly the fruite of mans infirmitie, as a punishment of God for presumptuous sinne, as may appeare by the examples already alledged.

CHAP. XIX.

At what time publicke and Generall Counfelles beganne to bee holden: And who was the first Byshop or Pope that Celebrated a Counfel.



He Hebrewes and other Nations had an ancient custome, to hold Counfels, & to deliberate in them on such matters as they haddé to deale withall. And by the Testimony of Josephus, it appeareth that Moyses and Josuah, assembling the people oftentimes together, were likewise accustomed so to do.

The like vse was among the Egyptians and Persians, according as Herodotus reporteth. So amongst the Apostles assembled in one place, when they receiued Matthias into the number of the cleauen, when they elected seuen deacons; when by the Authority of S. Peter and S. James, it was ordained, that the conuerted Gentiles should not bee charged with the burthen of Moyses Law. But only that they should abstaine from the foyle of Idols, Whoredome, strangled Meats, and from Blood. For, as then the Synod, as well of the Apostles, as of the Priests and Elders had beene assembled, as Saint Luke testifieth in the Actes of the Apostles, Writing there in the same manner.

Now, some of the Sect of the Pharisees, which had belceued, raised vp themselves, saying; that they ought to be circumcised, and commanded them to keep

the Law of Moyses: whereupon, the Apostles and Elders met together, to take order in this businesse. So that heereby it is easie to iudge, from whence proceeded the Institution of holding Counfells.

The first Counfell that was celebrated in Rome, is saide to be when Cornelius was Byshop: wherein were assembled threescore Byshops, as many Priests, and many Deacons; and there the Nouatian Heresie was condemned.

We read also in Eusebius, that the Fathers assembled themselves two seuerall times in Antioche; the first, in the time of Dionisius; and the other, of Faelix, Popes, at the encountering of Paulus Samosatenus, Byshop of the sayde Cittie, who being a man of insupportable arrogancie, when he was first created Bishop, beganne to walke abroad in the Fieldes, accompanied with a great number of Soldiers, both before and behinde him, reading and speaking all the way with woonderfull insolence; thorough which audacious pride, Christian Religion grew into much contempt amongst manie.

I think (sayth Polydore Virgil) that our Byshops in these dayes, Learned of this Hereticke, the order of their pomps, and the traines which they leade with them. Do ye not see some of them, what Harquebushiers they haue marching before them, and what a crue of Swashi-bucklers follow them, horrible blasphemers of the name of God? And do ye not see the Bishops themselves, in stead of preaching to their Diocesians, seeke what meanes they may to prolong them in War and strifes? O times! O manners! We haue good occasion to praise God, who hath graciously prouided vs of so Learned, Venerable, Verruous, and Worthie an Arch-Bishop, as is my Lorde of Epimac; who like a good Prelate, and vigilant Pastor, administreth the spirituall foode of the soule, which is the word of God; and preacheth often in his Church, and so Diuinely, as all Learned people are raiused with admiration. God continue him in so holy and good an Office, and defend him from all incomberances.

Well, in the end, Paulus Samosatenus who denied two Natures to bee in Iesus Christ, and affirmed him to be man only, was condemned in this Counsell. But the.

Whence holding Counfells first proceeded.

The first Counsell at Rome.

Two Counfells holden at Antioche.

Paulus Samosatenus Bishop of Antioche.

The words of Polydore Virgil.

Paulus Samosatenus his heretical opinion.

The Authors charitable aduise.

Counfels amongst the Iewes and other Nations.

The Egyptians and Persians. Acts 1, 26. Acts 6, 3.

The conuerted Gentile, freed from the Lawe of Moyses.

Liberty granted for Christian religion and the first publicke General counsel

The Counsel at Constantinople.

The Counsel of Ephesus.

The Council of Chalcedon.

The 4. chiefe general counfels.

S. Gregories words of the foure Counfels.

The 5. Counsell at Constantinople.

the Romaine Emperors being (as then.) Maisters of all the World; were enemies to the Name of Christians: so that we must needs thinke, that those Counselles were then rather priuate, then publicke, vntill the time of Constantine, who (by Gods omnipotent permission) embraced the Holy Faith; and then permitted publicke discoursing, concerning the points of Christian Religion. So that by Commission from Constantine, the Counsell of Nice in Bythiniq; was held in the yeare, 324. and it was the first, and (before all other) solemnly celebrated, and in publicke, wherein 318. Byshops gaue their assistance, and (with common consent) declared Arius to be conuincd of Heresie.

Afterwards, in the time of Pope Damasus, the Counsell was holden at Constantinople, where Macedonius and Eudoxus, that denied the Holy-Ghost to be God, were both condemned. The Counsell of Ephesus, is saide to be held in the time of Celestine the first; and therein was condemned Nestorius, Byshop of Constantinople, who saide; That the blessed Virgin Marie was the Mother of Christ as man, and not as God.

The Council of Chalcedon, is reputed to be holden in the time of Leo the first, and there the Heresy of Eutichus, was examined. This man was an Abbot of Constantinople. & affirmed, that Iesus Christ after he had taken on him humane flesh, was not of two Natures, but consented to his Diuine Nature only. These were the foure Sacred Counfels, that augmented and encreased Christian Religion; and which S. Gregory reputed worthy to be receiued, saying; Euen as I confesse to haue receiued, and holde in reuerence the foure Bookes of Holy-Gospel, so do I these foure Counfels; I imbrace them with all my heart, and I will keepe them by most entire approbation, because the foundation of Faith is builded on them, as on a foure cornerd stone, and the rule of common life and action (howsoeuer it be) consisteth in them.

The fift Counsell was assembled at Constantinople, in the time of Pope Vigilius, and therein were debated and confuted, the impious errors of Theodorus, who maintained; That the Virgin Mary was deliuered of Christ, as man only, & not as God and man. Therefore in this

Councell was concluded, that the Mother of Christ should be called *THEOTOKOS*, Mother of God. Constantine the Emperour, fourth of that name, caused the sixt Councell to be holden at Constantinople, at the humble entreaty of Pope Agathon, which was holden by 289. Byshops; and therein was reprov'd *Mascharius* Byshop of Antioche, who iudged one onelie will and operation to bee in Iesus Christ. Of this sixt Counsell, *Beda* discourseth verie amply, in the Booke which hee wrote of Times. Many other Councelles were held in sundry places, as are set down by *Gratian* in his *Decretales*, which I silently ouerpasse, because I would not bee tedious to the Reader.

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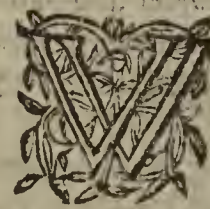
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CHAP. XX.

Heere ensueth summarily, that which was decreed in the Council of Nice, held by Constantine the Great; in the yeare, 325. to wit; what was to bee beleueed concerning the blessed Trinitie. As it appeareth in the Ecclesiastical History, the tenth Booke, and sixt Chapter.



WE beleue in God the Father Almighty, Creator of all things, as wel visible as inuisible. And in our Lord Iesus Christ, the only Sonne of God, borne and begotten of him: that is to say, of his proper substance, and therefore God of God, Light of Light, very God of verie God, borne, and not made of the same substance of the Father. By which Sonne, were all thinges made, as well in Heauen as in earth, and among vs men. Who also for the loue of vs men, and for our saluation, descended from the Heauens, and tooke humane flesh on him, and made himself man. And so he suffered death and passion, and afterward rose againe the thirde day. Afterward, he ascended vppe into Heauen; and finally shall come to iudge the liuing and the dead. We beleue also in the Holy-Ghost. And all such as say, that the saide Sonne was in any time when he was not, and was not before hee was born on earth, and that he was created

The 6. Counsell at Constantinople.

Beda on this sixt Counsell, in lib. de Temp.

The constant Faith of the Fathers assembled in the Counsell of Nice.

ted of nothing, or of any other substance whatsoeuer, then only of the Father; or, that hee is the Sonne of God, but Conuertible and mutable: the holye Catholicke and Apostolicke Church, doth excommunicate and accurse them.

CHAP. XXI.

That which was Concluded, Decreed, and Ordained, in the Counsell holden at Rome, in the year, 376. against Apollinarius, Concerning what ought to be beleued of the Sacred Trinity, contained in the Tripartite History.



Ecause, that after the Councell of Nice, such errors hapned, as some haue presumed to say, with a prophane and vnhalloved mouth, that the Holy-Ghost was made by the Sonne: we Curse and Excommunicate all such, as doo not confesse, and frelie preach the Holy-ghost to be of one selfesame substance and power with the Father and Sonne.

Likewise, we curffe such, as following the error of Sabellius, doo say; That the Father and the Sonne are both one, and the same thing.

We Curse Arrius and Eunomius, who by semblable impietie, albeit differing in words, do affirme the Son and the Holyghost to be creatures.

We Curse the Macedonians, who polluted from the Roote of Arrianisme, haue changed not the impietie, but the name.

We excommunicate Photinus, who renewing the Heresie of Ebion, confeseth our Lord Iesus Christ, to be but only borne of the Virgin Mary.

We excommunicate likewise all such, as confesse two Sonnes, one before the World, and the other after the incarnation of flesh of the Virgin.

We excommunicate all such; as for the reasonable soule, do affirme, that the word diuine, was conuerted into humain flesh.

If any one doo not confesse, that the

Father hath euermore been, and the son, and the blessed Spirit, let him be excommunicated.

If any one do not say and confesse the Son to be truly borne of the Father, that is to say of the Diuine substance, let him be excommunicated.

If any one do not say and confesse the Sonne to bee very God, as the Father is very God, and that he can do all thinges, and knoweth all things, and that he is equal with the Father, let him be excommunicated.

If any one shall say, that the Son of God hauing humane flesh, when hee was on earth, was not at all in Heauen, nor with the Father, let him bee excommunicated.

If any one shall say, that the Sonne of God, God himselte, hath endured in his pation the paine of the Crosse, and not the flesh with the soule, whereby he was cloathed in the forme of a seruant, which hee tooke vppon him, as the holy Scripture sayeth: Let him bee excommunicated.

If any one do not say and confesse, that in the flesh which hee tooke on him, hee sitteth on the right hand of the Father, & wherewith also he shal com to iudge the liuing and the dead: let him bee excommunicated.

If any one do not say and confesse the Holyghost to bee truly and properly of the Father, euen as the Sonne of the Diuine substance, and the worde Diuine to bee God, let him bee excommunicated.

If any one doo not say and confesse, that the Holy-ghost can doe all thinges; and that he is in all things, as the Father and the Sonne, let him bee excommunicated.

If any one shall not say and confesse, the Father to haue done all by the Sonne and the Holy-Ghost, that is to say, all things visible and inuisible, let him bee excommunicated.

If any one shall not say and confesse, one selfesame Deity of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy-Ghost, one selfesame Power, Diuinity, Vertue, and one selfesame Glory, Dominion, Empire; one selfesame will and veritie, let him be excommunicated.

If any one shall nor say and confesse, the three persons to bee true, of the Father;

Father, Son, & Holyghost.

The Son very God.

Denial of the Godhead.

The suffering of Christ.

The humanity of Christ.

The Holy-Ghost.

The power of the Holighost

The Deity of the 3. persons.

The Reason of this Counsels assembly at Rome.

Sabellius.

Arrius and Eunomius.

Photinus.

Two Sonnes.

The word diuine.

The equalitie
of the three
persons.

ther, of the Son, and of the Holy-ghost,
equall, alwayes liuing, containing all
things visible & inuisible, doing all thin-
ges, iudging all things, Viuifying all
things, creating al things, and fairing all
things : Let him bee Excommunicat-
ed.

Adoration of
the holighost.

If any one shall not say and confesse,
that the Holy-ghost ought to bee Wor-
shipped of all Creatures, euen as the
Father and the Son: let him bee excom-
municated.

Of despising
the holighost.

If any one doo thinke well of the Fa-
ther, and of the Sonne, but neither be-
leeueth, nor thinketh well of the Holy-
Ghost, he is an Hereticke. For all He-
retickes, which conceite not well of the
Sonne and Holy-Ghost, are conuincd
of incredulitie with the Iewes and Pa-
gans.

CHAP. XXII.

*The Confession of a Christian, to the Con-
futation of all Atheistes, Heretiques,
&c.*

Whosoever
shall refuse to
make this
confession, is
worthy to be
excommuni-
cated and ac-
curfed.



Confesse in trueth of
heart, purely and intire-
ly; that Iesus Christ our
Lord, is truly God and
man; and that al his hea-
uenly Doctrine, contai-
neth such a firme and assured Veritie, as
no one point thereof cannot bee decei-
ued. Moreouer, that the holy Church
is so assuredly grounded on the firme
Rocke, that the Gates of hell can haue
no power against it. That it is he, who
is our mouth, whereby wee speake to the
Father: Our eye, whereby wee see the
Father: Our right hand, whereby we of-
fer to the Father. The Glasse without
staine or spotte, to giue vs knowledge of
our pollutions. The Lauer or cleare
Fountaine, to wash and make vs cleane.
And the infinite Treasure, to make satisf-
faction to all our Creditors. In whom,
and by whome, the Diuine Iustice hath
beene fully answered, for the sinnes of al
them that haue beene, are, and shalbe to
the consummation of the world.

Of the holic
Catholicke &
Apostolicke
Church.

Of Iesus
Christ, and
what he is to
a Christian
loule.

All my hope, refuge, health, life, and
resurrection, is in the death of him. My
merite is his mercie; and therefore, I be-
leeue and confesse his condemnation, to
be my absolution; his crucifying, to bee
my deliuerance; his descending into hel,
my mounting vp to Heauen; his death,
my life; his obedience, our plenary satis-
factions.

10 That by his intercessions, our Prayers
are heard. That hee is our Protectour,
and faithfull defender. And that he onlie
beganne and perfected in vs, life truelie
happie and euerlasting. That his blood
is our Washing, whereby we are clean-
sed, purified, and made White. And
that hee hath purchased for vs, Righte-
ousnesse and life by his resurrection. And
whosoever shall not do him this honour,
20 to beleue, that hee shall bee Iustified
and Sanctified, by his Death, Worde,
and Sacraments, let him for euer bee ac-
curfed.

CHAP. XXIII.

30 *A Summary and brieft Discourse against
Atheists, Written upon occasion of the
Authors Conference with an Atheist.*



Onuersing one day with an
Atheist, who vsed to haunt
neere the place of my aby-
ding, hee fully acquainted
mee with his Wicked and
40 abhorrible opinions, such and the like
as Epicurus, Democritus, and others had
maintained; and whereof some in these
Moderne times, being transported with
vanity of spirit, are not ashamed to make
bolde profession. Which beeing so
vile, and without any foundation or rea-
son, I forbear to declare them, saue
onely some few in the end of the succee-
ding Chapter. For, they are woorse
50 (without comparison) then those of all
the Heretiques, that haue beene since
our Sauior Iesus Christ, euen to this in-
stant.

The Authours whereof, were Iudas
and Theudas Magitians. The Symonians,
Menandrians, Ebionites, Cherinthians,
Nycholattanes, Saturnians, Carpocratians,
Gnosti-

Epicurus, De-
mocritus, and
other Atheists

The names of the Sects and Heresies, which have bin since the time of Iesus christ vntil this present.

Gnosticians, Valentiniens, Marcionites, Cleobians, Dorothians, Gorthemians, Masubertians, Encratites, Basilides, Cataphrizes, Arabes, Helchesaites, Novatians, Cuthares, Sabellians, Manicheans, Arrians, Pelagians, Helonitians, Hermogenians, Reputians, Quintillians, Colliridians, Priscillians, Hemerobaptists, Anachropomorphits, Chilliasts or Millenarians, Masseians, Dimocrites, Garastians, Paterons, Poore Men of Lyons, Arnoldists, Speronists, Fraticelles, Adamites, Orebiters, Taborites, Noetians, Hydroparastates, Artotyrites, Ptholemaits, Staroicques, Phibionites, Helionites, Heracleonites, Anticades, Perades, Phrygiens, Hierachites, Colarbasians, Docetes, Borborians, Zacheans, Naasarians, Phenyonitians, Sethrians, Caymians, Codians, Ophites, Seuerians, Paulianists, Catabaptists, Arbigeois, Archontiques, Hierarchites, Seclentians, Felicians, Nestorians, Jacobitians, Monothelitans. The Acephalick Sects of Barcotabas, Cerdon, Tatian, Redon, Apelles, Basilicus, Sirenius, Montanus, Theodorus, Paulus Samosatenuus, Ogdoades, Artemon, Natalis, Galien, Berillus, Nepos, Liberius, Macedoncus, Heluidius, Ethicianus, Hermogenes, Epiphanes, Pontinus, Sincrus, Prepon, Pithon, Cleobulus, Praxeas, Asclepiodotus, Hermophilus, Apolonides, Themison, Theodotus, Florinus, Blastus, Isidorus, Secundus, Portitus, Bardesianus, Symmachus, Theodotion, Pope Ione, Lucius, Apolinarius, Acatius, Donatus, Olimpius, Adimantius, Alogios, Bertoldus, Balsardus the Phylosopher, Americke, Guillaume of Holy Lone, Hermand, Durcine, Quintinists, Anabaptists, Seuerists, Campanistes, and an infinite number more, which are amply declared in the Holye Councils, Canons, and Decretales, and in the Ecclesiasticall History of Eusebius the Casarian, Platina, Saint Augustin, and others.

Mahomet's horrible Sect beyond all the other Hereticke.

But the verie greatest Sect, the vilest and most Wicked of all, is that of the false seducing Prophet, which hath suborned, wasted, and lost more then halfe the world. He took his Alchoran, Arsurcan, Law, Collections, and Preceptes, out of the Heresies of all the Hereticke before named; but most principaly aided himselfe with the Olde and Newe Testaments, and some Visions and Interpretations, which he said were declared to him by the Aungell Gabriell. And yet this Wretch, as wicked as he was, did neuer-

theless confesse, that there was one only God, and that Iesus Christ was his Sonne, his Soule, Image, Spirite, and Wisedome of him. That he was borne of the Virgin Mary, and was a great Prophet; but saide himselfe to bee a much more greater Prophet then Iesus Christ, and that himselfe was the last; and after him, no other was to be expected. For he saide; that God had more fully reuealed his secrets to him, then to any other Prophet that had beene before him; and that he hadde giuen him an estate, and a rule more perfect, then that of Iesus. Confessing withall, that before hee was sent of God, and had receiued the reuelation of his rule: euerie one liued, according to that of Iesus Christ, and thereby was saued, and such also should be saued, as liued thereafter. But yet they could not be made so perfect, as by keeping that order appointed to him.

To confute the errors of this false Prophet, there were many Apologetical and defensiu Bookes made, by sundry great personages, as by Iohannes Cantacuzenus the Constantinople Emperour, Theodorus Bibliander, Lodouicus Valentinus, Nicholais de Cusa, Cardinall; Bartholomeus Picenus, Aeneas Syluius, who was Pope Pius, Hierom de Saunardota, Phillip Melancthon, and many others: who wrote all so well, and with such vehemency, against this Diabolicall Sect, full of Lucianist fables and folly, that they confuted them, as matters most enormous and detestable, in hauing no foundation, Reason, testimony, neither any true miracles whatsoever. And yet the saide Mahomet, and all the other Hereticke together, continued not a jot of their opinion; in such a foolish and freneticall manner; as at any time to deny one onely God, albeit they failed wickedly, in their opinions & particular Sectes. And this Atheist denyed vnto mee, that there was any God at all, demanding further, what I could obiekt against his opinion; in approouing the contrary? Whereupon I answered, that I would alledge but one Author only, to conuince both him, and all other of his wicked minde.

Then, I produced Hermes Trismegistus, the Prince of ancient Diuinity, who had beene three times, the most great King, Sacrificer, and Phylosopher, that euer was. And these are his verie wordes

Mahomet confessed one onely GOD, which the Atheist will not do.

Mahomet's abusing the peopie with most blasphemous Lies.

Books writte against Mahomet's errors

No Sect so wicked as Atheists are.

Herm. Trismegistus, High-priest & King of Egypt.

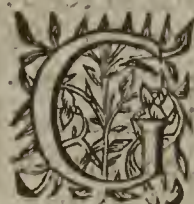
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which follow, wherewith I made my reply to the Atheist.

CHAP. XXIII.

An Excellent Discourse, out of Hermes Trismegistus, approving what God

Hermes Trismegistus in his Booke of the power of god, and greatnes of his wisdom Dial. 2.



OD, is the existent cause of all things, helping generally, and in perticuler: for there is not any thing, vnto which a being is permitted, but of him, and in him, it obtayneth his life, sourse, and Originall. And that which is much more, there is not anie thing in this world, which dooth not receiue his byrth and production from that which was made and created by him: because there is not any thing that can take or haue his being from that which is nothing, considering, that that which is nothing, hath not any Nature, whereby it could be made any thing. God is the Thought, Spirit, and Light, it is conuenient to honour him by these two names, to wit; Goodnesse and Paternitie, which are proper to him, without a competitor in any manner whatsoever: As being alwayes immutable, yet changing all things; inuisible, yet seeing all things; immortal, without place, and without end; inseperable, ineffable, inscrutable, inestimable; immoouable, yet moouing all things; and woorthy of all Honour and Reuerence.

Goodnesse & Father-hood.

God is not to be apprehended by mans vnderstanding, in regarde of his substance.

Hee is the supream good, and none other, who cannot be knowne or apprehended by humane sence, as concerning his substance, because hee is a power not limited.

Not were we created of him, but on-ly to this intent, to beholde the discourse of the Starres, which are his most excellent, Magnificent, and Soueraigne workes, with the discourse of Nature, the example and imitation of goodnesse. Finally, the knowledge of his diuine power & Maiesty, of which knowledge he hath giuen a part and portion, to know, iudge, and discerne betweene good and euill.

But principally, to search the high and meruailous Artefice of the chiefe good; the which, with all other thinges, were made by his word Iesus Christ: by whom he hath created, constituted, and ordayned euery thing in his order and degree, by his only will. And that is nothing else, but an only infinite and incomprehensible goodnes, which is such, as it can appertaine to none but to him onely. And therefore, we must surpasse the Celestiall bodies, the Hierarchies of Angelles, and the circuite and discourse of the Starres, to attaine to the knowledge of him. For, this knowledge is insuperable, inuincible, and infinite, without any limitation: not hauing (as concerning himselfe) any beginning, whereas to humain knowledge there is allowed some beginning.

Iesus Christ, the worde of the Father. Dial. 4.

Hee containeth all, in his inuestigable Treasures and secrets, and is the sole and only Father of all thinges, from whome proceeded one onely Sonne, who gaue himselfe so strongly to be vnderstood by vs, as it is a verie easie matter to touche him. He assigned to the Sea his bornes and Limits, and gaue commaund that it should passe no further: he apointed the earth his full waight, and made his containdure in the midst of the heauens. If then it bee so, that an Image or painting cannot be done, without the industrie of the Image maker or Painter, cau we imagine, that so great and woonderfull a building as the worlde is, could possibly be made without a workmā? O man too much blinded! O man too wicked and miserable! O man, buried in the bottom lesse darknesse of ignorance, to think the contrary! Looke to thy selfe well, when thou seekest to rob the workeman of his worke: and inuoke the Lord incessantly, and commend him with singularity, and with a name that can bee attributed vnto none, but him only; holding him continually, to bee the proper and Naturall Father of all thinges, as well visible as inuisible. And that is the onely eternall God, then which most excellent, incompareable, and best of all Names, not anie creature can deuise any other to giue him. He is entirely all that I am, al that I do, all that I thinke, and is all in all; and there is not any thing, but it commeth from him, neither any thing created or increate, but he is the same.

God is the on-ly Father of all things. Dial. 5.

An inuectiue against Atheists, and their miserable condition

He is the Vnderstanding, vnderstanding all

The essential parts and powers in God.

Dial. 6.

The intire & perfect parts of God.

Dial. 8.

Of the knowledge of God Dial. 9.

Of knowing and vnderstanding God Dial. 10.

No presuming or comparing with God.

The prooffe of one onely true God. Dial. 11.

all things; the eternall Father, building all things; the onely God, woorking all things; the Soueraigne good, creating all goodnesse; the most pure and entire cause of euery matter; Ayre of the ayre, Soule of the soul thought of the thought; and finally God. By whom all things moue themselfes, & in whom, no choise can be made, but of all goodnesse. For about his essence, is a super-eminency of all goodnesse, more pure, cleare, and bright shining; then either can be spoken or expressed. And the entirist and perfectest parts of God, are *Beauty* and *Bounty*; which are his inseperable Kinamen; and beloued about all other things. For in him is such a Beauty, as admitteth no eomparison; and such a Bounty as alloweth no imitation: whereby the Worlde proceeded of him; and consisteth in him: Man made in the Worlde, and to command the Worlde. For, God is the beginning of all things, and containeth & ordaineth euery one in his order & proportion. Hee that knoweth him, not only is fulfilled with all blessednesse, but also vnderstandeth and comprehendeth all Diuine knowledges, hardly like to any other. The knowledge of him, is nothing else but a Diuine silence, and an attentive application of all the senses. He that vnderstandeth him, can think on nothing else: and he that heareth him, can heare no other thing.

No Lawe admitteth any man of this World, so much power, as to contemplate the Beautie & Excellency of God, except he be first regenerated, reformed, and transubstantiated into him. He doth all that can bee doone, either present, or heereafter to bee spoken or thought on. His action is a power inuincible, and not equiparable, and that is the reason, that no one ought for to attempt or presume with him, or he to be compared with any other, be he diuine or humaint, eyther in heauen or on earth.

Now, to approoue that this is the power of one onely true God, is evidently enough declared: for there is likewise but one World, one Sunne, one Moone, & but one Diuinity. And as concerning God, we beleue vndoubtedly, that there can be but one, and he onely, that made each thing into many. Dooft thou thinke that it should be a matter difficult or Laborious, for God to make life, soule, im-

mortality, and changes of times? Why, thou thy selfe can do as much, & as great things. Thou Seeft, thou Hearst, thou Smellest, thou Tasteit, thou Touchest; thou speakest, thou goest, thou breathest, and thou vnderstandest without anie other then thy selfe; for all these things are performed by thy selfe. And euen as a man knew not how to liue, but by life; in like manner, God could not liue, without producing all things continually, and inspiring life into them. Vnderstand then, that if thou wilt not make thy selfe equall to God; nor appeare like vnto him; thou shalt neuer comprehend or vnderstande him: considering, that the like is euer more knowne by the like.

Extend thy selfe then into an infinite greatnesse; go out of this body, surpass all times, be eternity, and so finally thou shalt know God. Exalt thy selfe more high then all highnesse; be throw al the parts of the worlde; in Heauen; on the earth, in the Sea; euen from the beginning, to this present. Dwell out of the Vessell of this bodie; and thinkest thou then that any thing can perish by death? Comprehend all these things together; to know all places, all times, all wasgit, all lightnesse, all qualities and quantities; and then at length thou shalt vnderstand what God is. For, the verie greatest miserie that can happen to any man, is not to knowe him; and yet hee made all his workes, to the end that he might be known by them.

He hath not about him, either greatnesse, place, qualitie, Figure; Nouriture: because he is all these, and being all, hath all these about him, and euerie where else.

This is the diuine word Iesus Christ, therefore honor and worshippe him: and this Honour and Adoration consisteth onely, in being no way wicked; but flying from sinne, with all thy might & vertue. It is he that made regeneration, & tooke on him our humanity, to redeeme vs from the Captiuitie of darkenesse, and seruitude of Sathan: and he will be magnified and praised in Silence, that is to say; with the Heart, and Vnderstanding. Likewise, hee will bee called GOD, in regarde of his Power; Maker, by reason of his Workes; and finally Father, for the Loue of his Goodnesse, which appertanith onely to him.

Ecc 2

If

What wonderful things are done by man.

This is vnderstood by knowing GOD rightly.

Necessarie comprehensions for him that knoweth not God.

Dial. 13: The word diuine, Iesus Christ.

Dial. 13:

Dial. 14:

A familiar
Comparison.

If it be lawfull for a Painter, to figure so many and diuers things; as Heauens, Earth, Seas, Men, Beasts, Trees, and all other things that haue no life; shall we bee so insolent to say, that the power of dooing all these, must bee denied to one onely God? O man too foolish, and vnprouided of vnderstanding! O blindfold man, and without any Diuine knowledg, that darest belecue, thinke, or speake, to the contrary.

Lac. in Institut.
Diuin. l. 1. cap. 5

Sybilla Erythrea could say; *That there was onely God increate, and exceeding all Creatures.* He is the only Soueraigne that made the Heauens, and diuided the Lights; that is only thorow all Worlds, and before all Worlds; that gaue Life, Generation and Nature vnto all things. *Plato*, in his Booke called *Timeus*, sayth; *The Worlde is governed by the power and prouidence of one only God, the power and Maieſty of whom is so great, that in regard of this inestimable might, no man can conceiue him in his vnderstanding, neither expresse him by words.*

Plat. in lib. Tim.

Lac. in l. 4. c. 29.

Of the father
and the son.

This Soueraigne and only God, cannot be adored, but by the meanes of his only Sonne: and whosoever thinketh to worship the Father onely, and giue no honour to the Sonne, hee can no way adore the Father. But he that receyueth the Sonne, and beareth his name, he truly honoureth the Father with the Sonne, because the Sonne is the Ambassadour, Messenger, and Priest to the Soueraigne father. He is the gate of the most great temple; the Way of Light, the Conductor to saluation, and the entrance into Life. The word Diuine, Luminous, and Celestiall: Sonne of the Almighty, Eternall and liuing God. King of al worlds, visible and inuisible; the wisdom of the Father; Splendour of his Glory and Eternall Light; Image of his substance; Prince and Captaine of Peace & Faith; Principall Shepheard; his best beloued Sonne, the Vapour of his Vertue; pure emanation or sending forth of his brightness; the spotlesse mirrour of his Maieſty, Goodnesse and Eternity; and the beginning of his creature.

The names &
Titles of our
Lorde Iesus
Christ.

The seuerall
applications
of Christ to
man.

He is our Sanctification, Propitiation, Wisdom, Iustice, Satisfaction, & Redemption: Maister of our Requestes, our Aduocate and Mediator, in whome repositeth all the Spirits of GOD; and in whome, are hidden all the Treasures of

Wisdom and Knowledge. Hee was made the Oblation and Sacrifice of a sweete smelling sauour, our ample ransom, sufficient price, the onely branch and Diuine roote. The sole way of life, the Councell of the Eternall, the Doore of the Sheepfold, and the good Shepheard; the true Cælestiall Breade, and Treasury of felicity. One totall, consisting of all Vertues and Powers, the author of regeneration, Lorde of Glorie, King of Kings, Doctor of righteousness, the faithfull witness of trueth, trueth it selfe, and the Originall of Life and Concorde. He is the Prince and Consummator of Faith, the Apostle of our Confession, the Angell of great Councell, the Saluation and Sauour of the World.

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In brieſe, hee is the Sonne of God, who by the mouth of the most wise King *Salomon* (full of the Diuine spirite) hath saide; God hath begotten mee in the beginning of his wayes and workes, before the worlds. He begot me at the beginning, before there was any earth made by him, and before he ordained the Seas and Deepes. Before that the Riuers issued forth of their Springs, and before the Mountaines were made, hee begot mee. God made Regions and Lands habitable vnder Heauen: when he appointed the Heauens, I was with him; and when hee deuided his seat: when he made the mighty Clouds ouer the Winds, when he placed the high hilles vnder Heauen; and when he laide the strong foundations of the earth, I was with him in the disposing of all.

I was he, in whom he delighted him selfe, and euery day I reioyced my selfe before his face, when hee tooke pleasure to see the worlde created and perfected. And for this cause, *Trismegistus* calleth him, *The Workeman of God.* And *Sybilla* calleth him, *the Counsellor, who was filled by God the Father with so great Wisdom and Vertue, that hee used his Counsell and power, in creating the world.* *S. Augustine* in his tenth Booke of the *Cittie of God*, saith; That he found in the Books of *Plato*, that *Ante omnia tempora, & supra omnia tempora, incommutabiliter manet unigenitus filius tuus coeternus tibi: Et quia de plenitudine eius accipiunt, ut beati sint, & participatione manentis in se sapientia renouantur, ut sapientes sint.*

Lac. in l. 4. Ca. 6

Concerning
the words of
King *Salomon*.

Hermes Trismegistus & *Sybilla*

Aug. in lib. 10. de Ciu. Dei.

Be-

The Authors words to the Atheist.

The Atheists ydle Allegations.

Good mens misery & bad mens prosperous.

Old & young all one to Death.

Providence not to any purpose.

No Hell.

No humane society, or love of our Neighbour.

Lac. Firm. in lib 3. Cap. 16. et in lib. 7. Cap. 5.

Behoide now, what aunswere I haue made thee, to make thee vnderstand what God is. And if thou wouldst haue anie more great, certaine, and euident Testimonies, looke into the holye Scriptures, and read there what is spoken by the Patriarkes, Prophets, and Apostles; but more especially Saint *Augustine*, in his Booke of the City of God. As for the Idle Disputes which thou hast hadde with me, alledging and saying: What profite receiued God by the making of man for himselfe? Because thou beholdest, that to a good man there doth dayly happen aduersities, Pouerties, labors, banishment, and losse of friends. On the contrarie also, thou seest wicked men to be very happy, raised to honours, and encreasing in goods. Thou seest the innocent in daunger, and the vicious to passe unpunished. That men louing Religion and Piety, are afflicted. And death, hauing no regarde to the condition of men, or respecting their ages, exerciseth his crueltie vpon many, before they can arriue at the state of many yeares, and euen the most bolde and stoutest spirits, do die soonest, or are foiled in battailes. That Temples are burned by Thunder and Lightnings; & many things are doone otherwise then they ought to be done. That providence auayleth not any thing, in the Creation, and generation of creatures. That the paines of hell are not to bee feared, because there is no hell at all, and that all soules do die with their bodies. That pleasure and Voluptuousnes is the chiefest happinesse. That there ought not to be any humane society, but euery man to haue care of his perticuler profit. And not to loue his Neighbour, but for his own aduantage. With many other things which thou alledgest, that are the very same disputes of *Epicurus*, *Democritus*, *Lucian*, and *Dicearchus*.

In these cases therefore, I wil send thee for further resolution, to *Lanctantius Firmianus*, who hath conuincd al their sottish errors. So that, such as haue seene what he hath written, and they that haue expounded the Psalme, *Dixit insipiens in corde suo, non est Deus*, woulde neuer fall into such diseases, so farre from sence and vnderstanding, as thy freneticall Follye and madnesse reacheth vnto. Vnder-

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stand but what the Wiseman sayth; *That such as are great searchers into the Majesty eternal, shalbe confounded with glory.* Attempt not then such things as are hidden with God: but referue plaine sight vnto their due times and seasons. Beleeue *Salomon*, who saith: *We are not to say, what is this, what is that, and to what end. For all things are created vnto their seueral uses.*

Seeke not after things that are too high for thee, neither enquire after matters that are too strong for thee, but euermore thinke on those things which God hath commaunded thee, and remember him in sobriety and simplicity of heart. Vnderstand what Saint *Paul* saith, *O the deepnesse of the Riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God; how vnsearcheable are his iudgements, and his wayes incomprehensible, past finding out?*

Therefore it behoueth vs, not vnwisely to enterprize impossible things; but with all our vertue and vnderstanding, to wonder at, and to praise the workes Diuine. For wee are able to speake by experience, that such as haue studied most, & practised how to behold the Sunne more then neede required, saw no such things as they stroue to see; but spoyled their owne sight; and were drawne into darknesse. And oftentimes, when a man (by contention and folly) struieth to seek for that which is hidden in the earth, or to know the foundation thereof; & whereupon it dependeth, or things about in Heauen, and out of this vniuersal world, not onely hee cannot finde what hee seeketh for, but filleth his owne soule full of troubles and darknesse; such is the infirmity of the spirit. For we know wel what Saint *Paul* saith, by good admonishment. *If any man imagineth himself to know something, he hath not yet learned what appertaineth to knowledge.* Let vs then not seek so farre into things, which we are not possible to attaine vnto: but let vs be content with that which we haue receiued; and, according to our best power, blesse the Lorde, his dearely beloued Sonne Iesus Christ, and the Holyghost, vnto whome equally, belongeth all power, might, maiesty, and dominion, for euer and euer.

Theodoret the Syrian Bishop, in his Sermons of life eternall, and the Diuine prouidence.

Rom. 11, 33.

Gazing on the bright sun doth but dazle the sight.

Rom. 11, 19.

CHAP. XXV.

The Atheist further confuted, by allegation of Magicall Sciences; because he denied, that there were any such Sciences, or any Devils or Spirits.



Saint Augustine, in his one and twentieth Book of the Citie of God, saith, There is no contradiction of Magicall Arts, except we will gainsay the Scriptures; and they are spoken of in many places of the Bible; namely, that the first, second, and third signe, which Moyses did performe, the Magitians or Sorcerers of Pharaoh, did accomplish the same. And when (afterward) they could not attain to the performance of other great signes and myracles, then they could say; This is the finger of God, in the power whereof those things are doone. Read the twenty eight Chapter of the first Booke of Samuell, howe King Saule went to Edor or Endor, to see a Woman that had a Phitonicall spirite, who raised vp the likenesse of the Prophet Samuell, that had long time bin dead, & the spirit saide vnto him: After to morrow, the Philistims shal giue thee Battell, thou shalt loose the day; and both thou and all thy Children shal dye, only Lame Mephiboseth reserved, and this fell out to be true.

In the eighteenth Chapter of Deutonomy it is sayde; When thou shalt come into the Land which the Lorde thy GOD giueth thee, thou shalt not learne to doo after the abominations of those Nations. Let none be found among ye, that maketh his Sonne or his Daughter to go thorough the Fire, or useth Witch-craft; or is a regarder of times, or a marker of the Flying of Birds, or a Sorcerer, or a Charmer, or a man that asketh Councel of familiar Spirites, or a Diuiner, that demaundeth aduise of the dead. For all these thinges, and they that do them, are abomination to the Lord: And because of these abominations, the Lord thy God doth cast them out before thy Face. See in the Actes of the Apostles, Symon Magus, and what hee did by Art Magicke; together

Aug. de Ciu. dei lib. 21. cap. 6.

Exo. 7, 10, 11.

Exod. 8, 19. 1. Sam. 28, 8. Saule consulted with a Witche, whē God had refused him.

Deut. 18, 9, 10. The abominations of the Gentiles to be auoyded.

Acts 8, c. Symon Magus.

with the Chamberlaine, which gayned his Maisters life by Magicke.

We finde also in the Ecclesiastical historie, Written by Eusebius the Casarian, how a man named Manes, an Hereticke, mounted himselfe vp into the Ayre, before a great number of people, flying quite out of their sight. In the same Historie, we shall also see, that the Emperours Maxentius, Maximinus, & others, vsed Magicall Arts, and had no Gouvernours, Captaines, or Officers, but such as were entrusted therein: nor woulde they do any good, or giue anie advancement, but to them that vnderstood those Sciences.

In the fift Booke of Lactantius Firmianus, in his Diuine Institutions, he speaketh of the God Apollonius, whome the Emperour Domitian should haue pnt to death: but in the presence of the said emperor and al his assistants, he made himselfe inuisible, so that no one knew what was become of him.

Lactantius Disputing against Democritus, Epicurus, and Dicaearchus, who sayd, that the soule was mortall, plainly telleth them; That they durst not abide in the presence of Magitians, who by charmes and Enchantments, called and made deceased soules to come out of Hell, and shewed them to bee seene before the eyes of men, speaking and foretelling of things to come.

Wee reade in the Historie of Ioseph, that it is saide to his Bretheren, You haue taken and stolne the drinking Cup, wherein my Lord is wont to performe his Auguries and Diuinations.

In Platina, who Wrote the Liues of the Popes, wee may see; that Gilbert (who was Named Pope Syluester the second) a Religious man, in the Monastrie of Saint Benoist de Fleury, neere Orleans, & had bin School maister vnto the Emperour Otho; Robert King of France, and to Lotharius, Arch-Bishop of Sens, saide himselfe; that because (by his Councell and Magicke) hee gaue his soule to the Deuill, hee obtained the Papacy. For which, he was afterward verie sorrie and penitent; and confessed generally & publickely, the great sinne and offence which he had committed, Platina and others do likewise testify, that Ioan the Papeesse, obtained the Romaine primacy by Magick, which she had long time studied at

Manes the hereticke. Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History. The Emperours Maxentius & Maximinus.

Lact. Firm. in Lib. 5. cap. 3. de Institut. Diuin. The God Apollonius.

Lact. Firm. in lib 7. cap. 13. Democritus, Epicurus, Dicaearchus.

The bretheren of Ioseph accused. Gen. 44. 5.

Plat. in Vit. Pa. Of Pope Syluester the 2. that gaue his soul to the diuel to be pope

Ioane the Papeesse got the Primacie of Rome by Magicall Arts.

at Athens. Comming thence to Rome, she read there publikely; and disputed against all Commers; not any one being found equall in knowledge to her. So that after the death of Pope Leo, by consent and voyce of all the Cleargy: she was elected in the Papacy, not knowing that she was a woman. The Seat she held two yeares, one month, and foure daies, euen vntill shee fell in trauaile of child publikely, in going to the Church of Laterane; in which trauaile she dyed, being an English Woman by birth.

The death of the Papasse Ione.

Aug. in lib. 9. de Ciuil. Dei.

Apuleius, Labeo, Varro, Porphyrius, &c.

Lares, Lemures, Manes, Goblins, &c.

Incubus and Succubus.

Lactan Firm. in Lib. 2. de Diuina Iustit. Cap. 15.

Marcus Varro.

Augustine, at his being in Italy.

Circes metamorphosed the friends of Vlisses.

Saint Augustine, in his Celestiall Citie, writing against Apuleius, who wrote a Book of the Demon of Socrates, that had a Deuill, which told him whatsoever hee should doe: sheweth by great disputation (as well against the saide Apuleius, Labeo, Varro, Porphyrius, as others) wonderfull things of those cursed and forbidden Sciences, discoursing of them more then any other matter, and in a great number of Chapters. He saith, that he himselfe hath seene some, speaking in all kinds and manner of deuils, good and bad, and the places where they make their abiding: as also such as haunt among men, which were called Lares and Lemures, beeing inuisible Deuils; whom they tearmed priuate Gods, and Manes, Goblins and Spirits. The euill Angels they named Syluani and Fauni, otherwise tearmed Incubus, and Succubus. Incubus is the Man deuill, & Succubus the woman; by whom they accomplish their wil with women. The deuils called Dufians haue done the like. Lactantius, in the second Book of his Diuine Institutions, discourseth largelie on this matter, as well concerning Deuils, as the Magicall Arts.

Marcus Varro speaketh meruailous things, of the transformation of Men, who made themselues to be Wolues; and he speaketh of one that continued so ten yeares, and yet afterward returned to his shape againe. And Saint Augustine saith, that he being in Italy, heard that there were certaine Women, who in giuing impoysoned Cheese to Men: conuerted them into Mares, and afterward they came to be men againe, and lost no vse of their reason. Circes also transformed the companions of Vlisses into Swine, by a certaine kind of drink which she gaue them. Yet Saint Augu-

stine saith, that these are but illusions, and it appeareth to such as are transformed, that they are in a Dreame. Neuerthelesse, the Deuils doe carry the deceit in such manner: according as he speaketh of one Prestantius, who dreamed that he was in great paine and torments, by carying victuals to the camp of his Enemies. And albeit he was all this while in his bed; yet hee found it truly irkesome, and very offensiue to him.

Aug. in Lib. 11. de Ciuil. Dei.

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Hee that wrote the manner of the Turks liuing, a man of great knowledge and experience, & who remained more then twenty yeares Prisoner in their hands, saith: that the very greatest part of their religious men, are Enchanters and Magitians. Moreouer, that there was one in his time, who in all hidden and concealed matters, could giue a true and certaine iudgement, especiallie of any thing lost, or stolne: by meanes whereof, all the Theeues in the Countrey were grieuouly punished, which caused, that no Theefe durst come nere the place where hee dwelt. And that which is most to be marueild at; before such as came vnto him, could declare the occasion of their iourney: himselfe would intirely tell them the truth, of whatsoever they were to demand. And to the end, that they may the sooner draw the people to their false Faith, by Miracles, Prodigies, Illusions, & lyes: they make Sathan the Deuill to appear in the shape of a man, and raise vp dead bodies, which they onely see to moue, but liue not. They can likewise cure all kinds of diseases, and reueale the secrets of mens harts, as also places where any treasures lye hidden; for the Authour speaketh in these very wordes. *Videbis mortuos resuscitare, omnis generis morbos currari, secreta cordium reuelari, & abscondita à seculo Thefaurorū loca reperiri.*

The Authour of the Turkes liues, in his 18 Chapter.

Handwritten note

A cunning Magitian in Turkey.

Deceits and illusions of the Turkish Enchanters.

The ancient Greekes and Latines, what strange tales are recorded by them:

All the Histories and Bookes of the Ancient Greekes and Latines, are full of such as haue vsed Magicall Arts. As of the Serpent that followed Æsculapius: The Gods which Æneas brought with him from Troy: The Virgine that brought a Sieve full of Water to the Temple of Vesta, without spilling one drop: The great Waxe Taper of the Goddesse Venus, whereof Saint Augustine speaketh, that it could not be extinguish-

Trithemius and Himbaldus two ancient Historians.

Pharamond the first King of France.

Numa Pompilius, his Books burned.

The Law of the twelue Tables.

All kindes of Magick haue before bene declared.

Apuleius accused of sorcery

In Code Lib. 9. Cap. 13.

Magicke Arts vterly prohibited.

tinguished. The Sorceries of *Medea*, and an infinite number more, which are to be found in *Trithemius* and *Himbaldus*, two very auncient Historiographers. They also record, that before *Pharamond*, and the fortie Kinges and two Dukes, which raigned before him, and before the Kinges of *France* receiued the holy Charracter of Baptisme: there were many that vsed, and made profession of those Sciences, and especiallie the King named *Basan*. Yet well we know, that such thinges haue euer more bin forbidden, vpon paine of corporall punishment.

We read, that the Bookes of *Numa Pompilius* were burned (after they had bene found in a vaulted Caue in his Sepulcher) by the counsell and commaund of the *Romaine* Senate. And by the Law of the twelue Tables, hee that vsed this Art had bodily punishment. According as we finde in the *Chronicles of France*, that the Count of *Fouex* was put to death, for hauing made a compact and couenant with deuils. So we may yet daily behold witches and Sorcerers punished, who haue any way cōpromitted with Spirits: for euery Sunday they are proclaimed and accursed, and all such, as ad-here vnto them. And not onely such as beleue in Magicke; but also in the Sciences thereon depedding, whercof we haue already spoken sufficiently. *Apuleius*, who was accused before the Christian Princes, for vsing those Sciences: durst not defend them, albeit he saide, and wrote more then any other. In the Code of the ninth Booke, & thirteenth Chapter, you shall finde, that *Ars Mathematica damnabilis & interdicta est omnimodo, & que eorum scientia punienda, & seuerissimis merito legibus vindicanda est.* The sacred Scriptures, the Church, Canons, and Decrees, doe forbid the vse thereof on paine of damnation; although there should be any truth therein, because the Lord himselfe hath prohibited it.

I haue seene and heard by a number of wise men, who haue assured me, that they haue seene very strange and admirable thinges, which would be tedious heere to rehearse. That by a certaine number of daies, a man may obtaine so many Spirits, and haue them all made

subiect to him; by the vertue of high, Diuine, and Celestiall Names, in performing the great worke. The foure great Princes, which gouerne ouer the nine Princes, and sixty sixe thousand Legions of Spirits, that obey according to their Charracters, and promises made vnto them, wherein are vsed great Ceremonies, Homages, presents, Idolatries, and things most enorme and detestable, which are not to be written, and which a faithfull mind, that hath placed his hope among the heauenly Inhabitants; will hold all such foolish censures in horror and detestation. But all that I haue hitherto spoken, is to no other end; but to exclude the sottishnesse of idle-headed Atheists, in denying and gaine-saying, that there are not any Deuils.

And *Lactantius Firmianus*, speaking against them, saith. *Seeing that alreadie such people are lost, in hauing no beleefe: I would counsell them to learn those Sciences, whereby they may attaine to haue some Spirits familiar with them. And hauing gotten them, according to such rules as will be giuen them: they shall know by them, that there is a God, to whom they obey, and doe tremble when his holy name is vttered. Yea, they will say, affirme and beare witnesse, that if they will not be obedient to the Lord of might: they shall be damned with them, for God is the onely true and great God.*

CHAP. XXVI.

A briefe description of the Table of *Apelles*, the most excellent Painter of the World in his time: which Table made a liuelie representation of humaine life.



APELLES, the admired Painter, ingeniously drew a Picture, concerning the life of man and the abuse of drunkenesse. Whereby this man of incomparable skill plainly declared, that his Soule was no lesse exercised in Philosophy, then his hand in painting. In this Table, he liuely portrayed, and presented to all beholders, the

The great worke in Magicke.

The ceremonies in Magicke.

The reason of inserting this Chapter.

Lac. Firm. in lib 7. cap. 13.

The deformity of drunkenesse.

A faire Garden and an Arbour.

The entrance into the Garden, on the right hand.

Another little entrance on the left hand.

Preparation before the first gate.

Sobriety the Mistres, and her waiting-Maides.

Of Sports & pastimes.

Their order after Refection, in such as were guests.

the whole estate of humain life. In the first place he Painted a Garden, with a very pleasant Arbour in it, which was embellished with Hearbes and Floures of all sorts, that might be thought able to yeilde delectation, to such as should enter into this Garden; as well in regard of their beauty and appearance, as for their fruites and pleasing saour. At the entrance into this Garden or Orchard, there was a great Gate figured on the right hand, the way and passage whereof was very delightful, & much frequented: for thereby resorted thither (from many other by-pathes) all sorts of people, young and old. On the other side, beeing the left hand, there was another little doore, very strait, & narrow to passe in and out at, which had a sharpe and difficult way thereto, all covered with Bushes, Brambles, and Thornes, and that way seemed very little frequented. Before the first gate, there were goodly Tents erected, with beautifull Seates and Lodgings, fit for royall entertainment: and there stood also faire Tables, ready furnished with all Viands necessary for the life of man, disposed in very good order, and all commers sate presently downe, banqueting together very iocundlie.

The Hostes or Mistres of the place, named her selfe *Sobriety*, who had all her Chamber-maids about her, waiting on the Table very honestly, with all diligence and exceeding good grace. One of them tearmed her selfe *Chearefulness*; another *Modesty*; and the third *Honesty*. They had also the *Graces* (their Sisters) with them in this place of pleasure, where *Sobriety* pleased to liue with her Household. Some gaue themselues to Wrestling; Others delighted in other honest pastimes; without any debate or discontentment. Some also conferred together; and others wore awaie the time, in playing vpon muscalle Instruments, while others sung sweet and honest songs to them.

In breefe, they had all seemely pastimes, both to exercise and recreate themselues, before and after their repasts, according as was thought requisite for the support of health. After they had honestlie taken their refecti-on, one part of them retired (very merrily, and in good order) home to their

houses and affaires; after they had first thanked, and taken leaue of their Lady *Sobriety*. But the rest that remained being a faire greater number then they that returned, not contented with this hauing receiued good fare, and spending the time so much as was thought requisite: would needes passe on further, and entred into the Garden at the great Gate, without making any account of *Sobriety* their first Hostesse, or yeilding her any thankfull requitall.

At the entrance of the Arbour, there sate a Woman, looking euery where about her, she being very grosse and fat: her Cheekes swolne and puffed vp; her Lippes great and red, and her Face like a flat platter: and shewing her selfe very seruiceable, she called to the troope of people, making them courteous signes with her head, and shewing them (with both her hands) the doores open entrance.

This Woman was called *Gurmandise*, or *Gluttony*. In the midst of the Arbour sate another Woman, in Garments like a Queen: but she was drunk, yet she gouerned there, and was chiefe Mistresse of the Lodging. She had a Crown of young Vine sprouts on hir head, and held a great Cup in both her handes, as one that was alwaies readie to drinke: beeing attended and accompanied with her Ladies and waiting-Maides, who serued all such as entred presently with drinke. The first was named *Folly*; the second *Madnesse*; and the third *Luxury*; on whom still waited her Brother *Excesse*, all of them fitted with Garments according to their conditions.

A fourth Hand-maide was also present by, called *Forgetfulness*, who seemed to stand as one astonied: And then there was another, sitting on the ground, called *Stoiffulness*, Sister vnto *Idlenesse*, and Daughter to *Carlesnesse*. She sitting halfe asleep, as it were; held a Cuppe of Wine in her hand, which (neglectly) shee spilled on the ground, *Scurrility* and *Scoffing*, with *Taunting* their Brother, and Brabbling their Sister, took her Kinsman *Debate* by the hand, who was not far of, but sate closly conferring with *Infamy*, *Rage*, & *Fury*, who (for want of better company) supplied the last place.

This

The description of Gurmandise and Gluttony.

The Image of drunkennesse

The Ladies & waighting women attending on drunkennesse, described in their severall qualities and conditions.

Men transform-
ed into all
kinds of
beasts, by
drunkenesse

Horror to be-
hold men
changed into
beasts, & what
strange filthi-
nesse then is-
sued from
them.

Debates, qua-
rels, and con-
tentions in
Drunkennes.

The vnwhol-
some and vn-
sauoury slee-
ping of drun-
kards.

Their retur-
ning out at
the narrow
gate.

This comely company, were guar-
ded and enuironned (as by hedges and
bushes) with Beares, Bulles, Goates,
great Asses, Horses, huge Mastiues,
bleating Cattle, Hares, Buckes, Apes,
Marmosets, Wolues; Swine, and all
other kinds of Beasts; that (of liuing
Men) had bene Metamorphosed into
such Monsters, after they had drunke
of the Wine, from the hand of the La-
dy. When they entered first to her, they
were all Men; and so continued (for
some time) in their humane shape: but
when they had thoroughly tasted of her
drinke, they lost their true formes, and
were suddenly changed into Beasts. But
it was a horrour to behold their coun-
tenances, and the life which these beasts
led, crying and howling altogether,
with a most confused harmony, and ac-
cord.

Vpon the one side, some were dischar-
ging their stomackes of Wine, & then
they which were Dogges, came and lick-
ed vp this loathsomnesse againe. The
Swine wallowed in filthy puddles, vo-
miting horrible Serpents and Lizards.
The Bulles and Kine, they did cast vp
Frogs and Flyes: The Buckes, Pearles:
The Asses, Bookes: The Bears, swords
and Glauiues: The Wolues, Cats and
Mice; But the Apes and Marmosets,
they skipped & danced about very plea-
santly. Contrariwise, the Beares and
Wolues bit, and fought very furiously
each against other, so that their bodies
were torne and mangled.

Vpon the left hand, where the nar-
row passage was, whereof we haue for-
merly spoken, and the small path so sil-
dome haunted: lay the bodies of beasts
stretched out along, sleeping verie
foundly, although it was in their owne
Dung and Vomiting. All were wound-
ed with Wine, and many other hurts,
and there they lay heaped, as a Hill of
dead bodies. Some arose vp faintlie,
after they had slept and digested their
Wine, and afterward returned speedily
to their former behauiour; but ha-
uing on still their skinnes of sauage
Beasts.

These men, after they were well wea-
ried with drunkenesse, went stagge-
ring forth of the Arbour, and found a
passage out at the strait or narrow gate:
but many of them in this returning,

were halt and lame of their members;
others were halfe Men, & halfe beasts;
as Centaures, Satyes, and Sauages.
When they were out of the little doore,
there they met with aged people, that
kept the passage, who came vnto them
with Bonds and Chaines, where-with
they bound them hand and foote, and
afterward did beate them very foundlie.

10 If any one offered to rebelt; they gaue
him many blowes with a Bastinado:
and they would not suffer any to escape
them, vntill they had made their ac-
count with them.

11 The most dangerous old fellow of al
the rest, that gaue the most blowes,
and (indeede) was most cruell; named
himselfe the Gout, who had a very hide-
ous shape. He had his members lanke;
20 his ioynts grosse; his hands and fingers
knit with great knots, and crooked.

The second, had one while a pale coun-
tenance, and another while it was as
red as any fire: and hee tearmed him-
selfe the Feauer, or Ague. The third was
the Dropsie, very big swolne, with a co-
lour like to Lead and Sulpher: and he
was also a threwd smiter, tormenting
verie cruelly. For in some, he blew vp

30 their bellies as big as Drums; others,
their Legges; others, their stomacke
and face; others, their whole body,
and brought them into such an alterati-
on: as they could neuer bee satisfied
with drinke, but the more they dranke,
so much the more thirsty were they,
and insatiable. Hard at his heeles follo-
wed the Palsie, who seemed to be who-
ly impotent, and that he had not any

40 Nerues, which were not broken: but
such as he could lay hold on, he bound
them in such strong and sure bonds; as
he made them quite impotent cyther in
halfe of their body, or all their mem-
bers.

The fift, called Apoplexie, or the dead
Palsie, tooke some strictly by the collar,
and beat them so about the head: that
they remained as halfe dead, without
any vnderstanding or moouing. The
50 Itch and Scab accompanied all these, but
closely pursued by their Sister Leprosie,
who did so beat those poore tame Roy-
sters, that all their bodies became an
hard crust, and their faces adorned with
goodly Saphires. Their Noses also cost
more the painting; then if they had bin
limned

Aged people
that contem-
ded with
Drunkards.

The most an-
gry old man,
was the Gout

The Feauer.
The Dropsie.

The Palsie,

The Apo-
plexie,

The Itch,
Scab, and
Leprosie.

The Custome of Lazars and Rogues.

So many men so many diseases. The Falling sicknesse. The catarrhe

The falling sicknesse not so bad as the dead Palsie.

Of the Catarrhe or Rhume.

Pouerty in his best brauery.

Old age and death.

limned with Gold and Siluer. These fel a tugging one another by the eares, & so cruelly fighting; that hardly any one of them remained aliue.

Thus grew such a number of diseases among men; that most of them could lay claim to a seuerall name. But among the rest, there was the *Falling euill* or sicknesse, and the *Catarrhe*, which continually lay buffeting about the head. The *Falling sicknesse* lay al along, beating his head against the ground, and against hard stones: that many times it brake; and the blood followed; with foaming at the mouth like an angry Swine. But woe to him whom he could fasten on; for he would fall downe vpon him, and make him in as bad a case as himselfe. Neuerthelesse, hee was not so cruell as his Kinsman *Apoplexy*, for albeit he took away al vnderstanding: yet he left some motion, and rested satisfied with offending himselfe onely. *Catarrhe*, or the *Rhume*, had a grosse head, so heauie and sleepey, as very hardly could he support himselfe. His gorge was like a Sinke, euermore casting forth vnsauory smels. His Nose like a Limbeck, alwaies distilling: but not Rose-water; for it was foule sniuell, like to such corruption as he bred himselfe. And such a deale of Water came forth of his head, onely to quench the heat of wine: that the smell thereof annoyed many, and almost stifled others.

Among all these old wretches, there was one that had more then five hundred thousand pieces and patches on his Garment, his face was covered verie thicke with dirt and filth, and he looked very meager and hideous: which made all the rest, seeing him to be such a poor Snake, and one vnworthy to hold ranck with them; to beat and bruisse him, till the blood issued forth. This Picture of misery was called *Pouerty*. After al these before named, came *Old decrepite Age*, mounted on a Charriot made of dead mens bones, and his next Neighbour *Death* triumphed ouer him. The Charriot wheelles went ouer both young and old, breaking them in pieces as it went along. Thus may you see by the Picture of *Apelles*, a lively description of *Sobriety* and *Drunkennesse*; deliuering apparently to euery eye, both the good and euill that happeneth to men.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Morall of Apelles Table, is by the Author more significantly Interpreted.



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Concerning this Table of *Apelles*, wee must first consider, that it expresth two seuerall kindes of life, and two manners of liuing which are among men. That is to say, the one, of Abstinence and Sobriety; the other, of Gurmandise, Gluttony, and Drunkennesse. The first is reputed necessarie for al men, for, as we cannot liue without eating and drinking, considering we are not Angels, but Mortal Men: euen so as needfull is it, to gouerne our life by the rule of Sobriety. Therefore we should all enter into the House of Sobriety, without desiring to passe any further: for wee liue not to eate, but eate to liue. And because tasting is one of the senses, which wee haue most in common with other creatures: it is very requisite, that man should moderate and temper the same, both by Abstinence and Sobriety, as also reason which onely is giuen him; if he will not only shew himselfe to bee a beast, but that which is more, worse then a beast. For this cause, *Apelles* figured the dwelling of Sobriety without the Garden or Orchard, to let vs vnderstand thereby; that we are not to passe any further, to venter on excesse: but to rest contented, with receiuing our refection honestly, for satisfying the necessities of nature. In like manner, he gaue no other abiding to Sobriety, then Tents, Pauillions, & Tabernacles, to signifie: that we should make no long sitting at the Table, no more then Passengers do in their Inne, who enter not to remaine there alwaies, but onely to content nature, and then to passe on vpon their iourney.

If *Apelles*, who was no other then a Pagan, could take knowledge heereof: much more ought we to consider the same,

Two seuerall kindes of life, and liuing among men.

The habitati- on of Sobriety.

The reason of Sobrieties dwelling with out the Garden.

Tents and Pauillions allowed to Sobriety

Apelles was a Pagane.

Great helpes that a Christian man hath.

The Feast of Tabernacles.

Short feasting auoydeth surfeiting.

Honest sports and pleasures allowed to mans life.

Eccle. 3. 4.

God permit- teth vs al honest pleasures

The other brutish kinde of life in the dwelling of drunkenesse

same then he, considering that we haue the testimony of holy Scripture, which admonisheth vs; *That we haue heere no permanent Cittie; That we dwell in this body, as in a Tabernacle, vntill such time as it shall please the Lord, that gaue vs such Lodging, to dislodge vs hence.* I thinke also, that he gaue vs admonishment heerein, by the Feast of Tabernacles, and the life which the ancient *Israelites* led in the Wildernesse. Because our life is so short, & as we feed but to lengthen and continue the same: we should therefore bee fearefull of diminishing and curtalling our time, in spending the most part of our life at the Table, where many crackes and flawes are made by excesse. Therefore they may well be counted wise, and woorthy to beare the name of men, that would goe on no further: but returned honestly to their home affaires, after they had soberly receiued their sustenance.

By the Sportes, Pastimes, Musique, and Songs, which were exercised in this Meadow of Sobriety; I thinke hee purposed to demonstrate, that the life of Man hath some honest pleasures and recreations allowed it. For God doth not prohibite vs, to vse such good gifts as he hath bestowed on vs; liuing in moderate ioy, when the time so requireth. It is written: *That there is a time to laugh and a time to mourne; a time for ioy, and a time for sadnesse.* And therefore a Christian man may learne, to vse both the one and other well, and all to the glory of God.

Most certaine it is, that God permit- teth vs honest pleasures and delightes, which he hath not forbidden, or are to his dishonour, or any occasion of euill. All honest and vertuous exercises are permitted vnto vs, in rendring thanks to God for them, and acknowledging his benefits by them: prouided also, that we keepe our selues alwaies within the rule of Sobriety, Modesty, and Honesty. Thus we see one manner of life, and that which most conuenientlie becometh man.

The other is more brutish, then humane, the sense and description whereof, taketh it selfe thus. First, for the large and common beaten way, whereby men entred into the Garden, and concerning the vnbrideled multitude

that made vse thereof: I vnderstand his meaning to be thus; that euery man affecteth ease, idlenesse, and voluptuous pleasures.

Some knew how to giue a meane to their desires, and tooke not so much Meat and Wine, as should trouble their vnderstanding: but could well returne to their ordinary businesse, and vse reason in all thinges. Now, there were others, that knew not any meane or measure, neither had regard to time or place: but would needs venter further, and fell into such extremitie of follie, as they lost their senses, vnderstanding, and memory. So that thereby they became brute beasts, and could no way retire from this disordered battaile: till diseases, pouerty, and necessity admonished them of their duty. For they are the last Companions of drunkenesse, and the Wages for all Carrow- sers, that doe her the greatest honour. By the Hand-maides or waiting Weomen on drunkenesse: I vnderstand those seueral vices, as their apt Names doe signifie, and they are the meetest for her company. And by the drinckes which shee gaue to her Quassers, hee meaneth the venome and poyson of voluptuous excesse, which maketh such a transport of mens vnderstandings: that they grow like vnto brute beastes, according as they take lesse or more, & according to the complexions they are of; representing euen those very beasts, whose nature and manners they come neere vnto, and refusing all friendlie counsell and aduise; do delight more in such barbarous and viciuill courses, then any other manners that should shew them to be men.

CHAP. XXVIII.

A Paradoxe in praise of imprisonment; maintaining, that it is more healthful & profitable to be in Prison, then at libertie.

If goods lockt vp in the smallest houses, are of greatest price and most in request; yea, with more diligence looked

The Scholers of ioyt and excesse.

Diseases, Pouerty and necessity, the last companions of Drunkenesse.

The greatest treasures lye in the smallest roomes.

The tearme of Prison and Prisoner no way offensive

The words of Saint Paule.

The great benefit of imprisonment to men.

Reward of greafe by imprisonment.

looked vnto and preferued, then those displayed and exposed to their iudgements, that haue a will (by them) to offend others: I may then by good reason maintain, that the Prison is better then the publike place of liberty, which often times turnes to his greatest dammage, that had the highest desire vnto it. Nor ought (vnder correction) the tearms of Prison and Prisoner, be so offensive to the eares of any man, as if they were sharp pricking Thorns, neither to bring such molestation to their minds, as to make them sometimes tremble, quake, and ready to f. wound with feare. Considering, that in this City wherein wee dwell, euery man may well call and repute himselfe to be a Prisoner; but especially in this world, where no one can call himselfe free, vntill the breath bee forth of his body. And this was the reason, why the holy Apostle of God so loudly demanded: *What was he that could deliuer him fro this mortal prison?* He ment the prison of this fleshly body, which appears to me, to be nolesse profitable to the life of man; then a strong Prison walled with stone, that serues him as a rampier and safe defence, against al dangers which might daily assaile him.

I may speake this, by the example of many great personages, to whom imprisonment brought no meane happinesse: as keeping them in assurance fro their enemies, and thereby made their poore life the more tranquile to them. Lastly, when it became hatefull to the: then it more apparantly witnessed, what good it had done them. For they were no sooner deliuered, and set at libertie; but they were miserably flaine by their Aduersaries.

Poore wits, that are ignorant of prison benefit; vnderstand not the priuiledges ensuing thereby: which indeede are such, as neuer can iustly make any man agreeued. If it do, for a little while; it recompenceth it afterward with vertue, glory, and honour. If not in this World; yet it failes not in the other, which is perpetuall and euerlasting: as we haue gathered by diuers Saints and iust persons, who (after the imprisonment of this world) haue (vndoubtedly) entred into eternall liberty. And for proof of the blessed recompence, which imprisonment bringeth to men of ver-

tue, let vs take example by *Marius*, honoured with the great Empire of *Cesar*. By King *Matthias*, who after he had bin detained in *Hungaria*, by King *Ladislaws*: from Prison entred suddainely to the Crowne. *Lewes* the twelfth, scarcely was he set in assured liberty, and out of Prison: but immediatly hee was made King of Fraunce. Ye shall finde an infinite number, who after they were restored to freedom from imprisonment; became more glorious and excellent persons, then euer they had beene all their whole life time before.

Now, as I will not deny, but imprisonment, stocks, chains, and manacles, may somewhat impeach ouer worldlie operations: yet dare I then (withall) maintaine, that they cannot any way disturb them, if they be honest and holy cogitations, nor the noble and vertuous conceits of men, or their high, hopefull, and excellent enterprises. For, in despite of all those meanes, as were imployed to hinder this resolution: it held credit, not onely in the Castle and Prison at *Paris*, in the Dungeon at *Rouen*, in the Hell-house at *Flourence*, the Limbo at *Morce*, and the Stone-house at *Luca*; but had power beside, to passe the Crosse of *Theodorius Cyrenensis*, to enter the Bull of fierce *Phalaris*; and penetrate into the cruell Tunne of *Atilius Regulus*.

To prooue this, *Signior Ascanio Colonna* (who was kept in the Prisons of *Andrea Damia*) could not by all extremities vsed against him, be any way impeached in his most rare prudence, when (after long consideration thereof) the saide *Damia*, of a Capitall enemy, became a most faithfull and affectionate Seruant of the Emperour.

Let vs consider the infinite benefits, wherof imprisonment is the only cause. First of all, it keepes the Spirit of man, fro comitting many enormous sins; his eyes, from beholding spectacles to offend them, or motions stirring vp carnall concupisence; his eares from hearing irkesome and infecting speeches, and the ouer readie and sintull tongue, from blaspheming the holy name of Almighty God.

Beside these, he liueth more sober and temperately, and is in safe securitie,

The recompence of vertuous men, by imprisonment.

Impeachment of worldlie operations.

Prooue of honorable and resolute constancy.

The infinite benefits ensuing by imprisonment to men.

The vertues
of Patience
and Humility.

The chastising
of lewd
and disobedient
Children.

The Marques
Paulo Vicino.

The Lord of
Rosses Bishop
of *Pavia.*

Peter Fatinell
of *Luca.*

The strange
alteration of
a Knight of
France.

be it in the times of peace, war, or pestilence. Prisoners are exempted from paying taxations, borrowings, or house-rents. They cannot be suspected to haunt euill companies, the frequenting whereof, is oftentimes the cause of ten thousand excesses. Lastly, in this holy place, easily are obtained the vertues of patience and humility.

Haue we not seene, and do yet daily behold, that good Fathers (to chastise the disobedience or pride of their misgouerned Children) cause them for a while to be shut vp in Prison? Whence they returne soone after, endued with better manners and behaviour: then if they had spent more space, in the Schoole of wise *Socrates*, or in the Academy of most prudent Philosophers. Was not that marueilous, of the Viscount *Paulo Vicino*, who, being for some cause (whereof hee was accused) Captiue vnder the power of Duke *Frances*: gaue himselfe wholly to the study of diuine Letters? Wherein (during the time of his imprisonment) he became so feruent and frequent, as few were found to excell him in Religion. And this was a matter, whereof (in all his former life time) he neuer had so much as a thought: albeit he enjoyed the substance of a right good Byshop, and of a better Abby. I may not omit in this place, my Lord of *Rosses*, Bishop of *Pavia*, who at the houre when he entred Prison; gaue himselfe wholly to God, where as yet he liueth like a right Hermit. *Peter Fatinell*, a Cittizen of *Luca*, hauing liued many yeares most miserably, neuer comming to the Church, nor knowing God to be his Superiour: so soone as he was brought into Prison, he desired that a Priest might be sent vnto him, to talke with him concerning his Soules health; and from thence forward, he liued in all duty and obedience.

What shall wee say of a Knight in *France*, whose haire (by being some few daies in Prison) became all white, onlie by the alteration of his former life: so that, neither by Head, Beard, behaviour, or speeches, he could be knowne to be the man he had beene before. The like may be said of an *Italian* President, who parting (in his latest houre) from the Prison; declared by his wordes and

diuine perswasions, in cōparable sanctitie. The Prison then is found, to be the best Schoole of Philosophy, and the onely singuler Academy: wherein to learne all Morall vertues and Christian profession, and no place else may compare, with the Diuine and most praiseworthy Prison.

10 O holy and glorious house! Wherein the Maker and Redeemer of the world vouchsafed to lodge. The house of al goodnesse and vertues: and which ought more to be desired for peerelesse holinesse, then the Pallaces of Kinges and greatest Princes. For they are more semblable to some Hell, or place of eternall death; then is the blessed and deuout Prison: wherein men may passe their liues more religiously, then among all the obseruant Fryers in the World. For there shall no man plead against ye, or picke any iniurious quarrell with ye. There they sildome swear, or very little. There ye shall continually hear, an infinite number of faire vowes made; with a thousand Prayers and supplications, both by day and night.

20 O life most sweet, and full of repose! How much more consolation is to bee found in thee, then in following the Courts of the mightiest Princes? For there, no right from wrong can be discerned, or any other good; then trauaile and vnquietnesse, both of the body and minde. Seeing then it is so, that imprisonment bringeth with it so manie commodities, as I haue already declared vnto ye: I may easily conclude, that we ought not to be grieued, when we are made subiect thereunto. But rather highly to praise the name of God, for bestowing on vs (thereby) the most singuler benefit, which in this World we can receiue from him.

CHAP. XXIX.

30 *A brieffe Summarie, of the first Booke of Ciceroes Tusculanes; concerning the misprisall and contempt of the World.*

THE whole life of a wise man, is nothing else but a memorial, and continuall

The Prison is the best, schoole of Philosophy.

The glory of imprisonment

The holy priuiledge of imprisonment.

The Authors Conclusion.

The life time of a wise man

continuall regard made of death. Nor can any man iustly speake against it; in regard I am verily perswaded, that all things else are hurtfull to man, and that there can be no greater happinesse then this: because it is most certaine, that after our fraile life is ended, we shall bee with God. The grieffe is litle or nothing at all in death: for it is oftentimes without feeling, and sometimes with pleasure. In what manner soeuer it be, it can be of no account: because the paine is past in a moment, and we should not be fearefull thereof, but rather long and desire to embrace it. For after we haue made that happy passage, there remaineth no more care or sollicitude for vs. It is but a departing hence, to goe into another Countrey, wherethey doe al-

Little or no grieffe at all in death.

Our departure into another Country

ready dwell, which are departed out of this life. It is therefore a matter of ioy and felicity, and a man should march thither with a cherefull courage, and not thinke much to dye, euen during his fairest fortunes, because therein is no paine, grieffe, or vexation. Neither doth it procure any extinction of the Spirit, but is only a change of habitation, from earth to Heauen, which is the proper dwelling of the Soule. Wee ought not then to feare that, which cannot be auoyded, and is likewise necessary for all in generall; therefore no one can be esteemed miserable therein. If therefore we be mindfull thereof, and of our latest daies; we shall neuer sinne. But may safely say with Saint Paule: *Iesus Christ is our life, and Death aduantage.*

No quenching of the Spirit.

Fff 3

The End of the Sixt Booke.



The first part of the book is a
 description of the various
 kinds of plants which grow
 in the country. The second
 part is a description of the
 various kinds of animals
 which are found in the
 country. The third part is
 a description of the various
 kinds of minerals which
 are found in the country.

The End of the Book





The Seauenth Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdome of Tunis; The Lawes, Customs, and Ceremonies used among the people, and other Observations well deseruing memory.



The City of *Thunis*, or *Tunis*, being very great, was by the *Latines* cald *Tunetum*, & of the *Arabians* *Tunus*:

but they do hold that name to be a very corrupt vocable, because (in their Language) *Tunus* doth not signifie any thing. This City was anciently called *Tharsus*, as that other which is in *Asia*, and was at the first but a very little City, builded by the *Africanes*, vpon the Lake which was formed vpon the *Goletta*, distant from the *Mediterranean* Sea, about twelue miles. But after that *Carthage* was destroyed, then did the City begin to encrease, both in number of Habitations and dwellers: in regard that the Armies which surpris'd *Carthage*, being vnwilling to tarry there (for feare of fresh supplies from *Europe*) came to abide at *Tunis*, and there they builded many houses.

Not long after, there came thither

a Captaine, named *Hucha di Vmen*, who gaue them to vnderstand, that an Army ought not to shut vp it selfe in any City, that should touch or be neere vnto the Sea: And therefore they made a City, which they named *Cairoan*, about the distance of thirty sixe Miles from the Sea, and accounted to be an hundred miles from *Tunis*. Then did the Armies forsake *Tunis*, and inhabited this new City: other people gouerning those houses in *Tunis*, which had beene abandoned by the Armies.

After this, about three hundred and fifty yeares, the City of *Cairoan* was destroyed by the *Arabians*; so that the Rector or Ruler thereof, fled thence into the West, and raigned in *Buggia*, as also ouer all the neighbouring partes: but ther remained in *Tunis*, a Familie or kindred of the said Rector or Gouernor, that fled from *Cairoan*, who still possessed the same, as Soueraigne Lordes thereof. About ten yeares after, they of *Buggia* were expulsed by *Ioseph*, the Sonne of *Tessino*, and beholding the humility and kindnes of those Lords: they left the State to them, wherein they continued in tranquillitie, so long as the Familie of *Ioseph* raigned. Wherefore *Abdul Mumen*, King of *Marocco*, hauing regained *Mabdia*, which had bin taken by the Christians: passed homeward (in his retrerne) by *Tunis*, where he tooke on him the gouernment. Therefore, all the time that *Abdul Mumen* liued, and *Ioseph* his Sonne, with their Successours, *Iacob* and *Mansor*: *Tunis* continued in peace, vnder

Hucha di Vmen a valiant Captaine.

Cairoan, a new city builded.

Cairoan destroyed by the *Arabes*.

Tunis gouerned by the Kings of *Marocco*.

The ancient name of *Tunis*.

The destruction of *Carthage*.

Mahumet En-
nasir, warred
on the King
of Spaine.

Tunis besie-
ged by the
Arabes.

Tunis deliue-
red from the
Arabes.

Abu Zaccherias
K. of Marocco.

The death of
Abu Zaccherias

The declining
of the King-
dome of Ma-
rocco, and ri-

the rule of the Kings of *Marocco*. After the death of *Mansor*, his Sonne *Mahumet Ennasir* mooued Warre against the King of *Spaine*: but was ouercome and forced to flight, whereupon he retyred backe to *Marocco*, and liued there some few yeares after his foyle. Then election was made of his Brother *Ioseph*, who was slaine by certaine Souldiers to the King of *Telesin*.

Now, in the interim, betweene the ouerthrow of *Mahumet*, his death, as also the murthuring of his Brother *Ioseph*; the *Arabes* returned backe on *Tunis*, and besieged it. But the Gouvernour of *Tunis*, gaue notice thereof to the King of *Marocco*, and that if he sent him not some immediate succour: hee should bee constrained to deliuer the Citty to the *Arabes*. The King well considering, on a case of such importance; did as became a man of his high Spirit and experience; electing (aboue all other in his Court) one borne in *Ciuill*, a Cittie of *Granado*, named *Habdulwahidi*, whom hee forth-with sent thither, with the very same authoritie, as if he had gone himselfe in person. Being accompanied with twenty goodlie great Shippes, hee arriued at *Tunis*, which he found euen halfe vanquished by the *Arabes*. But by his wisdome, prouidence, and flowing eloquence, he foyled the enemy, pacified the State, set all thinges in good order, and made the Countries entrance sure against all Intruders. After him, his Sonne succeeded, named *Abu Zaccherias*, who in wisdome and learning excelled his Father. He caused to be builded in *Tunis* (on the West side of the Citties very highest part) a mightie great Rocke, and many goodly Pallaces in the Citty: with a beautifull Temple, which had an high Tower on the top thereof, round engirt with strong walles.

This *Abu Zaccherias* went likewise to *Tripoli*, where his valour won him such renoune, and his wisdome made so good benefit of the Countrey: that (at his death) he left an infinite Masse of treasure behinde him. He being dead, his Sonne succeeded him, who was an ambitious proud young man, & would no longer suffer himselfe to be gouerned by the Lordes of *Marocco*: because hee saw their declining and downefall,

and that the Family of *Marino* began to set in footing, rainging ouer the Regions of *Fez*, as *Beni Zeiren* did in *Telesin*, and in *Granado*.

10 These two great Potentates began to Warre vpon each other, and to contend for priority of State: but by this their discord, the power of the Lordes of *Tunis* encreased, so that they went with an Army against *Telesin*, and compelled them to pay them tribute. Whereupon, the King that new arose from the House of *Marino*, and had bin at the surprizall of *Marocco*: sent many rich presents to the Gouvernour of *Tunis*, recommending both himselfe, and his whole State vnto his fauour. The Gouvernour accepted him as a Friend: alwayes prouided, that he should be inferior to him. And so hee returned in triumph to *Tunis*, causing himselfe to be called King of *Affrica*: which Title was thought very desertful for him, because (as then) there was not a more powerfull Prince in all *Affrica*, then he.

20 He began then to ordaine his Court Royall, with Secretaries, Councillers, and a Captaine Generall: vsing all those Ceremonies, that the Kinges of *Marocco* formerlie had done. And from the time of this Prince, euen vnto our daies: *Tunis* held on the same encreasing Dignitie, as well in Habitations, as in Ciuility; so that it became the onely and singuler Cittie of *Affrica*. After his death, his Sonne, to whom the Royall Crowne came in right; caused certaine Townes or Burroughes to be builded about the Cittie. 30 One, without the Gate, called *Bedsuuaica*, containing about some three hundred Houses. Another, without the Gate, called *Bed Elmanera*, amounting to a thousand Households. And these two Townes are full of infinite Artificers. As of Fisher-men, Apothecaries, and diuers other.

40 In the last named Borrough, there is a separate streete, as if it were another little Towne by it selfe: wherein doe dwell the Christians of *Tunis*, that are imployed in the Princes guard, and in other Offices, which the *Moores* cannot, nor are permitted to doe. Afterward, another Towne was added, which is without the Gate, called 50

ing of that of Fez.

Entercourse between *Marocco* and *Tunis*.

The King of *Tunis* King of *Affrica*.

Ordination of the Court Royall and Councillers.

Building of Townes and villages without the Citty.

The Christians of *Tunis*.

Bed

Bed and *Bahar*, that is the Marine or sea-gate, which is neere to the Lake of the *Goletta*, about halfe a Mile.

In this Towne, doo lodge Christian Merchants, and Strangers; as the *Genewaves*, *Venetians*, and *Catalanes*, who do allhold their Ware-houses & their Lodgings seperately, of the Moores. This Towne is bigge enough, and maketh about three hundred fires, betweene the Christians and the Moores: but the houses are little. So that, between the walled Cittie, and the Townes about it, may be accounted some nine or tenne thousand Households.

The Cittie it selfe, is faire and well ordered, to wit; euey Art is seuerall by it selfe. Beside, it is very populous, and well inhabited: but the Inhabitanes (for the most part) are Artificers, and especially Weauers of Cloath, because in *Tunis* is made a very great quantity of most perfect cloath, which is sold thorow all *Affrica*. And they are very choise, in hauing their cloath to be strong and good, for the Women of the Cittie, are excellent Spinners; and when they Spin, they vse to sit in some place, that the Spindle may descend downe low, or out of some Window, answering to some Court of the house; or by some hole, made out of one roome into another: so that by the waightinesse of the Spindle, descending such a depth, the thredde is well drawne; made round and euen.

In this City, is a market place, whereon standeth a great number of Shoppes, appertaining to Merchants, Trading in Cloath, and they are helde to be the Richest men in *Tunis*.

There are other Merchants and Artzans; as Apothecaries and such as sel Sirrops, Electuaries, Perfumes: And Silkenmen, Taylors, Sadlers, and other Handicraftes men. The people are verie benigne and louing, and the Tradesmen, Merchants, Priests, Doctors, and al they that haue the managing of any office, do go well Garmented, wearing great *Tulipantes* on their heads, made vp of a long and large Towell. Thus do the men of the Kinges Court weare, and Soldiers; but there they do not vse to couer theyr heads.

Of wealthy men indeede, there are but few, in regarde of the great dearth of Graine: for the ordinary price of a mea-

sure vsed amongst them (valning with vs a quarter Sacke) is three Doubles, which are four Ducates of them of *Venice*. And this scarcety ensueth, by reason that the people of the City, cannot husband their Neighboring grounds, thorow the great mollestation which they haue by the *Arabes*. Therefore, their Corne is faine to come conducted from farre thither, as from *Trbs*, from *Buggia*, and from *Bona*. Some of the Cittizens haue certaine little Farme-houses neere to the Cittie and well walled about, where they sowe such small portions of grounde as they haue, with Barley or Wheate. And those grounds must be well watered; therefore in euerie Farme they haue a Well, out of which they draw water by the help of a Wheel, and so conuey it then by channels, ingeniously deuised and made. The Wheele is turned about by a Mule, or a Cammell; and so the Water running along, by men the ground is watred therewith.

As for the quantity of Corn that may be produced from one of these smal Farmes, and Husbanded with such paine & endeuour: It will not last the owner for halfe the yeares space; and yet notwithstanding, the Bread is fair, white and well Baked. For, they do not boul out any Flower, but let it go wholly together, although it asketh much labour in the making: especially, when they conuert it into PASTE, which they beat with great Pestles, made after the manner of those, wherewith they beat Rice and Flax in the Countrey of Egypt.

The Merchants, Artzanes, and Cittizens, haue an equall Custome, to eate (in the day time) a vile and rude meate, which is Bailey Dow, steeped in Water, and reduced like a kinde of Glew: then is it put into a little Oile, or the Iuice of Limons, or some of Orenge: and this coorse kind of food they swallow down, without any chewing, receiuing it by little and little, and calling it *Besbis*, but indeed they eate it very beastly.

There is a Market place, where nothing else is sold but Barley Meale; and it is onely bought to make that kinde of meate. They vse another meate, which is somewhat more cleanly and handsom. They take a light kinde of PASTE, and then boyle it in water, and when it is well sodden, they put it into an Earthen Vessell; and

The Warehouses of Christian Merchants.

The Cittie it selfe, and manner thereof among the Inhabitants.

The women of Tunis are singular spinners.

The Market place of the City, & howe it is traded.

The condition of the people in their seuerall degrees.

Great scarcety of Graine, & the cause thereof.

Cittizens farmehouses without the City.

The great drought of their grounds

The perfection of their Bread.

A rude kinde of food eaten by them.

The Barley market place.

No Water-Mills within or without the City.

& gathering it together in the midst of the Dish; they poure Oyle vppon it, or the broath of fat meate, and so eate it as they do the other, and this kind of food is termed among them *Bruzin*. Neither within nor without the Cittie, is there anie Mill, that grindeth on the water, but they are all mooued by Beastes; so that a Mill can hardly grinde a Seame of Corne in a day.

Wells of water reserved for the prince

There are no Springs, nor Riues, or VVelles of wholsome water: but out of Cesternes, wherein they gather raine water. A little without the Cittie, there is a Poole of running water, but it is somewhat brackish, and thither resorts all the Water-bearers, with their Beastes and other cariages; where when they are filled, they make sale of them in the Cittie, and the people vse to drinke it, as beeing more wholsome then the Cesterne Water. Other Wells there be of verie good water; but they are for the Prince, & for his Courtiers.

Temples in the City.

There is a verie faire Temple, and great in Circumference, furnished not onely with a number of Priests; but also, with great Rentes and Reuennewes. Other Temples there are in the Cittie, and neighbouring Townes, but of much lesse and vnable quality.

Colledges of Schollers and Monasteries.

Many Colledges of Schollers there are, and Monasteries of some Religious people, for whom the Almes of the people is their best allowance. If any one be a Natiue of *Tunis*, and his follie doo lead him, to hurle stones about the streetes, their wisdome is so great, that they repute that ydle Ass to be a Saint. The more part of the houses are beautifull enough formed, and made of squared stone, verie morkemanly: On the roofes whereof, are goodly Ornaments, and curious Carued Plaister, painted with Azure, and other fine Colours. And thus they do, because Woode and Timber is verie scarce in *Tunis*; and therefore their Wood-worke must needs bee verie vnhandsome.

The maner of their houses.

Pauing of their streets.

They were wont to paue the Streetes before their Doores, with certaine calcinated and shining stone; and the Courts within, with equal squared broade stone, glistering and shining in like manner: which yet is obserued in many places, & euery house generally hath his Tarras. The doores or entrances are very beauti-

The doores and entrance into the houses.

ful, shewing as if they were between two Porches, one toward the streete, and the other, betweene the entraunce and the house, ascending vp certaine degrees or staires, of verie comely and wel wrought stone. Eucry one striueth to haue his houses entrance most curious, & indeed, more costly then all the rest of the house: because the Cittizens do most commonly sit at their doors, conferring there with any of their Friendes, and apting what businesse is to be done by their seruants.

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VVithout the Cittie are goodlie possessions of fruits, which grow but in smal quantity, yet are all good. Of Gardens there are almost an infinit number, planted with Orenge, Lemmons, Roses, and verie sweet floures: especially, in one place called the *Bardo*, where are the gardens and Noble Pallaces belonging vnto the King, verie proudly builded, and excellling in Carued woorkes, and curious Colours.

Orchards & Gardens without the City.

Round about the Cittie, for welneere the space of fiue or sixe miles on euerie side, are lands of Oliue trees, which yeild such plentiful quantitie of Oyle, as not only furnisheth the Cittie and neighboring parts; but also great store sent into Egypt. Of the Oliue tree VVood also, they make a kind of Coales, which is very helpful to the Cittie, and other partes of the wood they burne beside. The women go neatly clothed and adorned, and (out of their owne houses) their faces are couered: and they spende most of their care, in fine polishing and perfuming of themselues; for the Perfumers Shoppes are the latest open in all the Citie. As concerning the Magistrates of the sayde Cittie, they follow in their due Descriptions.

Great store of Oliue trees

The order for their women.

1. THE King of *Tunis*, is created by inheritance, and by election of his Father, with Oath taken of the principal Officers; as the Captains, Doctors Priests, Iudges, and Readers. So soon as the King dyeth, his successour is immediately placed on the Seat Royal, and al do yeild him their obeyfance. VVhich being doone, they present him before the man, that holdeth the greatest degree in office, who is called the *Munafid*, and is as a Vize-King in gouerning the Kingdome. This *Munafid* rendereth an account of all occasions by him administered,

The election of the King of *Tunis* after his Fathers death

The *Munafid*, or chiefe officer next the King.

red, euen to the present day, and (with the Kings consent) he disposeth of Officers, deliuering full information of all Mandates, and for the prouision of the Soldiers.

The *Mesuar*, the second great officer.

2 Next to the *Munafid*, the second man of dignity in the Kingdome, is the *Mesuar*, who is as a Captaine Generall; hauing full authority ouer the Soldiers, and ouer the Kinges Guard. Hee may dispend, encrease, and diminish the Soldiers Wages, as seemeth best to himself. He may make election according to his owne will: Either in remoouing the Armies, or doing any thing, euen as if the King himselfe did ouersee all things.

The *Castellano*, or keeper of the Tower, and such occasions as concerne his Office.

3 In the thirde degree, followeth the *Castellano*, or Lieutenant of the Tower, a man of much reputation, who is appointed vnto all businesse concerning the Tower or Castle. He hath charge of the Soldiers planted therein; and for all buildings of Castels and Pallaces belonging to the King, as also of all prisoners committed to the Tower. Wherefore, it is a Custome obserued amongst them, that whē any important offence is found to be done, the transgressors are referred for imprisonment to the Castle; as nowe adayes is vsed in the Court of Rome. He hath likewise Authority (as a Iustice of Peace) to examine all Offenders coming before him; and no otherwise, then as if the King himselfe were there in proper person.

The Governour of the Citty.

4 The Governour of the Citty, is the fourth man of the Kingdome, and is superiour ouer all Capital causes. He chastiseth al such as commit Ribaldry, or any euill actions in what Nature soeuer: And to speake al in a word, he is displeas'd at al things that go against Iustice.

The cheefe Secretarie of Estate to the King for all Occurrences

5 The cheefe Secretarie of Estate, is he that receiueth Letters from al parts of the world to the King, or writeth vnto them in the same Nature: Hee hath Authority to open all Letters out of the Kinges presence: those onely excepted from the fore-named Governour, and the *Castilian*. When he hath read the Letters to the King, hee writes and answeres in his name, according as hee is directed by the King: And questionlesse, hee is a man of great reputation, as he that knoweth all the secrets, yea, and most concealed in his Soueraignes brest. Vnder him are many inferiour Secretaries, ap-

pointed for Supplications, Mandates, & other occuring businesse, which depend most of all vpon the Kings mouth.

Maister of the Haul, and authority of his Office.

6 He that is stiled Maister of the Haule, on such daies as the Councell doe meet together; hath eare to adorne the place with Tapistry, and the walles with Hangings: assigning each Councell (at his entrance) to his meet place, and commaunding the Curfores or Messengers (in the Kinges name) to dispatch al such businesse as they are sent about by the Councell, or to apprehend any man by them appointed. And this Maister hath great familiarity and discourse with the King; because he goeth in and out, and conferreth with him, when, and as often as himselfe pleaseth.

7 The Treasurer standeth bound to receiue the Monies of the Officers, and to assigne the same to others deputed for the Cash, and to lay it out according to the Kinges commaund. His Office is very important and Honourable.

The Treasurer and his charge.

8 The eighth man in order, of any credit, is the Customer, or Receiner of Tolls and Customes. He gathereth the Tolls for things, which come into the Citty from al parts by Land. He collecteth the dues of Merchants-Strangers, which is two parts and an halfe on euery hundred. He keepeth a great number of Officers and Catch-poles, who, as they see any Stranger enter, that appeareth to be a man of any account or credit: doe present him to the Customer; or if he be not present, or at leysure, they keepe the party in Prison; vntill such time as best opportunity serueth. And then he is compelled to pay such a summe of Money, as he imposeth on him, vrging him thereto by many oaths.

The Officer for deceipt of Tolls and Customes.

9 There is another Tolle-taker or Customer, that gathereth the Tolls brought and carried from forth the Citty, or are to be sent away by Sea, from any Port vpon the Coast. And the place of this Tolle-Takers abiding, is on the Lake of the *Goletta*, neere to the Citty.

The Officer for Sea dues and Collections.

10 Next vnto the forenamed Officers, there is a *Spenditore*, or Steward. He is (in effect) Maister of the Household, and hath the charge of furnishing the

The Authority of the Stewarde or Spenditore.

the Kings Pallace, with Bread, flesh, and all other things necessary for the Court. As apparrell, to cloath the Women and Ladies attending on the King; the Eunuches, and the Negro slaues, who are as Chamber-waiters to the King, and attending on the Nurses. Hee hath charge also, to despende with the Offices that happen in the Castle, or out of the Castle, among the Christian Slaues, and prouideth them of meat and raiment, according as necessity requireth. His care likewise extendeth, for the expences of the Kinges Children, and all their Nurses.

Other Officers of lower esteeme and repute.

II. Beside all these forenamed degrees in the Court Royall, and those in greatest place, by whom the State is gouerned: there are other Officers of meanner reputation: As the Maister of the Stable, the Maister of the Guardrobe, the Chaplaine, the Iudge for the Fielde, the Maister of the Kinges Children, the Commander of the Footmen, and such like. The King keepeth a thousand & five hundred Light-horse, who for the most part, are Christian Renegadoes, and eue-ry one of them hath prouision for his owne person and Horse.ouer them, there is a Captaine appointed, who placeth or dismisseth them after his owne pleasure. There are also an hundred and fifty horse of Natiue Moores, who ordinarily do giue counsell to the King, in matters appertaining to the wars, and serue as Maisters of the campe. Also 150. Crosse-bowes, who are all Christian Renegadoes, and these do alwayes go about the King, when hee rideth either in the City, or abroad. But the most secret & especiall Guard vnto the King, which alwayes are nearest to his person, consisteth wholly of Christians, that dwell in a certaine neere bordering Towne. Before the King, there goeth another Guard on foote, and they are all Turkes, armed with Bowes and Pistols.

Christian Renegadoes.

Christians are the speciall Guard to the King.

Then before the King, rideth the Commander of the Footemen: and on his one side, rideth hee that beareth the Kings Partezane, and on the other, hee that carrieth his Target; and next behind his horse, he that beareth his Crosse-bow. About him, rode diuers other Officers; as the Constables, the Mace-bearers, who are appertaining vnto the Ceremonies. The goldend ucat of the King, wai-

The waight of the Kinges Gold Ducat.

gheth 24. Carrats, and is one Ducat and a third part, of those Ducates which are currant thorow Europe. They stampe also certaine Mony of Siluer, foure square, containing the weight of a Carrate; and thirty or two and thirty of them, do make a Ducate. Their Money is termed *Nasari*; and in *Italy*, their Ducate is called a Double.

10

CHAP. II.

Of the most potent King, called Great Tamburlaine; What Kingdome and Prouinces were Conquered by him; And the manner of his Military Discipline.

20



Mong the *Greeks*, *Romaines*, *Carthagenians*, and other Nations, were manie verie excellent Captains and Soldiers, who as they

Captains and Soldiours of note & name, in diuers Nations.

30

were Wise, and very fortunate in warre, so they were as happie in hauing Historians, that wrote most amplye of their generous actions.

40

But in our time, there is found a notable man, who may be saide (deseruedlie) to equall all the other, how excellent any way foeuer they were; and yet (notwithstanding) vnfortunate in this, that hee could finde no man to write or describe his deeds. So that I, beeing desirous to say somewhat of him, haue been constrained to begge and borrow among manie; and yet I shall speake but little, and confusedly also of him.

50

The man was named *Great Tamburlaine*, who (at his beginning) was a toyling Labourer in the Fields, or (as some others say) a poore Soldier: and yet neuertheless, he attained to so great Seignories and Victories, that hee could bee thought no lesse then mighty *Alexander*, or if he were, it was very little; and this man raigned, about the yeare three hundred and ninety.

The description of *Tamburlaine*, at his beginning.

1390.

Some do report, that hee was descended of the *parthians*, a people much feared in the *Romaines* time, and yet notwithstanding, slenderly renowned. His Father and Mother were poore people, and yet himselfe of good and gentle disposition;

The descent & parentage of *Tamburlaine* and his Description.

position: well composed of his members, strong, and lusty, a man quicke and sudden, sharpe of spirit, and of good and resolute iudgement.

Euermore, his thoughtes aimed at haughtie matters, as wel during the time of his pouertie, as after his attaining vnto wealth & riches. He was of great Courage, so that euen from his Infancy, hee was Naturally enclined to warre, and he gaue his minde thereto with such sollicitude, and studious endeouour in learning the Art Military, as it seemed verie hard to iudge, wherein he was most happy, either in valour and dexterity, or in Wise-dome and a fetled spirite. With which Vertues and promptitudes, beside such as we are to speake of heereafter, he won (in small time) the very greatest reputation, that euer man could reach vnto.

His beginning, according as *Baptista Fulgosa* declareth, was, that hee being the Sonne of a poore man, and keeping Cattle in the Field, with other Boyes of the same profession, it hapned vppon a day, that his Companions and hee sporting together, they would needes make choise of him to be their King. Now, albeit this their election was doone but in iest; yet he whose spirit applyed it selfe to great occasions, in the serious pursuite of their sport and play, made them all swear vnto him, that they would do whatsoeuer he commanded them, and to obey him, as if he were their King indeede.

After he had taken this oath of them, he commanded that euery one shoulde sell his Cattle; and leauing this base seruility of life, to follow the exercise of Armes, retaining him as their King & Captaine. All which they did; and within few dayes after, five hundred Herdsmen were gotten together, by whose assistance, the first acte that euer he did, was to rob Merchants, as they passed that way; and afterward, he diuided the booties so iustly amongst his Companions, that they vowed their following seruice vnto him, with all vnfaigned loue and fidelitie, and this course of life, drew many other new seruants to him.

These matters being vnderstoode by the King of *Persia*, he sent one of his Captaines with a thousand horse, to take him and all his Consorts. When the Captaine was come vnto him, hee handled the case so ingenuously with him, that of

an enemy, he made him an intimat friend, yea, and his companion and Coadiutor. So that they ioyned their forces together, and beganne to vndergoe greater enterprises, then any which formerly had bin done.

During these entercouises, there hapned discord betweene the King of *Persia*, and one of his Brethren; by means whereof, *Tamberlain* tooke part with the kings Brother, and ordered all thinges so well by his industry, that helping him to win the Victory, and making him King, the King indeede was quite destroyed. Afterward, in requitall of this fauour the new King created *Tamberlaine*, Captaine of the great part of his Armies, hee pretending to win new Countries for him; and for accomplishment whereof, he mustered more store of people together. In the performance whereof, he found the meanes to make them reuolt, and grow rebellious against their new King. Against whom he went with his owne forces suddenly, and taking the kingdom from him (which hee did helpe him to Conquer) made himselfe King of *Persia*, which questionlesse he could neuer haue don, without most great industry, and very admirable deeds of armes.

This done, he did set his owne Countrey at libertie, which long time had bin seruite to the *Sarazins*, and Kings of *Persia*, and by being himselfe King, released them out of thraldome. Afterward, hauing such a goodly great armie in readinesse, he raised Rebellions in the Neighbouring Prouinces; & by these meanes (in proesse of time) conquered *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Babylon*, *Mesopotamia*, *Scythia*, *Asiatica*, *Albania*, *Media*, and other prouinces, with many great and most strong Townes, and famous Citty.

Now, albeit there is nothing set down in Writing, concerning his stout warres and battailes, in the acquisition of these Lands and Countries, yet it must needes be presupposed, that wonderfull inuentions, and incredible deeds of armes were by him performed. For all such as haue Written any thing, do plainly say, That great things were done by this excellent man, and that alwayes hee carryed such good gouernment in his Army, as neuer could be found any mutiny therein. For he was very faithfull and liberall, bestowing Honors on all such as followed him, and

War between the King of *Persia*, and his Brother.

Tamberlaine maketh himselfe King of *Persia*.

The conquests of *Tamberlaine*.

No memorie in recorde, of his warres and battailes.

The great & happy inclination of *Tamberlaine*.

Baptista Fulgosa, of *Tamberlaine*'s Originall.

Tamberlaine made a King in sport among Boyes.

Tamberlaine's first acte, was robbing of Merchants.

The King of *Persia*'s Captaine, and his power ioyned with *Tamberlaine*.

His discrete order among his men of Warre.

and each one according to his merrite, wherby he was both beloued and feared. He instructed and ledde his men in such good readinesse, that euen in an instant (when he saw time to fauour him) by a meere signe which hee made, each man knew what hee had to doo, and how to come againe into his meete place. For (indeede) he led so powerful and great an Armie, as the World would hold it rare in any man to do the like.

His Iustice in carriage of his Campe.

In brieffe, his Camp resembled one of the best Citties in the world, because all Officers were there in good order, euen as if yee beheld a great number of Merchants, well furnished with all things necessary for the field. He would not suffer any Pillings, Pilferies, Theftes, Forcings, or Violences, but chasticed such as were guilty therein, very rigorously. By these meanes, he carried his Campe so well provided of al things, as the best City of any Land (in the most assured times of peace) could desire no better. Hee would haue his Souldiers to make their glory in their valiant behaiour, vertues, and prouidence. And in those regards, he would see them well payed, honored, praised, and cherished them, and (yet for all this) held them in strong subiection.

His delight in his soldiers Tamberlaine both King & Emperor.

Being becom thus both King & Emperor, of manie kingdomes and Prouinces in Asia, he had an infinite number of people resorting to him from all partes, (beside them that depended on him) only for the faire renoune of his Royall Vertues, so that he commanded a farre greater Army, then euer did King Darius or Xerxes. For they that speake of him, do say, that he had foure hundred thousand Horsmen, and sixe hundered thousand foot Soldiers, with whom he went in conquest of the lesser Asia. Whereof when the great Turke (named Baiazeth) was aduertised, who was Lord thereof, and held then his siege before Constantinople, hauing formerly conquered many Prouinces in Greece, and her Neighbouring Territories, making himselfe the richest and most feared king on the earth, he was constrained (immediatly) to rayse his siege, and passe into Asia with all his people, mustering vp so many more as hee could all the way he went. It is reported, that he had as many horsmen as Tamberlaine, and a great number of foote men, all well experienced: especially in regard

Baiazeth the great Turke besieging Constantinople.

of the wars, wherein hee had long before exercised them against the christians. So Baiazeth, like a worthy-minded Captain, perceiuing he could by no other meanes resist this puissant Emperour, resolved to make head against him, & giue him battell, confiding infallibly in the great Vertue of his followers. Wherefore, being come neere to the confines of Armenia, where each of the hauing prepared their people like aproued good warriors, euen vpon the point of day-breake, they began the most braue & cruell battel (as I think) that euer was fought, considering the great number of their men, with the solid experience declared on either side in cases of warre, sustained by valour and dexterity in all their Captaines. So that they fought most cruelly all the whole day, killing themselues, because they could not conquer one another, nor behold to which side the victory enclined. Til towards the Euening, when the Turks power began to faile and stoop, yet more by multitude then power; for there dyed the greater number of them: and (as one saith) there remained 200000. men on his part, but al the rest were discomfited, and turned their backs.

Baiazeth resolued on battel against Tamberlaine.

A whole day spent in the battell.

When Baiazeth behelde this aduersé Fortune, to giue fresh courage vnto his warriors, and to turne them to a Newe fight, he shewed the true valor of an vnconquerable spirit, and ran amongst his enemies, with royall indignation. All which notwithstanding, hee was so ouercharged with blowes, that he was beaten from his horse, and taken before any help could rescue him. Then was he brought to great conquering Tamberlaine, who caused him to be shut vp in a Cage of Iron, and led along with him wheresoeuer he went. He was fed with the crums of Bread that came from Tamberlaines Table, and with scraps and morselles which were throwne vnto him, as if hee had bin a Dog, as alreadie wee haue declared in the life of Baiazeth: which may serue to vs as a memorable example, lest we should glorify our selues in the flatteries of worldly pompe and riches. For he who (but yesterday) was such a powerful ruler ouer men, was brought to day into such extreanity, as to feede like a Dogge, and in Dogges company. And this happened by the Fortune of one man, who formerly had beene but a fillie Heardef-man,

Baiazeths army foyled, & he taken prisoner, & kept in an Iron Cage.

The great & nuserable deiection of Baiazeth, to be fed and vied like a Dogge.

or

or (as others say) a poore Soldier, grown vp to such an estate of greatnesse; as (in his time) not any one could bee found, that durst or might equall himselfe with him. As for the other, who was borne in such height and magnificence, behold how one day could quite ouerthrowe him. These things are sufficient in themselves, wholly to reclaime men from worldly affectations, onely to loue and desire the fauour of Gods blessings.

Great *Tamberlaine* hauing thus ouercom all *Asia* the lesser, which before was subiect to the *Turke*; he turned towardes *Egypt*, and razed all *Syria*, *Phoenicia*, and *Palestine*, with all their Neighboring Iurisdiccions, taking (by force of arms) many notable and famous Citties. And among others, *Smyrna*, *Antioche*, *Tripoli*, *Sebasta*, and *Damas*. Afterward, beeing come into *Egypt*, the Soldane and the King of *Arabia*, beside many other Provinces assembled themselues against him: but in trying the fortune of battaile, they were throwne into the rout, spoiled and vanquished. so that the Soldan was glad to saue himselfe by flight. Neuerthelesse, the Conqueror might easilie haue taken *Egypt* from him, had hee not found it ouer-difficult, to conduct so puissant an Army thorow the sharpe deserts. For which cause hee deferred to pursue him any further, but contented himselfe (as then) with subduing the rest of the limittrophing parts.

One reporteth, that he was euer very iocund, when hee found any stout resistance in his enemy, because it afforded him the better occasion, for employment of his wit and industrie. As it happened to him at the Cittie of *Damas*; for after he had taken it by power, the cheefe and principall men that were within it, withdrewe themselues into so strong a Fortresse, as was verily reputed to bee impregnable for any humaine strength. Yet afterward, they would com to composition with him, which he vtterly refused, and would haue them either to fight it out, or else to submit themselues to his mercie. And perceyuing the scituati- on of the place to be good & high; within few dayes, he builded a strong Forte, both neere and much higher then the other, wherein hee vsed such speedy expedition, as the enemy could not by anie means hinder the erection thereof. And

hauing finished it to his owne liking, his battry plaied so mainly on the other Fort both Night and day, that they could enioy no rest, vntill he had it in his full possession.

Another Author also hath recorded, that he obserued certaine Ceremonious Customes in his assaults. For first he would haue a White Tent or Panillion, to bee erected before the City or Towne which he came to besiedge. Heereby hee signified to the Inhabitantes, that if on that day, while his White Tent stode vp, they had any will to yeeld themselues to him, hee graunted their liues; and all their goods in safety.

The second day, a Red coloured Tent was set in the same place of the other, & thereby he declared, that if (as yet) they submitted themselues to saue the residue, the Heades and Maisters of each house, should be put to death, and all the other liues preserued.

But on the third day, his dismal black Tent was aduanced; whereby hee gaue them plainly to vnderstand, that the gate of all clemencie & compasfion, was now quite shut vppe; and whosoever on that day, or any day after, either yeelded, or were taken; men or Weomen (without any regard of sex or quality) were all certaine of death, and the City it selfe both sacked and burned.

I herefore, it cannot be denyed, but that the man was very cruell, albeit hee was otherwise endued with many excellent vertues. In this respect, it was especially obserued and reputed, that God had raised this man, to chastice insolent Kings, and proud people. For confirmation whereof Pope *Pius*, who lived in his time, or at the utmost, within eight or ten yeares after, wrote of him in this manner:

Tamberlaine beeing come to besiedge a strong Citie, that would not submit it self, neither the first or second daies, which were the limitations for pittie and mercie: The third day being come, the Inhabitants confiding on an vncertaine hope, as perswaded, that they should begge compasfion of him, did set open their gates; and marshalling their Weomen and Children in the foremost rankes, all cloathed in White, and carryeng Olive Branches in their handes, cryed ons with lowde voyces, humbly desiring mercy, which doubtlesse they could not haue sayed

Ggg of

Great *Tamberlaine* proceedeth on in his conquests.

The Soldane of *Egypt*, saued his lite by flight.

The City of *Damas* taken by *Tamberlaine*

The strong Fort of *Damas* spoyled by *Tamberlaine*.

Three Ceremonious conditions obserued by *Tamberlaine*.

His White Tent.

His Red tent.

His Blacke Tent.

Tamberlaine was thought to be raised of God, for a scourge vnto Kinges and proud men.

Pope *Pius* his Wordes concerning *Tamberlaine*.

of in any other. But notwithstanding al this humiliation, when Tamberlaine behelde them in this equipage, he declared not anie signe of mildnesse, but in a contrary rough and sterne humour, called for a Squadron of his Horsemen, and commaunded them to Gallop fiercely on them, and treade them all to death with their Horses, and not to spare the life of one. Which presently they did, according to his command: and afterward, he burned and defaced the City, euen to the lowest foundation thereof.

A Geneway Merchant, much faouered by Tamberlaine

Another good Writer addeth to this of Pope Pius, that there was (at the verie same time of this bloody acte) a Geneway Merchant in the Campe, a man in high respect and familiar fauour with Tamberlaine, for continually he would conuerse friendly with him. This cruell deede, seeming horrid and hatefull to this Merchant, hee would needes enter into such boldnesse, as to demand of him: wherefore, he vsed such crueltie, to them that yeilded, and humbly sued for mercie? He entering into immeasurable choller, his face fiered with rage, and his eyes seeming to shoote foorth fiery sparckles, returned this answer vnto the Merchant. *It appeareth to thee, that I am a meer man; but therein thou much abusest thy iudgement. For I am none other thing, then the wrath of God, and the destruction of the World: therefore, looke wel to thy self, that thou presume no more into my presence, except thou meanest to bee punished, according as thy audacious folly well deserueth.* Which Wordes, when the Merchant had heard, he departed suddenlie, and was neuer afterwarde seene within his Tent.

His answer to the Merchant.

The returne of Tamberlaine home to his Countrey, after all his victories.

These things beeing thus accomplished; and this Great Man hauing Conquered most potent Countreyes; as also preuayled against, and slaine many Kings and great Lordes, not finding anie in all Asia able for to resist him: hee returned home to his owne Countrey, laden with infinite spoyles and riches, beside woonperfull supplies of people, from all the parts he went thorow, where the thirde moitie of their wealth also, was willinglie brought vnto him.

There he caused to be builded, a very strong magnificent Cittie, and inhabited by those people, which (as wee haue already saide) he brought home with him, from the lands and straunge kingdomes,

subiected to his obedience: which Companies of so manie Nations, were great personages, and abounding in Treasure: and therefore (by the helpe of Tamberlaine) they made it the most sumptuous Cittie in the world, in regard of so many people, which enlarged it both in circuit and amplenesse, so that it abounded in pompe and wealth.

The most sumptuous Cittie in the world builded by Tamberlaine

10 But in the end, this great Emperour Tamberlaine, albeit he maintained his estate in so powerfull authority, yet notwithstanding (as a fraile man) hee payed the debt due to Nature; and ending his dayes, left two Sonnes behinde him. But they differed very farre from their father, as appeared by most euident signes, not only in regard of the great discord which was betweene them, but also their incapacity, not knowing how to keepe and maintaine so great an Empire, as their father had conquered and left vnto them. For the Sonnes of Baiazeth (whome they kept as prisoners) beeing aduertised of their dissention, got away into Asia, wher what by vertue of their great spirite, and diligence vsed among the people (whom they found willing and forward in their assistance) they recouered their former lost goodes and possessions; the like did the other Kings & Princes, whom Tamberlaine had despoiled of their estates. So, by succession of time, the Empire began in such sort to decline, as coming to our daies, ther is found no mention made of him or his linage.

His death and discord between his two Sonnes.

The Sons of Baiazeth recouered their lost possessions.

40 True it is, that Baptista Ignatius, a great inquisitor into Antiquities, saith, that he left two Sonnes, in possession of those Countries and Prouinces which their father had conquerd in the parts about Euphrates, & that their successors inherited them, vnto the time of K. Vsancafanus, against whom, Mahomet the Turke waged battell. It is also said, that the heirs of this King Vsancafanus (according to the opinion of many) came to bee first Sophye, and from them the Sophies Empire was deriued, which to this day, maintaineth it selfe as a great enemy against the Turke. 50 But bee it howsoeuer, it is easily presupposed, that the history of this great man (if it had bin really set downe in writing) would haue bin most memorable, because many worthy things, might haue bin therein obserued. As for my selfe, I haue neither seene or read more then ye haue

Baptista Ignatius, a famous Historian, concerning the historie of Tamberlaine.

The Sophies Empire came from Tamberlains heirs

Fortune did neuer truly turn hir back on Tamberlaine.

Baptist. Fulgos. in lib. de Colloc. Pap. Pius in descrip. Orb. pars 2 Plat. in vit. Bon. 9.

heard; and I am verily perswaded, that there is not much more recorded of him. One onely thing is confirmed by all that haue written of him, that he neuer sawe fortune to turne her backe against him: neuer could he be any way vanquished; neuer did he enterprize any thing, but he effected it; and neuer did his industrie and courage faile him, in any attempt whatsoeuer. And therefore wee may (by good reason) equall him, with any other (without exception) of the most renowned in former ages. And al this discourse I haue collected out of *Baptista Fulgosa*, Pope *Pius* in his second part of the worldes description; *Platina*, in the life of *Boniface the 9.* *Baptista Ignatius*, *Mattheus Palmierus*, and out of *Campinus*, in his history of the Turkes.

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or divulging of their memory, least the people might thereby bee infected, and their successours should heare, that such abomination hath bene tollerated and supported by men, or such enorme and sinfull acts committed. Neuer helesse, I am constrained to write of him, who (in all kinds of iniquity) out-went all his predecessors, and admitteth no comparison of any other that followed him, how peruerse and wicked soeuer hee was. And therefore, I say, that our Naturall Philosophers, who described the Nature of hearbes, did no way lessen their benefit and aduantage, by declaring such as were hurtfull and venemous, to the end, that we might shunne them: then in reuealing those of greatest Vertue, for our vse and seruice. For a Prince now liuing, and he that shall come after, by beholding how detestable the one was and is, in the memory of men, he will shun all occasion of his resemblance. And likewise, any people, that haue a good, wise, and vertuous King, knowing howe much other Nations haue been or are afflicted by the turbulent and wicked gouernement of euill Princes, will be the more thankfull to God, and esteeme themselues verie happie, in meeting with such a wise and well-minded Prince. So praying for the life of such a Soueraigne, they will serue him with the greater loue and loyaltie. And those people, that haue an euill and bad disposed Prince, wil patiently indure him, knowing, that there haue bin some more wicked then he. Moreouer, the Reader, by perusing the liues and deeds of those euill Princes; well considering, what vnfortunat ends they haue had, and the paucity of time that their raigne lasted.

Comparison by the nature of hearbs.

Example by good and bad Princes.

Example of people toward good Princes and Tyrant.

Heliogabalus the Sonne of Antoninus Caracalla.

Opilus Macrinus elected Emperor, and soone after slaine in Bythina.

CHAP. III.

Of Heliogabalus, Emperour of Rome; his most strange vices, and deformitie of life.



WE haue spoken of a valiant and famous man, who by the meanes of his worth & valour, attained to the verie highest degree of Fortune. But now I am desirous to speake of another man, the most voluptuous & impertinent person that euer was; named *Heliogabalus*, Emperour of Rome contrary to all right and reason. I am the rather desirous to speake of him, to the end, that these contrarieties being compared together, the strength and wisdom of the one may be the more clearly discerned; and the sin and pusillanimity of the other auoided. And yet let me tell yee, that the vices and disorders of *Heliogabalus*. (and many other like him, & as vicious as he) were in so great number, as it is no way possible for me to recount them all. Beside, I haue euer helde it fitting, to leaue such horride infamy vtterly vnspoken of, euen for the preservation of comon honesty. For, in very deede, there haue bin some kings and Emperours so vicious and wicked, that meere modesty forbiddeth any speech of them, to auoide dispersion

The reason why the Author speaketh of Heliogabalus

The wicked liues of some Emperors & Kings, and omission of their publication.

Heliogabalus chosen Emperor, & confirmed by the Senate.

The incontinent and luxurious life of Heliogabalus.

His pusillanimity and cowardice.

A Senate or Congregation of women.

Women attending on him instead of Pages, & a chamber of women

of *Antoninus Heliogabalus*, who getting the greater part of the *Romaine* Army to ioyne with him, attained to such reputation in the Army (by Challenging the *Antonines* name, so highly renowned in *Rome*) that immediately after the death of *Macrinus*, he was chosen Emperor by the Soldiers; which hee accepted, and sent his Letters to *Rome*, where hee was also confirmed Emperor by the Senate: vnder this hope and perswasion, that hee would proue to be a good Prince. Returning home afterward to the *Cittie*, and perceiuing himselfe to bee both well receyued and obeyed, he made no long delay of discouering his bad life. And because I desire not to tardie his History, or stay at any perticuler points thereof, I would come to his manners, whereby he was knowne so much shamelesse and depraued in his Carnall Concupisences, lubricious affections towards women, & other abominations in *Luxurie*, as (I thinke) no man can be found so copious in words, that could bee able to expresse them. Beside, hee was so cowardly faint-hearted & subiected to women, that at the first time he entred the Senat, he brought his mother with him to make his entrance, and would haue her opinion and Iudgement to be demaunded, vpon the difference of occurring occasions, so that she was alwayes present, at all determinations and Statutes of the Senate, which neuer before had beene seene or heard of, that any womans voice was allowed in the Senate.

Not contented heerewith, he erected a Senate and congregation of women, to iudge and discide matters of State; and such things as appertained to their Feminine Lawes and customes; in which Senate, women only ruled & commanded.ouer & beside this, he had in his pallace (in steade of Pages and braue attending Squires) a company of imodest & common women; in whose conuersation he tooke such pleasure, that he brought into *Rome* (from al parts of his empire) al such women as were found to be of that quality. Of them he made a publick Chapter, and came himselfe amongst them in the habit of a woman, and (like a valiant Captaine amongst his warlicke troopes) made a long Oration to them, calling them his Companions in armes; which are the proper tearmes of our worthiest

Captaines, when they purpose to congratulate their Soldiers. Whatsoever he deliberated and consulted in this Senate of Strumpets, was newe and vnsuall fashions, of immodest and veneriall behaviour, wherewith his lustfull appetite could neuer be satisfied. After this Senat and Capitoll of common Whores, hee made a receptacle or Colledge of both he and the Bauds, and of lewd shameles Children, which prostituted themselues publickely: for whose prouision and nourishment, hee appointed certaine great sums of money.

This vnwoorthy and immodest man, was so copious in all kinds of wickednes; that albeit he was (by nature) a very comly personage: yet he would paint himself, as vaine Women vse to do. Nay more, he declared his disposition to bee so effeminate, and desirous to be a woman indeed; that, for his better attaining thereto, he assembled the most excellent Physicians and Chirurgions of those times, and suffered them to make woundes and open places in his body, whersoever they could best deuise them; prouided, that he might thereby bee the more enabled, to haue the companie of a man, euen as with a Woman. And resolving to become so indeede, hee caused the secret parts of a man to be taken from him, to the end, that hee might receiue delight by the one lewdnesse, when hee was past the other. The most infamous and abhominable villaines in this lubricity, were his most esteemed friends and fauourites, and while his authority continued, hee gaue them the full administration of the Empire, and gouerned himselfe only by their Counsell, banishing all the wise & learned men; amongst whom, were expelled out of *Rome*, those two most famous and renowned Lawyers, *Sabinus* and *Vlpianus*. He was very curious in finding out new lasciuious inuentions, and meanes for Paillardise, such as (before) had neuer beene thought of. Hee would bee drawne in his Chariot by great and mighty Dogges; and other whiles by tamed Lyons, but that was seldom; and oftentimes hee was starke naked, sitting so in his Chaire, and then hee would bee drawne thorough the *Cittie*, by four the fairest and youngest Weomen, who likewise must bee wholly naked, to manifest publickely his excessiue turpitude. His vtmost

His consultation among his three-Senators.

A Colledge of three and hee Bauds.

He coueted to shew himselfe euery way like a woman

Sensuality the like seldom heard of.

Sabinus & Vlpianus banisht out of Rome.

How he rode in his chariot thorow Rome

vtmost intention and principall end, was to decke, paint, and so compose himselfe, that he might therby incite others of the like humor, to pursue his wickedness in the same Nature.

Beside all this, he violated one of the Nunnes and Vestall Virgins, who (in the Romaines vaine Religion) were held to be most sacred, and in them, Chastitie was aboute all things most commended. Onely in such skirmishes and battayles, this dishonourable Emperour spent most of his life time.

In like manner, hee employed not his riches and reuenues in the warres, or in publicke buildings, but to inuent and finde out all meanes, whereby to incite and prouoke people, to bee insatiable in beastly Luxury, voluptuous lubricity, & other Vices whereof we shal speak hereafter; but especially his lauish expences were intollerable, in delicate and delicious Viands, such as were rare, and neuer vsed before. Neuer would he sit downe, but amongst Flowers and odoriferous smels, of Muske, Amber, with other singular and excellent fauours. Neuer would he eat any meats whatsoever, except they were of vnauewable price, for it was his vsuall saying; *That there could be no better sauce or appetite, then by deerenesse.* Hee clothed himselfe in Garments of Gold and Purple, enriched with Pearles and other precious Stones. Not so much as his shooes, but they were decked with stones of inestimable value: for they were cut and carued with Medalles and other Engrauings, of extraordinary and admirable Art and cost. In these things, hee spent more then the reuenues of al the Princes, as well Christian as Heathen; & yet they sufficed not.

The Chaire wherein he sat, was wholly couered with rich Silks and Gold. His Chambers & Guardrobes, al ouer thick strewed with Roses and others Flowers. And from his bed-chamber to his chaire of State; and from thence, to the place where he mounted on horsebacke, it was all ouer adorned with costly Tapistries, great Pearles, Diamonds, and inestimable precious Stones.

At such times as he pleased to mount on hors back, he would haue the ground couered with the dust of Golde and Siluer, especially where he should sette his feete, because he scorned to tread vpon

the earth, as other men did. His Chambers, Hals, and other places of delectation, were alwaies couered with Roses, Violets and Lillies. He would neuer put on a shirt twice, nor lye in linnen sheetes after they were washed. Hee neuer wore a Garment, Hose, or shooes, two seueral times; and Rings which he hadde once pluckt off his Fingers, hee would neuer put them on againe. Likewise he would neuer drinke twice in one Cup, whither it were of Gold or Siluer, but it remained onely to him, whose Office was that day attending on that seruice. His beds wher-on hee vsed to take his rest, were not of Wooll, Feathers, Purfled Silke, or such like, as those of other men: but made of the soft skinnes of Hares, and the smallest Down Feathers of Partridges Bellies. His Tables, Couches, Chests, Seats, and al other things, either for his Chamber kitchen, and his whole house, were al of fine Gold, yea, euen to the vessell employed for the basest seruice belonging to man. In sted of vsing Oyle in his Lampes, hee caused them to be filled with the richest Balmes that could be brought out of *Indea* and *Arabia*. Nay, his very Vrials of priuate seruice, were carued out of Christall, and deckt with precious stones.

When he rode abroad into the fields, to take the Ayre, there went with him six hundred Chariots and Litters, full of vnchast Damosels and bugging Boyes, with *Maquereaux* and *Maquerellaes*: and he was so strangely addicted to lust, that hee would neuer haue knowledge twice of one Woman. His meats (as we haue formerly saide) were of wonderful charges; for he neuer had a meal, which cost lesse then threescore Markes of Golde, which (according to common Computation) do value 2500. Ducates nowe in vse: and sometimes hee was so riotous, that a dinner would cost more then 60000. Ducats. He sought out al means, such as the like was neuer heard of, to be extream in expences: & to make it more apparantly knowne, he would promise aboute 2000. Marks of gold, that he might eate of a Phoenix, vwhereof it was said, to be but one onely in the vworld; and hee gaue the money, that search might bee made for that matchlesse Foule. In the greatest heate of Summer, hee would haue Snow brought to his Pallace from the Mountaines. When he was vpon

His wonderful singularity in many things by himselfe, as neuer the like was heard of.

His disorderly riding abroad, with Whoores, Boyes and Bawds.

His costly meales & feeding.

His large offer to eate of a Phoenix.

He rauished one of the vestal virgins.

His wasting of the wealth and treasure.

His sitting, diet, & feeding.

His costly apparel, & his shooes.

His excess in expences.

The decking of his Chambers.

Gold & siluer dust spred like pin dust, where he should tread.

His delight in
contrary diet.

Impossible
meats to be
had, best plea-
sed him.

The prodigal
diet of his
Courtiers, &
food of his
Grey-hounds
Dogges, and
Lyons.

The emperor
went beyond
the Deuill, in
one new de-
uice.

Heliogabalus
was extreame
in all his be-
haviour.

the Sea-coasts, he would not feed on any Fish, but dainty Fowles and Birds, fetcht the furthest off: and when hee was most remote from the Sea, then he would eat nothing else but Fish, which must be brought in all post haste, to the end, that it might cost the dearer, and appear impossible to be had; for otherwise, he took no pleasure in his meat. He would feede on such things as were neuer herd of, for he would haue Pies made of diuers strange Foods: As of the crests of Cocks, & the tongues of Peacocks and Nightingales, excusing his pride heerein, by saying, that such meats were wholsom against the Epileptic, or falling sicknesse: hee would haue all of his Court to eate verie Delicate meats: As the Liuers of Pea-cocks, Partridges Egges; heads of Parrates and Popiniayes, Phefants, and Pea-cockes. He had a great number of Grey-hounds and other Dogges, which were fed with nothing else but the flesh of Swans and Geese. His Lyons that had bene made tame, were fed with Parrats, Popiniayes, and Phefants. Whereby it may be euidently discerned, that his whole delight was in incredible expences. When he passed thorow the streets of Rome, and saw nothing but ordinary things: hee would say, *That he had compassion of the publicke Iouerty.*

The disorders of the Emperour were such, and in so great a number, as they can no way be declared, but in a confused order. He ordained for the good gouernment of Rome, and for a new manner of vice, one especiall and singuler conceyte whereof the Deuill, himselfe neuer was aduised. For he gaue strict commaund, that those workes which ordinarilie were performed by day, should be done in the night time, and those of the night to be done in the day. So that, men arose when the Sunne began to set, and when they should salute each other with a Good night, they vsed then to giue a Good Morrow, whereby it should appear, that the world went wholly backward. Hee was extreame in all things. The Baths wherein he vsed to bath himself, were all filled with most precious Vnguents; and onely for this cause.

He made many Bathes in sundrie places, because hee neuer would wash himselfe but once in a Bathe: for then, it must be broken in pieces, onely to pre-

pare other new Bathes for him. When he came to any Port or Hauen on the Sea, whatsoeuer Ships of Merchandizes were riding there, must be drowned with all their Wealth, only to please his idle fancie. Hee was reprooued by a verie deare friend, because his lauish expences were such, as must portend the issue of pueritie, whereto he replied, *That there could be no better fortune for him in the Worlde, then to be heyre to himselfe, and to his wife.* He saide moreouer, *That he did not desire to haue any Children, because they should not conspire any way against him. For, if the Gods should giue him any, perhappes they would proue to be such in nature, as he himselfe was to others.*

He had Bouffones, Stage-players, and idle Iesters, vpon whom (in sport, and to please his humour) he would haue sometimes so many Roses and Flowers cast, as some one among them, was sure to be stifted with the verie smell of them. Vpon a time, hee would needs haue them serued at a dinner, with all such meats as were serued to his owne Table, which were great and many in number, and excessiue in cost.

At another time, he caused the same kind of seruice to be set before them: but their meats were all made counterfet, eyther of Marble or wood, so that they wer kept at the Table, without eating of any thing. And yet afterward, they must wash their handes before they rose, euen as if they had fedde of all kinds of meats: and during this dinner time, drinke was offered them, but yet they might taste none. One while he would pretend an honorable inuitation of them, and all the vessels belonging to the seruice, were of curious Glasse, and all the counterfet meates in them, were of the same stufte. Another while, their seruice was of nothing else, but Wood, painted and figured in a liuely resemblance, so that in stead of satisfying their hunger, hee delighted to starue them. Many times, he would make feasts wherto none might be bidden guests, but eight Baldheaded men, other eight, lame crook-backt men; other eight, very gouty men, & deafe men, & dumb men, eight Moors, & very lean men, & very fat men, & of the least men that could be founde, and eight other of the greatest and Tallest men: onely, that these seuerall diuersities of men, might make a confused

iarring

His Answer
vpon reproof
of his lauish
prodigality.

How he dealt
with Bouf-
fones, Stage-
players, &c.
in apparant
scorn & moc-
kage of them

A Dinner of
Glasse, & an-
other of wood

As confused
feasts as euer
were heard
of, onely to
please & de-
light himselfe

iarring among themselves, and thereby fill his spleene with the more laughter. Afterward, when the Feast was ended, he would bestow vpon these Guests, all the Gold and Siluer Plate wherein they had beene serued at the Table.

His bounty to his Cookes & deuifers of new and strange meats

He had very excellent Cookes, vpon whom he bestowed great Wages; beside, he was extraordinarily liberall and bountifull, to such as deuised, or found out new inuentions, of Daintie, Delicate, and vn-vs'd Meats. If any Cooke had prepared a new kind of food, which himselfe much commended, & yet was disliked by the Emperour: he that had so dressed and prouided it, should feed himselfe with no other Victuals, vntill he could inuent some other, which (by the nouelty thereof) might yeilde him contentment. When he had inuited many of his Friends to Dinner or Supper, and made them drunke with variety of Wines, till sleepinesse should lay hold vpon them: He would then make fast the doores vpon them, and (by a secret prepared way) send in Beares and Lyons, which had neither teeth nor claws, so that by the behavior of those Beasts, many of the Guests haue beene found to be dead with feare. He was continually at very great and excessiue expences, by keeping all kindes of furious Beastes in Rome, which were brought thither from all strange and farre off Countries. Behold the verie best and honestest exercises, of this humorous Emperour.

His kindnesse to his friends, when he had made them all drunke.

Heliogabalus had deuised and prepared means for his owne death.

But being wearie with speaking of so bad a man, let me tell ye what his ende was: albeit himselfe had determined to worke his owne death, by other meanes then it happened to him. For, he had prouided diuers precious Instruments, where-with to take away his owne life, whensoever any necessity should there-to enforce him. And it was a common speech vs'd by himselfe: *That as his life had beene extreame, euen so he would haue his death to be; to the end, that all men might say; No Man euer liued and dyed like him.*

He had prepared sundry Cordes or Halters of Silke, where-with to strangle himselfe when neede required: because wicked and bad minded men, doe continually liue in feare. He had also a Poyson readie, very quicke and speedie

for death, which he kept enclosed in vials made of Emeralds and Iacincts, onely for the excellencie thereof. He had likewise made an high Tower, wholly couered and engirt with Leaues and Plates of Gold and Siluer: the pavement whereof was of rich and inestimable sharpe-pointed Stones: whereon he purposed to cast himselfe naked and head-long downe, when misfortune should reduce him into such extremity. And yet notwithstanding, none of these deuises did any way auaille him; because (long time before) a secret conspiracy was contriued & vowed against him.

Tyrants and leud men liue daily in feare.

A conspiracy deuised and sworn against him.

After that the Souldiers of his own Guard, had slaine all his ad-herents and fauourites in the Pallace: they found him hidden in a darke nooke or corner of a Chamber, where, without permitting him to make any election of his death, or the least leysure that could be; they stabd him with their Weapons. Afterward, hauing drawne him (like a Dogge) thorow all the streets and precincts of Rome: they fastned two verie great stones about his necke, and then threw him into the Riuer of Tyber, to the end, that his body might neuer after be found, but so to remaine without any other Sepulcher; and this was done by consent of all the people. And as concerning the Senate, order was taken among them, that the name of the *Antonini* (which had beene attributed to him) should be taken away: and when any speech was to be made of him, they should tearme him the *Tyberine*, or the trailed through the streetes, because these names would preserue a memoriall of his death. Which (indeed) was worthy and conformable vnto his life; for any good minded man, when he maketh due consideration thereof, will be both satisfied and comforted, approouing the righteous iudgements of God.

The manner of his death, and casting his bodie into the Riuer of Tyber.

The decree of the Senate for altring his name.

These things are related in the life of this Emperour, by diuers learned and worthy Authours, among whom particularly, as men of good note and credit, are *Aelius Lampridius*; and *Iulius Capitolinus* speaketh a little thereof, in the life of *Macrinus*. *Spartianus*, in the life of *Septimius Seuerus*; And likewise *Sex-tus Aurelius Victor*; beside *Eutropius*. And

Aelius Lampridius. Iulius Capitolinus. in vit. Macrin. Spartian. in vit. Septim. Seuer.

And because the matters which I have declared, may appeare hardly to be beleued: I thought good to alleadge the Authours names, for testimony of the truth, and mens further satisfaction; especially in such strange cases, depending vpon so great a difficultie of credence.

CHAP. III.

The Admirable Continency, both of Alexander and of Scipio; And which of them was most to be preferred for that vertue.

The fauour of vertue taketh away the foul smell of vice.

How Scipio entreated a young beautiful Lady of Carthage.

How Alexander the Great vsed the wife and mother to king Darius

HAuing read the abominable deedes and vices of wicked *Heliogabalus*: mee thinkes, it fitteth best, to declare the vertuous actions of some Princes, only to take away the foule tast and fauour, which our senses haue receiued by his horrid pollutions. And among the most remarkable, I finde *Alexander* and *Scipio*, of whom *Aulus Gellius* made a Probleme, to wit: which of them both was most vertuously enclined. *Scipio* entring by force of Armes into the new City of *Carthage*, among other Captiues and Prisoners brought vnto him: there was a young Gentlewoman (of admired beauty) presented vnto him. He being then in the very floure of his youth; could easily conquer his owne affections, and would commit no act of dishonour with the Virgine. But after he was informed, that she was of great birth, noble house, and affianced to a worthy Lord of *Spaine*: he sent for her Parents and betrothed Husband, to whom hee gaue (as a dowry) the whole ransome both for her selfe and Father; which (vndoubtedly) was a signe of great continency, in a victorious Captaine towards his Captiue.

We reade likewise of *Alexander* the Great, who hauing ouer-come King *Darius* in battaile; his Souldiours took (in flight) the wife and Mother of that

powerfull King. This Queene was of such exquisite perfection in beauty, as in all *Asia* she had not her equall. She was young, and of a most gracious countenance. He also was of like years to this Lady, and had no superiour ouer him, to whom hee should yeild an account of his actions. And yet, albeit he was aduertised by all his people, of her rarity in beautie: yet would he not haue an euill thought towards her, but sent an especiall fauourite of his, named *Leonatus*, to comfort her. And, to the end that he might auoid all occasion of suspition; he would not see her, neither suffer that she should bee brought before him: but caused her to bee serued with no lesse honour and reuerence, then as if she had bene his naturall Sister. *Hephestion*, a Greek Author, hath so set it downe; *Aulus Gellius* referreth the Historie to him, and *Plutarch* credibly confirmeth it. And yet neuertheless, *Aulus Gellius* leaueth it in doubt, in which of these two great men appeared the greatest continency.

It may be saide, that they were both equall, because they both determined to containe themselues, the occasions being equall: but, for my selfe, I would open the way to dispute on this question. And mee thinkes, he that would defend in fauour of *Scipio*, may say, that he assured himselfe most on his continence; and had very great iudgement therein: considering, that he durst suffer so sweete and faire a Virgine, to bee brought into his presence, by the sight of whom, no inordinate appetite could so preuaile over him, as to stirre him one iot from his first resolved purpose. But it was not so in *Alexander*, who stood in feare of seeing his Lady, and knew not what he might be forced vnto, if he should see her. On the other side, a man may alleage on the behalfe of *Alexander*, that (in this case) he merited more then *Scipio*, and excelled him in one point: to wit, in that he would not see the Queene, because hee would not sinne so much as in thought. For in his vertue, hee had a much greater fancy to preferue his continence, in regard, that (knowing humane frailtie) he would shun all occasion that might happen, whereby he should be drawne into perill. And heerein we may safelie say

Hephestion.
Aulus Gellius.
Plutarch.

The difference in whom appeared the most continency.

Scipio preferred before *Alexander.*

Alexander excelled beyond *Scipio.*

lay, that hee equalled *Scipio* in continence; yea, & exceeded him in thought, and diligence for preseruing it. I haue but touched these two pointes, to the end, that euery man may iudge according to his owne mind.

Quintus Curtius.
Diodorus Siculus in vit. Alexander.

Neuerthelesse, true it is, that *Quintus Curtius*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, doe write in the life of *Alexander*; that hee saw and saluted both the Wife and mother of *Darius*, on the day after the victorie, and that then he vsed wordes of good and true amity. For, as he entred into the place where they were, with a purpose to see them; he was accompanied with his intimate friend *Hephestion*, who resembled him both in age and habits.

Whereupon, the Mother to King *Darius*, thinking him to be *Alexander*; saluted him with such reuerence, as be-seemed a Prisoner to behold her Conquerour. But finding her selfe (afterward) to be deceiued; as ashamed thereof, shee lookt red, to excuse her errour, which *Alexander* perceiuing, he said vnto her: *Mother, doe not displease thy selfe for that which thou hast done, because there is no error committed: for this man is Alexander as well as my selfe.* Declaring by these wordes, that his Friend was another selfe to him. It seemeth, that this visitation contradicteth that which others say, reporting that he would not see these Weomen. And yet notwithstanding, both these opinions may be maintained. For they which say, that he would not see the Wife of King *Darius*: doe inferre thereby, that he would not immediatly see her, so soone as she was taken, but sent to visite her by *Leonatus*. And after her greefe was in some measure qualified: he went in person, both to see and honour her. But be it howsoeuer, it was an Act of great honesty, and if it were not greater then that of *Scipioes*: yet (in my mind) it may be equalled with it.

The words of *Alexander* to the Mother of *K. Darius*.

The Authors defence of both the opinions.

CHAP. V.

Of diuers Lakes, Springes, Fountaines, and Riuers, the waters whereof haue contained very strange and wonderfull properties.



IN a former Chapter, where we discoursed of waters, we made a promise to relate more at large, concerning the effects and properties

of some other particular Waters. The first whereof, shall be that of the Lake in *India*, named * *Asphaltites*, or *Asfaltida*, which since hath bene called, *Mare mortuum*, *The dead Sea*. Of this water, many things are reported by *Pliny*, *Columella*, and by *Diodorus Siculus*. First of all, one affirmeth, that it engendreth neither Fish, Fowle, or any other liuing thing, and that not any thing (hauing life) can be sunke or drowned therein. So that if a man, or any other Creature be throwne thereinto, bound in such sort, as no way able to moue stir, or swimme; yet no drowning is to be doubted, these things are declared by *Pliny*.

And *Aristotle*, to yeild a naturall reason for this cause, saith: *That the water of this Lake is grosse, very salt and thicke.* *Cornelius Tacitus* addeth also this property, that by reason of some strong Winds blowing thereon; it should vse motion, and yet it stirreth not at all, neither is sailed on. The same Author, and likewise *Soyinus* in his *Polyhist*, saith, that at certain times, there is bred in this Lake a kind of Scumme or Lees, which is a most strong Ciment, & glueth or holdeth more strictly, then any Pitch whatsoever; and it is called (by *Diodorus Siculus*) *Bitumen* and *Asfaltis*. Whereupon it appeareth, that the vocable *Asphaltis* or *Asfaltis*, was deriued of this Lake named *Asphaltida*. We read beside of other Pooles and Lakes, which yeilded the like Ciment or Morter; as of one neere vnto *Babylon*, with the Morter whereof, *Semiramis* caused the

* A poole full of Brimstone, and neuer meue th.

Plin. in lib. 8. di. in Meteor Lib. 2.

Cornel. Tacit. in Lib. .

Iul. Solin. in Polyhist.

Diodor. Siculus Bitumen or Asfaltis.

The walles about Babylon cimented together.

Plin in lib. 5. Cap. 3.
* A Lake dedicated to the God of Hell, and thought to be an entry into Hell.

Theophrastus. Plin. in Lib. 5. Cap. 7.

Pompon. Mela. Jul. Solin. in Polyhist.

Vitruvius.

Solin. in Polybi. Theophrastus. Isidorus.

Ari. in Quest. Nat.

the stones to be knit together, which builded the great and renowned Cittie Wallies of *Babylon*. The River *Jordane* (the Water whereof is good and excellent) falleth into this Lake of *Iudea*: but through the discommoditie of the Lake, and falling into it; the Water loseth his vertue and goodnesse. It is reported, that *Domitian* sent thither to make tryall thereof, and found it to be very true.

Pliny writeth of another Water, in *Campania* in *Italy*, named * *Auernus*, neere to the Sea, by the Gulfe of *Bayas*, and this Poole hath such a propertie, that no Bird or Fowle flyeth ouer it, but it falleth downe dead into the Water: The like is said to be in *Pusola*. The Poet *Lucretius*, in rendring a naturall reason about it, saith: That through the thicknesse of Trees growing about it, and a mighty shadow thereby occasioned: a grosse and infectious vapor ariseth from it, which meerey stifeth the Birdes in their flight. Whereto he addeth, that the chiefe cause proceedeth from great Mines of Sulphure, which are in like manner neere it. *Theophrastus* and *Pliny* doe speake of a Fountaine, named *Lycos*, which is in *Iudea*, and of another in *Aethiopia*, the Waters whereof, haue a like power and efficacy, containing the very property of Oyle; for when it is put into Lampes, it burneth brightly.

Pomponius Mela, and *Solinus*, writing of *Aethiopia*, doe relate, that there is a Poole or Lake, the Water whereof is sweet and cleare: and yet notwithstanding, if a man doe bath himselfe therein, his body is in like sort annoiued, as if he came out of a bath full of Oyle. The like is affirmed by *Vitruvius*, and he saith moreouer, that there is a River in *Cilicia*, and likewise a Fountaine or Spring neere to *Carthage*, which haue the very same properties.

Solinus, *Theophrastus*, and *Isidorus*, speaking of two Welles, doe auouch, that if a woman drinke of one of them, she shall become barren. And contrariwise, if a sterrile Woman do drinke of the other Well, it causeth her to be very fruitfull. They write moreouer, that there is another well in *Arcadia*, whereof whosoever drinketh, dyeth immediately. *Aristotle* in his naturall questions,

speaketh of one that is in *Thrace*, which worketh the like effect, and also of another in *Sarmatia*. In like manner, *Herodotus* saith in his fourth Muse, and *Pliny* and *Solinus* doe affirme the same, that the River *Hypanis*, which is great, and descendeth out of *Scythia*, hath his water sweete and good. And yet notwithstanding, there is a little Well or Fountaine entring into it, and so farre as his stream extendeth: the bitterness of the water of this Well, maketh the rest of the Water in the River so bitter, as no man can possibly endure to drinke thereof.

The very same Authours, and likewise *Isidorus*, doe write of two other Fountains that are in *Boetia*; the one of which doth cause the utter losse of memory; and the other is no meane comfort thereto, procuring withal, that such as drinke thereof, shall remember all thinges, whatsoever they haue before forgotten. They speake also of one Well, which temperateth and appeaseth the enusing prickles or Spurres of the flesh; And then of another, which as sharply dooth incite them. There is a River in *Sicilie*, named *Arethusa*; of which (beside their recordation of abounding in numberlesse shoales of Fishes, and such as seeme very good for foode) they write one wonderfull thing, to wit; that oftentimes there hath beene found in this River diuers notable things that were throwne into the River *Alpheus*, which is in *Achaia*, a Countrey of *Greece*. For this cause, they doe all maintaine, that the Water of this River, passeth through the entrails of the Earth (from the maine Fountaine) quite vnderneath the Sea, which is betweene *Sicilie* and *Achaia*.

The Authours that make this report, are such great persons, and worthy of credit; as they may well giue boldnesse to any man to write and certifie the same. *Seneca* affirmeth it; so doth *Pliny*; *Pomponius Mela*, *Strabo*, and *Seruius*, vpon the tenth Eclogue of *Virgill*.

Solinus and *Isidorus* make mention of of a well-spring, on the water whereof, if a man (that is to take an oath) do lay his hand; he must be carefull that hee take his oath truly and iustly, for if it be otherwise, his eyes will dry vp, and dye

Herodotus. Plin. in lib. 5. Jul. Solin. in Polyhist.

Two Fountains in Boetia of very strange quality.

The River Arethusa in Sicilie.

Alpheus a River of Achaia in Greece.

Seneca in lib. 3. de Quest. Nat. Plin. in lib. 7. Pom. Mel. lib. 2. Strabo in lib. 6. Seruius sup. 10. Eclo. Virg.

dye in his head. *Pliny* maketh the like relation of another Riuer, which will burne a periured persons hand, swearing thereby, and putting his hand into the water.

Philostratus, in his second Booke of the life of *Appolonius Thianens*, saith, that there is a Riuer, wherein if a Man doe wash his hands and feete, after hee hath taken a false and periured oath; he shall be immediatly covered ouer with Leprosie. *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth as much of another Riuer. Now, if it do appear to any man, that these things are very hardly to be beleued: let him know, that *Isidorus*, a religious, holic, and most learned man, hath at large deliuered these reports out of no meane Authours. As also of *Jacobs Well* in *Idumea*, iustifying, that foure times in the yeare it changeth colour; and that from three moneths to three moneths, it becommeth troubled of it selfe; swelleth, looketh red; then greene; and yet afterward receiueth cleerenesse againe. He speaketh also of a Lake which is among the *Troglodytes*, that three times (by day and night) changeth his sweet rellish into bitternesse, and from bitternesse, to sweetnesse againe. Likewise, of another little streame in *Iudea*, which euery Sabbaoth day, waxeth dry of it selfe.

And the same is verified by *Pliny*, where he describeth another Fountaine, that is in the Countrey of the * *Garamantes*: which in the day time is sweet, but yet so cold, as it is impossible to bee drunke of. And in the night time it is so extreame hot, as whosoever putteth his hand thereinto, is sure to burne it; and it was called the Fountaine of the Sunne. Concerning this Fountaine, and that it is a matter of truth, diuers good Authours haue written: As *Arianus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and *Quintus Curtius*, in his History of *Alexander* the Great, and *Lucretius* the naturall Poet, yeildeth a reason for it.

But now I shall speake of a wonderfull thing indeed, concerning the Well or Fountaine *Eleusina*, which is a reposed, settled, and most cleere water. Neuerthelesse, if any Instrument be sounded (or plaid on) so neere it, as the water may be said (in opinion) to be within compasse of hearing the sound: it be-

ginneeth immediatly to boyle so extreame, as the water swelleth and seetheth aboue his bounds, euen as if it reioyced at the sound of Musique. This is credibly confirmed by *Aristotle*, in his Booke of the meruailes of Nature; by *Solinus* in his *Polyhystor*; and by the Ancient Poet *Ennius*.

Vitruuius speaketh of a Riuer, named *Chimera*, the Water whereof is verie sweet: and yet notwithstanding, where it deuideth it selfe into two small streames or gullets; the one is sweete, and the other bitter. Wherefore it is to be presumed, that it draweth this bitter tast, from the earth where it glideth along, and therein appeareth to be the lesse maruailous. In which respect; as easily may be credited, the sundry properties of so many Riuers, whereof we haue already spoken: which would seeme no matter of wonder vnto vs, if their true occasions were apparantly knowne; no more the Riuer * *Silarus*, (auouched by the same Authours) which conuerteth into stone, any wand, slick, or branch throwne thereinto, as in many other places the like hath beene noted.

There is a Well in *Illirica*, the water whereof is sweete: but it burneth all things put into it, euen as if they were cast into a fire. Also in *Epirus* is another Well, whereinto if a flaming Torch be put, it quenchem it: but let it be put in before it be lighted, and of it selfe it giueth flame thereto. Alwaies till noone; and after, it waxeth ebbe and dry: but as the day declineth, it beginneeth to encrease in such abounding manner, that by mid-night it is top-full, and floweth ouer the brimme. It is said, that there is a Well in *Persia*, which causeth their teeth to fall out of their heads, that doe drinke thereof.

In *Arcadia* there are certaine Wells or Fountains, which doe deriue their Source and Current, out of diuers hills & Mountains, whose waters are so extreame cold; as no vessell, cyther of Gold, Siluer, or any other Metall can contain them, but whatsoeuer measure is filled there-with, is presently broken in pieces, for they cannot be contained in any other Vessels, but such as are made of the Horne-hoofe of a Mule. We should hardly belecue, that Riuers (though

Philostratus in lib. 2. de vit. Appol. Thian.

The writings of *Isidorus* doe carry good credit.

Jacobs Well in *Idumea*.

A Lake among the *Troglodytes*.

* People in the midst of *Lybia*, next to the *Pssylli*.

Arianus. *Diodo. Siculus*. *Sol. in Polyhist.* *Quint. Curtius* in *Hist. Alexan.* *Lucre. in lib. 6.*

The strange Fountaine *Eleusina*.

Arist. in lib de Mirab. Nat. *Solin. in Polyh.* *Ennius in lib. 4.*

The Riuer *Chimera*, recorded by *Vitruuius*.

* A Riuer of *Lucania*, deuiding it from *Picenum*.

The Riuer in *Epirus*, that lighteth a quenched Torch.

Of strange Fountains or Springs in *Arcadia*.

Riuers falling into the earth and rising vp againe great distances of.

Fresh Riuer floating on the salt Seas.

The Riuer Nilus.

Two Riuer in Boetia.

* A Riuer in Macedonia.

* Where Silk wormes were first found.

A poole in Thrace.

A rare Riuer in Pontus.

Waters of riuer that cure diseases.

For Women great with Child.

(though exceeding in greatnesse) some of them should haue a sudden fall into the earth, concealing themselves there quite out of sight; and yet breake vp againe many miles of. We haue sundry good examples, to ease our doubt in this case: As *Vadiana* in *Spain*; *Tygris* doing the like in *Armenia*, though it be in *Mesopotamia*; and *Lycus* in *Asia*. There are likewise sundry Riuer of sweete and fresh Water, which entring into the Sea, doe passe along vpon the salt water, neuer mingling there-with. In number whereof, one is betweene *Sicilie*, and an Island, called *Enaria*, vpon the Coast of *Naples*.

We know very well, that in *Egypt* it neuer raineth, but (euen by Nature) the Riuer *Nilus* disbordeth it selfe, and watering all the Countrey, leaueth it moist, and apt to yeild fruite. There are two Riuer in *Boetia*, one of them is the cause, that such Sheepe as drinke thereof, doe beare blacke Wooll; and the other (in like manner) beareth all white Wooll. In *Arabia* is a Well, which maketh the VVooll of Sheepe, (drinking thereof) to looke Vermillion red: And of all those Riuer that haue this propertie, *Aristotle* hath spoken very largely. The Riuer * *Lyncestris* hath this quality, to make all men drunke that drinke thereof, euen as if it were with wine. In the Isle of * *Cea* (according to *Pliny*) there is a well, which whosoever drinketh thereof, becommeth nummed in all his senses.

In *Thrace* there is a Poole, which causeth the death of him, that eyther drinketh of it, or batheth himselfe therein. In *Pontus* also is a Riuer, which yeildeth a kind of stones that do burn, and when any winde ariseth, they breake into a flame, and the more they are in the water, the longer while they burne. These Authours haue also written of diuers Waters, that doe heale many diseases: whereof one is in *Italie*, named *Ziza*, which cureth all harmes happening to the eyes. Another is in *Achaia*, which if women doe drinke of, that are great with Childe; they shall haue a safe and speedy deliuerance. Many other there are, that doe cure infinite other infirmities: as the Stone; the Leprosie; the Feauer Tertian and Quartane, whereof more is said by *Theophrastus*, *Pliny*, and

Vitruuius. In *Mesopotamia* is a Riuer, whose water is most sweet and pleasing to smell. *Baptista Fulgosa*, in his Booke of Collections, recordeth, that there is a well in England, which if any kind of wood be cast into it; in lesse space then a yeare, it is conuerted into stone.

The same man also testifieth, what likewise is confirmed by *Albertus Magnus*, concerning a Well in the higher *Germany*. And *Albertus* saith, that hee himselfe hauing a little wooden Boxe in his hand, did hold it in the Water: & so much of it as was within the water, became truly stone; but the rest remaining in his hand, continued Wood, as it was before.

Fulgosa further relateth the property of another Well, which is very strange indeede. For, if a man do walke about it, looking stedfastly into it, and keeping silence, not speaking a word, or vsing any voyce at all: the Water then continueth (as before) cleare and still. But if he speake (being by it) how little so euer it be, or neuer so low, eyther in going on, or in his returning: the Water presently troubleth it selfe, and becommeth to boyle in very strange manner. And hee deliuereth this vpon his own credit, as hauing (in person) made prooffe thereof. For, while he heedfully looked into the Water, not whispering, noysing, or speaking one sillable; he beheld it to be faire and cleare. But when he spake, the water was so strongly mooued and troubled; as if some liuing body had bin in it, to perplexe it in that disorder.

There is record made of a VWell in *France*, which is extreamely cold; and yet notwithstanding, great flashes and flames of fire haue beene seene to rise out of it. *Pliny* plainly saith, that many men make a conscience, in giuing any credence to these thinges: but they may well say, and assure themselves, that Natures great and wonderfull workes, doe demonstrate their power more apparantly in this one Element of water, then in all the rest beside. And maruailes doe hence arise, in so great number, that we should not repute any thing to be impossible: especially such as are warranted by so good writers, as those which formerlie I haue alleadged.

Baptist. Fulgos.
in lib. 7.

An experiment made by *Albertus Magnus*.

Baptist. Fulgos.
in lib. 7.

A wonderfull property in a water.

A strange well in *France*.

Plin. in Lib. 23
cap. 9.

Nothing should be esteemed impossible.

More-

Ferro in the
Ile of the
Canaries.

Water distil-
ling out of a
Tree in abun-
dant manner,
for the reliefe
of a whole
Nation.

Simple peo-
ple will cre-
dit nothing,
but what they
see themselvs.

Heate of the
Sea in winter,
and sundry o-
ther strange
properties
thereof.

A matter ef-
pecially to be
observed, con-
cerning wa-
ters.

Morcouer, we are sufficiently enough certified, by testimony of those which haue scene it in our time, that in one of the *Canarie* Islandes, named *Ferra*, a place well inhabited with people, where, both there, and a great space likewise round about it, the Inhabitants haue vse of no other Water (as is very well knowne) but what they can (in a Bason or other Vessell) get from the weeping or distilling, which sweateth it selfe (in some abounding and plentiful manner) out of a Tree, which is in the midst of the Island. And yet, neither at the foote of this Tree, nor in any place neere about, is there any Spring, Well, or Riuer: all which notwithstanding, the Tree is continuallie full of moysture, so that from the Leaues, Branches, & Boughs, into such Vessels as are placed there for the purpose; the Water distilleth forth both day and night, and sufficient store is still fetcht thence, to serue the necessities and seruices of all the dwellers in the Island. And yet wee should hardly beleue this, if it were but recorded by Writing onelic, and not maintained by liuing eye-Witnesses: Therefore, let no man account that strange, which wee haue already declared: in regard that this Element of Water is so powerfull and necessarie, as his strength and qualities can neuer be sufficientlie knowne.

As for the Sea, it is saide to be more hot in Winter, then it can be in Summer, and more salt in Autumne, then at any other time else: but this is a matter of greater maruaile, that by throwing Oyle into the Sea, his rage and violence is thereby appeased. Beside, wee know it for most certaine, that into those partes of the Sea, which are furthest off from any firme Land, neuer any Snow doth fall; at what time soeuer.

For all which thinges, many good reasons haue bene deliuered; the most part whereof, are attributed vnto the propertie and qualitie of the Earth, and to Mines, where Springes haue their originall, and win their Current into Lakes, Welles, and Riuers. For prooffe whereof, it is manifested by that which wee daily behold, both in Vines and other Fruits of the Earth: that

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they prooue better in one place, then they doe in another; because some are sweete, and others sharpe and sower; some good and very profitable, others hurtfull and mortiferous. The Ayre also becommeth corrupt and pestilentiall, in passing over an vnwholesome and noysome Countrey. What maruaile is it then, if Water, which pierceth and washeth the Earth, the stones, Mettals, Hearbs, Plants, and Rootes of Trees: should receiue their good or euill conditions, in whatsoeuer strange Nature it be; especially, being ayded by the power of the Starres and Planets?

CHAP. VI.

On what day of the yeare was the Incarnation, Natiuity, and Passion of our Lord Iesus Christ; And at what Age hee dyed. Of the auncient Houres; And of the error which is now in our common yeares.



WE haue declared already, in the Chapter of the World, how long the time was since the Creation thereof, vnto those daies of our Lord Iesus Christ, God & Man, when he pleased to take humane Flesh on him, and to bee borne of the most pure, holy, and immaculate Virgine *Mary*. Therefore I hold it both good and profitable; to relate and specifie, vpon what day of the yeare, and at what houre (with this blessed Natiuity) happened his holie Incarnation, and afterward his death; according to those sacred, true, and approued Historians which haue written thereof. We must vnderstand then, that the Emperor *Octauius* reigning at *Rome*, was the first that properlie might stile himselfe, to be Monarch and Emperour of all the World: for his Vnckle *Julius Caesar* was Dictatour onelic, and but for a small time too. This Monarch, hauing also shut vppe the Gates of *Ianus* Temple, and made peace vniuersallie throughout the World; In the two

H h and

Example of Fruits.

Example of the Ayre, and lastly of the Earth.

The Authors reason, vpon what cause he added this Chapter.

Octauius was the first Monarch and Emperour of the world.

Paulus Orosius. in lib. 7.

Aug. in lib. 15. 13. & 21. de Ser. in Natiuit.

Leo Papa. in Dist. Cap. 75. Quod die.

Sunday the day of christ's birth.

Wis. 18, 14, 15

Of the Angels salutation to the virgine, and her conception.

The hours of our Lordes birth and Incarnation, compared with the hour of his death and passion.

and fortith yeare of his Empire, and seuen hundred and one and forty yeares from the foundation of Rome (according to Paulus Orosius, and others Authours) the five and twentieth day of December, was our Lord, Saviour, and Redeemer Iesus Christ borne. Saint Augustine attesteth the same, following the Ecclesiasticall History, and other Historians.

It is further to be vnderstood, that this day was the shortest day in the whole yeare: because the Winter Solstice was then the five and twentieth day of December. The same Saint Augustine goeth on further, in his Sermons on the Natiuity: and yet notwithstanding, we shall speake hereafter, of those daies of December, whereon we haue the Solstice in our times. The holie Saints of Gods Church haue also written, that the day of our Lords birth, was the Sunday; so affirmeth Pope Leo likewise, and Vincentius the Historialist, in his Histories: and the hour of his being borne into this World, was midnight; according as the Church giueth vs to vnderstand, by this authority out of the Booke of Wisedome.

Dum quietum silentium tenerent omnia, & nox in suo cursu medium iter haberet: sermo tuus Domine a regalibus sedibus venit, &c. While all thinges were in quiet silence, and the night was in the midst of her swift course: Thine Almighty word came downe from Heauen, &c.

The most part of Historians doe hold, that at midnight also, the salutation of the Angell was made to the virgine Marie; and that she conceived on a Fryday, beeing the Equinoctiall of March. True it is, that some doe maintaine this conception to be in the euening, and at the beginning of the night. So then we may conclude, that his Natiuity or birth was on a Sundaie at mid-night, and his Incarnation or conception on a Friday, at the beginning of the night. Now, according to the most common opinion, at the like hour of his natiuity in December, and his Incarnation in March: the death & passion of our Lord (according as all do agree) was at the same hour of his In-

10 carnation, hauing accomplished those yeares, that it pleased him to remaine here on earth with men, and that it was the five and twentieth day of March. S. Augustine saith so in the places before alleaged; so doth Tertullian; S. Chrysostome; S. Cyrill; S. Hierome, and other holy Doctores. And it was in the Equinoctiall of the Spring time, according to S. Augustine in his Books of the Trinity, and his fore-named Sermons. Also, Paulus Orosius saith, that he should come the five and twentieth of March, and that this equality of daies and nights, named Equinoctiall, was then in those dayes which wee haue spoken of. Prophane Historians doe say as much, especially Macrobius, and others. To this purpose, there is one thing to be noted, whereof few people haue made any regard, and I thinke not very many vnderstood it: to wit, whosoener hath wel considered the true course of the Sunne, and of the yeare, and the day whereon our Lord came to be borne; the same day cometh not now to be as the five & twentieth day of December, neither his death and passion, to be the five and twentieth day of March, because the Winter Solstice is aduanced, and is now the eleauenth day of December; and the Equinoctiall of the Spring time, is now likewise the eleauenth day of March, little more or lesse, as any Man may easilie know, that hath but attained to any beginning in the knowledge of Astrologie. So that, to speake of our instant dayes, the yeare of the birth of our Lord, doth perfectlie compleate it selfe the eleauenth day of December; and the yeares of the Incarnation and Passion, on the eleauenth day of March. Because now at this present, the Sunne effecteth at these seuerall eleauen dayes, that which hee was wont to doe in those seuerall five and twenty daies.

40 And albeit, it would require some length of time, to declare the cause of this variation: yet I hold it not much amisse to speake somewhat heerein, to satisfie the mindes of honest meaning Men. Let me then tell ye, that this alteration ensuing, by reason of the accustomed yeare, where-with ordinarie account is now made, and which was so ordained by Iulius Caesar: dooth not conforme

Aug. in lib. do Trinit. & in Serm. de Nat. Paulus Orosius. in lib. 7.

Macro. in lib. 1.

An especiall matter of obseruation, whereof but slender regard hath bin made, concerning dayes and yeares.

A reason deliuered, concerning the variation of times

The common
yeare, what it
containeth in
daies & hours

forme it selfe perfectlie with the true
solitary or Solarie yeare, which con-
taineth in it selfe, the true course and
reuelution of the Sunne. For the
common yeare (as makers of Alma-
nackes, and other Computers of Ca-
lenders doe demonstrate) is presuppo-
sed to haue three hundred sixtie five
dayes, and sixe houres. Foure yeares
make one day more (by those odde
houres) aboute the yeare, which nameth
it selfe *Bissextile*.

The true year
and course of
the Sunne.

Neuerthelesse, in this obseruance,
there is a generall error, because to
speake vprightlie; the true yeare, and
course of the Sunne, hath three hunde-
red sixty five daies, five houres, fortie
nine minuts, and sixe seconds or more,
which are five sixe partes of an houre,
or verie little lesse. Wherefore, these
sixe houres being not perfected, but re-
maining defectiue by a sixt part: the
four yeares cannot make an intire day
offoure and twenty houres, there wan-
ting two thirds of an houre, and some
small matter more beside.

A considera-
tion how the
error ensueth
by the ouer-
plus-houfe.

Then wee may say truely, that this
error is as a small Pilfering Thiefe,
stealing away (in foure yeares onelie)
two thirds of an houre and somewhat
more: how much preuaileth hee then
in a thousand, sixe hundred, and the
ouer-plus yeares? And yet in all this
times great space, there are but foure-
teene or fiftene dayes: which is the
cause, that these especiall and remarke-
able dayes, are come to the seuerall
eleauenth daies of December and
March, which were wont to bee on
those other seuerall five and twentieth
daies.

The error
proceedeth
not from our
Astrologers.

Now, concerning this error, it
may not be said (for all this) to proceed
from our Astrologers; for they make
their account perfect of the yeare, by
the true and intire course of the Sunne.
Neuerthelesse, our Callendarians and
Computers; doe hold the common
yeare, making it to consist of three
hundred sixtie five dayes, and sixe
houres, albeit that the quantitie is lesse;
as wee haue already approoued. By
this meanes it happeneth oftentimes,
that Easter, and some other of the
moouable Feastes, are celebrated on
other dayes then they ought to bee: in
regard of the rules and orders, which

Of Easter, &
other mouea-
ble Feastis.

our fore-fathers obserued in making
their Calenders and Almanackes,
who held assuredlie in their pre-suppo-
sing, that the Equinoctiall continued
firme.

Now, considering that this imported
nothing to the saluation of mens
Soules, little account was and hath bin
made thereof: yet it were good (not-
withstanding) this error should bee
corrected. And I thinke, in the first ge-
nerall Counsell heereafter to be assem-
bled; there would bee prouision made
for this case, as thereto fitly appertai-
neth: For many worthy men haue writ-
ten sundry Treatises on this Argument;
as *Stoeflerus*, *Alberius*, *Poggius*, *Ioannes*
Fernelius, and diuers others.

Authors that
haue written
on this alte-
ratio of daies.

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But returning againe to our purpose,
to know of what age our Redeemer
was when he died, the most part of ho-
lie Doctours that haue spoken thereof,
doe say: that he was aged thirtie three
yeares and somewhat more; by so much
as was from the day of his Natiuitie;
the five and twentieth of December, to
the like day of the moneth of March,
when hee suffered. Others are of the
mind, that hee dyed at two and thirtie
yeares; and three moneths: And for
eyther of these opinions, there are ve-
ry apparant reasons, albeit I am loath
to weary my Readers with the recitall
of them. The Passion of our Lorde;
was in the eighteenth yeare of the Em-
pire of *Tiberius*, Successour to *Octaui-
us*; according as *Eusebius* reporteth,
and *Beda* in his Booke of Times. As for
such as write, that he suffered in the fif-
teenth yeare of *Tiberius* raigne (as *Eu-
tropius*, *Lactantius*, and others) it appea-
reth to mee, that they haue much fay-
led therein; because themselues do say,
that hee was borne in the two and for-
tith yeare of *Octauius* his Empire. So
then, considering that this Emperour
raigned yet fiftene yeares after, and
confirming the time to the age of Iesus
Christ: it may bee verie evidently
knowne, that *Tiberius* had raigned eigh-
teene yeares, when our Lord and Sau-
our suffered.ouer and beside these
things, I remember one more high and
especiall matter, found out and noted
by *Albertus Magnus*, in his Booke of vni-
uersall occasions, and which (in my
judgment) is very notable, and this it is.

Of our Sau-
ours age whe
he died, sun-
dry opinions.

*Euseb. in Hist.
Eccles. Cap. 7.
Beda in lib. de
Temp.*

The time co-
pared by iust
account.

*Alber. Magnus
in lib. de Reb.
Vniuers.*

A matter well
worth the ob-
servation.

The exaltati-
on of the Son
of Iustice.

Of our Sau-
ours suffering
at mid-day.

The Iewes di-
uision of daies
and nights.

*Twelue for
the day, and
twelue for
the night.

The daie of
our Sauours
suffering e-
quall with the
night.

It being a most certaine thing (saith he) as it is approoued by the authoritie of holie Fathers, that our Sauour was borne, the Sunne then being in the first degree of the signe of Capricorne, and iustly at midnight: in the selfe-same instant, mounted in the Horizon of the East parts, the signe of Virgo. Whereby appeareth, that the Starres declared, that he which was to bee borne of a Virgine, had for ascendent the signe Virgo. And in like manner, when the Sunne of Iustice or righteousnesse. dyed, and was exalted on the Tree of the Crosse (which was at mid-daie, as the Euangelistes doe confirme:) the Plannet of the Sunne was in the signe of Aries the Ramme, where it made the Equinoctiall, and where was then his exaltation; And this signe was accompanied with thirteene Starres, which might signifie Christ and his twelue Apostles. I set not downe this discourse to any other end, but onelie to shew; That all thinges obeyed, and yeilded themselues to the will of their Creatour, as is more amply declared by Albertus Magnus.

Now, that it should bee most true, that our Sauour suffered at mid-day; I hope to prooue it very apparantly. The holie Euangelists doe write, that hee was crucified at the houre called the sixt houre, and that he died at the ninth houre. It is to bee vnderstood then, that the sixt houre was iust at mid-day. For the Iewes and other Nations deuided (anciently) all the daies of the year, (how great or little soeuer they were) and likewise the nightes, into twelue equall portions, which they called * Planeticke houres. So that the houres of the daies in Winter, were small or short, and those of Summer great and long; and the houres of the night likewise opposite.

The houres of day began at the Suns rising; and the houres of the night, at his setting: by this meanes, at sixe houres it was mid-day, and at nine houres, it was three houres after mid-day. For the daie whereon our Sauour suffered, was equall to the night, as we haue already saide: and therefore the houres of the day then and there, were equally with ours now here. In which respect, it is to be vnderstood, that the houres then, were meant for such whereof our Sauour spake, saying: *Are there not twelue houres in the daie?*

Of the same houres it is spoken in the Gospell, of the Vineyard, that the Father of the Family went out at the eleuenth houre, to hyre Worke-men for his Vine-yard, and he payed the latest Commers as well as the other, which had been at the businesse from the daies beginning. In regard whereof, the first Workemen complained, saying: *These last haue wrought but one houre, and wilt thou equall them with vs?* Whereby may clearly be discerned, that from eleuen to twelue hours, was the ending of the day, because they said; *These Men haue wrought but one houre:* for if those eleuen houres had been as now, then it had beene other-wise. Againe, S. Luke saith in the place of the Passion; *That the Sunne was darkned from the sixt houre; vntill the ninth houre.* Whereby then we may know, that the sixt houre was the houre of mid-day, and the darknesse endured vntill the ninth houre; that is (with vs) three hours after mid-day. For if he had meant at sixe houres, as now in these dayes, it had beene a thing but naturall, for the Sunne to set, and bee obscured at sixe houres of the euening in March: but the sixt houre then, being our mid-day now, it was therefore a great and wonderfull Miracle.

CHAP. VII.

Of many thinges that happened at the birth and death of our Sauour Iesus Christ, declared by diuers learned and worthy Historians; beside those which are recorded by the holy Euangelists.



Lbeit that those things certified by the blessed Euangelists, happening both at the birth and death of Christ, were not only great and miraculous, but worthy (beside) of all Faith and beleefe: yet I account it verie conuenable, to make mention of some other admirable accidents, which were seene and recorded by other persons.

Paulus

Math. 20. 12.

Luke 23. 44.

Difference
of the houres
then and in
these dayes.

Paulus Orosius, and Eutropius, Historians in the time of Octavius.

A Spring of Oyle arising out of the ground in Rome, when Christ was borne.

A bright circle seene about the Sun in the day time.

Commeſtor in lib. de Hiſt. Scholaſt.

Templum Pacis fell to the ground at the birth of Christ.

Lucas de Tuy, Chronicler of Spaine, in the Authentick History of Spaine.

Paulus Orosius, and Eutropius, Writers belonging to Octavius, and Eusebius also doth say, that at such time as Iesus Christ was borne on earth, there happened in Rome, that in a common Inne or Tauerne; a Well or Spring of pure and excellent Oyle brake vp out of the ground, which for the space of a whole day, ran and issued forth incessantlie in great aboundance. It should seeme, that this Spring of Oyle, made application to the comming of Christ, which Word signifieth *Anointed*, in whom likewise all Christians are annointed. And that the common Tauern, whereinto all people were (indifferently) entertained and housed: should expresse our holy and true Mother of Church, the great Inne or common Harbour for all Christians, from whence should continually issue forth, all Christians, Catholickes, and louers of God. Eutropius addeth moreouer, that in Rome, and the neighbouring places there-about, euen in the full, plaine, calme and clearest time of the day; a circle was seene about the Sun, of as bright splendour and radiance, as the Sun in it selfe. The same Paulus Orosius further saith, that at the very same time, the Senate and people of Rome made free offer to Octavius Augustus, to entitle him chiefe Lorde: which hee refused, and by no meanes would accept; prognosticating to himselfe (yet without thinking thereon) that a much greater Lord then hee was then on the Earth, to whom that Title more worthily appertained.

Commeſtor, in his Scholaſtick Historie, affirmeth, that in Rome, vpon the same day: the Temple dedicated by the Romaines to Peace the Goddesse, fell in ruines to the earth. For they had formerly consulted with the Oracle of Apollo, to know how long the Temple should stand in good estate, and answer was made them; *Vntill a Virgine should bring forth a Child*, which they reputed to be vtterly impossible, and therefore their temple should stand for euer. Notwithstanding, at the Virgines deliuerance, Mother to the King of Heauen; it fell to the ground.

Hereupon, Lucas de Tuy, in his Chronicles of Spaine writeth, that hee found in the auncient Histories of his Countrey (hauing conferred and made iust

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account of the time) that the very same night wherein our Sauour was borne, and at the very houre of mid-night: there appeared a Cloud visibly seene in Spaine, which gaue so bright a splendor, as if it had beene then the middle time of the day.

It is also to bee remembred, what I haue read in Saint Hierome, that at the same time as the virgine fled into Aegipt with her young Son; all their false Gods and Images fell downe, and vtterly defaced themselues. Also, the Oracles of those Gods, or Devils rather, as wee may more iustlie rearme them, where-with the people in those times were deluded: ceased their idle babling, and neuer afterward gaue any answer. This Miracle alleaged by Saint Hierome, seemeth to be approoued by that excellent man Plutarch; albeit hee was a Pagan. For, without giuing credit to those thinges, nor knowing wherefore they thus happened: hee made a particular Treatise, of the imperfections of Oracles. For euen then in his time, (which was soone after the Passion of Christ) men began apparantly to perceiue; that Oracles failed, and were full of defects. And he could alleage no other reason for it, in that Treatise: but that (as he imagined) some Demons or Spirits were dead. But he spake this as a man vncapable of Faith; because he vnderstood not, that Spirits were immortal.

Neuerthelesse, this matter is maruclous, and truely worthy of great consideration, to note how evidently the deuill thewed himselfe (euen suddenlie) to bee ouercome and conquered, and that after our blessed Sauours death, he remained so confounded: that he neuer durst presume to giue any answer. And the Gentiles themselves, without any capacity of the reason; could haue knowledge of this defailance. By means whereof, Plutarch wrote that Tract, wherein he did set downe these words, whereof Eusebius maketh mention, writing to Theodorus, as of a most notable thing.

I remember (saith he) that I haue heard (concerning the Demons death) of Emilianus the Orator, an humble, wise, and worthy man, and well knowne to some of you; that his Father comming (or a time)

Hhh 3 by

The downfall of all the false Gods & Idols

Plutarch in Tra. de imperf. Orat. The defaylance of Oracles in those daies.

The Devils plaine manifestation of his foyle and overthrow.

Euseb. in Hist. Eccle. lib. ad 11. codo.

Ataman a very
sk hull Pilote
of Egypt.

The death of
the great
God Pan.

The coming
of the ship to
the gulfe of
Laguna.

Ataman deli-
uereth the
message as he
was comman-
ded.

The Devils
euery where
complained
of our Sauiors
Natiuity.

by Sea towards Italy, passing and coasting (in the night time) an inhabited Island, named Paraxis, at what time, all the men in the Ship were in silence and repose: they heard a graat & feareful voyce, which came out of the Island, and the voyce called Ataman (for so was the Pilot of the Ship named, who was a Native of Egypt.) And albeit that this voyce was heard once or twice by Ataman, and others: yet had they not so much hardinesse, as to returne any answer, untill the third time. And then hee said: Who is there? Who is it that calleth mee? What wouldst thou with me? then the voice spake much louder then before, and said vnto him. Ataman, my desire is, that when thou shalt passe by the Gulfe, called Laguna: that there thou remember to cry aloud, and giue it to vnderstand; that the great God Pan is dead. This being thus vnderstood, all in the Shippe were in great feare and terrour, and aduised the Patrone of the Shippe, to make no account thereof, neither to speake one word, or make any stay at the Gulfe: but if the time prooued fauourable; to passe on further, and entend the finishing of the voyage. But beeing come to ioyne with the place, whereof the voyce had spoken and made designement: the Shippe stayed, the Sea was becalmed, and no winde stirred, so that (indeede) they could sayle no further. Bymeanes whereof, they all resolued, that Ataman should deliuer his message. And that he might the better performe it, he went vp vpon the poupe of the Shippe, and there hee cryed out so loud as possiblie he could, saying: I giue ye to know, that the Great God Pan is dead. But so soone as he had vttered these wordes, they heard so many voyces crying and complaining, that all the Sea resounded their dreadfull Ecchoes, and this wofull lamenting continued a long while, to the no little amazement of all them in the Shippe. But finding the wind immediatly prosperous, they sayled on-ward, and arriuing afterward at Rome; there they declared the whole aduenture. Which comming to the eare of the Emperour Tyberius; hee would needes be further informed thereof, and found it to bee most true.

Whereby it is plaine and manifest, that (euen in all parts) the Devils complained on the Natiuity of our Lord, because it was their vtter destruction. For by the supputation of times, it is

found, that these things hapned, at such time as he suffered for vs; or a little before, when they were chased and banished out of the world. And hath beene presupposed, that this great Pan (according to the imitation of the shepheards great God Pan) whom they said to bee dead: was some Maister Deuill, which (as then) lost his Dominion, as all the rest did. Beside these thinges, *Iosephus* the Jew writeth: That in those very daies, a voyce was heard in the Temple of Ierusalem (albeit there was then no liuing Creature in it.) Let vs speedily bee gone, and leaue this Countrey. That is to say, they plainly perceiued, what persecution they were to suffer, and that he was not far from them, and that their destruction should ensue by the giuer of life. In the *Nazarites* Gospell it is found; that on the day of his Passion; the Gate of the Temple fell downe, which was so sumptuous, and thought to continue for euer. Thus we may see, what wonderfull things hapned in those times, although the Euangelistes doe make no mention of them; as being no necessary matters, or worth their remembring.

We are likewise to consider, that the great Eclipse of the Sunne, which lasted three houres, so long as Christ was on his Crosse: was no natural matter, like those which we sometimes behold, by coniunction of the Sun and the Moone; but indeede was miraculous, and contrary to all naturall course or order. Therefore, such as are ignorant, how the Sunne becommeth Eclipsed; must know, that it canot be, but by the coniunction of the Sun and the Moon, the Moone being interposed betweene the Sunne and the Earth. And yet notwithstanding, the Eclipse which happened then at our Lordes Passion, was in opposition, the Moon being at ful, and distant from the Sun by an hundred and fourescore degrees, in another Hemisphere, inferior to the City of Ierusalem. To shew that this is true, beside that which is written by sundry good Historians; the Text of the holy Scripture maketh prooffe thereof. For it is most certain, that they neuer vsed to sacrifice the Lambe, but on the 14. day of the Moone: which Lambe was eaten by Christ & his Disciples, the very day before his death; according as it was commanded

*Ioseph. in Anti-
quit. Iud. lib. 2.*

Three houres
Eclipse of the
Sun, while
Christ was on
the Crosse.

The reason of
the Sunnes
Eclipse in his
vsuall course.

The sacrific-
ing of the
Lambe,

Exod. 12, 6.
Leuit. 23, 5.

manded in *Exodus*, and in *Leuiticus*. And on the morrow, which was the Feast of vnleavened bread, Christ (the immaculate Lambe) was crucified; the Moone being then on necessity in her full, & opposite to the Sunne, which then coulde no more Eclipse the Sunne, then anie other Planet had power to do. Therefore it was very myraculous, contrary to the order of Nature, and onely done by the omnipotency of God, who deprived the Sunne of his light for all that space of time.

Dionisius Areopagita in *Athens*, whē the Sunne was darkned, and his words.

Furthermore, in regard of this admirable accident, *Dionisius Areopagita* being on that day in *Athens*: and beholding the Sunne to bee so strangely obscured; knowing also (as a man learned and skilfull in Astrology, & the Celestiall courses) that this Eclipse was contrary vnto the rule of Nature, he cried out with a lowd voyce, saying; *Either the world will finish, or the God of Nature suffereth*. For this cause faith one, that the Wisemen of *Athens* being amazed heereat, caused an Altar immediately to bee builded to the *Vnknowne God*. And Saint *Paule* arriuing there afterwarde, declared vnto them, what and who that vnknowne God was: that it was Christ our Redeemer, God and man, who had then suffered, by meanes whereof, he conuerted many people to the faith.

An Altar erected to the vnknowne God.

Some haue bene doubtfull and desirous to know, whither this Eclipse and darknesse of the Sunne, was Vniuersally throughout the whole world; and builded their argument on this; that when the Euangelist saide, ouer all the Earth, that is to say; by a manner of speaking, all the Country thereabout, and *Origen* was of this opinion. But yet wee see, that in *Greece*; and namely in *Athens*, this darknesse was visibly seene, which maketh me verily beleue, that such an Eclipse was vniuersall throughout all our Hemisphere, and through all partes where the Sun could be seene.

Concerning the vniuersal darknesse.

I speake to this end, because in all the other Hemisphere, where it was then night, nothing could be seene, nor the sight of the Sunne be any way discerned. For he cannot illuminate in one instant, but the moitie or halfe of the earth, in regard of the shadow which hee maketh of himselfe. Neuerthelesse, wee must know, that the Moone being then in her

Concerning the Hemisphere vnderneath vs.

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full, and hauing no light, but what shee receiueth from the splendor of the Sun; and being also in the Hemisphere which is inuicely vnder vs, becam then likewise to bee violently eclipsed and darkened, onely thorough the lacke of the Sunnes beauty and clearnesse. And therefore, it may be iustly saide, that an vniuersall obscurity was thoroughout the world; because, neyther the Moone or the Starres coulde yeelde any light, but what they themselues must first borrowed from the Sunne.

An vniuersal darknes thoroughout the world.

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Of many passages and places, quoted and cited by diuers Learned Authours, which doo make mention of Christ, and of his life.

CHAP. VIII.

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Haue many times heard fundrie curious questions moued. yet proceeding from men of good Learning; what should bee the cause, that the

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Gentiles and Ethnicks (in their writings and Doctrines) haue made so slender mention of the life of Iesus Christ, and of his Myrales, they beeing so great in number, yea, so publicke and manifest; especially by his Disciples? Considering, that the Ethnicks make large mention in their Bookes, of other perticular things happening in those times, albeit they were not of so maine importance as the other. Whereunto I answere first of all, that it were meere against the truth, to say, that prophane writers haue not spoken thereof, because there are an infinite number, from whome, I haue deduced some examples for their ease, that haue no knowledge in ancient Histories: My

The Gentiles and Ethnicks small remembrancers of Christ.

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second reason to bee considered in this case, is, that the holy Faith, and Lawe of grace giuen by Christ, beganne in him, and by him and his Apostles, they were published to the world, and was embraced and receiued by some, who determined to liue and die therein. Albeit there were others, more obstinate in their sins and vices, that not onely made refusall thereof; but also persecuted it vnto their

The Authors first reason of answere.

His second Reason.

The Holye Faith & Lawe of Grace.

vttter

Timorous & weak-hearted people.

The Worlde diuided into three opinions.

The first, holy beginners.

The second, wicked Con-temners.

The 3. sort, fearfull time-feruers.

A very excellent comparison of concealing the truth.

Allusion to the comparison.

uttermoſt power. There were yet ſome others (who held the middle ranke) that though this Doctrin ſeemed to them to be good: yet for feare of Tyrants and perſecuters, with other humane conſiderations, that this holie profeſſion would be deſpiſed, they likewiſe grew careleſſe of embracing and entertaining it.

The World then being diuided into three opinions, they which confeſſed Chriſt, did notable and marvellous things, many of which gaue great teſtimony of the truth. And amongeſt this number, were *Dionifius Areopagita, Tertullian, Laſtantius Firmianus, Eufebius, Paulus Oroſius*, and many others, who would require too long time to recite them particularly.

The other wicked ſorte, that perfected this profeſſion, as a matter ſtraunge and hatefull to their Law, laboring wholly to confounde it, and to hide the myſtacles, life and Doctrin of Chriſt, were ſuch as (in this reſpect) would haue no ſpeech thereof amongſt them; or if they did make any report at all, it was done to this end, onely to obſcure, contemn and darken the glory thereof. As did the wicked *Porphyrius, Iuhan, Vicentius, Celſus, Affricanus, Lucian*, and other ſuch like diuellish minded men: againſt whome, Wrote very learnedly, *Cyprian, Origen, S. Auguſtine*, and others.

The third number, who for feare, or other worldly conſiderations, held backe from becomming chriſtians, and to loue and know the truth: for the verie ſame cauſes reſuſed to ſpeake thereof, but if they yſed any litle touch or ſpeech, it was done in ſcoffing and lying manner, or in a negligent and curſory kinde. All which notwithstanding, euen as when a man ſtriueth to conceale a matter of truth, vnder the Vaile of lying and deceitful colours, many times it comes to paſſe, that by a meere hidden property of truth it ſelfe, hee that would ſo faire obſcure it, doth diſguiſe and palliate it in ſuch bungerly manner, that his iowne lies and trecheries are not onely thereby made manifeſt, but concealed truth ſhineth in the fairer luſter. Euen ſo ſell it out in this nature, with both theſe fornamed people; for althogh they ſtroue mainly to exterminate & deſtroy the miracles of Chriſt and his Doctrin; yet which way ſoever they framed their ſpeech, ſomething ſtill

came from them, whereby their owne malice was apparantly diſcerned, and the goodneſſe of truths Doctrin farre more ſoundly warranted.

I could ſpeake of many things, which were both vttered and written by the *Sybilles*: but in regard that whatſoever they did, proceeded not from their own proper iudgement, but thorow the ſpिरite of Propheſie, and according as God hadde communicated thoſe guiltes vnto them, (notwithſtanding they were Infidelles) I will be ſilent of them, and proceede to other authorities.

Our firſt and moſt euident teſtimony (albeit not the leaſt common) ſhal therefore bee deriued from our greateſt Enemies; among whoſe number is *Iosephus*, not only a Iew by Lineage and Nation, but alſo by his life and profeſſion, & theſe are his very words. *At the ſame time liued*

Ieſus, a very Wiſe man, if it bee lawfull to tearme him a man, becauſe indeed and verity, he did wonderful things, and was Maſter and Doctour to ſuch as loued and ſought for truth. He aſſembled and was followed by great troopes of Iewes and Gentiles, and he was Chriſt. And although he was afterward accuſed by the principall men of our

Faith, and crucified: yet hee was not abandoned of them which had formerly followed him: but three dayes after his death, he appeared a line again vnto them, according as the Prophets (inſpired of God) had foretolde and propheſied of him. And euen in theſe dayes of ours, the Doctrin and Name of chriſtians, perſeuereth to thorow world. Behold, theſe are the words of Iosephus, who wrote of the deſtruction of Ieruſalem, as an eye-witneſſe of beholding it, which happened forty yeares after the paſſion of Chriſt.

Pilate, in like manner, who had pronounced the ſentence of death vpon him did beare witneſſe (neuertheleſſe) of his great myſtacles, commending them by his Letters to the Emperour *Tiberius*. So that he conſulted with the ſenat, to know whether they wold receiue Ieſus Chriſt to be God: and albeit they woulde not conſent thereto, yet *Tiberius* expreſſely prohibited, that Chriſtians ſhoulde not be abuſed and perſecuted. As concerning the trembling and quaking of the earth, with the darkening of the Sunne, during ſuch time as Chriſt ſuffered vpon his Croſſe, we haue likewiſe diuers teſtimonies

The ten famous Sybils, viz. Perſica, Libica, Delphica, Cumæa, Erythraea, Samia, Cumana, Hellespontia Phrygia, Tiburtina.

Ios in lib. 2. de Antiq.

The deſtruction of Ieruſalem ſome yeares after Chriſt.

Pilate a Witneſſe of Chriſts myſtacles.

Phlegonius a Grecian born in Asia, recorded by Suidas

monies of *Ethnickes*. *Phlegonius*, a Greek Historian, of whom *Suidas* maketh especial mention, reporteth for a wonderfull thing: *That in the fourth yeare of the two hundred and tenth Olympiade* (which by iust account, was in the eighteenth yeare of the raigine of *Tiberius*, and at which time our Sauour suffered) *There was an Eclipse of the Sunne, the very greatest that euer had beene seene, or euer foande to be written of, and that it continued from the sixt houre, vntill the ninth houre. And that during this Eclipse, the trembling of the earth was so great in Asia and in Bythinia, that infinite strong builde houses fell to the ground.*

It appeareth moreouer, that besides this *Phlegonius* (who should seem to liue at the verie same time) *Pliny* also felt and wrote of the selfsame matter, for he saith; *In the time of the Emperor Tiberius, the quaking of the earth was much greater, then euer before had beene. By meanes whereof, (saith another) twelue Citties were ruined and ouerthrowne in Asia, with infinit other goodly buildings and houses.* So that, the Historiographers amongst the Gentiles, (albeit they knewe not the cause) did not forbear to write of the Miracles of Christ.

The other Myracle, of the Vaile of the Temple, which rent in sunder, *Iosephus* also giueth faithfull testimonie thereof. Of the cruell murder or massacre committed by *Herod* on poore harmlesse Innocents, mention is made by another Jew, named *Philo*, an Historian of great authority, in his Abridgement of times, where he saith; *Herod caused certain Children to be slaine, and his owne Sonne with them: because he had heard, that the Christ a King promised to the Hebrewes, was then borne.* And this Author liued in the same time of the other *Herod*, named the *Tetrach*, as himselfe hath said.

This History of the Innocents, is yet much more amply declared by *Macrobius*, who was a verie ancient Ethnick, and Latine Historian; for, in discoursing som iouiall and facetious matters of the Emperor *Octavius* (in whose time our Lord and Sauour was borne) hee sayeth; *The Emperor hauing heard of the cruelty of Herod, both toward his owne Sonne, and the other Ghildren, said; He had rather be a hog in Herods house, then his Sonne.* And this he spake, because the Iewes neuer vsed to

kill their Swine, or eate their flesh. This pleasant iest is also alledged by *Dion* the Greeke, in the life of the same Emperor. So that there were great store of miracles, whereof both the Iewes & Gentiles (without thinking on them) beare witness to be doone by Christ, ouer and beside them which are written by Christians.

What shal we further say, concerning the ancient Emperours, and what opinion they had of our faith; as also their cruell proceeding against Gods seruantes? The first good Byshop, *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paule* likewise, were put to death by the commaunde of the Emperour *Nero*, thirty sixe yeares after the death of our Sauour; and then, was the Churches greatest persecution, whereof the Gentiles spared not to make mention; and perticulerly, *Suetonius Tranquillus*, and *Cornelius Tacitus*, who liud in those times and were of great authority. *Suetonius* in the life of *Nero*, speaking concerning some of his ordinance, saith; *He tormented and afflicted (with great paines and punishments) a kinde of people, that cald themselves Christians, and followed a new manner of beleefe and Religion.* And *Cornelius Tacitus*, displaying the deedes of the same *Nero*, saith: He persecuted and chastised with terrible torments, a sort of people, which were vulgarly called Christians. And the Author of that Name, was Christ of *Ierusalem*, whom *Pilat* the Governour of *Iewry* caused to be crucified. And by the meanes of his death his Doctrine began to exalt it selfe. Now let vs obserue what some other *Gentils* haue written, who were no way of any lesse reputation.

Plinie the younger, in one of his Elegant Epistles, demanded of the Emperour *Traiane*, for whom he was Pro-Consull in *Asia*, how he would haue the Christians to be punished, which were accused and brought before him? And the better to informe his Lorde concerning such matters as hee found to be objected against them, he wrote thus: Amongst other thinges, these Christians doo rise at certaine houres in the night, and assemble themselves together, to sing Hymnes & songs of praise to Iesus Christ, whome they honor as their God. And beside their meeting in such Congregations, they make solemne vowes, not to do any euill;

The auncient Emp. against the Christians.

S. Peter & Paule put to death by Nero.

Suet. Tranquillus & Cornel. Tacitus.

The words of Corn. Tacitus.

Plin. Secund. in Epi ad Traian.

The accusations laid to the Christians charge.

Plin. in Lib. 7.

12. Citties in Asia, ruined by the Earthquake of Christs death.

Ios. in l. 2. de an.

Philo. Iudaic. in Abbr. Tép.

Macrobius an ancient Ethnick, and Latine Writer.

Dion. in vit. Oc.

euill, or any harme to other men : but promise that they wil not steal any thing; that they will not be adulterers; that they will not falsifie their promises or Oathes; & not to deny whatsoeuer is left in their charge and keeping.

The causes why Christians were persecuted.

This *Pliny* saith moreouer : *They feede all together, without possessing any thing, as priuate or perticuler.* Whereby may be knowne, what the exercises of Christians were, and for what cause the worlde abhorred and persecuted them. These things were written by an Infidell and Idolater, threescore yeares after the passion of our Lord and Sauour. Vnto which Letters, the Emperour returned this answer.

The Emperours answer to his Pro-Confull.

Forasmuch, as they are accused of no other abuse or euil doing, let them not in any wise be afflicted or punished, neither make anie further inquisition against them. Neuerthelesse, when they shall bee est-soenes accused before thee, do thy best to withdraw them from that Religion : but if in no wise they wil forsake it, yet see that thou doe not offer them any ^{extremity} eternitie. Howbeit, very true it is, that this Emperour *Traian*, had formerly (and like an Infidell, deceyued by the guile of false accusers) persecuted the Christians.

Elius Lampridius in vii. Ad.

After him his Nephew *Adrian* succeeded in the Empire, of whom *Aelius Lampridius* the Historiographer Writeth, that hee was an Infidell and an Idolater : and yet neuerthelesse, he began to honor the Christians, permitting them to liue in their Religion : and himselfe also worshipped Christ with diuers others, and caused Temples to be newly erected. Yet afterward, he altered his minde, and became both odious and cruell towards the Christians, being deceyued and abused by the Maisters of his false Ceremonies, and by the Bishops attending vpon his idle Gods. For they perswaded him, that if any way he fauored the Christians : the whole world wold be conuerted to their Religion, and so the faith of the Goddes should be ouerthrowne. And this is credibly auouched by *Petrus Crinitus*. It is writen in the life of *Saturnius*, that a letter was sent from *Seucrinius* the Confull, to the same Emperour *Adrian*; wherein he declared to him, that there were diuerse Christians in Egypt : amongst whom, some called themselues Bishops, whereof no one was found Idle at any time: but

Adrian the Emp. perswaded against the Christians.

Read more of this in the life of *Saturnius*, concerning the life and behaviour of Christians.

still seriously employed about one exercise or other, and euen (to the blind and Gowty) all liued by the labour of their hands; and yet they all worshipped one GOD, who also had bene ordered by the Iewes.

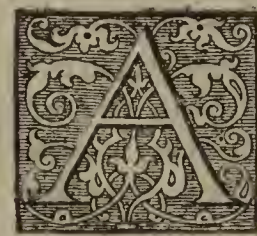
The false investigations of the corrupt Bishops.

We read also in the Histories of those times, that this Emperour hauing begun to misintreat the Christians by perswasion of his false High-Priests; there was a certaine Ambassador of his, named *Seranus Eranius*, an Ethnicke; like him that had written the Letter to him, who gaue his opinion, that the cruelty of consenting to oppresse the Christians (being accused of nothing else, but obseruing their Religion, and could not iustly be charged with any other crimes or offences) deserued mitigation. And so by the means of this Letter, the Emperour *Andrian* inhibited *Minutius Fondanus*, then Pro-confull in *Asia*: not to condemne any Christian, except he were conuincd of some other offence, then that concerning his Christian Religion.

Minutius Fondanus Pro-confull in *Asia*.

CHAP. IX.

What opinion the Auncient Emperours did hold, concerning the people that followed Christ and Christianity, by those testimonies which are deriud out of Ethnicke Histories.



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After this Emperour *Adrian* (of whome wee spake in our last chapters) succeeded *Antoninus* the Debonaire, or meek, who, albeit he

Antoninus the meeke succeeded *Adrian*.

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had that Gentle name, yet was hee peruerse and Wicked; for hee misliked the Faith of Christ, and persecuted the Christians. But *Marcus Aurelius* his successor, became therein much more moderate: for in stead of persecuting them; he led them along with him in his Armies, and by their deuout Prayers, he was deliuered from a daunger which hee was in, thorough want of Water, which his enemies had cut from him, wherein God only holpe him, and bestowed Lightning and thunders vpon his aduersaries. Himselfe

Marc. Aurelius was milde to the christians

felfe maketh mention of thefe things in one of his Letters; and *Iulius Capitolinus* speaketh the fame; howbeit hee doth not attribute it wholly to the Christians. And thefe things hapned about 145. yeares, after the death and Paffion of our Sauiour.

About 15 or 20. yeares following, *Ælius Spartianus* (an *Ethnicke*, as himfelfe confefseth) writeth, that *Seuerus* was elected Emperor; and hee made a Lawe, prohibiting (vnder great penalties) that no man fhould conuert to be either Christian or Iew. After which, *Seuerus*, *Antoninus Hellogabalus* was Emp. whose diffolute life we haue already described; and *Lampridius* reporteth (who wrote his life) that he builded a Temple in *Rome*, dedicated to his God only, and hee would haue had the Christians to offer vp their Sacrifices therein; but they by no means would yeeld thereto. The fucceffor vnto this *Hellogabalus*, was the Emperor *Alexander Seuerus*, in the yeare of our Lord, 192. and much ado was made, becaufe he would haue become a Christian.

Wee finde moreouer recorded in his History, that hee held a good opinion of our faith, and honoured the Christians verie highly graunting vnto them places and precincts in *Rome*, where to haue their Temples and Oratories. Himfelfe alfo had an Oratory, wherein he kept the Image or figure of *Christ*, according as it is testified by *Elius Lampridius*, where he speaketh largely of the Christians. Adding withall, that many Cookes and Tauerners went to the Emperour, to complain againft the Christians, faying, *That they had taken their houfes and Lodginges from them, therein to make vfe of their hypocrifies, and that they obserued a Religion contrarie to that of the Romaines.* To which complaint the Emperour answered: *Hee thought it more conuenient, that God fhould there be honoured, then their affayres and vocations be vainly followed.*

This *Seuerus* being dead, *Maximinus* fucceeded him, an enemy and perfecuter of the Christians: but he liued not long, and finished his dayes by an euill death. After whom, and two others befide, that had but fmall continuance, the Empire came into the hands of *Phillip*, who was baptized, as diuers do confirme; and the firft that receiued the Christians: and yet *Eusebius* maintaineth, that the Gentiles

Hiftories do fpeake nothing thereof.

Day by day after (though by fmall degrees) God gaue illumination vnto the hearts of men; and a great number were conuerted to the Faith, in defpight of the Emperors *Decius*, *Diocleſian*, and fuch other, vntill fuch time, as being wearie of persecuting) they difsembled their cruelty, and fuffered them to liue peaceably a while: as moft plainly appeareth, by a Letter of *Maximinus* the Emperour, companion with *Diocleſian*, which was aboute two hundred yeares after our Redemption: The Letter followeth thus in our Language.

Tyrants wearie of perfecuting the christians.

CÆſar *Maximinus*, Inuincible great High-Prieft of *Germany*, of *Egypt*, *Thebes*, *Sarmatia*, *Persia*, *Armenia*, *Carpia*, and victorious (b-fides) ouer the *Medes*: And for his Conqueſtes, named nine times Emperour, and eight times Conſull, and Father of his Country, &c. At the beginning of Our Empire, amongeſt other things which wee determined to do for publicke good, Wee ordained, that the Order to be held in all things, ſhould be conforme vnto the Auncient Lawes, and the publicke Discipline of *Rome* conſerued. And by the ſame means Wee commanded, that the Men which name themſelues *Christians*; and who haue left Our ancient Religion, ſhoulde be preſſed, conſtrained, and enforced to leaue the New which they haue taken; & that they ſhould obſerue Our Auncient, eſtabliſhed by Our Predeceſſors. But it being come to Our knowledge, that notwithstanding this command, and rigors vſed againſt them, to make them obſerue it, they haue left off to follow Our Will, and are ſo firm and conſtant in their purpoſe, as neither force, nor any grieuous puniſhments whatſoever, can withdrawe them from their Religion, and cauſe the to keepe Ours; but rather, they deſire to expoſe themſelues to more bitter Torments and death: continuing ſtill to this day, in the ſame conſtancie, without any will or intent to honor any of our Gods of *Rome*: Wee being memoratiue of our wonted clemency and pittie, do purpoſe to expreſſe the ſame towards theſe *Christians*. And therefore we do permit, that from hence forward any man may make and name himſelfe a *Christian*, to haue places

The emperor Maximus his Letter, concerning the chriſtians

The woorthy and conſtant reſolution of the chriſtians.

Iul. Capitolinus.

Elius Spartianus concerning *Seuerus*.

Hellogabalus his Temple in *Rome*.

Alex. Seuerus.

The *Christians* much fauoured by *Alexan. Seuerus*.

The *Christians* complained on, & the Emperors answered.

The Emperor *Phillip* baptized.

The Christians
bound to doo
nothing a-
gainst the
weal-publick.

places for their assemblies, and to build Temples, wherein to offer their Sacrifices and Prayers. Which License and faculty we graunt vnto them, vnder condition that they shall doo nothing against Our Weale-publike and Religion; and that (in other things) they shall keep Our Lawes and Constitutions. Moreouer, that in acknowledgement of this permission, they shal stand obliged, to pray vnto their God for our life and health; and likewise for the good estate of the *Roman* Commonwealth, that the City continuing safe and in prosperity, they themselues may liue by their labor in repose and security.

The Christi-
ans must re-
member the
Emperour in
their prayers

Well may we terme this man a most infortunate Emperour, for if he sought to compell the Christians, to forsake and renounce their faith, as being badde and wicked: why then, would he haue them to praie for him, and tie them to be mindful of him in their Prayers? But this letter maketh sufficiently against him, because himselfe doth thereby testify, what constancy, vertue, and spirit appeared in the Martirs and holy christians, suffering patiently (for so long time) such torments and punnishments, as were inflicted on them for the loue of Christ. Within some while after *Maximinus*, *Constantine* came to succeed in the Empire, who was fir-named the Great, Son to the good *Q. Helena*, that found the Crosse of Christ, which was about 290. yeares after the redemption of mankind. Hee was a good Christian, and performed so manie worthy actions, in the honor of God, and his holy Church, and likewise to the Ministers therein, as would require too long a time to recite. He permitted all men indifferently to becom Christians, for whom he builded sumptuous Temples: and such as formerly had bin dedicated to the seruice of Idols, were nowe consecrated to the seruice of Christ and his seruants.

The emperor
Constantine the
great, became
a good Chri-
stian.

Idolaterous
Temples re-
duced to the
seruice of god

Christ hono-
red in most
places of the
World.

After this time, although the Church of God suffered some scandales and persecutions, as those of *Iulian* the Apostata and others: yet notwithstanding, dayly, and in many parts of the worlde, Christ became to be publickely adored. And from thenceforward, all Histories are full of the Saints deeds; moreouer, the most part of the subsequent Emperours, were

faithfull Catholickes, as *Theodosius*, *Iustinian*, and others of the same minde. I could alledge many more Authorities of *Ethnick* Historians, who haue spoken of Christ, but this small number shall now suffice me, because they are both famous and of great approbation.

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CHAP. X.

That a man of meane birth or condition, should not therefore desist or forbear from honourable attempts; but endeavour (by all meanes possible) to winne fame and preferment: With sundry examples tending to that purpose and argument.

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WE see, that (euen naturally) men descended of high and generous Linage, do oftentimes become the greatest and most excellent persons, by imitating the natie Noblenesse, and ancient vertue of their ancestors. Neuerthelesse, because there is not any Law or rule so certaine, which admitteth not some kind of exception: this also may be allowed to passe in that number. For many times, a wise, vertuous, learned, and well-disposed Father, doth beget idle, abiect, indiscrete, and bad qualited Children. And yet for all this, if this rule were more certaine, and of lesse infallibilitie, then indeede it is: yet it standeth not as any expresse inhibition, that such are deriued of meane and poor parentage, shold not eleuate their humble eyes, and (by any paine or trauaile whatsoever) climbe to the faire abiding of vertue and honor. And so much the rather, because the most auncient, noble, and best esteemed families of these daies, had their soure & originall from the well-head of vertue, & therby ennobled their succeeding posterity. Therefore, the better to encourage men, to mount vp their depressed minds, and to aime at matters of moment and eminency, I will relate a few examples of some, that haue descended from poore parents, who (neuerthelesse) becam great men, illustrious and excelling both in Vertue and Nobility.

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40

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Natie Nobil-
itie the true
Nurse of ho-
nor.

No inhibition
against true &
reall Vertue.

A Spurre to
humble and
lowly minds,
none greater
then vertue.

We

Viriatu a Portu-
guize, se-
uere again't
the Romains.

We will begin with *Viriatu*, a *Portu-
guize*, so much renowned among *Histo-
rians*, and especially the *Romans*; in whose
blood so many times hedied his weapon.
This man was the Son of a poore Shep-
heard in the Fields; and all his younger
yeares help his Father to tend his flocks:
but his thoughts lifting themselues vnto
much higher occasions, he leste this do-
mesticke and priuate kind of life, depen-
ding on tame and harmlesse Creatures,
to pursue those of sauage and sterner Na-
ture; and so (indeede) became a great
Hunter. It hapned afterward, that the
Romains comming to invade *spaine*, he
leauied a great troope of his Compani-
ons together; by whose assistance he gaue
the enemy many bolde skirmishes, and
spared not also his Natiue friends, onlie
for practise, and to whet on his youthful
spirit. He prooued so valiant and apte to
Armes, that (in very short time) he had
won people enowe about him, to make
vp an whole army, and shew themselues
resolutely in the Field. VVith them, he
made warre vpon the *Romans*, in defence
of his owne Country; and the wars con-
tinued about 14. yeares: in which time,
he won many great & famous victories
against them. Thus liued he powerfully,
honourably, and feared of his enemies:
but in the end, he was vnfortunatly slaine
by Treason, to the no little grieefe of his
VVarre-Companions, by whom, hee
was most Noble brought vnto his
Graue.

Arsaces; King of the *Parthians*, was of
such meane and simple Parentage, that
no mans memorie could make report ei-
ther of his Father or Mother. After hee
had retired himselfe from subiection and
obedience to *Alexander* the Great, hee
was the first that constituted a kingdome
among the *Parthians*, the people so much
renowned and feared of the *Romans*. And
by the meanes of his manhood and vali-
ancy, the Kings successors (in reuerend
respect and memory of his name, albeit
they helde not the Kingdome by Heredi-
tarie succession) were in regard of him
named *Arsacides*, as the *Romaine* Empe-
rors tooke first the name of *Cesar*, in af-
fection to the name of great *Cesar Octa-
uianus Augustus*.

The excellent Captaine *Agathocles*,
who for his wisdom and dantlesse spirit
was King of *Sicily*, and made most cruell

VVarre on the *Carthagenians*, was of so
poore and humble birth, as at the vtmost,
he could be said to be but a poor. Potters
Son: and yet neuertheless, he attayned
in time, to the honour and dignitie of a
King. Whensoever he made his royal
Feasts and Banquets, among his Vessels
of Gold and Siluer, wherewith hee was
serued at his Table, hee would also haue
set before him, Cups, Pots, and earthen
Vesselles, to declare that he was not vn-
mindfull from what pouerty of place his
first Originall grew. There is another, as
memorable an example of *Ptolomey*, one
of the chiefest Captaines to *Alexander*;
after whose death, hee was King both of
Egypt and *Syria*: yet such was his fame,
as all his Successors, the Kings of *Egypt*,
were named *Ptolomeyes*, in remembrance
of him. This *Ptolomey*, was Soune to an
Esquire, called *Lagus*, who neuer had a-
ny higher preferment, then as a Squire
in *Alexanders* Army.

Iphicrates the *Athenian*, was most ex-
cellent in the Science of Militarie Disci-
pline, for he conquered the *Lacedemoni-
ans* in a fought battell, and valiantly resi-
sted the impetuositie of *Epaminondas*, the
excellent Captaine of *Thebes*. The same
was the man, whom *Artaxerxes* King of
Persia, elected to be Lieutenant General
ouer his Armies, when he purposed any
Waire against the Egyptians. And yet
notwithstanding these eminent aduance-
ments: al such as haue written of him, do
confesse him to be no better borne, then
a poore Coblers Sonne.

I had almost forgot *Eumenes*, one of
the most excellent Captaines that *Alex-
ander* had, both in valour, knowledge, &
good Counsell, whose life and woorthy
deeds of Armes, are written by *Plutarch*
and *Paulus Emilius*. This man, although
he was not faouered (like the other) in ri-
ches, and the goods of fortune: yet could
no man march before him in the Art of
warre: For his vertues and glories grew
out of himself, gaining no aduancement
but by his owne labours: he being son to
a man but of mean condition, & (as some
write) a poore Carter:

Among our worldly Dominions and
Gouernements, none euer was so great
and powerfull, as the *Roman* Empire, and
ruled and commanded by many most ex-
cellent men, both in Manners and Ver-
tues. And yet neuertheless, manie haue
Iii aspired

Ptolomey king
of Egypt and
Syria.

Iphicrates the
warlick Athe-
nian, the Son
of a poore
Cobler.

Eumenes re-
corded by *Plu-
tark* & *Emilius*

The Romain
Empire grea-
test of all o-
ther.

The Romans
proceede to
make warre
in Spaine.

Viriatu slaine
by treason.

The poore
birth of *Arsa-
ces* K. of the
Parthians.

The Kings of
Parthia. namd
Arsacides

Agathocles K.
of *Sicilie* a
poor Potters
son.

Elius Pertinax
an Artificers
Sonne.

Dioclesian was
the Son of a
Scriuener.

Valentinian, a
Rope-makers
sonne.

Probus a Gar-
diners sonne.

Maximinus a
Smiths sonne.

*M. Julius Lici-
nius & Bonofus*

Examples of
the Bishops
Sea of Rome.

Pope *Iohn* the
22. a sho-
makers son.

Pope *Nicholas*
5. a Powlers
sonne.

aspired and attained to that Soueraigne degree of Authority, who were but of poore and meane descent. *Elius Pertinax* Emperor of Rome, was the Sonne of an Artificer, his Grand-father was a *Liber-tine* (that is to say) such a one as sometime had bin a Bondslaue, and afterward had purchased his liberty. And yet notwithstanding, in regard both of his vertue and valour, he came to be the *Romain* Empe-
10 ror. Afterward, to leaue an example to others of poore parentage, and to encourage them to vertuous attempts, hee covered with costly & fine carued Marble, all the Shoppes where his Father hadde wrought to get his liuing. Nor was this
20 *Elius* the onely man of meane birth, that attained vnto the Empire; for *Dioclesian*, who made Rome so gloriously shine with triumphant victories, was only the son of a Scribe or Notary. Some say, that his Father was a Booke-binder, and himself a bondslaue. *Valentinian* also came to the Empire, albeit he was but a poore Rope-
30 makers Son. The Emperor *Probus*, was the Son of a Gardiner. *Aurelius*, whose fame and vertues were so great, was of such meane and poore descent: that Authors could neuer agree, concerning the place where he was borne. *Maximinus* was the Sonne of a Smith; but others say that his Father was a Waggon-Wright. *Marcus Iulius Licinius*, and likewise *Bono-
40 sus*, they did both gouerne the Romaine Empire: and yet the first was but an husbandmans sonne of *Dacia*, and the other the sonne of a poore stipendary Schoole-
50 maister.

Many other Emperors of this degree, were in *Rome*, whom I spare to speake of, for breuities sake, as *Mauritus Iustinus*, predecessor to *Iustinian* and *Galerus*, who first were Shepherds, before they came to be Emperors. From this high and sup-
40 preame dignitie, let vs come to the Prelacie of the Romaine Sea, whereto likewise men of as humble a condition haue attained. Pope *Iohn*, the two and twen-
50 tith of that name, was a Shooe makers Sonne, and borne in *Fraunce*, yet by his learning and wisdome he came to that degree, and encreased the patrimonie & power of the Church. Pope *Nicholas* the fift, formerlie named *Thomas*, was the sonne of verie poore parents, that went about the Cittie, selling Egges & Poul-
trie. Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, first named

Frances, and a *Cordelier*, was the sonne of a Mariner, or Sea-faring man. I coulde name a number more, whom purposely I do omit; because this dignitie is not to be had by Nobilitie of blood; but onelic by vertue. Iesus Christ himselfe left vs an example thereof, for the first man by him appointed to that Office, is saide to bee
10 Saint *Peter*, who formerly sought his li-
20 uing in the Seas, like a poore Fisherman, but he brought him from thence to bee a Fisher of men.

Comming now to a suruey of Kinges and Princes, we finde, that the Romaines elected *Tarquinius Priscus* for their king, who was the sonne of a Merchant of *Co-
30 rinth*, and one that was banished from his owne Countrey. Yet he comming to bee King, enlarged the Confines of his
40 Kingdome, and the number of Senators, as also of his Cauallerie: Hee instituted new estates for the seruice and Ceremo-
50 nies of their Gods; so that the people neuer repented themselues for electing him their King, although he was a straunger to them. *Seruius Tullius*, who was like-
60 wise King of Rome, raigned long time with verie great victories, and triumphed three feuerall times, in pompe and power of an excellent King: and yet hee was
70 knowne by many, to be the son of a poor Bond-woman: from whence (for euer after) he held the name of *Seruius*.

The Kinges of the *Lombards*, although they were not of such Antiquity, as the Kinges of Rome, yet (in due respect) they had as great puissance. The third of them being named *Lamusius*, was the sonne of a poore common woman, who was deli-
80 uered at the same time, of two other Sonnes. And yet, like a lewde and wicked woman, she threw them into a deep ditch wherein was some small store of Water. It fortun-
90 ed, that King *Agelmond* passing that way, espyed the Infant (well-neere) drowned in the Water. And hauing a Launce then in his hand, hee touched it gently with the end thereof, to perceiue
100 further what it was. But the Infant (as young as it was) feeling himselfe pierced with the Launces point, caught holde thereon with his hand, and would not let it go. Which when the King beheld, woondering not a little, that so young a creature should declare so much strength, he caused him to bee taken foorth of the water, and to bee nursed with great care
and

Pope *Sixtus* 4.
a Marriners
sonne.

S. Peter repu-
red to be the
first Bishop
of Rome.

Tarq. Priscus, a
Merchant
sonne.

Seruius Tullius
the sonne of
a poore bond
woman.

Lamusius K. of
the Lombard-
des a Strump-
pets sonne.

K. Agelmond
finding the
yong child in
the water, caus-
eth it to bee
well nursed.

The reason
of calling him
Lamusius.

and cost. And because the name of the place (where hee found him) was called *Lamus*, he was fir-named *Lamusius*, and became so greatly fauoured by Fortune, that he was King of the *Lombards*, & his succession continued to King *Alboin*, in whose time that Kingdome was vtterly ruined.

Of *Primislaus*
K. of Bohemia

Another accident (of no lesse raritie then this) happened in the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, where a man named *Primislaus* (Sonne to a Peazant of the Countrey) was chosen to be king, euen when he was labouring the ground in the fields. For, the *Bohemians* being then in some doubt, whom they should elect to be their king, sent foorth a Horse vnbrideled into the wilde fields, suffering him to run whither foeuer he would, being fully determined to elect him their King, with whome the horse stayed.

A strange ele-
ction of a king

It came so to passe, that the horse made his stay directly before *Primislaus*, euen as he was holding the plough in the field: whereupon they made choise of him to be their King, and hee gouerned them both excellently and wisely. He ordained many good and profitable Lawes, and enclosed the City of *Prage* with strong walles, performing many other notable things.

Great *Tam-
berlaine*.

Great *Tamberlaine*, whose woorthie deeds are in some measure before remembred, was but a Heardsman at his beginning. The valiant and vertuous Captain, Father to *Frances Sforza*, whose sons and successors euen to our time, haue continued Dukes of *Millaine*, was borne in a poore Villaine, called *Cotignol*, and Son to a needie labouring man. But being naturally addicted to Armes, and endued with a dauntieffe spirit: hee forfooke his Fathers silly vocation, and followed a band of Souldiers passing thorough the Countrey, and so became a very famous Warriour.

The Father
to *Frances
Sforza*, Duke
of *Millaine*.

Caius Marius, Consul of Rome, being issued of poore parents, and born in a silly Country Village, called *Arpinum*, was one of the best and worthiest Warriours in his time, as is well known to the whole world; for hee was seauen times chosen

Caius Marius,
Consull of
Rome.

Consul. During which space, he won many great victories, and had two magnificent triumphs in Rome.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, the Princely Father of eloquent *Latine*, and most lerned in all Disciplines, was Consull in Rome, and Pro-consull in *Asia*: and yet notwithstanding, his original was from the poor *Tuguriole* of *Arpinum*, the most abiect & meanest parentage that could be. *Ventidius* a poore mans sonne, was a Muleter: but leauing that base vocation, hee came to be of note in *Cæsars* warres, thorough whose fauours, only by his vertue and valour, he came to bee Commanner of a band of men, afterward Marshall of the Field, next to the High Priest, and then Consull of Rome.

M.T. Cicero,
Consull of
Rome, and
Pro-consull in
Asia.

Ventidius a
poor Muleter
his rare For-
tunes.

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In fighting against the *Parthians*, he ouercame and triumphed over them; and was the first man that brought the most apparant & notable victory from them. It would require too long a labor, to set downe examples of meane descended persons, who (thorough Learning, Vertue, and Knowledge) haue attained vnto great degrees and renowne. *Virgill* was no better then a poore Potters son; and yet he was the best Poet amongst the Latines. *Q. Horace*, *Eustatius*, and *Pepinus*, all excelling in Poesie, yet the sonnes of enfranchised Bondslanes. The admyred Phylosopher *Theophrastus*, was the Son of a Botcher, or mender of Garmentes. And *Menedemus* the Phylosopher, vnto whome the *Athenians* erected a costlie Statue, onely in regard of his Learning, was a meane Handy-crafts mans Sonne. By al which examples we may easily perceiue, that a man of what condition foeuer he be borne, may (if himselfe wil) attaine to greatnesse, if he but followe the steppes of Vertue; for which there is no better Schoolemaister then paine & trauel; yet not wandering out of the way to Heauen. For he that swerueth from that only path, the acquisition and aduantage of the worlds glorie, cannot ransome his soule from perpetuall and neuer-ending torments.

Virgill a poore
Potters sonne

Horace, *Eustatius*
and *Pepinus*.

Theophrastus
and *Menede-
mus* Phylosophers.

CHAP. XI.

Of diuers things which happened to the Emperor Iustinian, and many other of his time: with some memory also concerning Lodouicus Sforza.



IN the year 686. the Empire being reduced to Constantinople, Iustinian the 2. was chosen Emperor, albeit (by some others) he hath bene named

Iustine, being but a bad Christian, and addicted to most Wicked inclinations. At the beginning of his raigne, his affaires succeeded very well, because the Sarazins (who had vsurped *Affrica*) made peace with his Captaines. But in regard of his cruelty, he was ill-affected, so that he receiued deserued punishment. For, in the tenth yeare of his Empire, a Conspiracy was contriued against him, by *Leontius* a Senator of *Constantinople*, and *Galenus* the Patriark, euen at such time, as he imagined himselfe to bee in his very greatest prosperity.

This *Leontius* armed with the peoples fauour, and some of the cheefest of the Empire, came to the Pallace, where without finding any resistance, he tooke *Iustinian*, and cut off his nose. Some others do report, that hee did cut out his tongue likewise. And entitling himselfe to be Emperor, banished *Iustinian* to the Towne of *Cherronesus*, on the *Pontique* Sea, where he remained alone, poor, and so disfigured. *Leontius* hauing thus attained vnto his owne intention, and seeing himselfe permitted Emperor in peace, he sent one of his Captaines, named *John*, into *Affrica* against the Sarrazins, who as yet kept possession there. Hauing gotten the victory over them, and left his armie there in such good order and equipage, as best he could, he returned home vnto *Leontius*, to render an account of his employment.

But in the meane while, one named *Asmarus*, attained to some respect in the Army, and afterward was called *Tiberius* by the Soldiers. This man (by generall

consent) taking vpon him to be Emperor, matters succeeded so happilie with him: as (with all diligence) hee came to *Constantinople*: where laying holde of *Leontius* (who had bene Emperor three yeares) he caused his Nose to be cut off, according as he had dealt with *Iustinian*, & commaunded him prisoner into a Monastery, to make his torment worse then death to him; and yet afterward, did put him to death also.

In like manner, he expulsed and banished into *Cephalenia*, one named *Phillippicus*, because he dreamed, that an Eagle had seated her self on his head: which (by presage) appeared to him, that the Empire should come into his command. By which meanes, *Tiberius* continued Emperor peaceably, and raigned fixe or seauen yeares, without feare of any man. In which quiet time of gouernment, the deuill preuailed so farre with him, that hee must needs determine the death of *Iustinian*, as doubting least hee should deuise some machination against him. But *Iustinian* getting aduertisement therof, fled for safety to the house of a Prince of *Barbary*, by whom he was kindly entertained, with promise of his daughter in marriage, and many other great matters besides. Thus remaining there in some hope, and no further cause of feare appearing vnto him: he had secret intelligence, that his new made Father in Law (for a summe of money promised by *Tiberius*) meant suddenly to seize him, and sende him forth with vnto his enemy. Which made him vndertake a second flight, & betake himselfe to the King of *Bugaria*, named *Ouellus*, by whose assistance (hauing promised to receiue his Sister in Marriage) he leuiued an Armie, which he conducted with him against *Tiberius*, and overthrew him in battaile. Which hee neuer could haue done, if *Tiberius* would haue permitted him to liue in quiet, without molesting him in his exile: for this now prooued *Iustinians* best helpe vnto the recovery of his Empire, though not of his Nose, which he had in a manner forgotten, but was vtterly hopelesse of, hauing had experience of Fortunes power, who (for all this fauour) frowned agayne on him.

Beeing come vnto *Constantinople*, hee found *Leontius* there in prison, who had disfigured his face, and thrust him into ba-

Iustinian the Emperor, named by some *Iustine*.

A conspiracie plotted against *Iustinia*.

Iustinian taken his nose cut off, and banished to *Cherronesus* by *Leontius*, who made himself Emperor.

Asmarus, otherwise called *Tiberius*, chosen Emperor.

*An Island in the *Ionian* Sea beyond *Coryra*.

The death of *Iustinian* deuised by *Tiberius*.

Iustinian to be betrayed againe, and therefore enforced to a second flight.

Iustinian soiled *Tiberius*, and recovered his Empire againe.

The death of Leontius and Tiberius.

Iustinian purposeth the death of Phillipicus, for his dream of the Eagle.

Phillipicus resolved to defend himself, & cutteth off Iustinians head and his Sons.

Anastasius taketh the Empire from Phillipicus.

A true testimony of Fortunes frailtie, both in Iustinian & others

banishment: in requitall whereof (after many torments) he caused both him and Tiberius to be put to death; and as many times as he remembered the cutting off of his nose, one of them that had conspired against him, was sure to dy. When he was fully re integrated in his dignitie, he began to thinke vpon one thing, which was the cause of loosing his Empire againe: for he would needs haue that Phillipicus put to death, of whome wee haue already spoken, that was banished for the Dreame of the Eagle, and liued quietlie in his exile, not thinking on any thing to be contriued against him.

In like manner, he quarrelled with the Inhabitants of Cherronesus, saying; That they hadde not well entreated him in the time of his exile; and therefore, leauied men to worke his intention, albeit he was most earnestly desired, to be compassionate towards the poore banished man, whose offence was nothing but an ydle dreame; and yet he would by no meanes be dissuaded. Heereupon, when Phillipicus perceiued the Emperour to bend himselfe against Cherronesus, like a man wholly desperate, euen on meere constraint, he tooke courage to defend himselfe; and having no other remedie, with so many men as he could assemble together, hee went against Iustinian, vanquished him in fight, and cut off both his head and his Sonnes; which being done, banished as he was, hee made himselfe Emperour.

In this manner, it pleased Fortune to play with Iustinian, vntill she had bereft him both of life and Empire. And the very same successe she bestowed on Phillipicus; for at the end of fixe months, one, named Anastasius, arose against him; and after he had pluckt out his eyes, he tooke the Empire from him, retaining it in his owne possession. And yet but for the space of a yeare only: because about that very time, another man, called Theosus, banded his power against him; and causing him to bee shorne a Monk, deprived him of the Empire also.

Thus you may see, how Fortune shewed her true ficklenesse, both with Iustinian and diuers other, in making exiles Emperours, & Emperours exiles, restoring to the dispossessed, more then they had before; that her despoyle of them, might bee the more notable, proving in the

end cruell to them all; not dooing anie good to one, in regard of the euill endured by each other; for from some shee tooke that which shee gaue to others, to take away all from them in the conclusion.

At the beginning, she would bestowe but little on them, vntill shee had lifted them vp to lofty estates; and shee exalted them the higher, to make their downfall the lower; giuing them abundance, because shee scorned to take final things from them. She would not suffer any of them to die in his prosperity; but hee must see himselfe dispossessed of all, before he dyed. Now, albeit these Histories wer most true, and might well haue serued for other mens examples: yet, in following successe of times, euermore one or other would be climbing, and grewe desirous of Empire: As whosoever readeth Blondus, Platina, Antoninus, and other good Authors, may fit their owne turne, with many more like Histories.

Having thus related, howe Fortune delt with many, now I purpose to declare what course shee tooke with one man only, who was Duke of Millaine, named Lodowick, Brother to Galeas Sforza, Duke of Millaine, named by some John Andrea; whom he nourished and brought vp, and slew in the Church of S. Stephen in Millaine, as hee was there present at the hearing of Masse; albeit, they were both Sons to the famous Warriour, Frances Sforza.

This Lodowick was educated with his other Bretheren, in great estate and power, as beeing Children vnto one of the most Worthy Princes of his time; and who was in like manner, a verie Famous Soldiour. By the death of Galeas, a Sonne of his (Named John, and verie young in yeares) remained his successor, in the tutelage and Government of Bonna his Mother; and of one, called Chico, a Native of Calabria; who hadde beene much faouored, by the father and grandfather.

This Chico, immediately banished the Bretheren vnto the deceased Duke, by meanes whereof, Lodowick (being one of them) wandering as a Fugitiue thorowe strange Countreyes, learned to tast the mutabilities of Fortune; or to speake more truly, of the World. And indeed his griefes must needs bee great, beholding

The downfall of Great men should serue as examples to others.

The true History of Lodowick Sforza.

Lodowick, and his Bretheren banished.

Lodowick forcibly entered into Millaine.

Lodowick sole Governour a boue 20. years

Lodowicks great honors won in warre and peace.

His defending the Duke of Ferrara against the Venetians.

His helpe to the King of Naples.

His aid to the D. of Sauoy.

ding (at an instant, and at the verie entrance of his youth) his Brother slaine by treason, and the right of his Nephew, which in reason he ought to administer, to be in the hand of a stranger, of base & wretched condition; in regard whereof, little assurance was to bee had of his life. Neuerthelesse, this Wheele turned, and he (like a man of wisdom and courage) sought the meanes of fortunes fauor and assistance, and found it. For hee entered forcibly into *Millaine*, and expeld thence both *Bonna* and *Chico*, whereby he continued a peaceable Governour of all the Fathers goods. His Nephew was so weake, and himselfe so valiant, that he ruled all, for the space of aboue xx. yeares: during which time, his great wisdom and spirit so ordered all things, that he increased the publick good both in war & peace; *Millaine* growing rich, feared, and well affected throughout *Italy*, and himselfe perticularly very highly esteemed. He attained to great honors in the time of peace, but much more in war, especially that which the *Florentines* then had, against Pope *Sixtus* the 4. and against *Ferrand*, K. of *Naples*. In which warre the *Florentines* were in danger to be destroyed & ruined: but the authority of *Lodowicke* was their speedy remedy, reducing them to peace and safety. King *Lerrand* also hauing lost some places in those warres, which hee had in *Calabria* against the Turk: he gaue him present succour both with men and money, whereby those losses were quickly recovered.

By Armes likewise, hee defended the Duke of *Ferrara*, against the power of the *Venetians*, who had brought him to such extremitie, as he could no longer make resistance. And then the *Venetians* making war vpon him, he withstoode them so powerfully, as he entred into their landes, and brought it in compasse of his owne power, to agree peace with them when he pleased, and no sooner. At another time, the king of *Naples* being much molested by some great men of his country, that rose in rebellion against him: he lent him such aide and support, as kepte himselfe within his owne Kingdome, and all his estates. *Genes* rebelling against him, and *Bonna* his Sister in Law, hee brought them vnder his obedience: and gaue such supply to the Duke of *Sauoy*, whose subjects would not endure his government;

that he made them obediently to submit themselves to him. Knowing also, that Pope *Alexander* the 6. so soone as he was elected, fell into great necessity, hee succoured him graciously with a great sum of mony. He married the duke his nephew to the King of *Naples* daughter, & gaue his Neece as wife to *Maximilian* King of the *Romaines*. He reuealed the Marquesse of *Saluces* in his estate & possessions. After all these prosperities, his nephew *John* died, leauing a childe very young: wherefore, he as absolute Lord, by the permission of the Emperor *Maximilian*, entituled himselfe Duke of *Millaine*.

At this time he was aged, standing on the height of his honours and successes; when fortune began to turne her backe vpon him, and the *Venetians* became his enemies, in fauour of *Lewes* the twelfth, King of *France*, who pretended the Dutchy of *Millaine* to appertaine to him in the right of his Mother. For this cause, he had war on both sides; and although he was a very potent Prince, yet notwithstanding, either because he grew distrustfull of his people, or helde himselfe not strong enough to withstand such combustions, without the backing & assistance of some of those Princes, who had receiued from him so many helpes and good turnes; hee resolved not to attend the shocke or brunt, but taking the best Order (for all things) that hee could deuise, forooke his estate, which in lesse then a month, was vtterly lost. And yet not long after, Fortune kindled some sparkes of hope againe; for being fled into *Germany*, hee found there such succour and assistance, as at the expiration of 5. moneths, he returned with a great army and his entraunce prooued very successfull, because he tooke many places and towns in his owne territories, and was in good hope to recover all.

But when he stood ready for the fight, not onely the *Switzers* refused the battle; but they seized him, and deliuered him into the Frenchmens handes; who led him with them into *France*, where (at length) he dyed prisoner in the Castle of *Loches* in *Touraine*. It nothing auailed him, that he had been rich and mightie, for Fortune gaue him all those Glasse Felicities, to loade him (in the end) with the more greater Aduersities. These are the very best blessings, that this

The marriages of his nephew & niece

Fortune turneth hir backe on him, after all his good successes, and in his age.

A flattering smile of faire hope againe.

The Switzers deliuerd him to the French, and his death in *Torraine*.

He that hath little, is sure not to loose much.

this World can afford vs. Wherefore I say, he that hath least, and least desireth; liueth in the most contentment & assurance. O that men then would rest satisfied with such goods as they haue, making vse and seruice of them in peace, and as God hath bestowed them on them: for I haue read of diuers, who haue coueted many thinges, which (after the enioying of them) haue beene the onely cause of loosing their liues, and God knoweth best, what became of their Soules, by such extreame dealing.

CHAP. XII.

What opinion the Romaines, and others (our Ancient Predecessors) had of Fortune: How she was numbred among the Goddesses. In what forme and figure they used to paint her. With apparant prooffe, that (among vs Christians) there is no Fortune; because all thinges are referred to God.

Vpon what cause this Chapter is inducd.



Because wee haue shewne the instabillity of the world, by sundry examples of men, which some haue falsely attributed to Fortune: I hold it fit and reasonable, that we should a little conferre in this case, on those vanities holden by the Gentiles and Ethnickes, and afterward to conclude with Christians. Among those other errours, which the wise Philosophers held, concerning humane sapience (they beeing deprivied of the true and diuine) this was the chiefe and principall occasion. For, in not knowing the causes whence effects proceeded, neither vnderstanding who made and ordained them: many among them, tearmed them to be the workes of Fortune, with all sudden happenings, and things neuer hoped, or before thought on. And yet they could not be contented to stay themselues there (Fortune being nothing else, but a meere imagination without Essence) but many of them verily beleeued, that Fortune was

The onelic ground of the Philosophers errors.

Fortune reputed to be a Diuinity and Goddess.

a Diuinitie, and a particular Goddess: to whom they ascribed all humane accidents; whether they were of prosperity, or of aduerlity. To her they referred gouernance and administration, of all things eyther good or euill. Nay, this folke tooke so strong a head, that Virgill named her Almighty; And Cicero in his Offices, dared to vse these words: *What is he, who knoweth not, that the power of Fortune is most great equally in good and euill? Because, if shee doe ayde vs with her prosperous winde, wee shall come to the issue of our desires: if she deale contrary, we shall be afflicted euen to extremity.* Salust, an eloquent and learned Historiographer, saide: *Fortune is the Lady and Mistresse of all thinges.* Iuuenall consented with them, saying; *If Fortune please, of a simple Aduocate, thou shalt be made a Consull: but if she be contrary, thou shalt of a Consull, become a sillie Aduocate.* So that they ascribed all powerfullnesse to Fortune.

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And yet notwithstanding, it is a wonderful thing, that beeing in this opinion; they would blasphemie so mightily against her, imposing names and Epithites on her, which were voyd of any reuerence and honour. Pliny said, *Vndoubtedly, in all the world, in all places, at all houres, and by all persons; onely Fortune is innoked, she onely is called, she onely accused and pursued. She alone is thought on, commended, and blamed with iniuries and reproaches. She onely is honoured, esteemed; yet reputed mutable, and (by some) blinde, vncertaine, inconstant, treacherous, and fauourable to the vnworthy.* To her solie, *is referred all expences and receipts, and in all matters and reasons of Mortall men, she filleth vp all the Pages of our ratioll book.* So that; by these wordes, wee are in a most subiected condition, for if we shall repute Fortune to be a God or Goddess; we must thereby approoue God to be most vncertaine.

In those elder daies also, they made Statues and Images to her, in sundrie shapes and figures, according to such effects as they perswaded themselues to be in her. Whē they attributed victorie vnto her; then they formed her strong and manly, and they had a Temple likewise, particularly dedicated to invincible Fortune, which (according to Titus Liuius) was built by Camillus the Consull,

Virg in lib. 8. de Aenei.

Cicero in lib. 2. Officijs.

Salust his opinion of Fortune.

Iuuenall his words.

Plin. in lib. 2. Cap. 7.

How Fortune is both blamed and honored.

Variety of Statues and Images erected to Fortune.

A Temple
built to For-
tune by Camil-
lus the Consul

Another tem-
ple built out
of Rome to
Fortune.

A third Tem-
ple dedicated
to euill For-
tune.

The Deuill is
the Authour
of these delu-
dings.

Galba, his tak-
ing a Chain
of Gold from
the Image of
Fortune.

A Statue of
bearded For-
tune, to send
young men
beards.

full, with the prey and spoyle which he
tooke from the *Hetrurians*. And long
time after it was ordained, that her sol-
lemne Feast should be celebrated, on
the five and twentieth day of Iune: be-
cause, as on that day, *Hasdruball* was de-
feated and foyled; and King *Massinissa*,
a Friend to the *Romaines*, the selfe same
day vanquished King *Siphax*.

Moreover, the *Romaines* erected ano-
ther Temple to her, about two little
miles from Rome, where she was figu-
red in the shape of a Woman; because
in that place, *Coriolanus* coming in
Armes against his Countrey, hauing li-
stened to the entreaties of his Mother:
became gracious, and returned, pard-
oning *Rome*, which he had formerlie de-
termined to sacke and spoile, even from
the top to the bottome. Into this forme
of a Womans mounted Statue, the de-
uill made his entrance, giuing answer
therein many times, and so reputed to
be an Oracle. They had another Tem-
ple also, which was dedicated particu-
larly to euill Fortune, and such was
their blindness in deuotion, as they ve-
rily beleued, that he who was deuout-
ly addicted to this Fortune; all things
should happen well vnto him. But hee
that did the contrary, all thinges with
him should turne to unhappinesse. Of
all which delusions and abusings, the
Deuill onely was the Authour, to make
men relye and trust on him the more
confidently. As it happened to *Galba*,
who hauing taken a Collar or Chaine
of Gold from this Image of Fortune,
to bestow it (as an offering) on the
Goddesse *Venus*, as it is recorded by di-
uers Historians: Fortune her selfe ap-
peared to him the night following, and
threatned him, whereon (soone after)
his death ensued.

The vanitie of these people was so
extreame, that they had also another
Statue, of a bearded Fortune, perswa-
ding themselves; that such youthes as
did hold her in veneration, should the
sooner haue Beards and comely pro-
portion: but such as contemned her,
should both want beards, and all good
disposition. All these things they did,
for diuersitie of respects and considera-
tions: and yet their maine intent, was
to signifie the whole power, which (ac-
cording to their opinion) remained in

her, and the contrarietie of her nature,
they declared also in diuers kinds.

The Philosopher *Cebes*, painted her
in the shape of a Woman, but furious,
blind, and without vnderstanding: ha-
uing her feete placed vpon a round
stone, thereby to demonstrate her in-
stabilitie. *Vupalus* was the first in *Greece*,
that made an Image to Fortune in the
City of *Smyrna*: she had the Heauens
ouer her head, and in one of her hands
a Horne of aboundance. The *Scythians*
made her a Woman without feete, ha-
uing (neuerthelesse) handes and wings.
Others figured her with the stearne or
guide of a Shippe in one of her hands,
and in the other a *Cornucopia*: inferring
thereby, that she gouerned all thinges,
and graunted blessings to the World.
Others made her of Glasse; because she
was fraile, and broken in pieces with
the least mischance.

There were others, who painted her
turning a Wheele, on the top whereof
somewere seated; others climbing to
get vp, and others thrown down quite
vnderneath it. One tearmed her to be
like a Comedie, wherein some persons
entred (one while) like Kings and great
Lords, and presently changing their
Garments, entred againe like Slaves &
Seruants: because our humane life is
gouerned in like manner, for men are
to day rich and pompous; but to mor-
row poore, abiect, and miserable. *Soc-
rates* compared her to a publike place,
or disordered Theater, wherein many
times it commeth to passe, that the best
persons sit in the worst places. Those of
ancient times, described her to be blind,
and to that purpose, *Apuleius* hath these
words in his *Golden Ass*. *Not without
cause, did men of old learning, paint For-
tune to be blinde: considering, she continu-
ally bestoweth riches on peruerse people, &
such as are unworthy of them, neuer ma-
king any good election among men; but
most commonly fauoureth and communica-
teth her selfe to wicked people, whom (if
she had eyes) she would fly and shunne.*

There are an infinite number of au-
thorities, which might bee produced,
concerning the good and bad names at-
tributed to Fortune. *Valerius* and *Claud-
ian* called her *Enuious*. *Ouid* in his *Fasts*
tearmeth her *strong and doubtfull*; and
in his *Epistles*, *wicked*. *Iuuenal* in his
Satires,

Cebes his fi-
gure of For-
tune.

Vupalus his
picture of
Fortune.

The *Scythians*
Fortune.

Diuers shapes
and figures
of Fortune.

Compared to
a Comedie.

Socrates his
comparison
of Fortune.

Apuleius in his
Golden Ass,
concerning
Fortune.

*Valerius Max-
imus*,
Claudian,
Ouid in *Fasts*,
Iuuenal in *Sat*.

Lucian.

Satires, calleth her *Vile and peruerse*. Lucian, *Traitresse and periured*. Siluius Italianus, *Craftie and subtile*. Virgil in one place, calleth her *Omnipotent*; and elsewhere he railerth on her, saying; shee is *Inconstant, faithlesse, and disloyall* Cicero, of whom we haue already spoken, and who attributed vnto her so much power as to entile her; *The Guide and conduct of Men in liuing well*: faith yet beside, *That there is nothing so contrarie to reason and constancie, as Fortune is*. And yet neuerthelesse, the vanity of the ancient *Romaines* was so great, that they would adore her, whom they knew to be blind, false, and inconstant, building Temples to her. And so curious were they in imployment of their superstitions; that the Emperours of *Rome* kept the Image of Fortune, in the very same Chambers where they vsed to sleepe: and when any of them dyed, shee was transported from his Chamber, into that of his Successour.

Cicero in lib. de Orat.

The vanities of the ancient Romaines.

The superstition of the Romaine Emperours.

Seruius Tullius Plutarc. in Lib. de Rom. Fort.

The first that erected a Temple to her in *Rome* (according as *Titus Linius* declareth) was *Seruius Tullius*, sixt King of the *Romaines*. Yet *Plutarch*, in his Booke of the *Romaines* Fortune, saith (of virile or manly Fortune) *That albit Martius, fourth King, was the first that builded a Temple to her: yet it was Seruius Tullius, that imposed many names on her, for each of which names, they made her a Temple*. One to manly Fortune; others to little Fortune; prosperous Fortune; aduerse or bad Fortune; and to triumphant Fortune, with other such like names.

The names of Fortune stem pies.

The Temple of manly Fortune, for marriageable maides.

The Temple of virile or manly Fortune, was builded neere to the Riuer of *Tyber*, and (according to some others) hard by a Lake or Poole. In this Temple, all such Maides as were of marriageable yeares, came and presented themselves in great deuotion, despoiling themselves into their Smocks, before the Statue of Fortune. If they had any blemishes or imperfections on their bodies, they would discover them vnto her: beleeuing verily, that Fortune would keepe them hidden and concealed, and order the matter in such sort, that such as were to enjoy them in marriage, should neuer perceiue them; this is testified by *Ouid* in his *Fasts*, & much more beside.

Ouid in lib. de Fast.

Now, as the power of the *Romains* grew to encrease and enlarge it selfe, so much the more was this Religion of Fortune aduanced; and still new Temples were builded to her, answerable to such names as wer imposed on her: not onely in *Rome*, or there-about, but likewise in diuers Countries of *Italie*. This then must be our conceipt, that not onely these vanities, but many more which might be discovered to this effect: were meere deceiuings, and deluding of men walking in darknesse, confiding onelie in their owne knowledge and wisdom. For, according to truth, all things that can bee done in the vniuersall World, be it in Earth or in Heauen, yea, or in Hell; they proceed from the vnsearchable prouidence, and supream wisdom of God. They ensue neither by Fortune, Chance, or Aduenture: for all things haue their being in him, and so are continued in their course and order.

The enlarging o. Fortunes religio.

How men are to iudge according to truth.

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Moreouer, be it that among vs men, (thorough want of knowledge and vnderstanding oftentimes) some causes are begotten of others, which come not by accidentall Chance: yet in the end, all thinges make their stay on the first and chiefest cause, which is God, the Motiue, Maker, and Governour of them all, and this is that truth, which ought to bee beleued, knowne, and held, by euery true and faithfull Christian.

God the motiue, maker & governour of all things.

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Lactantius Firmianus, wisely mocked such men; as attributed the accidents of this World to Fortune. And *Saint Augustine* in his *Retractions*, denyeth that, which (by common manner of speaking) he had formerly attributed to Fortune, concerning the happy successe of a man. In the same place also, he commendeth *Dauid*, because hee ascribed all his tribulations to the indgment of God: and so ought euery Christian to hold, that all thinges still doe proceede from God.

Lactantius Firmianus.

Aug in lib. de Retract.

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Many of the Ancients had some tast of this truth, for *Salust* could say: *Each man is the principall cause and motiue of his owne Fortune*. And in his *Proheme* to the Warre of *Iugurth*, he saith. *Slothfull and negligent persons, make their complaint on Fortune, without any occasion*. *Iuuenall* in his tenth Satire, speakeh more cleare-

The words of Salust. In Prohem. Bel Iugurt.

Iuue in Sat. 10.

clearly: *That where Prudence is, Fortune hath no power or dignity, although we make her to be a Goddesse, and extoll her to the Heavens.* Other Philosophers there were, who although they said; *That Fortune (of her owne proper vertue and power) could not do any thing:* yet they credited, that she was the Minister and Instrument of the Diuine prouidence; as if God should stand in neede of some other, to performe his workes for him, which is no lesse vaine, then those opinions before recited, and others that might be heere remembred, which I auoyd for prolixities sake.

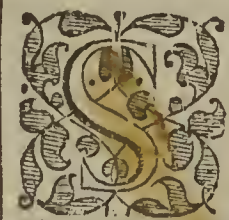
The opinion of some Philosophers.

Neuerthelesse, I could wish that simple Christian people (too ignorant in many thinges) would forsake that bad Custome which they haue held ouer long: in making their complaint on Fortune, when any thing happeneth contrary to their hope or expectation. For it is an infallible rule, that there is not any thing whatsoeuer; but God is the only disposer thereof, and recourse should be made to none but him, in all our wordly wants and necessities.

An aduise to ignorant Christians.

CHAP. XIII.

That ouer and beside the properties of Elementary thinges; There are great store of other concealed and wonderfull properties, which be not of the Elements.



Some of the ancient Philosophers, hauing discovered by their knowledge, infinite properties and vertues of herbs, Plants, & Stones, I speake of those which the Spirit and industry of Men could hardly attaine vnto, but that necessitie, and time (ioyned with experience) haue declared, and from whence so many remedies and benefits haue descended; In regard also, that humain vnderstanding neuer taketh rest, or can bee satisfied in perfectly knowing things, vntil it reach also their causes and reasons, and beholdeth their qualities and effects: It hath therefore bene the occasion, that

Desires and affections in men, are fit-dome capable of any rest.

men haue made narrow search, and dying into their originall, from whence such power and vertues should ensue, and haue found (in this contemplation) certaine occasions, which they could know and vnderstand, consisting particularly, on some naturall principles and apprehensions, of the qualities of the Elements, whereof all inferiour things are composed. And such are the causes and properties of those thinges, which we call Elementary; as to make hot, to coole, to moysten, and to dry, which name themselues, as principall or first qualities.

The naturall qualities of the Elements in their severall degrees.

These Philosophers did likewise know, that these proceeded from the foure Elements; Water, Earth, Ayre, and Fire, whose qualities are Colde, Drought, Moysture, and Heat. There are beside, sundry other qualities in thinges, which they knew also to deriue themselues of the Elements, and by the mixtion of them; and they were named second qualities: As one thing had the property to assuage; another to mollifie; sundry other in their kindes; to strengthen; to comfort; to be sweet or sower. Which forces or properties, are found in thinges composed of the foure Elements, although they know none of the foure Elements simply; but because the commixture of them causeth such properties.

Other deriuations of the Elements, tearmed second qualities

Therefore, such men as did vnderstand whence the causes proceeded, did hold them for cleare and certaine. Neuerthelesse, there are other proprieties and vertues in thinges, which name themselues concealed and meruailous: because no man knoweth from whence they come, neither is their reason any way vnderstood. Howbeit, a Man may plainly perceiue, that they deriue not themselues from the Elementary qualities: and of such thinges as these wee purpose to speake, as of matters most desired, and least apprehended. We see that the Adamant or Load-stone, otherwise called the Calamite, exalteth peeces of Iron and Steele from the ground, which doe poize the fourth part of his weight; as any occasion may easily make manifest, although we well know, that this quality proceedeth not of the Elements.

Of other secret and wonderful things, not knowne from whence they proceed.

Example of the Adamant, Loadstone, or Calamite, which hath no elementary quality.

It is neither the heat of Fire, which causeth

causeth it, nor the drinesse of the earth; but another hidden and secret vertue. Moreouer, this Calamite Stone; hath not this propriety perticular to it selfe, but dooth communicate it to other things.

To approue the truth heereof, if one whet the point of a Knife thereon, the point receiueth and pertaketh so much of his vertue; as it will take vp a Naile, a Needle, or some other small peece of Iron or Steel, without any touch (then) of the stone it selfe. In like manner, a Needle touched with this Stone, receiueth another meruaylous propriety, for being at his owne liberty; it prepareth and turneth it selfe towards the Pole Articke, or Northerne Region. Vpon which occasion, Marriners did inuent the vse of the Compasse, not knowing how or whence that this vertue cometh.

It is knowne likewise for a thing most certaine, that a very little Fish, called in Greeke * *Echeneis*, and in Latine *Remora*, if it cleaue fast to the Keele of a ship (though it float neuer so fast vnder saile:) it with-holdeth it from stirring, and will not let it goe. And yet wee know it a matter impossible, that this can be done by strength of Man: neither can this Fish (being so small of it selfe) doe it by any power it hath; but by some hidden vertue and propriety. Agarick, purgeth Phlegme; Rubarbe, dryeth and expelleth Choller; and the Hearb called *Epythimon*, cleanseth away Melancholly, yet no man knoweth, from whence these concealed vertues doe proceede.

If I shall be answered, the reason ensueth, because these Drugges are hot: it should then as well follow, that *Orpiment* (which is hot also) should work the like effect: and yet we see, that (of his owne Nature) it heateth and restricteth. The *Ostridge* eateth and consumeth Iron, and that by some secret property; and not in regard of her heat: for the Lyon is much more hotter, and yet cannot doe it. Quales do feed on *Helleborus*, without receiuing any hurt at all thereby; and yet if other Birds do eat thereof, they die immediatlie. Fire burneth and consumeth all things: and yet we read it (and auouched by good Authours) that the *Salamander*, and a

Fly, named by the Greekes *Pyrantha*, by some secret in Nature; Fire is to them both life and nourishment. I read, that a man, if hee haue a Dogge with him, and doe smite an Adder once, shee dyeth: but if he strike a second blow, she reuiueth againe.

The *Iasper*, and some other Stones, haue the power to stench bleeding. The precious Stone called a Carbuncle, glistereth, and brightly shineth in night and darknesse. The *Iacynth* (according to some Writers) is good against thunder and lightning. The *Turqueis* is helpfull, to keep a man from casuall falling: For, by breaking it selfe against the Luer Veine, it preserueth the man from any harme. The Diamond is good for Weomen great with Childe. Now, if demaund be made, from whence ariseth all these admirable properties, few Men (I am perswaded) can make any answer.

In these powers and properties so secret and wonderfull, there is another thing worthy of consideration; to wit; that some of these thinges, do containe the power wholly in the matter alleaged, and in part. According as we haue spoken of the Fish *Echeneis*, or *Remora*, that is able to retain the swiftest course of a Shippe: this is not proper to any one part of the Fish, but to the whole body. In like manner, the shadow of the *Hyenna* maketh the Hounds hoarse and broken voyced: but it is to be vnderstood, that it is the shadow of the whole body, and not any part thereof. There are other things, whose properties consist not onely in whole, but also in part. As the Hearb *Selandine* (tearmed in French *Esclere*) which is good for the sight, both in whole and in part; the roote being as good, as the Leaues and Seedes. Of other thinges, there are some that haue these secret vertues in part onely by it selfe; as we read concerning the eyes of a Wolfe, if they first behold a man, before he do behold the Beast, the Man becommeth hoarse and wheezing.

The *Hyenna* also, hath a particular property in his eyes: for, if he looke on a Beast, seated any where to rest himselfe: the looke onely maketh the beast sleepey, and so drouisie headed, as he hath no ability to stirre himselfe. The *Basiliske*

The Salamander, and the Fly *Pyranth*

Of the Adder

Of sundry precious stones, and their vertues.

The power of these properties consisting wholly in the thing, and not in part.

Not onely in the whole, but also in part.

In part onely, and not all.

Of a Needle touched by the Adamant stone.

* A Sackstone or Sea Lamprey, a verie small Fish, that can hold a ship a floating vnder sayle.

Of Agaricke, Rubarbe, and Epithymon, purgatiue Drugges.

Orpiment.

The Ostridge eateth and digesteth Iron.

Quales eat Helleborus.

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The Hart of a Dog.

The Gaule of a Goat.

Properties in some things, during life, & in others after death.

What vertues men haue found by search, they will not confesse.

Alexan. Aphro. in Problem.

Theophrastus. Dioscorides. Isaac. Iudaic.

The opinion of Plato and the Scho lists.

like onely hath poyson in his eyes, and killeth with his very sight. It is saide, that the Hart of a Dogge hath this property, that if a man beare it about him; it causeth all Dogges to auoid and shun him. And the Gaule of a Goat beeing put into a Vessell of Brasse, and set in a place where Frogges and Paddockes are; they will all presently gather about it.

Here we are further to obserue, that some one of these thinges, and namely in Beasts; do not containe the property, but while they are liuing, and then by death they are lost: yet some others do continue after death. As the Eagle, who in her life time is victorious ouer all Birdes or Fowles: likewise after death, her Feather being put among others, it deuoureth and consumeth them. The Skinne of a Lyon, spoyleth the Skinnes of other Beastes: And the Skinne of a Wolfe, eateth and consumeth the Skinne of a Lambe. We behold also in Hearbes, that after they are withered and dryed; yet they cease not to keepe and preserue their properties. These vertues, and diuers other, haue both beene seene and knowne by mens curious Inquisition, who yet haue refused to tearme them secret or concealed vertues, because they did not hold them for certaine: albeit they had made good experiment of them, and no one of them could deliuer the cause, whence any of these vertues should proceede.

Alexander Aphrodiseus, in the beginning of his Problemes, tearmeth them *Vnknowne Vertues*, saying morcouer: *That they are knowne to God onely, the Authour of all thinges*. There are likewise some other writers, who haue discoursed on the properties of diuers thinges, making the causes of them, to bee as matters out of their knowledge; and of this minde were *Theophrastus*, *Dioscorides*, *Isaac the Jew*, and many others. And yet notwithstanding, there were others beside, who being loath to confesse their ignorance in these thinges; gaue them yet some originall, but were very different in their opinions. *Plato* and the *Academickes*, attributed the originall of this vertue, to the *Idea* of all thinges immediatly; which they inten-

ded to be God, as the Originall, beginning and first cause of all. Other naturall Philosophers, attributed the causes of these operations, to Celestiall Spirits, or Angels.

Albertus Magnus thinketh it to come, from the especiall forme and substance of each thing: whereto consenteth *Leonardus Camillus*, in his second Booke of the Myrror of Stones. *Hermes*, and many other Astrologers, with whom also ioyneth *Marsilius Phicinus*; attributing the whole power to the Starres and Celestiall figures. And this is the most common opinion which wee follow now adades: although it appeareth that they hold one opinion by conformity of subiect, arresting all vpon God, who is the first cause and Creator of all thinges.

But returning to our Starres and Planets, which are the Instruments and Governours of this neather World: for these secrets and perticular properties whereof we haue spoken, should seeme to forme their deriuation thence. It is then to be vnderstood, that these secret powers in thinges, are in a like manner diuers and variable, as they be subiected to diuers and variable Starres and celestiall Images. Because that of the sundry natures and forces of influention, which the Starres haue with their light (considering the Celestiall motion in inferiour thinges, which perticularly they are subiected vnto) the particular excellencies in any thing is caused. And thereby moreouer happeneth, that one thing may haue two vertues, and secret properties, onely by the influence of diuers Starres. And these powers beeing so singular, doe worke the much greater effectes and efficacy; when the elementary qualities of the thinges, are not thereto repugnant and contrary. And because examples will make these matters the more cleare and euident; wee will giue ye a tast of some. But whosoeuer is desirous of further information; let him read *Porphyrius*, *Sinesius*, *Marsilius Phicinus*, *Leonardus Camillus*, in his *Mirroure of Stones*, *Cornelius Agrippa*, *Albertus Magnus*, and others.

Naturall Philosophers.

Alber. Magnus.

Leonard. Camillus.

Marsilius Phicinus.

The stars and Planets, Governours of our lower World.

The diuersity of Natures in the stars, causeth diuersity of vertue in thinges.

The Elementarie qualities not repugnāt.

Marsil. Phicinus in lib. de trip. vit.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of many meruailous properties in sundrie things; And to what Stars and Planets they are subiected naturally.



Ist of all, we will speak of Saffron, which hath the power to awake or rouse vp dull spirits, and his vertue goeth immediatly to the hart, procuring ioy, gladnesse, and smiles. It is saide, that these properties are imparted thereto, by particular influence of the Sun, wherto it is subiect: and by him therefore is assisted, thorow his subtil nature, splendant and Aromaticall. Mirrhe, Incense, Balme, wood of Aloes, Spikenard, these also are subiect to the sun. It is said moreover, that Gold, in being of the nature of the Sun, hath therefore the vertue, to comfort and glad the hart, & to be shining. The same Sun also giueth vertue to the *Carbunckle*, to be so splendant in the night, and to bee powerfull against poyson. The propertie which the Iacinth hath, against thunder and lightning, is held to proceede from the influence of the Planet *Iupiter*: for which cause it hath bene thought very conuenient, that a man should alwaies carry it about him. The Eagle-stone, being commonlie found in an Eagles nest, among al other vertues, is meruailously proper for women great with Child, and at the time of their deliuerance: which is occasioned by the vertue of *Venus*, and of the Moon; and *Rasis* affirmeth, that he hath made experiment thereof. If a man be but touched with the hearbe *Piony*, otherwise called *Kinges-bloome*, or *Rose of the Mount*, especially of that which is the Male: the party so touched, shall be defended from the falling sicknes. And this onely commeth by the Sunnes influence, to whom this hearb is alwaies subiect. The Corall, and the Chalcidony, which is a kind of *Onix* stone, doe contain the selfe-same efficacy, thorow the perticular influences of *Iupiter* and *Venus*.

The vertue of Saffron receiued from the Sunne.

Other things subiect to the Sunne. Gold.

The Carbunckle.

The Iacinth, by Iupiter.

The Eagle-stone by *Venus* and the Moone.

The Hearbe *Piony*, by the Sunne.

Corall and Chalcidony, by Iupiter and *Venus*.

By the vertue of the Sun, and which it communicateth to Ginger: it is receiued among meates, and is very proper against weaknesse and emptinesse of the stomacke. *Iupiter* lendeth vertue to Sage, and maketh it soueraigne against the Palsie. Those beasts which are subiect to the Sunne, and doe receiue influence from him: are couragious and valiant, affecting superiority and dominion ouer others. Among whom is the Lyon, much more then all the rest; the Crocodile and the Bull, and according as one Planet or one Starre yeildeth advantage of influence more then another, either vpon beast, or any other thing: euen so is the influxion thereby receiued of superiority in excellency, either in beasts or other things subiected to this Planet. And therefore you may note, how it hapneth to the Lyon, of whom we haue already made relation, that he standeth in feare of the Cock, & flyeth from him. The reason is, because they are both subiect to the Sunne, and the Cocke is superiour in that order or degree, by meanes whereof, he danteth the Lyon. The power and vertue of the Adamant, is infused by the Celestiall Image, cald *Vrsa minor*, or *Charles waine*, which containeth seauen and twentic Stars. Now, because Steele is subiect to these Stars, and the stone is by them more qualified, or raised into the higher degree: it vrgeth thence the sufficiency of mouing or attracting, and so by *Vrsa Minor* is this vertue imparted vnto the Stone.

Some do hold, that the Eagle is subiect to the sun; others say, to *Iupiter*, & that this perperty is deriued from *Iupiter*, that it can (at no time) bee smitten with lightning or thunder. But if we speak of the cause concerning the Sun, & his influence: then the is said to haue another wonderful property; which is, to be chiefe Lady; to make all other Birds stand in feare of her, and to haue the most pure, cleare, and perfect sight beyond all other. Beside, that her Feathers should consume them of other Fouls, whensoever they are mingled together. The Moone imparteth as much vertue, to the stone cald *Selenitis*, which is found in *Arabia*, whereof *Pliny* speaketh, saying; *Within the body of this Stone, the Moon apparantly sheweth her selfe, and*

Ginger, by vertue of the Sunne.

Sage, by *Iupiter*.

Beasts subiect to the sun, and how they receiue their vertues.

The Lyon & the Cocke, both subiect to the Sunne.

The Adamant, subiect to *Vrsa Minor*.

Opinions concerning the Eagle, by the Sunne, or by *Iupiter*.

The Stone, *Selenitis*, gouerned by the Moone. *Plm. in lib. 9. Cap. 3.*

increaseth or decreaseth, as shee doth her course in Heauen.

Of Cats, subiect to the Moone.

Pantaurus the most excellent stone of the Sun, a preservative against poyson.

The Stone *Acat*, subiect to Mercury.

Beasts subiected to Mercury.

The Palme & Laurell, subiect to the Sunne.

The Stone *Heliotropium*, subiect to the Sunne.

The Iacynth, to the Sunne and Iupiter.

Cats haue a peculiar property by domination of the Moone, that the haire which grow on their eye-edges, do increase or decrease euery day, according to the diurnall course of the Moon, and her aspects: as any man may apparantly behold, at what time he pleaseth to make proof thereof. Among the very worthiest Stones of the Sunne, that which hath the most power, is the stone called *Pantaurus*, which is reported to be first found by *Apollonius Thianens*. The Sun giueth such force and vertue to this Stone; that it draweth all other Stones vnto it, euen as the Adament doth Steele or Iron: and hee that beareth this Stone about him, cannot sustaine any harme by poyson. It is saide moreouer, that this one Stone hath included in it, the properties and vertues of all other Stones. *Pliny*, and all the rest doe affirme, that the Stone called *Acat*, by the domination of *Mercury*, helpeth greatly his eye-sight that carrieth it about, causing him to speake freely and liberallie, and yet it is wholly poyson. *Mercury* in like manner, by influxion which he bestoweth on some Beastes, that are subiected to him, as Dogges, Apes, Foxes, and other such like; endueth them with wonderfull vnderstanding, craft, and subtilty.

The Palme and the Laurell or Bay-Tree, are likewise subiected to the Sun, and from him doe receiue their perticuler properties; against lightning, tempests, and stormes, as also against all venimes and poysons. By the same occasion, the Ywe, Cedar, and the Ash trees, are proper against venimes, and doe hold their perfect greenenesse all the yeare long. In like manner, the Stone, called *Heliotropium*, wherof *Pliny* and many other do report wonderful things; to wit, that it prolongeth life, and that it maketh a man constant and verie well willed; moreouer, that it can cause a man to walk inuisible: all these properties are deriued vnto it by influence of the Sun.

The Iacynth Stone, by communication of the Sunne, to whom it is perticulerly subiect, and also to *Iupiter*, if a man doe beare it about him, and rouch his flesh there-with neuer so little: it defen-

deth and preserueth him from all poysons, as also against all euill vapours and corrupted ayres. It gladeth and comforteth the Hart and Spirit, and is reputed beside, to make Men or Weomen very amiable, and well enclined. There is likewise another kind of Iacynth, named the *Chrysolite*, which shineth with a golden colour quite thorow, and pertaketh of the Suns vertue: it is also very good against frenzy or madnesse, melancholly humours, as also against strange imaginations and euill visions. The *Scarabe*, which is otherwise commonly called the Beetle-flye, a little old Creature, is maruelously subiect to the Moon, and thereof is found both written, and by experience: That she gathereth or maketh little pellets, or little round bals, of Mens Excrements, and therein encloseth her young Egges, keeping the Pellets hid in the ground eight and twenty daies; during which time the Moone maketh her course, & the nine and twentieth day shee taketh them foorth, and then hideth them againe vnder the Earth. Then, at such time as the Moone is conioyned with the Sunne, which wee vsually tearme the New Moone: they all issue forth aliue, and flye about. The Moone also hath Soueraignery and dominion ouer many thinges, and particularly on such as are white and greene, and (among Mettals) ouer Siluer especially. For this cause, all Trees (in the encreasing and waine of the Moone) doe extend or shut vp their moysture and strength. Also, all Birdes or Fowles, which hant and liue in Riuers, or Marishes and marine places, are subiect to the Moone. And likewise the Camelion, who receiueth (from her) his property of changing, and altring into such colours as are laid before or neere him.

The properties of *Myrabolanes* are infinite. They doe nourish and preserue the life of all such as shall often eat them. They prolong youth; strengthen the senses and Spirits of Man; causing quicknesse of memorie; comforting the stomacke; and chearing the heart. All these gifts and vertues, doe proceede from the Planets *Iupiter* and *Mercurie*, according as it is testified by very many learned and great personages. The Iasper stone, by influence of the

The *Chrysolite* to the Sunne.

The *Scarabe*-Fly, subiect to the Moone

Coniunction of the Sunne with the Moone.

The Moones power ouer thinges white and greene.

The East-Indian Plum, called a *Myrabolane* Plum, subiect to *Mercury* & *Iupiter*.

The Jasper stone, subiect to Saturne.

the Planet *Saturne*; hath the power and vertue to mitigate and remooue the prickings of the Flesh; and to stay excessive of bleeding at the Nose, or any wound receiued. Heere might wee enter into a much larger discourse, of many other properties (verie strange, great, and meruailous) and singular qualities, both of Stones and other things; which the seauen Planets, and principall Starres (being in the Orbes of the Heauens) doe graunt by their influence to things heere beneath. But those which wee haue already related, shall serue and suffice. And now, we will proceede, to speake of such vertues in certain things, as do ensue from the fixed Starres of the eight Heauen, which haue great domination and power ouer those things, that partake with such qualities, which the other Planets giue influence vnto.

Concerning the fixed stars of the eyght Heauen.

Medusæes head, subiect to *Iupiter* and *Saturne*.

The Starre called *Medusæes head*, yeildeth force and vertue to the Diamond, and to the Hearbe called *Mugworte*, or *Saint Johns Hearbe*: causing them that carry them about them, to be bold and hardy of heart and Spirit; and this Starre is of the nature of *Iupiter* and *Saturne*. The Starres, named the **Pleiades*, haue power ouer *Christall*, and ouer *Fennell-seede*: And thence it ensueth, that these are comfortable and beneficial to the eye-sight, because that these Starres are Lunarie and Martiall. The selfe-same Hearbe *Mugworte*, *Mandrake*, or *Mandragon*; *Mint* or *Mints*; the *Saphire* and the *Rubie*, doe receiue their influence from the Goate-Statre; and it is saide, that whosoever weareth them in Ringes or otherwise, shall bee pleasing and amiable.

* The seauen Stars, subiect to the Moone and *Mars*.

The Saphire and Ruby, to the Goat.

The vertue whereof we haue last spoken, is likewise imparted to the *Agate Stone*: and it is reported to proceede also, from another Celestiall Image; called the *Little Dogge*. The vertue of the *Emeralde*, and of *Sage*, is communicated vnto them by the *Virgines Starre*, or the Starre that appeared at *Christs birth*. The power of the Stone *Celidontus*, of *Celandine*, and of *Masticke*, to represser melanchollie humours; commeth from the Starre called the *Lyons Hart*, or the *Royall Starre*, which is of the Nature of *Iupiter* and

The *Agate*, to the little dog.

The stone *Celidontus*, *Celandine*, and *Masticke*, to the Lyons heart.

Mars. The Blood Stone, receiuethe his vertue of staying or stanching bleeding, from the Starre called *Ariameth*, or *Bootes* in Greeke. The *Topase Stone*, and the *Trifoyle* or *Three-leaued grasse*, which containe the property of Chastity, to represser the Flesh, and to cause ioyfulness in the bearer of them: doe receiue their vertue from the Starre named *Alpheta*, or the *Septentrionall Crowne*; being of the nature of *Venus*, and of *Mars*. The *Amatist*, and the Hearbe called *Aristologie*, or *Aristolochia Sarmentitia*, *Saracens Hearbe*, commonly termed *Long Hartwort*, or *Birtworte*, and *Saffron* also; doe cause a faire complexion, and viuacity of Spirit in him that beares them about him, and are said to be the meanes of chasing away euill Spirits. All which vertues are imparted to them; by the Starre called the *Scorpions Hart*, of the nature of *Iupiter* and *Mars*.

The Blood, to *Bootes*.

The *Topase* and *Trifoyle*, to the Northernne crowne

The *Amatist* and *Aristologie*, to the *Scorpions hart*.

By these examples then, concerning the secret properties of things, which proceede not from the Elements, but by the influence of Starres they ought to bee highlie esteemed, and not misprized; especially, because they haue bene written by such worthy men, and approoued by good experience. We likewise read in the third Booke of *Kinges*, and in the eight Chapter of *Wisdom*; that *Salomon* knew the occasion of things, the Natures of Creatures, and the vertue of Hearbes. *Iosephus* also (because I would not be ouer-long) writes in his Booke of the *Jewes Warres*, of a Roote named *Barbaras*, growing neere vnto a place called *Mecheranta*, and saith, that it shineth in the night time like fire, and hath the vertue to cure such as are possessed with Spirits, beside diuers other excellent properties.

None of these proceeding from the Elements.

Ioseph. in lib. de Bel. Iudaic.

A Roote that cureth men possessed with Spirits.

But there is so much labour bestowed in the gathering thereof, as verie few or none can attaine vnto it; because although they see and discern it a farre off: yet notwithstanding, when they approach neere vnto it, they can neither take or touch it. And yet by much endeauer (making experience of that which the *Devill*, or rather the *Angell* pleased to discover) it grew to be found out, that a man, bashing him-

A dangerous adventuring to gather the root.

selfe in the Vrine of a Woman, when she spendeth her floures, might both touch, take, and gather it. Neuerthelesse, he that thus tooke it vp, was sure to dye, except he carried such another like Root thither with him. Or, for his greater safety, when hee should see the root (after bathing as before is said) he must dig the earth round about it, and fastning a strong Cord about the root, binde a Dogge as fast to the other end thereof, who seeing himselfe so strictly hampered, with struggling and striving would plucke vp the Root, and then die immediatly. This beeing thus done, any man might then safely come to it, and make vse thereof for his best seruice. The Authors that doe auouch the truth of these things, are they whom I haue alleaged in the former Chapter, and many others beside, of whom I spare to spake, to auoyde tediousnesse.

CHAP. XV.

¶ That brute Beasts haue instructed many Men, in sundry Medicines, and Remedies for hurts receiued; And in the properties of great store of other things.



It is no matter deseruing meruaile, if men haue attained to the knowledge of the properties of things: considering that beasts (by meere naturall instinct) are very skilfull in the knowledge also of many things, which they can apply to themselves as cures and Medicines. Nay, we may presume to say further, that Beasts haue shewen and declared Medicines to men; by beholding how they haue healed themselves, and found out their owne Remedies, without other helpes. Notwithstanding, we al know wel enough, that men neither could, or can skill of any cures; but such as they haue heard of, and learned from others that went before them.

In regard whereof, Pliny had good cause to say: That men ought to be thank-

Plin. in lib. 10. Cap. 7.

Beasts intelligent in curing their owne harmes.

full to Beastes, for many medicines and remedies, which they haue learned of them. The hart first shewed vs, that the hearb called Dittanie, or Dittander, is good to draw out an Arrow-head, or the pieces of the Shaft, when he is wounded there-with: because the Hart himselfe (being so hurt) vseth it as his onely remedy. Aristotle saith, that the Wilde Goats of Candie doe obserue the verie same. Harts also, when they are bitten or stung by a venomous kinde of Spiders, called Phalanges; they heale themselves by eating Creuisses, though other do hold, that it is by an Hearb growing in the water. The property of the hearb Celandine, otherwise called Esclere, was taught vs by Swallowes, to be apt and conuenient for our eye-sight; because they make vse thereof, to the eyes of their young ones.

The Tortoise, by eating wilde Marierome, defendeth himselfe against Serpents: and thereby the property of the Hearbe was first found and knowne, to be good against poyson. The Weezell eateth Rew, or Hearb-Grace, when he purposeth to fight with Rats. Wilde Boares doe heale all their diseases or harmes, with feeding on Iuy, or the Hearbe called Ale-Hoofe, and some say on Creuisses; especially such as the Sea throweth vp on the shoare. The Snake or Adder, to dispoile himselfe of his writhen skinne; keepes in the earth (in the Winter time) feeding on nothing but the iuyce of Fennel. And to cleare his eye-sight, which he hath much impaired and offended, by being so long vnder-ground in darknesse; he rubbeth and streaketh his eyes vppon Fennel, which the Greekes called Marathrum, that both restoreth and cleareth his eyesight, and thereby may the vertue of this Hearb be wel known. The Bear being poysoned by the Hearbe named Mandragoras, Mandrake, or Mandragon; doth purge his body by the eating of Ants or Pismires. There is no Hearbe, how venomous soeuer it bee, that can hurt the Hart, Stag, or Red-Deere; if he haue eaten of a Thistle or Cardoone, which is called by learned Pliny, Cynata. The Dragon, by feeding on wilde Lettice, purgeth and cureth any harme receiued. It hath beene daily obserued, that Dogges, by eating on an Hearbe, which

Dittany, cold Garden Ginger.

Arist. in lib. de Anim. Cap. 12.

Spiders called Phalanges.

Celandine for the eye sight.

Wilde Marierome, good against poyson

Rew or hearb Grace.

Iuy, or Ale-Hoofe.

Iuyce of Fennel, for the eye-sight.

How the Adder cleareth his eye-sight.

Ants a purge for Beares.

Plin. in lib. 8.

Wild-Lettice

which *Pliny* saith he knew no name of (though others haue tearmed it Dog-grasse, or Knot-grasse) haue prouoked themselues to vomit, and so cleansed their stomackes, when they haue been very sickly. Ringdoues or Woodculuers, Iayes, Mearles, or Black-Birds, & Partridges, do vse the leaues of Laurell or Bayes for their purging. Other Pidgeons, Turtles, and Fowles, to purge themselues; doe take *Pellitories*, which *Pliny* calleth *Helxine*, which is an hearb that groweth vpon wals. Drakes, Mallards, Wild-geese, and other Fowles of Riuers or waters, do serue themselues also for their health, with an hearb called *Sideritis* or *Feuerfew*. Cranes and such like Birds, make vse of Marish-Rushes.

The Bird named *Ibis*, when she feeleth her selfe not well dispoled; purgeth her body by the meanes of her owne beake or bill, with Water comming forth of her lower parts. And *Pliny* saith, that (by this Bird) men learned how to remedy themselues by Glisters. When a Dog doth receiue any wound whatsoever, if hee can reach thereto with his tongue; he hath no better meanes then licking the sore, and so helpeth himself.

When the Panther (which *Auicenne* calleth a Leopard) hath fed on a venomous hearb, named * *Pardalianches*: he recouereth himselfe, by eating the dung or excrements of men. Which being knowne to Hunts-men, they conuay it into a vessell (apt for the purpose) and hang it on the highest branch of a Tree, where the Panther staying, and labouring by hopefull meanes how to get it; the Huntsmen haue opportunity to kill him. *Aristotle* writeth hereof, and *Pliny* much more amply then he; so doth *Albertus Magnus*. And *Pliny* saith moreouer, that by the meere enstructions of these Creatures: men both haue, and may learne to auoyd many perils; yea, and death sometimes. *Because* (saith he) when any house is in danger of falling, Rats and Mice do get them gone, and quite forsake it; declaring to men; that they should do the like. Spiders also do shun all such wals as run to ruine, or are like to be ouerthrowne. Where to he adde; That Swallowes will neuer stay, or build their nests, in places ruinous, or ready to fall.

Dog-grasse, or Knotgrasse

Laurell or Bayes.

Paritarie, or Pellitory of the Wall.

Sideritis, or Feuerfew.

Ibis a Bird of Egypt.

Plin. in Lib. 8.

A kind of *Aconitum*, called Leaopards-bane.

Arist. in lib. Anim. Plin. in lib. 6. Albert. Mag. in Lib. de Anim.

Rats & Mice.

Spydres.

Swallowes.

CHAP. XVI.

Of many Beastes and other Creatures, that (by meere instinct of nature) haue fore-knowledge of things to happen afterward. And that diuers little Creatures, haue caused some Countries to be desolate and uninhabited.



Not onely the natural instinct of some beastes, hath been sufficient for vs, in giuing vs knowledge, concerning the innated properties of diuers things, and what vse or seruice we might make also of them, either for Phisick, Medicines, or otherwise: but many more of them beside, as well earthy as ayry; haue knowledge of the mutation of times, and when any rough winds, raines, tempests, or fair weather shall ensue, and thereof doe deliuer apparant signes to men, euen as true predictions. For example, when Sheep do mount and skip about the felde, as seeming very iocund and merry; it prognosticateth immediat raine. The like is declared to vs by the Oxe or Bullocke; when he licketh himselfe against the haire; and listeth vp his Nose towardes Heauen; or loweth and snuffeth on the ground, striuing to feed ouer-hastily, & more then he was wont to doe. When the Ewe diggeth the ground with her foot; and Goats, when they sleepe too nere one another; when Ants also walk the thickest, and more then in vsuall numbers, meeting together confusedly, all these are manifest signes of raine. If Lyons dislodg themselves, out of one Countrey into another; it is a certaine signe, that the yeare following shall be droughty. *Ælianus* writeth of the Goats of *Lybia*, that they knew the comming of the Caniculer or Dog-daies, and declare both by smell and shew, when it is likest to raine. When Wolues are noted to enter houses, to walk on ploughed Lands; or approach neere to people; it is said, that they doe it, to shun some great tempest neere at hand.

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Fishes also haue wonderfull properties,

The rare intelligence & vnderstanding in many Creatures.

The skipping of sheep.

The licking of Oxen, and nosing the ayre.

Ewes, Goats, and Antes.

Dislodgings of Lyons from one foyle to another.

The Goats of *Lybia*.

Wolues walks

Dolphins playing in the water, and troubling the water.

The Frogges singing.

Of Sea-Fowls coming on Land.

Cranes flying in the Ayre.

The Crow flying to the sea.

The Owles song.

The Crowes hoarse note.

Rauens, Crowes, and Pyes flocking together.

White Fowles assembling together.

Our household Poultry.

The Larkes early singing, and Duckes bathing.

ties, in knowing & expressing the changes of times. When Dolphins leap and play in the seas, discovering themselves about the Water: it is then saide, that great winds will arise from those parts, whence the Dolphins seeme to come. And when they trouble the water, and but bath or beat themselves therein; it is a signe of serenity, calme and faire weather. When the Frog is heard singing loudest, and more strongly then his wont: it is a plaine shew of raine and tempest. Birds likewise are not voyd of this priuiledge, for wee can speake as much, or rather more of them (to this purpose) then of all the Beasts. When the watery Foules do leaue the Sea, & enter farre vpon the Land, it is a signe of stormes, raine, and tempests. If Cranes fly in the ayre & make no noise; it presageth fair weather. But if they cry, and fly out of order; then looke for the contrarie. When the Crow flyeth directly towards the Sea; it prognosticath raine, as also when she keepeth still on the Sea shoare, in melancholly manner, and her notes are sorrowfull. If the Owle sing (after her manner) in rainy weather, it denoteth a suddaine change to faire breaking vp: but if she sing in calme and sweete weather, it is an immediate signe of raine. *Plutarch* saith, that when the Crowes notes come from a hoarse voyce, and he flap-peth or beateth his Winges; it is a signe of winds and tempests. The same is also to be gathered, if when the Sun is low declining into the west, Rauens, Crowes and Pyes flocking together, do sing, mount and fly vp towards heauen, and then descend downe againe, renewing their former notes: these are saide to be predictions of cold and windie raines. The congregating of many white Fowles together, doth ordinarily proceede from some great tempests and stormes.

When Household Poultry, as Cocks, Capons, Hennes, &c. doe beate their Wings, and mount vp, (merily chattering or reioycing) it is an euident testimony, that they feele winde and raine approaching. When the Larke singeth very early in the morning, and Duckes doe willingly bath themselves, with picking, imping, and pruning their Feathers with their billes; it is a relati-

on of wind and tempests. When the Swallowes flye so neere vnto the Water, that they seeme to smite it with their Winges; it fore-telleth raine presently to follow.

Ælianus affirmeth, that the Snite knoweth the waxing and waining of the Moone. But gentle Friends, I feare I haue beene too vnseasonable in the precedent examples, therefore I will cease any further pursuite in that kind: but will now speake of certaine Beasts, which haue expelled and driuen people out of their Countties and dwellings; yet being no Creatures of hugeness or stature, but very weake, little and finally regarded. *Ælianus* writeth (to this purpose) concerning diuers places in *Italy*, where mighty multitudes of Rats, made such spoile and destruction of the Roots of Trees, Hearbes, and Grasse: that the Inhabitants (not knowing how to kil or spoile them) endured extream famine, and were enforced to forsake the Country. *Marcus Varro* testifieth, that a great Towne in *Spain*, being builded in a sandy ground, was so delued and vndermined by Conies: that in the end it sunke, and was quite ruined, to the great danger of the people.

Nor haue these things happened on-ly in firme and maine Land; but also in Islands enuironed with the Sea, where both Rats and Mice haue so abundantly swarmed, and with such vnresistable boldnesse: that the Inhabitants haue bin glad to saue themselves by flight. Hereof beareth testimony *Gyarus*, or *Gyara*, one of the Isles of *Cyclades*, or *Sporades*, in the *Ægeum* sea; which (by the means of this vermin) became vtterly desolate, and no way habitable. The same Authors doe further report; that there was a Towne in *France*, which also fell into ruine and dispeopling, thorow the ouer-abounding of Frogs and Toades. The like chance happened in *Affrica*, by Locustes, or Grasshoppers. *Theophrastus* recordeth another Countrey, which was uninhabitable by Caterpillers: Another Prouince in *Lybia*, all the men were thence expelled by Lyons. Now, wee hold it no great disparagement, for men to be surmounted by lions, when humaine weaknesse is sufficientlie declared, by that which *Pliny* reporteth, concerning a Prouince on the limits

Swallows flying neere the Water.

Beasts expelling men from their habitations.

Rats compelled men to fly their country.

A Towne vndermined by Conies.

Islands swarming with Rats & Mice.

Frogges and Toades destroyed a Towne in France.

The like done by Caterpillers.

Plin. in lib. 9.

limits of *Ethyopia*, where Antes, Scorpions, and other little Wormes, such as the * Palmer Worme, were the meanes of exiling thence all the dwellers.

Flies also forced the Inhabitanes of *Megara* in *Greece*, to leaue their Countrey: And Waspes did the like to the *Ephesians*. *Anthenor* writing of the Isle of *Crete* (with whom also ioyneth *Ælianus*) saith, that a great multitude of Bees, chased al the dwellers out of a City, and vsed their Houses in stead of Hiues. Manie other like strange things haue happened in the Worlde, which are to bee read in ancient Histories.

* A Worme with manie feete, called in Latino *Bruchus*, or *Campe*.

Of Waspes & Bees.

CHAP. XVII.

The subtle and ingenious deuise of Archimides the Phylofopher, to know there by, how much Siluer was mingled with Gold, in a Crowne of Gold (by a Goldsmith) without any breach or iniurie done to the Crowne in the triall.

Historians haue declared themselues, to be neuer slack or weary, in reporting the ingenious inuentions of spirite, and great skil of *Archimedes* the *Syracusan*, but especially, in *Astrology* and *Geometry*. Among all which, I purpose to relate a verie singular conceit, notably denised by himselfe, according as it is reported by *Vitruuius*. This Phylofopher liued in *Syracusa*, a City of *Sicily*, at such time as *Hieron* raigned there, a verie rich King, & highly beloued of the *Romans*.

In the second warre of *Carthage*, this King caused a Crowne of Golde to bee made by a Goldsmith, which was a verie excellent Worke-man, because hee had made a promise thereof to his Goddes, and Religion bounde him to the performance. After that the fashion, price, & value was agreed on, which indeede was great: the King commaunded so much Gold to be deliuered to the Workman, according as he purposed the iust weight of the Crowne. With great ingenuitie

The great skil of *Archimedes*.

Rich *Hieron* King of *Sicily*, did make a crown of Golde for his Gods.

and admirable skill, the Goldsmith made this goodly Crowne, and of the same Gold which had been deliuered him: neuerthelesse, like a cunning and crafty deceiuer, hee had falsified it, by intermedling some quantity of Siluer among the Golde.

The Crowne beeing thus finished, it was presented to the King, who causing it to bee waighed, and finding his full waight, was well contented, and thoroughly satisfied the Workeman for his paines. But being (within a while after) certified, that there was a suspition of some Siluer to be mingled among the Gold: the King grew exceeding desirous to knowe what quantity of Siluer there might be, yet without defacing or breaking the Crowne.

Archimedes being a man of no meane esteeme in that Countrey, made tender of his seruice (in this case) to the King, & the whole trust and charge thereof was reposed in him. Sitting alone by himselfe, studying by what meanes he might best accomplish this difficult trial; it chanced, that his Bath stood readie prepared by him; for they held it as a religious custome, to cleanse and wash their bodies, before they enterprized on any doubtful occasions.

As he entered into his Bathing Tub, which was full of Water, he considered (as Learned men doe hardly omitte anie thing, without obseruation) that so much Water did ouerflow the Tub, as his bodie had emptied in place thereof. Making vse of this conceite in further iudgement and vnderstanding, hee departed thence ioyfully; assuring himselfe, that he had found what he sought for.

Heereupon, he caused two Ingots to be made of equall waight; the one being of Golde, and the other of Siluer; & the ponderousnesse of each Ingot, was equal to that of the Crowne. Afterward, he had a Vessell made for him of sufficient greatnesse, apt and correspondent to his owne intention, which he filled with water, and then did put thereinto the Ingot of Siluer: when presently came foorth of the Vessell so much water, as else would haue supplied the Ingots place. Now, to knowe what quantity of water this ouerflowing amounted vnto, subtilly he took forth the Ingot, and by another Vessel or Measure for the purpose, he kept iust account

The Goldsmith falsified the Crowne with Siluer.

Archimedes vnder taketh the Crowns trial.

He findeth out his means of trial very strangeiy.

The manner how he made his experiment by Ingots of Golde and Siluer.

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count

His valewing
of the waters
ouer-flow.

count of so much Water, as then did fill vp the vessell againe. So by this account and measure (for he well vnderstood the Ingots waight) hee knew what quantitie of Water, the marke or waight of Siluer had sent out of the vessell, by meanes of the rest remaining still in it, and by the poize of the Ingot.

Triall made
of the water,
by both the
Ingots.

When he had made this estimation, perswading himselfe, the mark or waight of the Siluer, supplied the roome of so many measures of water, he would then make the like prooffe of the Gold, which was of answerable poize to that of siluer. But there issued not forth any such store of water, as formerly did, when the Ingot of Siluer was in the same place, although they were both equall in waight: because that (as euery man knoweth) the answerable weight of Gold doth not fill vp so much spaciousnesse as that of Siluer; and therefore, it sheddeth the lesse water.

Triall made
by the crown
it selfe in the
water.

After he had taken forth the Gold, he filled the Vessell by the same measure, as he formerly did to the poize of Siluer, & in counting the measures as they were put in, he also kept iust reckoning, how much water each mark or waight of gold & siluer, had truly deliuered out. Which being done, keeping stil in memory both the measures, he tooke the Crown made by the Goldsmith, containing the same weight with either of the Ingots of Gold and Siluer; and putting it into the vessell, the water ouer-flowed according to the greatnesse thereof.

Heereupon, hee tooke it out agayne, and measured the Water, which sufficed not to fill vp the vessell. And so he found, that it had throwne forth more Water, then the Ingot of Gold had done, & lesse then the Ingot of Siluer: wherby he perceiued, how much there wanted in iust poize, to make each measure meete and answerable to the other; whereupon he began to make his account in this manner.

In what man-
ner *Archimedes*
made his
vauation,
by trial of the
Crowne, and
both the In-
gots.

This Crowne did eieft forth so manie vessells full of Water, more then the Ingot of Gold hath done: then consequent-ly, there is as much Siluer mingled with the Gold in the Crowne, as it hath cast or thrown out more Water then the Ingot of Gold did, which is easie to be vnderstood. For, if the Crowne had bin intirely all Gold, it would haue emptied no

greater a quantity of water out of the vessell, then the Ingot of Gold did: but because it hath cast forth more, that more giueth plainly to bee knowne, that substance which it hath of Siluer mingled with it. For we know very wel, that two Ingots (consisting of one weight, and of one selfesame Metall) must necessarilie be of a like bodie and quantity; & therefore, beeing put into a Vessell full of water, they must voide out a like quantitie of Water; in regarde, that two bodies cannot be in one and the same place. But by putting the body of the Golde or of the Siluer into the water, the water must needs voide out, and yeelde them place; and so much the greater the bodie is, so much the more water it emptieth forth. And hence it ensueth, that the Crowne sent out more Water, then the Ingot of Golde; because the Crowne made vse of the place with equall poize.

Verily, this inuention of *Archimides*, was subtle and ingenuous; albeit manie other thinges (of much greater importance) were found out by the spirite and industry of this man. And such as are desirous to know more singuler matters concerning him: let them read *Plutarch* in the life of *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Titus Liuius*, in the fourth and fiftie Bookes of the third Decade. Where they shall find, that the Engines and frames onely, made by the inuention of *Archimedes*, were sufficient (for long time) to defend *Syracusa* against the *Romaines*. And amongst other thinges, recitall is made, that no strength of men, beeing able (with infinit Instruments) to draw a great Ship out of the Water, *Archimedes* onely brought it foorth, euen as if it had floated vpon the Sea.

While the *Romaines* maintained their sledge before *Syracusa*, hee deuised such Engines, that by throwing great grappling hookes of Iron from off the Walles, fast bound by equall counterpoize in the City, he mounted a Gally aloft in the ayre, which destroyed and sunke many men in the Sea. For he could let it fall when hee listed and d. fl. both it selfe & other Gallies in pieces: so that by this meanes, and other grappling Instruments, hee would dragge the enemies Gallies and Shippes so powerfully, that they should breake & split themselues against Rockes, they being no way able to make resistance. He framed

Considerati-
on of the
Crowne, by
the Ingot of
Gold.

Plut. in Vit.
Marc. Marcel.
Tit. Liui. in lib.
4. & 5. Deca. 3.

A great Ship
brought out
of the water
by *Archimedes*

A gally moun-
ted aloft in
the Ayre, to
destroy other
Shipping.

Mar. Marcellus a Noble Captaine of the Romanes, enforced to forsake his siege to Syracuse.

framed the like Engines vpon the Lande, whereby he could daily destroy manie of the enemies. And such was the bold withstanding, which Archimedes performed within the Cittie; that Marcus Marcellus (a most excellent Captaine of the Romanes) was enforced to chaunge his course of martiall discipline for assaying the Cittie, because he saw himselfe in verie great perill, and his people in confusi-

on. For Archimedes had thrown such feare and terror among the Romaine soldiers, that when they beheld but some chain or silly beame, descend from off the Cittie Walles, they would runne backe and retire with all possible speede only to auoid the daunger, so highly were they feareful of the Engines and Instruments, dayly deuised and performed by this excellent man.

Cicero attributeth also to this famous Phylosopher, that hee first inuented and made the materiall Spheare, wherein the eye might easily apprehend the motions of all the Planets, with their course, passions, and Aspects. And Claudian sayth, that he made one of Christal; which seemeth also to haue bene confessed by Ouid. He was no lesse studious & contemplatiue, then learned and skilfull. But at length, when Syracuse was surprized and taken by force after so long and admirable resistaunce made by Archimedes: Marcellus prohibited (vpon paine of death) that no man should be so bolde as to kill him, although hee had bene the death of so many worthy Romains. Neuerthelesse, a Souldier finding him by chance (and not knowing him) as he was making a figure vpon the ground, the soldier demanded what hee was: but others say, that he commanded him, to go along with him to Marcellus. Archimedes returning him no answer, either that he would or would not, but was seriously busied in minde about his Circle; and the Soldier growing angry thereat, flewe him; which was verie highly displeasing vnto Marcellus, who made him an honorable and worthy Sepulchre.

This is written by Pliny, Valerius Maximus, Titus Linius, and Plutarch. Cicero reputeth it as a great glorie to himselfe, that he found the Graue of Archimedes, and maketh high account thereof. For, (saith he) The spirit and industry of a Lear-

Cic. in Lib. 1. de Tusculan.

Cla. in Lib. 4. Ouid. in lib. 6. de Fast.

Archimedes slaine by a Roman soldier and much be-moaned by Marcellus.

Cicer. in lib. 1. de Tusculan.

ned man, hath much more power then a thousand ignorant mens. By the endeuour of Wisemen, fierce and terrible Beasts haue bene made tame; strong things haue bene reduced to weakenes, and weak matters made strong. By them a small number haue bene victorious ouer a great: because a disordered multitude, and without industry, do but break themselues, and runne vpon their owne ruine.

The endeuor and industrie of Wisemen.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the manner, whereby Socrates perswaded Alcibiades, to become an Orator.



NE of the verie hardest matters in mine opinion, yet most commendable for a man to haue in himselfe, is to speake in such sorte, that

To speake well and orderly is a difficult thing.

hee may giue occasion thereby, to be listened vnto with heed and attention. For this cause, Orators that spake publickely in elder times, were highly prayfed: how much more then becometh this excellent quality, in such as are Preachers now adayes? Which beeing well considered by Alcibiades the Athenian, and hee but young in yeares; he durst not make anie publick speech, albeit it was a vsual thing, and necessarie for the cheefest men in the Cittie, amongst which number hee was one.

Alcibiades fearefull to speake in publicke.

The great Phylosopher Socrates taking notice therof; and being desirous to giue him encouragement, with perswasion also to become an Orator, hee practised a subtle and cunning meanes, whereby he ouercame such fearefulnesse in him, and the ouer-curious consideration, which preuailed too much with him. For, meeting him one day in the streete, among a great multitude of people of diuerse degrees, he saide vnto him; Telle me Alcibiades, Art thou not affraide to speake before this Cobler? Whereunto hee answered, No truly Socrates. Then hee demaunded againe: Art thou then more timorous, to speake before a Trompet? Shalt thou stand

Socrates practised to imbolden Alcibiades in speaking, by diuers questions.

in more feare of him, then of this man? *Alcibiades*, said no; and that he stood not in feare to speak before any such people. Then *Socrates* named many other men, who were of trades and mean condition; naming afterward, men of great quality, whereto *Alcibiades* still replied, that hee durst speak before euerie one of them.

Socrates his Allusion vnto his former demands.

Then *Socrates* said vnto him; *The people are composed of all (such as I haue named vnto thee, and not of any other: and of all these, the Athenian Auditorie (where thou oughtest to speake) doth consist. So then, this auoyding of feare, in speaking from one to one, should take away all terror in thee, of speaking to them when they are assembled together: for they which before stood deuided a part, are but then united in one Congregation.* By which reason, *Alcibiades* was conquered; and making due consideration thereof, hee lost the false feare that before had possessed him; then making practise of this exhortation, hee became afterward a most excellent Orator. Whereby may be obserued, of what value good Councell is, when it is giuen in due time and season.

CHAP. XIX.

The beginning, and the causes of the Factions of the Guelphes and the Gibelines.



IN the time of the Emperour *Frederick*, second of that name and of Pope *Gregory* the ninth, betweene whom was great discord & contention: there were two factions of people, in the City of * *Pistorium*, or *Pistoia* in *Italie*: the one whereof, was called the *Panciatiques*; and the other, the *Chancellers*. Now it fortun'd, that two Brethren; the one called *Guelph*, and the other *Gibeline*, held diuers opinions in this City; whereof some followed the one side, & others the other. From whence it proceeded, that of these two verie famous men, one part began to entitle it selfe the *Guelphes*, and the other, the *Gibelines*: And that

*A City in the middle of *Tuscia*.

The Original of the *Guelphes* and the *Gibelines*.

side which was the *Guelphs*, expulsed the *Gibelines* out of the Cittie. And because it was a matter somewhat note-worthie, to behold two Brethren of such contrary disposition, each of these factions woon the fauour of many neighboring people, So that euen as a contagious Pestilence, this diuorce of amity, dispersed it selfe by little and little, thorough all *Italy*; and all causes and Controuersies, must bee discussed and discided by the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines*.

This fire beeing thus fatally kindled; the Emperour *Frederick*, who was a Capitall enimie to the Pope, beeing at that time in the Cittie of *Pisa*, in the yeare, one thousand, three hundred, and forty; and not knowing which faction would be on his side; and which would pertake with the Pope, made publicke declaration, that he vnderooke the name & part of the *Gibelines*. Which being done, hee managed cruell warre vpon the *Guelphes*; and by reason of this open publication, all *Italy* diuided it selfe into these two names; and therby grew great scandals and mortalities in euery Cittie: yea, euen in pertiuler Families, where the Sonne deuided himselfe from his Father, Brother against Brother, Wife against her Husband. Yet vpon no other ground, but because the one affected the *Guelphian* faction, and the other the *Gibeline*, and so pursued each the other. It was daily seen, that the stronger side ruined and ouerthrew houses to the ground, following still on the weaker, euen to vtter hauocke and destruction: and such was the continuance of this quarrell, as neuer were greater cruelties heard of, betweene the Infidels and Christians, in their greediest furies.

Antoninus, Arch-bishop of *Florence*, writeth; that by these factions, fise and thirtie of the verie woorthiest houses in the Cittie of *Florence*, were rased to the earth; and that those contentions were thoroughout all *Italy*. Many people bearing name with the Emperour, expulsed the *Guelphes* wheresoeuer they came, and the *Gibelines* did the like by them. The greater part of *Rome*, by taking the Emperours cause in hand, had already runne into too much forwardnesse: which the Pope perceiuing, he made a solemn procession, wherein he carried the Keyes of *Saint Peter*, and *Saint Paule*, desiring of God,

The Emperour *Fredericke* enimy vnto the Pope.

All *Italy* deuided into the factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines*.

Antoninus Arch-Bishop of *Florence* in his History.

A solemn procession made in *Rome* by the Pope, and after an Oration to the people.

God, that this cruelty might bee rooted vp out of mens hearts. And after the pro-
cession, hee made a publicke Oration to
the people, or rather a Sermon, decla-
ring what folly it was, for men so to per-
secute and kill one another: onely in fa-
uour and affection vnto two perticuler
Names, which the Deuill had brought
into the field, for the generall spoile and
ruine of all *Italy*.

Moreouer, hee declared manie other
things of such great efficacy, as compell-
ed the people to leaue their wilful opini-
on, & to take part with the Pope against
the Emperor *Fredericke*, who was in very
good hope to destroy all the *Guelphian*
faction. These bleeding woundes (for
the finnes of men) continued too long a
time in *Italy*, and was the death of manie
thousands of men, beside a great number
banished, and grieuously oppressed, in-
finite faire buildings destroyed, and ma-
ny goodly houses burned. The Authors
that record these thinges, are *Platina*, in
the life of Pope *Gregory* the ninth, and
Antonius Sabellicus, in the thirde part of
his Histories, and many other men of
great knowledge.

The Emp pur-
posed to de-
stroy all the
Guelphian
faction.

Plat. in vit.
Gregor. 9.
Anton. Sabel. in
par. 3. Hist.

CHAP. XX.

Of the first Martyrs: And of the Persecu-
tions of the Christians.



ESVS Christ our Sau-
our came into the world, to
instruct men in the truth, as
himselſe testifieth in Saint
John, saying: *For this cause
am I come into the World, that I might bear
witness of the truth. Whosoever is of the
truth, heareth my voice.* By these wordes,
the Iewes conceiued enuy against the son
of God, so that they would putte him to
death, without any cause of offence. And
thus truth begot hatred to men, such as
were professours thereof, and for their
loue to the truth, they grew to be deadly
malliced and persecuted, especially if they
did but speake in truths defence. There-
fore, the first persecution which Christi-
ans suffered, began by the Iewes. For, as
the Apostles (following the tracke and

The Iewes e-
nemies to the
sonne of God

The first per-
secutions of
christians be-
ganne by the
Iewes.

steppes of their Maister) proclaimed the
word of trueth, and *S. Peter* (more then
any of the other) reprobued the *Iewes*, be-
cause they had killed Christ, and exhor-
ted them therefore to repentaunce: they
entered into such violence and fury, that
they stoned Saint *Stephen* the Deacon,
who (almost two yeares after the Passi-
on of our Redeemer) disputed in the full
Synagogue, against the *Alexandrians*, *Cy-
reneans*, as also against them of *Cilicia* &
Asia. Among whom, though manie of
them coueted to appeare most learned,
yet could they not resist one man onely:
but being confounded by Celestial wise-
dome (wherein the young man was gra-
ciously instructed) they enuironed him
with rage and indignation; and hardlie
could containe themselues from layeng
hands on him, vexing in their hearts, and
grinning their teeth against him. But he
being full of the Holy-Ghost, hauing his
eyes eleuated to heauen, there he beheld
the glory of God, and Iesus standing vp-
on his right hand, whereon he saide; *Be-
hold, I see the Heauens open, and the Sonne
of man standing on the right hand of GOD.*
Whereat they all cried out aloud, and
stopped their eares, and running on him
as with one consent, they, threwe him
forth of the Citty, and stoned him vnto
death with stones. Thus *S. Stephen* being
the first that publickly defended Christs
Religion, was martired, that is to say;
bare witness or testimony, by torment
and death, which hee willingly suffered,
only for the Faith of Iesus Christ; for the
word Martyre in Greek, signifies a Wit-
nesse. Saint *John the Baptist*, more then a
Prophet, and not ignorant in these thin-
ges to come, was the first man slaine for
defending the truth; to wit, because hee
detested the incestuous marriage of *He-
rodias*, according as Saint *Luke* saith; or
after the saying of *Iosephus*, because the
number of the people which came vnto
him, made *Herod* suspicious of some new
Commotions, whereby he feared to lose
his Tetrarchs place. In which respect, it
may well be said, that *S. John Baptist* was
the first Martir. But, as all the Mysteries
of our Christian Religion, did receiue
beginning at the Passion of our Saviour
Iesus Christ (according to Saint *Hierom*
against *Iouinian*, who saith, *The Gospel
also was not before the Crosse of Christ.*) So
by this reason, *S. Stephen* the Leuite, of
whom

Acts 7, 58.

The extreme
malice against
S. Stephen for
the truth.

Acts 7, 56, 57.

The worde
Martyre in
Greeke ex-
presseth a
Witnessse.

S. John Baptist,
the first man
slaine for the
truth.

S. Iohn Baptist,
the first Mar-
tyr, reputed
by some.

Hier. cont. Iouin

whom we formerly spake) being the first of all Christians that suffered death for the name of Iesus Christ, is held to be the first Martyr.

Saint *Cyprian*, deriuing the matter from a much longer continuance, attributeth that degree of Honour to Iust *Abel*, saying; *Most deare Bretheren, let vs follow Abel the Iust, in whom Martyrdom began, when hee was the first slaine for his righteousnesse.* But we discourse heere of the beginning of Martyrs, and the other opinion is the more receyueable.

After Sainr *Stephen*, the cruell Emperor *Nero*, vnderstanding that Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paule*, preached the Doctrine of the Gospell at *Rome*, labouring to introduce a new kinde of Religion, beeing very wrathfull thereat, he made no long delay, vntill hee hadde put them both to death, which was the second persecution against the Christians: for the first was moued by the Iewes, as we haue shewn already.

Some neuerthelesse doe allow this of *Nero* to be the first, as being first begun by Commission from the Emperors: and this wicked man, to make Christians far more odious to the Romaine people, be-thought himselfe of such wickednesse as after followed. Hauing exercised all kinds of cruelties, euen as a plague to human generation, both in refusing to pity and pardon his owne Countrey, and defacing and depopulating all the auncient buildinges, desiring (as some haue Written) to see a Fire, which might bee like to that of *Troy*; the verie greatest and chiefest part of *Rome* Citty, hee caused to be burned.

This flaming fire, continued the space of sixe dayes, and as many nights, whereby the Temples, houses, and goodes of numberlesse Cittizens, were consumed. And then to set a colour on this impiety, and stand in defence of such a shamelesse act, he imposed the blame and horror of this ruine, vpon the innocent obseruers of the truth, and produced diuers, falsely to accuse the Christians, to make them culpable of so great a dammage: whereupon, many of them were imprisoned, and some dearly paid the price of their liues. But that the Christians were innocent of such wickednesse, *Cornelius Tacitus*, an enemy to the name of a christian, is constrained to confesse it, where

hee saith; *Those men, not so much for the Fires fault, as because they had the hated of al, were conuincd.*

Afterward, he saith; *To their Deathes were added slanders and disgraces. They were couered with the skins of diuers wiide Beasts, and then torne in pietes with Dogs. Some others were Crucified; and others, when day light serued not to burne them; they made darke night look like bright day, with the flaming Fires whercin they consumed them.*

Domitian ordained (afterwardes) the third persecution against the Christian Church. *Traian* the fourth. *Marcus Antoninus*, *Lucus Aurelius*, and *Commodus* the fift, *Seuerus Pertinax* the sixte, *Maximinus* the seuenth, *Decius* the eight, *Valerian* the ninth, *Aurelianus* the tenth, and *Dioclesian* the eleauenth, counting that performed by the Iewes. For, if wee begin with *Neroes* time, then there are but ten in number, according as som Historians haue obserued: and that was the most cruell and longest in continuance, of all the other.

Holy Bookes were burned, Churches raced and ruined. And if any Christian had the dignity or office of a Magistrate, it was taken from him, and beeing deprivued thereof, he remained infamous. The seruants that attended vpon Christians, could not bee manumised, that is to say; they could not bee freed, or enioy their liberty, as enfranchised men should doo. In like manner, men of warre, and Christian Soldiers, were compelled to sacrifice to the Heathen Idols, or to lose their liues.

Finally, *Maxentius*, *Licinius*, and *Maximinus*, who ioyntly helde the Empyre with *Constantine*, did very great annoyance to the Christians: but the three first being slaine (as they iustly deserued) *Constantine* remained Emperor alone, who gaue certaine and assured peace vnto the Christians. Which worthy professors, notwithstanding so many great persecutions, & cruell torments inflicted on them by Tyraunt Emperours, neuer failed in their faith, neither regarded the Commands and Menaces of Infidell Princes; but still maintained their Christian Religion; and chearefully (for Gods cause) yeilded their bodies to whatsoever Torments were prepared for them, to the end, that they might winne the perpetu-

all

S. *Cyprian* his words, approving iust *Abel* to be the first Martyr.

S. *Peter* & S. *Paul* put vnto death by *Nero*, the second persecution against the Christians.

The cruelties of *Nero* to his owne Countrey.

Malicious dealing in *Nero* against the Christians.

Corn. Tacitus concerning the christians in their persecution.

The persecutions in the succeeding of the emperors

Nero his persecution the cruellest of all the other.

Extremities inflicted on Christians.

The emperor *Constantine* gaue peaceto the christians

all Crowne of glory, and beare in theyr hands the Palmes of Martyrdome. For as the Apostle saith, *Hee that hath not fought couragiously, shal not bee Crowned.* Our Sauour also giueth vs the same verie same counsell, when he saith: *If any man wil come to me, he must deny himselfe, and take vp his Crosse, and follow me.* Like Wages is promised vnto such as followe him, where he saith; *Hee that loseth his life for my sake, shall finde it.* Seeing then, that the entrance into Heauen, must bee thorowe many aduersities and tribulations, true Christians ought patiently to endure all iniuries and opprobious speeches, for the name of the Sonne of God, and account themselues happie therein: for by them the way to eternall glorie is laide open.

CHAP. XXI.

Of such men and Nations, as haue been reputed to bee the first Inuenters and deuisers of diuers things.



The *Lydians* a people of *Asia*, inuented the sportes or Games of the Chesse-play, the Dice, and the Tennis; wherupon *Rhodigiannus* saith, *Ludis a Lydis uideri possunt appellati.* The Egyptians found out the burning of Lampes. And *Anacharsis* of *Scythia*, deuised the Bellows, wherewith to kindle fire. *Pyrhus*, King of the *Epirotes*, was the first that had Couriers, Posts, or swift riders. For, as hee had three Armies in diuerse parts of the world; and himselfe remayned continually in the Cittie of *Tarentum*, he would haue newes from *Rome* in one day; out of *France* in two dayes; out of *Germany* in three dayes; and out of *Asia* in five dayes; yea, and that in such manner, as his tydings seemed rather to flye, then brought on roade waies.

The first Inke wherewith our elders vsed to Write, was made of a certayne Fish, called *Xibia* or *Xiphia*: which afterwards they conuerted to blacke colour: then to a Vermillion; next to Azure, and at length compounded it with Gum Arabick, Gaules, Vitrioll, and Wine; or

rather water. The first Bolters for meale, or Searces of haire, had their beginning in *Fraunce*: and *Spaine* yeilded the first Siues.

Praxiteles was the first Inuenter of the Looking-Glasse, which was then called the Siluer Glasse, in the time of *Pompey* the Great: but it is not certainly known, who deuised the Glasses of Steele, Iron, Lead, Christall, and of other commixed matters. *Ceres* found out Corne, and instructed the maner also, how to knead, molde, and make Bread. To her is ascribed likewise, the making of Wicker Baskets, or Panniers of Chiers. *Pseusippus* gaue first instruction for making of hollow Tunnes, or Vesselles of Woodde, which now a-dayes are called Caske. *Medea* inuented the meanes to colour W comens haire; and *Libatis* to poule or cut the haire, when it grewe too long. The *Thebanes* deuised Hunting. *Rhecius* and *Theodorus* of *Sarnia*, were the inuenters of melting and Casting of Mettalles, whereof they made Images or Statues to the Goddesses.

The *Curetes* in the Isle of *Negropont*, (who were the *Corybantes*, *Sybilis* Priests, and *Idai Dactyli*) found out Iron & steel, wherewith they made Cuyrasses, Corcelets, Targets, and other defensue Ornaments for the body. *Cacus* was the first Theefe knowne to bee in *Italy*. *Arachne* of *Colophon*, found out the vse of Linnen, and to spin thread: And *Clesterius* (saide to be her sonne) deuised the Spindle for Wooll. *Pamphyla*, a Grecian Ladie, was the first that gathered Cotton from off old Shrubbes, hanging loosely thereon. And hauing washed and Combed it, fastened it on a Distaffe, and so spunne it, instructing afterwarde how to weare it for cloath.

Erichonius the Athenian, found out the meanes how to make Horses drawe Chariots or Coaches. *Iupiter* inuented the Militarie or Warlike Ensigne, making it of Red colour, wherein was also figured an Eagle. And our ancient Forefathers, instead of Ensigns did bind bundles or handfuls of Hearbes vpon long Poles, which in *Latine* were called *Manipuli*; and they that carried them, were termed *Manipulares*.

In the time of *Augustus*, there was one named *Horsius*, who made Mirrours of Looking-Glasses in such strange maner,

Bolters and Searces.

Looking glass.

Corne and bread.

Baskets of Officers.

Tuns or cask.

Colored hair.

Hunting. Melting Mettals.

Cuyrasses, corcelets, Targets &c.

Spinning linnen & wollen

Spinning cotton Wooll.

Chariots or Coaches.

Ensignes for war, & what was vsed instead of them.

Ephes. 6, 16.

Math. 10, 38.

Math. 10, 39.

The Lydians.

The Egyptians. Anacharsis of Scythia. Pyrrhus K. of Epyre.

Messages by Posts.

The first kind of Inke to write withall.

Strange Looking Glasses, deliuering as strange representations.

that they presented any thing to seeme much greater then it was; for a mans finger would therein appeare to bee as long and great as the measure of his arme. Another made a Glasse likewise, wherein a man might behold another mans figure, and not his owne. He made some beside of such quality, as being set in an vncertaine place, nothing at all would bee discerned: but being brought thence, many semblances might be discovered. He had one Glasse perticularly, which would shew all shapes the wrong way, or vpside downward; and one thing also shoulde seeme in many formes. Diuers other things might heere be spoken of: but because their very best is but idle and vaine, I am the more willing to ouerslip them.

CHAP. XXII.

Of manie Famous and Woorthy men, that haue contemned and despised Riches.



RE read of diuers illustrious and great personages, that neglected and made no account at all of Riches: but they of most honor and re-

nowne, were *Valerius Publico'a*, *Menius Agrippa*, and the most iust *Aristides*. All these men dying, were buried with the money of the publicke purse, in regarde of their pouertie and lacke of wealth. After the death of *Epaminondas*, whose victories were so famous, and spoiles so manie by him atchieued, there was no other moueable found in his house, but onhe the Iron head of a Launce. This was the man, that refused two * thousande Crownes, which *Iason* (a Prince of *Thessals*, and a Confederat with the *Thebans*) sent him as a guift. But hee rather affected, to borrow of a Cittizen of *Thebes*, fiftie Drachmaes of Siluer (which could be of no greater value then five crownes) to maintaine himselfe in the voyage and expedition which hee had vnderooke, and with so small store of money; hee entered in Armes into *Peloponnesus*. Afterward, *Artaxerxes* the great King of *Persia*, sent him thirtie thousand piéces of

Val. Publicola. Menen. Ag. ip. Aristides Iustus

Bap. Fuzoso, in lib. 4. cap. 4.

Iustin. in lib. 6. Plut. in Apoth.

* *Erasmus* saith 1000 crownes, for victuall & provisions fit for his armie.

Golde, of his money called * *Daricks*: In regard whereof, he grew verie seuearelie angry with *Diomedes Cyzicenus*, saying vnto him: *Hast thou dared to enterprize so long a Navigation, as hoping to corrupt Epaminondas? Returne againe, and say to thy King, that for as much as he would giue to purchase the good and we'fare of the Thebanes, he shall haue mee as his friend, without any of this cost: but in seeking to do the wrong and iniurie, tell him, I am his chiefest enemy.*

After that *Marcus Curius*, Consull of Rome, had ouercome the *Samnites* in battaile; Ambassadors were sent from them, who brought him a great quantity of Gold and Siluer, as a gift; yet finding him sitting by a Fires side, scraping, and putting roots into a pot, that they might seeth for his Dinner; and to them hee returned this answer: *Beare all this Golde and Siluer backe with yee, and bestow it on such Captaines, as scorne to dresse their own dinners in earthen vessels: For, I desire no greater riches, then to be the Lorde of such Plate, and the possessions within them.* As if he would haue saide; Hee that contenteth himselfe with such a dinner, hath nothing to do either with Golde or Siluer. But, in commanding ouer such as haue them, they seeme thinges more great and honourable, then if hee himselfe had them.

Of this Honourable Band were *Apolonius Thyaneus*, *Paulus Emilius*, *Phocion*, *Attilius Regulus*, *Quintus Cincinnatus*, *Fabritius*, *Sextus Emilius*, *Carus & Marcus Manius*. *Abdolonius*, being created King of the *Sydonians*, immediatly refused the Kingdome: as knowing verie well, what trauailes and troubles were hidden & enclosed, vnder the vain splendor of wealth and riches.

The Poet *Anacreon* in like manner, hauing receiued (as a guift) from *Polycrates* the tyrant of the *Samiens*, five hundred Attique Talents, continued two Dayes and two Nightes, without arie sleepe. At length, to free himselfe from the Torment whereinto this present had brought him, hee re-delivered the guifte backe vnto the Tyrant, with Wordes well beseming so fayre a minde, in so meane a Fortune to make such a refusal.

Seneca vsed to say, *Hee was a great man, that made employment of earthen vessels.*

* An auncient Coine, with the Image of *Darius* on it.

Epaminondas to *Diomedes Cyzicenus*.

M. Curius conquering the *Samnites*.

His answer to the Ambassadors.

The Application.

A band of Riches scorers

Abdolonius K. of the *Sydonians*.

The Poet *Anacreon*, & *Polycrates* the tyrant.

The saying of *Seneca*.

Crates the Phylosopher of Thebes.

sels, as if they were of Siluer: but much greater is that man who soeuer, that useth Siluer, as if it were earth: Crates the Thebane Phylosopher, at his departing from Athens, to followe his study in Phylosophy, threw all his substance of Gold and Siluer into the Sea, holding it for an infallible Maxime, that hee could not possesse Vertue and Riches together. The like did Socrates.

The dwellers in the Belears Islandes had neither Gold nor Siluer.

The Inhabitants of the Islands *Belears*, would neuer haue any Golde, Siluer, Silkes, nor precious Stones to bee seene in their Countreyes: Whereby such happinesse befell them, that for the space of foure hundered yeares, in all which time, they had warres with the *Romains*, *Carthagenians*, *Gaules*, and *Spaniards*, yet not any one of these nations euer stirred, to go make a Conquest of those Countreyes, because they knew assuredly, that they hadde neyther Golde or Siluer to make pillage of, and bring away with them.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Sentence or Verdict of Apollonius Thyaneus, against an Eunnuch to the King of Babylon, who was found somewhat too familiar with one of the kings faire fauourites.



Apollonius in his Booke of Hierogliphical letters, writeth; That when the Egyptians woulde make a representation of loue, they did set down the figure of a grin or snare: onely because (as I thinke) it conducteth vs daily to a most miserable condition. *Philostratus* writeth, that in the time of *Apollonius Thyaneus*, an Eunnuche was found in loue pleasures (as his abilitie would permit him) with one of the Concubines to the King of *Babylon*, the verie fairest and best beloued beyonde all the other. Being take in the act, he was dragd (by the haire) out of the *Serralia*, from the other Women, by his Eunnuchs, and brought before the King. To whom, the most ancient of the Eunnuches declared,

How the Egyptians figured Loue.

Phil. in vit. Apol. Thyan. lib. 1 Cap. 23.

The *Serralia* is the place for the Concubines of the King.

that he had found by heedfull obseruation, how the Eunnuch was become amorous of the Woman, and thereof had giuen him admonishment; that he should not speake to her, nor (in anie manner whatsoeuer) touch her necke; breasts, or hands, and abstaine also from helping to put on her Garments. All which notwithstanding, he had beene now surprized in bed with her, and found in performing the veneriall act.

The King waxing extreame angrie at this report, turned himselfe towardes *Apollonius Thyaneus* (who was at that time in his Court) saying: What punishment do you deeme fittest for me, to inflict vpon this Villaine? Whereto *Apollonius* answered: It is enough (O King) to let him liue. How! (replied the King, as ashamed of this answer) doo not you iudge him worthy of many cruell deaths, that dared so boldly to violate my bed? My answer (quoth *Apollonius*) doth not imply any pardon to bee granted to him, but rather to lay the heauier tormentis on him, by suffering him to liue. For, so long as he shall remaine alie, he must abide infinite afflictions, too sharpe and difficult for him to endure. Hee shall not be able to eate or drinke, to receiue any pleasure in shewes, sports, or Pastimes, which easily may delight both you & yours. His heart will faile him oftentimes, his dreams and sleepes wil be gastly and fearefull, such as are saide (most especially) to pursue amorous persons. Then neuer doubt Sir, but loue wil force him to feele most bitter and insupportable Martyrdomes. For like vnto the silly Fly, the miserable man wil follow both Fire and death, and yet at an instant, both life and death shal appeare most hateful vnto him. Such was the answer of *Apollonius*, which the King found to bee so wise and pleasing, that being thereby perswaded, the Eunnuch enjoyed the benefite of life.

And to speake vprightly, Loue is an extreame passion, a meere fury or madnesse in a Woman, and a quenchelesse heate in a young man, whose vitermost refuge is death onely. And for this cause, *Epicletus* among other definitions which he made of death, called it, *Nuncium Amantium*, because Louers do oftentimes call death to helpe them; and seeme as if they would run willingly thereto, as vnto their surest Anker-hold, as another saith. Who is it but knoweth that loue took away the

The displeas'd K. craveth aduise for the Eunnuch; punishment of *Apollonius*.

The answer of *Apollonius*.

The Eunnuch permitted to enjoy his life.

Epicletus in his conference with the Emperor *Adrian* of long life.

Examples of
loues violēce
in diuers.

The Authour
returneth to
his matter,
concerning
Eunuches.

A conference
betweene *A-*
pollonius and
his friend *Da-*
mis, of Eu-
nuchs abilitie
in venery.

The power of
affecting, and
carnally know-
ing.

Of the desires
& affections
of the minde.

The Law and
office of tem-
perance.

fences of Wise *Salomon*, and made him violate the Sacred Lawe? Loue moued *Biblis* to be enamored on her owne Brother *Caunus*; and *Pasiphae* to companie with a Bull. Of manie other inconueniences Loue hath been the only cause. But to come again to our precedent purpose. Some few dayes before this disaſter happened to the Eunuch, *Apollonius* (who had made some obseruation thereof) fell into discourse with his companion *Damis*, concerning the power and ability of Eunuches, in the acte of venery, beginning thus.

Friend *Damis*, I am now considering with my selfe, what reason barbarous nations haue, to imagine modesty in their Eunuchs, & to make vse of their seruice waiting on their Wiues? I thinke (answered *Damis*) the cause is cleare and manifest; yea, euen to a childe. For after their spermaticke Vesselles are cut away, which inciteth carnall embracing and action, they may be permitted to keep their Wiues, and are expressely employed in that charge, euen as if they suffered them to lodge in bed with them. You conceit then (replied *Apollonius*) that the power of affecting and knowing Women carnally, is by that meanes quite taken from them? Both the one and other answered *Damis*, in regard, that if the part be taken from them, whereby the body is prouoked vnto the acte of *Venus*, I am of the minde, that they cannot haue any inclination to loue.

You haue a present testimony (answered *Apollonius*) that Eunuchs can and do loue; and that desire which is introduced by the eye, cannot be quenched in them, but continueth still hot and vigorous in the body: and many things may be alledged, whereby your reasons will be easily confuted. If there do consist any such Art in man, as can gouerne and expell such desires and affections out of the minde: it appeareth then to me, that Eunuchs shold not by any probable reason, bee reckoned or admitted in the number of chaste and temperate men. For you hold those men to bee wholly deprived of Loue, as constrained thereto, by such an act of violence done on them. Whereas the Office of temperance is, that hee which coueteth, affecteth, or desireth, shold not be surmounted or overcome

by lasciuious affections and Concupiscences: but wholly for to abstaine from them, and not to bee vanquished by any greefe or passion, which induceth desire to the matter coueted or affected. All this is saide by *Apollonius* in *Philostratus*. But if the Eunuches thorough defect of the Instruments of generation, haue not the power to engender, and to auoyde foorth seede: yet notwithstanding, they are manie time ouercomes with heates, and striue with themselues, both to know and to abuse women, euen as wee do oftentimes behold, that Geldings wil offer to leape and couer Mares.

CHAP. XXIII.

An excellent and memorable example of
Continencie, in the famous Prince Fran-
ces Sforza.



AM loath to omit a verie singuler example of continencie, in the most honourable and worthy Prince, *Frances Sforza*, well deser-

uing to bee compared with those of *Alexander* the Great, and warlicke *Scipio*. He being Coronell Generall of the *Florentines*, at such time as *Casanoua Chasteau*, and *Forteresses des Luquois*, was surprized by force of Armes. During the sacke of that small Cittie, certaine of his Soldiers had taken a young married woman prisoner, of admirable beautie and faire perfections. As they drew hir forcibly out of her house, she cried to them, that she would submit her selfe vnto the Count *Frances*, and not vnto any other. They that thought to haue made vse of her for themselues, hearing her voluntary Challenge, and dreading the displeasure of the Count, made no long delay, but forthwith brought her before him. The Coronell *Sforza*, who in regarde of his youths verdure, sweet disposition & complexion of body, was much addicted to carnall pleasures, albeit he was violently surprized with the young Womans rare

Phil. in vit. A-
pol. Thyan. Lib.
1. Cap. 23.

Frances Sforza
the Count,
Coronell of
the *Florentines*

The young
Weman was
brought be-
fore Count
Frances.

rare beautie : yet notwithstanding, hee demanded of her, whether shee would more willingly yeeld her self to him, then remaine in their power that had taken hir as their prize? Whereto the young woman answered, that shee would alwayes be ready to obey his will, provided, that he should deliuer her out of their hands, that then detained her as their prisoner. Heereupon, Count Sforza commanded

that she should be carried to his Tent. Night being come, before hee would go to bed, he demanded of her againe, if hir former resolution did yet hold or no, or whether she had changed her purpose? Whereto she answered, that shee helde the same opinion which shee did before. Which when the Count perceiued, he commanded her to prepare her selfe, for shee should lodge with him that Night. She was no sooner entered into his bed, but espying the picture of the virgin *Mary* (which the Count both in custom and Deuotion, had alwayes hanging as a fair Table in his Tent) beeing stroken full of feare and shame, weeping incessantly, & kneeling with great reuerence, she vttered these words to the Count. *My Lord I beseech yee, for that H. ly Virgines sake, whose remembrance and figure is heree fixed before vs, that you would bee pleased to preserue my Chastity, and by your clemencie to restore me, not polluted but vnstayed, to my late married Husband, who is among the rest of your prisoners. And although I made ye promise to submit my selfe to your will, and am heere subiected to your pleasure: yet no other respect moued mee thereto; but onely to be freed from them, who doubtlesse would haue rauished mee. And in regard of the Iustice and pietie, that I haue often heard to be alwayes in you; those vertues are my firme hope and perswasion, that I shal (by you) be defended from al shame & violence.*

These words, accompanied with floudes of teares, which showed downe her faire checkes, found such gracious entrance into the benign and generous hart of the Captaine; and so great was his continency (considering he had a Woman of such exquisite beauty, and in his naked bed by him, being also his captiue and prisoner taken in warre) notwithstanding all these aduantages: vnchast, hot, and lustfull appetite was quite extinct in him; and presently he leapt forth of the

bed, leaving her there to rest in safetie. On the morrow morning, hee sent to make enquiry for her husbandes, whose ranfome he payed to his Soldiers out of his owne money. And then deliuered his Wife vnto him, with a solemne Sacred Oath, that he restored her as chaste, vntoucht or vnknowne of him in any vnciuill manner whatsoever, as when she was brought a prisoner to him. The Husband falling to the ground on his knees before him, with sighes and teares, spake in this manner: *Honourab' e Lord, your deedes do amply declare, the great renown which enerie where is iustly famed of ye, to wit; that there is no man liuing on the earth, that can equall yee in humanitie and clemencie. The highest God, who can do all in all, wil giue you sufficient recompence for vs; that can returne no conuenable guerdon vnto your worth and vertues.*

The Count would haue giuen them great stoore of Goods and Moouables, taken as pillage in the City: but the young Woman would not accept of any. Affirming, that when her Neighbours should see such giftes, they would repute them to be the prizes of her lost honour, and so she should line in endlesse infamy, which she desired rather to shunne, then death it selfe. So, hauing leaue and License to depart from Count Sforza, they were safely conducted home to their house.

CHAP. XXV.

Of many Woorthy and Learned men, both Ancient and Moderne, whose eyes and deathes haue beene wretched and miserable.



Hemistocles the Athenian, being banished by enny in the Cittizens of Athens, withdrew himselfe to *K. Artaxerxes*, by who being constrained to warre against his owne Countrey, hee made a willing change of death for life, by drinking the blood of a Bull. *Gallus* the Poet slewe himselfe. *Demosthenes* the Athenian

A second demand of the Count to the faire young woman.

The speeches of the young woman vnto Count Sforza being in his bed.

A rare testimony of continency, both for time, place & oportunitie.

The words of the husband to the Count.

Bountie and humanitie in Count Sforza

Plu. in vit. The.

Amia. Marcellinus in lib. 17.

A high Hill in Sicily, out of which ariseth horrible smoake and flames of fire

Laer. lib. 1. c. 10
*Plaies of naked & anointed men.

Plut. in Moral. Lib. 4. Cap. 2.

Pl. in li. 7. c. 53.

Greg. Nazian. in Orat. cont. Iul. Imperat.

Athenian, hauing incurred the displeasure of *Antipater*, successor to *Alexander*, fled into *Calabria*, an Island in the *Aegeum* Sea, where he was entrapped by the Sergeants of *Antipater*: and hauing taken a pen, as if hee purposed to Write therewith, hee sucked vp certaine poyson, (enclosed therein) and so died. *Phine* was burnt to death, with the fire of Mount *Etna*, which at this present is called *Gibello Monte*. The same end also had *Empedocles* the *Agrigentine* Poet.

Many other worthy men likewise haue dyed as miserably: among whom was *Socrates*, that (by commaundement of the Magistrate) dranke the iuice of Hemlock in prison, and died by the draught. *Thales Milesius* died of drought, by heate of the Sunne as he was beholding the *Gymnick* Playes. *Zeno* was slaine by the commaundement of *Phalaris* the Tyrant. *Anaxarchus* died by command from *Nicochreon*, in strange diuersity of torments; and being ouercome with the extremitie of paine, he bit off his tongue betweene his teeth, and threw it in the Tyrantes face. *Archimedes* the Phylosopher, and most excellent Mathematician, was slaine by the Soldiers of *Marcellus*. *Pythagoras* was burned aliue by rhe *Cylonians*, as *Plutarch* saith: But others write, that warre being moued betweene the *Agrigentines* and *Syracusans*, *Pythagoras* going forth to succour the *Agrigentines*, was massacred (with seuenty of his Schollers) in a fielde of Beanes, by the *Syracusans*.

Anacharsis was slaine by his owne followers, because he would haue enduced the Religion and Goddes of the *Grecians* into *Scythia*. *Diodorus Cronos* the Logitian, dyed with sorrow and shame, because he could not resolue a question in Sophistry, which was propounded to him (in iest) by *Stilpo*. *Aristotle*, after hee had lost the grace and fauour of *Alexander*, not knowing the nature and cause of *Euripus*, which is in *Cha'cis*. that is to say, the flowing and ebbing of a Sea, that happeneth continually seauen times, in the space of a day and night, returning into *Aulis* of *Beotia*, being a Hauen in *Eubaea*, grewe weary of his life, only through griefe and sorrow conceiued, because he could not render a sufficient reason for it; and some say, that he drowned himselfe in the Sea, and in the same place. His scholler *Calsithenes* had his Nose and lips cut off, and

being shut vp betweene two walles, dyed of the disease which the Greekes called *φρέσωνις*, and the Latines, *Morbus Perdicen'aris*. *Marcus Tullius Cicero* hadde his head and hands cut off, and his Tongue pulled out. *Terençe* the Poet, drowned himselfe with greefe, because he had lost 108. Comedies which were Written in Greeke by *Menander*; and had bin by him conuerted into Latine. The Poet *Lucretius* hauing drunke an amorous potion, fell into such a fury, that he slew himselfe with his owne hande, being aged about forty yeares.

Seneca, being compelled by his Scholler *Nero*, to make choise of what kind of death he best affected, caused a Veine to be opened in his foote, as he helde it in a Bason of water; and so by the meanes of loosing his blood, lost his life also. *Auerroes* was crushed to death with a wheele which went ouer his stomacke. *John Duns*, otherwise called *Scotus*, reading in *England*, in a sudden tumult of schollers, was slaine with the stabs of Bodkins, such as (in ancient times) they wrote withal in Table-bookes of Woodde, or on the Barkes of Trees. But if I were to sette downe the miserable ends of all the learned men in elder dayes; no mean or reasonable compasse could containe mee. Therefore, I will conclude this Chapter, with rehearfall of some more Moderne and later. *Frances Petrarche* dyed suddenly. *Demetrius Calderinus* died of he plagu. The Reconciler or Peace-maker, was burned after his death; hauing lined but a small while. *Laurentius Laurentianus*, the Physition of *Florence*, drowned himselfe in a well. *Petrus Leonis*, of *Spoletu*, Physition and Astrologer, was likewise throwne into a Well by the commaund of *Peter de Medicis*, because during the sicknesse of *Lawrence de Medicis* his Father, he had giuen good hope of his life, by saying, that there was no daunger of death in his disease, as he collected by the rules of his starres; and yet he died. *Sir Thomas More*, Lord Chancellor of *England*; was beheaded at *London*, for withstanding King *Henry* of *England*, in his claime of supremacy.

CHAP.

Cælius Rbodignus in l. 9. c. 36.

An ill rewarde of a scholler to hir Master.

Volat. in lib. 21.

Learned men of our Moderne times.

*A Cittie of *Vmbria* in *Italy*.

CHAP. XXVI.

¶ Of a simple Groome, borne in Cremona, who vainely perswaded himselfe, that he was the Pope. And of another, that beleued he was the Emperour. Of diuers others also, who had sundry strange kinds of folly in their braines.



Hifitions haue generally held opinion, that there are many & sundry kinds of folly. Not many yeares since, there was a meane

Groome or Seruant (borne in Cremona) in the City of Millayne, who verily perswaded himselfe, that he was the Pope, and had formed a Consistory of Cardinals, Arch-bishops, and Bishoppes, in his Chamber. At a certaine hoire in the day (when he had obtained leaue of his Maister) he would seate himselfe in a Chaire, like a new created Pope; deliuering forth his feete to be kissed, entertaining Ambassadors; making Cardinals; dispatching Bulles; and ordaining Officers for the See Apostolique. This honourable kind of folly (wherein he conceived wonderfull pleasure) being qualified and remooued out of his braine: he would returne home againe to his accustomed seruices, without any disturbance, or appearance, that hee was any such manner of man, but onely when his idle fit was vpon him.

The Lord Pedro de Vbaldini, a worthy Gentleman and Knight in the City of Urbine, had a Horse-keeper, named *Triumpho de Camarino*, who when hee came first into his seruice, made it in condition of his bargaine: that hee would haue one hoire in the day allowed him, for his owne pleasure and recreation. During which while, hee would locke himselfe close within a Chamber, where no one could come to him without his owne permission: and there he spreads a Curtaine of black Cloath vpon the Wall, whereon the Pope was painted with his Cardinals, euen as when he holdeth his full Con-

Folly in some heads, hath a wonderfull kind of perswasion.

Folly (for the time) mightily preuaileth.

Triumpho de Camarino, a Horse-keeper of Urbine, who imagined himselfe to be the Emperour.

istorie, with many Kinges, Princes, Lords, and Christian Captaines. He taking vpon him to be the person of the Emperour (as in his mind he was verily perswaded so to be) hauing a Crowne of Paper vpon his head, and a Bedstaffe (for a Scepter) in his hand: he sate down as among them, and began in the Popes person, to propose diuers thinges concerning the State of Christendome, after this manner.

My deare Brethren and Children in Iesus Christ, the effect of our meeting thus together; is to aduise ye, that you loue one another with mutuall affection. And likewise to command ye, to gouerne your people in all pietie, laying downe Armes, and ceasing Warres among your selues; onelic to fight for the defence of the Christian Faith, afflicted and vexed by Inside's and enraged Turkes. If you doe not (with high and resolu'd courage) embrace this my proposition; you will at length loose the grace of this world, and the glory of Heauen, and be sent into the infernall Kingdomes, where you shall be tormented eternally. Wherefore my most happy Children, vnderstand my words louingly, and follow my counsell. Triumpho hauing deliuered these and diuers matters more, in name of the Pope, spitting oftentimes betweene, for shew of greater pontificality: he would answer after ward in the Emperours name (whose habit hee seemed to haue on his backe, and Crowne vpon his head, with these words.

Saint Peter, you haue said very well, and it would be very fitting, to doe as your Holinesse hath propounded. But would you haue Men to belecue your perswasions? Begin then your selfe (like a good Pastor) to giue vs good example. And if you cannot doe it: I intend (for mine owne part) to enioy my Kingdomes, without any feare of Turkes, or of Hell it selfe, where I am sure there is some good abiding. For this last night, I dreamed that I was there, in exceeding great contentment, and pleasure of minde. There did I play at Tennis, with many great Lords and Barons. Afterward, we mounted on light and swifter Coursers; then either Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, or Iberia could euer yeild the like. At length, as I was resting and playing with some of the fayrest and wantonnest Ladies of the world: I espied Lucifer (whose teeth stuck a great way out of his head) issuing forth of a proud

The Oration of the imagined Emperour (being *Triumpho* the Horse-keeper) but deliuered in person of the Pope.

Triumpho his answer; as in the Emperours person.

Triumpho his dreame of being in Hell, & what pleasures he saw there.

The Devils
kindnesse to
Triumpho.

The conclusi-
on of *Trium-
pho*, in his se-
rious consul-
tations.

Bridle, sponge
and Currie-
Combe, the
Trophies of
this imaginari-
-Emperour.

proud Pallace, to get vp on Horsebacke. And as I purposed to run towards him, to hold his Stirrup with great reuerence: one bad me that I should not goe, for feare he would denoure me. Neuerthelesse, I went on boldly without feare, and the gentle Lord gaue me the kindest entertainment, that the world could afford, saying to me. My Sonne, thou art now, and at all times shalt be most hartily welcome hether. And hauing mounted on horsebacke, hee rode thorow his Kingdome, which is inhabited with many people. Afterward, as I was parting thence to goe to dinner; a Gentle Squire came, and said vnto me: Whither goest thou Christian Emperour? Thou mayest dine heere. Then I answered; Doe Men eate in this place? Excellently well and gallantlie, replied the Squire. Why then (quoth I) if there be such good cheare heere, I wil depart no more from hence, no, in despite of Saint Anthonies Beard: seeing a man may triumph euer heere, spend the time iocundlie, and lead a merrie life. As for you Holy Father (speaking to the Pope) I vnderstand, that such pleasures as you take, are domestick and priuate, yet more then all other mens, with your children the Cardinals of the holie See, which should be much more lawfull for me. *Triumpho* hauing deliuered these dreames and idle fancies, giuing a loud shout: caperd vp from the ground, and began to discourse of great actions, Warres, and garboyles. And taking vp a Curry-combe in his hand, before the supposed Kinges, Princes, and Lordes, (in name of them all) hee vttered more friuolous fopperies, then I am able here to write, or relate vpon. And bethinking himselfe, that his houre or limitation was (by this time) expired; for, at some of his priuacies, his follies would extend into more length, then they did at another: he left his Chamber, departing thence with his Bridle, Sponge, & Curry-Combe, to execute his Office about his Horses, to make cleane his Stable, and diligently performe all other seruices, without any opinion of his precedent conceited dignity.

The Lord *Pedro* meruailing not a little, how the Groome of his Stable should daily bestow this licensed hour: concluded to make some prooffe thereof, and see how his affaires were then managed. Whereupon, hiding himselfe one day in the next lodging to *Tri-*

umphoes Chamber; at a rift or cranny in the Wall, he wonne an eye-sight to the whole pastime. Calling some other of his Household-Seruants beside, to be pertaker in this Comical sport; where they heard all the Horse-keepers enterparlance with his owne opinion; and saw euerie iot of his fantasticke behaviour. At last, when the Lord *Pedro* perceiued that his mans serious busines was almost concluded, he called out aloud to him, saying; *Well done Triumpho, I am highly glad, both of thine owne consolation and thy Countries, that of a poor Horse keeper, thou art become the Emperour of Christendome. Let mee therefore entreat thee, while Fortune holdes thee thus happily on the height of her wheele; thou wouldest bee pleased, to haue some remembrance of thy poore Maister. Triumpho* hearing himselfe thus called, and perceiuing his priuate conceit to be discovered: stood amazed like a Bell-founder, when his Metall hath not taken good successe. And such was his fury, that he snatcht his Curtaine from the Wall, and with it he instantly forooke the House, without taking leaue of his Maister, or any one else: nor could it at any time after be knowne, whether he went, or what became of him. By this we may obserue, that it is the naturall property of a Foole, to thinke himselfe wise.

And therefore I conclude, that in this World there is no greater quietnesse, then for a Man to content himselfe with his owne estate, as did this poore *Triumpho de Camarino*: who perswading himselfe to be an Emperour, the meere imagination auailed as much with him, as if he had bin really the very man indeede.

Thrasyllus Axoneus fell into so strange a follie, that he verilie beleued, that all the Shippes which arriued in the Port or Hauen, were his owne. And therefore (vpon this stronge perswasion) alwaies before they came to take landing: with a chearefull countenance, and hart highlie contended; he would walke forth (a large distance from the road) to meete them as they came. In like manner, when they did set out againe on any voyage, either for the East or West: he would beare them company a great way, and praying them to be care-

Triumphoes
Comedy was
discouered by
his Lord and
Maister.

The words of
Lord *Pedro* to
Triumpho.

The fury of
Triumpho vpon
his disco-
uery.

Contentation
is an especiall
benefit.

Elianus in his
fourth Booke
calleth him
Thrasyllus.

Athenus in lib
12. cap. vlt.

careful of his goods and Merchandizes, with them all fortunate successe. This humour being noted by his Brother *Criston*, newly there arriued with his Merchandise from *Sicilie*: he caused diuers wise and learned Phisitions, to take paines for his recouery, who in helping this fond humour, robd him of his chiefest contentment. And beeing afterward remembred of this strange folly: he would sigh many times, & sollemnly sweare, that hee neuer liued more pleasingly, then while that perswasion held him, because in all that time, hee neuer felt any greefe, sadnesse, or annoyance. They make report of another Man, who kept diuers Cats, wherein he took great delight and pleasure; perswading himselfe, and telling to others, that they were Lyons.

Aristotle declareth, that there was a Man in *Abydos*, who beeing ouercome with a foolish humour, would go daily to the Theater, & there (as if he would recite a whole Comedy himselfe) performe al the actions in such cases required, not respecting who beheld or heard him; and yet this humour afterward left him. He saith moreouer, that there was an Hoast in *Tarentum*, who would walke abroad all the night time, and diligently attend his businesse all the day; carrying (both night and day) the Key of his Hoastory hanging at his Girdle; neuer loosing it, neither could it bee stolne or got from him, by very cautious and crafty attempts.

Plutarch reporteth in his *Morals*, that the *Mylelian* Virgines were ouercome with a wonderfull folly; for, without any respect, teares, entreaties, and perswasions of Parents and Friends; they would suddenly strangle and hang themselves, neither could any remedy bee found to preuent them. At length, the *Mylelians* being assembled in the Senate house, to deliberate on this strange inconuenience: one among them (being a very graue and wise man) aduised them to make a Law, that if any more of them should so destroy themselves, of what condition soeuer she were, she should be stript starke naked, and so bee laid in the midst of the Market-place, to be shamefully seene of all the world, and haue no other buriall allowed her. This councill being generally approo-

ued, and published by Edict: the Virgines were thereby stricken with such feare and terrour, that the humour which made them dreadlesse of death, immediatly ceased. As being more fearefull and respectiue of dishonour and infamy, then of paine or death: because they could by no meanes endure, that their naked bodies should be seene, either aliue or dead, and shaine (after death) they reputed to bee a Virgines highest dishonour.

Shame after death more respected and feared, then death it selfe.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of diuers Men and Weomen that haue voluntarie staine and destroyed themselves.



In the first Ages, there were many, that voluntarily shortned their owne liues, among whom, *Aelianus* recordeth *Hippona*, a *Grecian* Lady, who being taken by Pyrates, and hearing a determination among them, that they purposed to make spoile of her virginity: she so choisely prized the honour of her chastity, that, seeing no other waie left to preferue it, she leapt into the Sea, & so (by drowning) saued hir Virgine vertue. *Calanus* the *Indian* Philosopher, one of the learned and wise *Brachmanes*, hauing bidden farewell to *Alexander* the Great and his *Macedonians*, at such time as he desired to leaue this life: caused a pile of Wood to bee prepared ready, which was dry, sweet, and odoriferous (to wit, of Cedar, Cypress, Myrrhe, and Laurell) in a Towne of *Babylon*. And making a wreath of Reede Leaves; hee crowned his head there with, then inounted, and laid himselfe along vpon the pile, honouring the Sunne. So, covering his face; the *Macedonians* gaue fire to the pile, and he neuer stirred a iot, when the fire flamed fiercely about him; but lay still constantly; without moouing eyther hand or foot, and in this sacrifice yeildeth vp his Soule. Herevpon one saith, that *Alexander* wondering at this constancy

Aelianus in lib. 5. Cap. 7.

Hippona a Lady of Greece.

Strabo in Lib. 15. *Calanus*, one of the *Brachmanes*.

Valerius Maximus in lib. 1. Cap. 8.

Aelianus in lib. 4. Cap. 7.

Arist. in lib. 6. de Anim.

Arist. ubi. sup.

Plutarch in Moral. Cap. 9. A strange folly in virgines to destroy themselves.

10

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The words of
Alexander con-
cerning Cala-
nus.

Cicero in lib. 1.
de diuinat.

Cicero in lib. 1.
de Tusculan.

Valerius Max-
imus, in tit. de
Iust.

Plutar. in vit.
de Hannib.

Valer. Maxim.
in lib. 2. cap. 7.

* People by
the Riuer In-
dus.

stancy, instantly said: *Calanus hath con-
quered more potent Enemies, then euer I
could doe. For I haue but fought against
Porus, Taxiles, and Darius onely: but
Calanus hath fought both against labour
and Death.* Cicero writeth, that when
Calanus went to death, and mounted
vpon the pile of Wood, he said. *O faire
departure from life, seeing (as it happened
to Hercules) after that this Mortall bodie
is burned, the Spirit then goeth into light.*

Cleombrotus of *Ambracia*, hauing read
Platoes Booke of the Immortality of the
Soule: threw himselfe from an high
Wall, head-long into the Sea. *Cato* *Uti-
can*, hauing read also the same Booke;
pierced his owne body with a Dagger.
Aristarchus the *Alexandrian* *Grammari-
an*, Schoole-maister to the Sonne of
Ptolomie Philomator, being sicke of the
Dropie; suffered himselfe to dye thro-
row want of eating. The like did *Era-
to* *Athenes* the *Cyrenean*, Scholler to the
Poet *Callimachus*, & keeper of the Librar-
y to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. *Charondas* the
Thebane, made a law, that no man shold
come armed into the Councell Consi-
storie: was once found himselfe there
armed (not thinking thereon) as hee
came newly out of the field. And after
that hee which fate next him, had put
him in mind of the said Law: hee stabd
his Ponyard into his owne breast, albe-
it he might well haue dissembled, or de-
fended his fault. *Hanniball* being van-
quished by *Sciopio*, fled to *Prusias*, King
of *Bythinia*, for safety: but being doubt-
full of his fidelitic, because he beheld
Flaminius sent thither, as Ambassadour
from the *Romaines*; hee poysoned him-
selfe, of his owne meere motion there-
vnto.

Mithridates the younger, hauing
maintained Warre for the space of sixe
and fifty yeares against the *Romaines*;
seized *Asia*; imprisoned the chiefe com-
maunders of the * *Opiæ*, and of *Aquilia*;
besiedged *Rhodes*; and wonne *Athens* by
Archelaus his Lieutenant. After all
these great fortunes, he being first con-
quered by *Lucullus*, next by *Pompey*, and
afterward by *Pharnax*, his owne most
ingratefull Sonne, who forsooke his
Father, and tooke part with *Pompey*:
drunke a poyson; whereof being not a-
ble to die (in regard of an Antidote and
counter-poyson, which he was compel-

led to take) slew himselfe, by the helpe
of a French Souldiour, named *Vitigiuss*.
Monyma the *Mylelian* Lady, and *Veroni-
ca*, borne in *Chios*, both Wiues to the
fore-named *Mithridates*, after they vn-
derstood (by the Eunuch *Bacchides*) the
miserable fortune of their Husband;
they would liue no longer in further dis-
after. *Monyma* hung or strangled her
selfe, and because the Cord brake, by
weight of her body; shee compelled
Bacchides to cut her throat. And *Ver-
onica* kneeling mournfully by her, dranke
vp a full Cup of poyson. *Statira* and
Roxana, Sisters also to the same *Mithri-
dates*, who had kept their virginity the
space of forty yeares: bare company
with their Brother in death, by drinking
each a draught of poyson.

Decebalus, King of the *Dacians* (as *Di-
on* *Cassianus* reporteth) beeing vanqui-
shed by *Traiane*: slew himselfe with his
owne hand, because he would not fall-
into the *Romaines* power, and yet not
withstanding, his head was afterward
carried to *Rome*. *Sardanapalus* threw
himselfe into a flaming fire. *Lucretia*, a
worthy *Romaine* Ladie, and the bright
Lampe of Chastitie, hauing her honor
violated by the infamous Tyrant *Tar-
quine*, Sonne to proud *Tarquine*: pub-
likely slew her selfe, by stabbing a Dag-
ger in her faire breast, to the end, that
the people might reuenge her iniurie
and shame, and abolish the Dominion
of the Kings in *Rome*.

Portia, Daughter to *Cato*, hearing
tydings of her Husband *Brutus*, that he
was conquered, and slaine in the fieldes
before *Philippi*: when she could come by
no Weapon to destroy her selfe, shee
deuoured burning Coales, and so pur-
sued her Husband in death. *Cleopatra*,
Queene of *Aegypt*, after the death of
Marke Anthony, the remaining Captiue
in the power of *Augustus*: compassed
her death by the byting of a Serpent,
as *Cesar* himselfe made representation
of the manner, in an Image which he
brought with him in triumph to *Rome*,
as one of his Trophees of that victory.
Naera, and *Charmione*, wayting Maides
on Queene *Cleopatra*, followed her pre-
sently also by voluntary death.

Many other great persons haue peri-
shed, in the like disastrous and miserable
manner, whose Histories would aske
ouer

Monyma and
Veronica, the
wiues to *Mi-
thridates*.

Statira and
Roxana, sisters
to *Mithrida-
tes*.

Dion. Cassianus
in lib. 4.

Titus Linius in
lib. 1. Dcca. 1.

Portia the
Daughter to
graue and
wife *Cato*.

Cleopatra Q.
of *Egypt*.

The names of many that yeilded themselves to voluntary death

ouer long time in repetition, and therefore I will but set downe their names onely. As *Dolabella, Licinius Macer, L. Syllanus, C. Marius the younger, and Fannius Cepio. Nero, Otho, Galerius, Adrian, Florian, Iulian, and Dioclesian*, Emperors. *Gordianus the elder, Labeo Marses, and Papyrius the Romaine. M. Lollius, Proculeius, Magnentius, Argobastus, Gunimilda*, wife to *Asmund*, King of the Danes. *Hadingo, Rolnond, and Starcaterus*, Kings of the Danes. *Pedro des Vignes*, the Lawyer of *Capua*, in the time of *Ferdinand the second Emperor, Eccelinus the Tyrant, and Galeatenus Mantuanus*, who more voluntarily & foolishly (then any of the other before named) ranne vpon his owne death; as *Iouianus Pontanus* hath recorded. For he wintering at *Pauia*, became very extreamelie enamoured of a beautifull young Damosell, and would oftentimes tell her: that he could endure a thousand harms (if so many were possible to be suffered) for her sake, if she but pleased to command him. Whereupon, she commanded him (in iest) to leap into the River: which he presently did, and was there drowned, before he could be relieved.

Iouianus Pontanus, concerning the death of Galeas of Mantua.

Baiazeth Prince and Emperour of the Turkes.

Baiazeth, Prince and Emperour of the Turkes, being taken on the Confines of *Armenia*, in a great conflict and battaile betweene him and Great *Tamberlaine*: was brought before the *Scythian* King, who caused him to be put vp in a Cage of Iron, and led along with him wherefoeuer he went; letting him liue by no other meates, but what fell (as scraps) from his Table, and pieces of bread cast to him, euen as contemptuously as men do to Dogs. At all times likewise, when he would mount vp on horsebacke, or into his chariot: *Baiazeth* must be taken forth out of his Cage, and brought before him, fast bound in mighty and massie Chaines of Gold, and he would set his feet on his back, so to get vp into his Chariot, or on horseback. This should serue as a mirror to miserable men, neuer to repose any confidence in greatness, or vaine wealth of this World: considering, that he who had conquered so many people, and won so many Citties; was taken, and made Slaue to him, that had bin but a silly heardsman, and ended his daies miserably in a Cage of Iron. When *Tamberlaine* was retur-

Greatnesse, Riches, and al this worlds pompe is but meere vanity.

ned home into *Scythia*, he made a magnificent triumph, for his victory obtained against this *Baiazeth*. And hauing prepared an vnualueable Feast, with all sumptuous furnishment thereto appertaining, for all his principall Lords and Commaunders in *Scythia*: he caused the Cage to be brought before the, where in was *Baiazeth*, his Emperesse and wife also (who was taken with him) attending thereon. With whom this barbarous man dealt so inhumanly, that her garments were cut off iust at hir Nauil, whereby her parts of shame and secrecy were nakedly discerned; and thus did she waite there before his guests. The miserable Prince of *Turks*, seeing his Queen thus despightfully entreated; grieved beyond measure, and deuised how hee might best end his wearisome life. But being destitute of all meanes, or any Instrument for the speedier execution: he did beat his head so often and violentlie against the bars of Iron; that his brains starting forth, hee there concluded his wretched and infortunate life.

Tamberlaine his vnualueable viage to Baiazeths Q.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How good and profitable it is, for a Man to liue soberly. And that all such as were Enemies thereto; haue likewise bin haters to Honor and Vertue.



It is no way to be doubted, but that Nature can content & suffice her selfe with little; and feeding out of order and excessiuely, hath bin the occasion of many diseases. To approue the truth hereof, let the vnbeleuer read the ancient Bookes of Physick, wherein he shall find, that our betters and predecessors, were such friends to sobriety: that they would eat but a piece of Bread in the morning onely, and feed on a little flesh at supper, without any other diuersitie of Viands, such as are vsed in these daies of ours, with numberlesse Sauces, and meates vpon meats, and then a second course afterward. During all which seruices, *Abono ad mala*, a man is forced to sit at the Table two or three hours at the least. And this

The least allowance contenteth nature.

The healthful diet of our fore-fathers, was the onely reason of their long life

and this is the reason, why those of elder times (who knew no such superfluities) liued to long, and free from so many monstrous diseases. In regard heereof also, the *Romaines*, *Arcadians*, and *Lusitanians*, or *Portugalles*, remained so long a time without Phisitions, and sobriety of life (onely) defended them from all infirmities.

The *Spartanes* choysest delicates.

The *Persians* dyet.

K. *Artaxerxes* his food.

Pompey his fare in Egypt, in a poore Countrey mans house.

The Lord *Antonio d'Ona* a Spaniard.

Sobriety is the occasion of long life.

The enemies to Honor and Vertue.

The very greatest delicates, which the *Spartanes* vsed in their dyet, was a certaine kind of blacke Broath or Potage, much liketo melted Pitch; the cost whereof, did not amount to aboue three *Solz*, tenne whereof doe make an English Penny. The *Persians*, Men so exceedingly disciplined, did neuer eate any other Meate with their Bread, but a few Water-Carres, or Cresses. *Artaxerxes*, Brother to *Cyrus*, beeing put to flight by his Enemies: fed on dryed Figs and Barly Bread, and greatly complained, that he had liued so long, without experimenting so sweete and sauoury a kind of food.

Pompey, trauayling thorough *Ægypt*, where his people could hardlie follow him, he beeing verie hungry, with-drew himselfe to the small Cottage of a poore Countrey Husbandman, who gaue him a piece of Rie-bread to feed on. And this great King swore, that (in all his life time) hee did neuer tast better foode; and euer afterward, he held all costly and precious kindes of Bread in scorne, which hee had formerly vsed. The Lord *Antonio d'Ona*, a Spaniard, hauing entertained an old man (aged aboue an hundred yeares) to dine with him, and setting excessiue fare before him, as hee vsed to all others that came to his Table; the good olde man said vnto him. *My Lord, if I had bin dieted (in my youth) at such Tables as yours; you must think, I had neuer attained to these yeares: but by liuing soberly, you see how God hath blessed me.* We need then make no doubt; but that sobriety of life, is the occasion of our long continuance in this world, & our preseruacion in soundnesse of health. All such as haue beene contemners therof, their liues haue had no length, and they were vtter enemies to honor and vertue. Such was *Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Heliogabalus*, *Vitellius*, *Verus*, *Tiberius*, *Maximinus*, and infinite others. On the contrary side, it hath beene ob-

serued, that the affecters of sober life, (men, as it were, euen made of Diuinity, such as *Augustus*, *Alexander Seuerus*, *Paulus Æmilius*, *Epaminondas*, &c.) witnessed their loue to Honour and Vertue, and dyed in all the fulnesse of their daies.

The Louers of Sobriety.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Rodericke, the last King of the race Royall of the Gothes: And how (thorow his owne incontineny) he lost not onely his Kingdome, but his life also.



IN the yeare of our saluation, 747. *Rodericke* raigned King in *Spaine*, who being pierced to the quicke, with the litle God and blinde Archers Arrowes: became exceedingly passionate, for the loue of the daughter to Count *Iulian* of *Cantabria*. And coueting (in ouer-burning desires) to gather the fruites of his hot affections: he essayed all meanes possible to compass his pleasure. But in regard that the honest and sober countenance of the Virgine, as also the presence of her Father, were maine opposites to him in reaching the height of his appetite; hee therfore sent Count *Iulian* Ambassador into France, and in the meane while, made a rape of his Daughters chastitie. *Iulian*; at his returning into *Spain*, heard (far enough off) the shame & violence committed on his daughter. And when he vnderstood it also by her owne complaint, both the meanes, manner, and euerie circumstance: hee dissembled it cunningly in the Kinges presence, as if he knew not of such sinne committed; but champed on the bit for diuers daies together, still pondering on the aptest occasions, whereby he might compass to be reuenged.

Rodericke affecteth the Daughter to *Iulian*, Count of *Cantabria*, & in the absence of her father, rauisheth her.

Count *Iulian* concealeth the knowledg of his Daughters wrongs.

After he had considered sufficientlie on his wrong, hee with-drew himselfe into *Affrica*, to the City of **Leptis*, where resorting to *Muzza*, Governour of *Affrica*: he declared vnto him, point by point, the iniury which King *Rodericke* had done him. Whereto he added,

**Leptis Sarrana* the City *Mahmeta* in *Affrica*, between the two Sirres

ded, that for reparation of this wrong, he was thus come to implore his assistance: in recompence whereof, he offered him a verie rich and goodly Empire, which he would reduce vnder his obedience. For he told him, that the time was now come, when hee might reuenge those *Arabes*, which had beene slaine in the precedent yeares, by the Armies of King *Bamba*: Hee further assured him, that he was so much faoured by the very greatest Lords in *Spain*, beside his owne Friendes and Kinred; who (in meere pittie of his disgrace) would all be in readinesse to helpe this enterprife. For the King was mortally hated of them all, in regard of his rapes, cruelties, and extortions, which continually he imposed vpon his people.

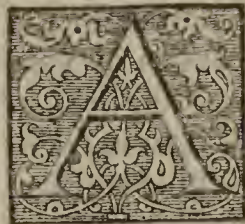
Muzza hauing heard the Countes speeches, sent him to King *Vlit*, residing them in *Arabia*, and he hauing likewise deliberated on Count *Iulians* iust complaint: returned him backe againe with his Letters to *Muzza*, commaunding him to lend him ayde, and what fauour else hee could affoord in so vrgent a case. After that *Muzza* had received this aduise from his King, hee gaue him an hundred Horse, and foure hundred foote Souldiers: vnder the charge and conduct of a valiant Captaine, named *Tariffa*, who crossing the Seas, came into *Spain* with his troups. And that he might giue the more assured pain and molestation to the enemy; his people builded a Citty, which (after their Captaines name) they called *Tariffa*. *Iulian* hauing made knowne to his Friends and Confederates in *Spain*; the occasion of his thus returning, and the desire he had (in Iustice and reason) to reuenge the outrage doone by the King: many of them (vnder-taking his cause) ioyned themselves with the *Arabes*, over-running and rauaging all the Country of *Algazara*, where the saide Count *Iulian* had before bin Gouvernor for the said King.

The *Arabes* of *Affrica*, perceiuing the successfull progresse of the Count, in sollemne earnest, and without deceit: they sent him twelue thousand Horse more, and a great number of the Infanterie, youthfull, gallant, & braue resolued Spirits. Vpon this occasion, King *Rodericke* expedited a great Army

against them, vnder the conduct of his Cozin *Don Ynigo*: who fighting many times with the *Moores* (but still with bad successe) not onely lost his life, but all the rest were likewise hewen in pieces: The *Moores* proceeding on still without impeachment, ouer-ran and spoyled a great part of *Spain*; by meanes whereof, *Rodericke* raised a much greater Army then the former, and came himselfe hand to hand with the *Moores*: so that a dreadfull and terrible battaile happened betweene them, which continued eight whole daies together, for in the night time, they retired into their Rampires. But the two Sonnes to the late King *Vitizzo* (whom the Brother to *Rodericke* had slaine, and vsurped the Kingdome) reuolting from him: were the cause of the *Moores* becomming Conquerors. And *Rodericke*, though he carried himselfe so valiantly, and performed (in his owne person) incredible seruices: yet was he (neuerthelesse) vanquished and slaine, and all his pertakers forces broken and foyled. This battaile was begun on Sunday, beeing the first day of Iuly, betweene the breake of day and Sun-rising, in the yeare of our Redemption 750. neere to *Xeres*, and by the Riuer *Bedalack*. This History may serue as an enstruction to Princes, that before they offer shame or outrage to any one; they would well aduise and consider with themselves, what may be the end of such bad attempts.

CHAP. XXX.

Of *Sargua*, who craftily deceiued *Stirades*, a most Noble young Gentleman, and put him cruelly to death.



Mong the Ladies that attended on Queené *Valasca*, there was one, named *Sargua*, endued with goodlie feature, both of face & body: but prouided of as bad a mind, maliciously enclined to all wickednes. She bethinking her selfe, how to be reuenged on a young *Bohemian* Knight, called *Stirades*, a very Noble Youth,

Rodericke sent his Cozin Don Ynigo with a power against the Moores.

A Battaille lasting eyght whole dayes together.

King Rodericke foyled and slaine.

Read *Aeneas Sylvius*, in his History of *Bohemia*, the 8. Chapter.

Muzza sent Count *Iulian* to King *Vlit* in *Arabia*, who commaunded assistance in the wronged Counts behalfe.

Count *Iulian* acquainted his Friends in *Spain* with his returne.

The supply sent to the Count by the *Arabes* of *Affrica*.

M m m that

that sharply pursued *Valasca* and all her traine, so that she had no greater an Enemy thē he : concluded to betray him, and in such manner as shall be declared. She calling some of the other Ladies to hir, caused them to binde her fast by the hands and feete, to the body of a Tree in a very thick Forrest : leauing a Huntsmans Horne by her, and a Bottle full of liquor, called *Medon*. Being thus fast bound, the rest of the warlike Ladyes, ambushed themselues in the Wood, somewhat out of the way, but not far from the place of her abiding.

Stirades vsed often to hunt in this Forrest, and comming thither this day, (as he did at other times) with his Men and Hounds, riding on in the wood; he espied the Lady fastned to the Tree. And being moued with compassion, stayed his Horse, demaunding, how, and for what cause she was thus brought thither? Whereunto *Sarquua* thus replied. It cannot be (good Gentleman) but you are very well acquainted with the disorders committed by *Valasca* in this Countrey, while shee attributeth the Kingdomes authority to her selfe. I (too much vnaduised) haue beene of her faction, and delighted (for a while) to follow her follies, wherein I failed (I confesse) and repenting at length so foule a transgression : I resolved to forsake so bad a Mistresse. Seeking to haue a companion in my flight and escape; I was betrayed, discovered, surprized, and brought hither, where the murderesse purposed to behold my punishment. But as she and her company were all about me, and had bound me in this manner as you see: they heard the opening of your Hounds, and neighing of your Horses, which made them take their flight, and leaue mee in the case you found me. Seeing then that Fortune hath conducted you to this place, and in such a needfull season for mee: I beseech ye (valiant Sir) euen by your true Noblenes, that you would be pleased to pittie a miserable Creature. Vnbind me (I intreat ye) and guid me some where else; if the guiltinesse of my sin be no hindrance, for obtaining such an especiall blessing from ye. Otherwise, draw forth your Sword, and pierce me there-with to the hart, rather then permit me to liue in this torment. For you

shall be no sooner departed hence; but all those cruell women will come again, and then they will fall vpon mee like so many Serpents, to teare my body, and make me liue in inmultiplicity of tormētts.

Stirades, being moued to pittie, partly by the Ladies teares, which flowed in some aboundance from her eyes, and partly by some sudden apprehension of her beauty: alighted from his Horse, cut the Cords which bound her to the tree, & comforting her with gentle language, desired to know, what might be the meaning of the Horne and Bottle? Where to (still weeping) she thus answered. Know Sir, that those murderers brought hither this Bottle, to lengthen out my life by the liquor therein, to the end that my torments might bee the greater. But blessed be God for our ariuall here in so happy an hour, to be my release, and the meanes of my drinking now in safty. This said, she set the Bottell to her mouth and dranke, and then deliuering it to *Stirades*, he dreading no danger, but to expresse his kindnesse & affection to the Lady, in regard he was thirstie also, drunke of the deceiuing drinke to any other then her selfe; for it was compounded of white Hony, according to a custome obserued among the *Bohemians*, healthful for women, but irkesome and offensiue to men. And indeed, *Sarquua* (being as arteficiall a Poysoner and Soceresse, as her Mistresse) had charmed the drinke with Hearbs & enchantments in such manner, that, by little and little, it tooke away all sense and vnderstanding from *Stirades*. Then the false woman seeing him nere to such condition as she sought to bring him in; tooke the horn, and said vnto him. This horne they intended to hang about my necke when I was dead, as a marke and ensigne to such as shold passe this way, that (in my life time) I had bin a Huntresse. But now, in meere despight of them, I will winde this Horne, to let them know, to their shame, that I am still liuing. So, winding the Horne, she blew a blast; that made all the wood to ring with the sound thereof. Instantlie rushed foorth *Valasca*, with a band of her Ladies all armed, who killing al that accompanied the deceiued Gentleman: seized on him, and binding him fast, led him along with them, till they came before

The treason plotted against young *Stirades*.

The deceitful speeches vsed by *Sarquua* to *Stirades*.

The wonderful trecherie in a woman.

Stirades tooke pittie on his subtile betrayer.

A deceitfull drink, healthful to women, but hurtful to men.

Valasca & her band of armed Ladies killed the followers of *Stirades*, and afterward tormented him vpon the wheele to death.

before the Castle of *Vissagrada*, where, in the sight of *Primislavus*, King of the *Bohemians*, and all the people that were on the *Walles*: they did put him to death by the torment of the *Whèele*, a death which the *Bohemians* did repute, to be the most infamous of all other. Such was the end, of the gentle, valiant, young and wealthy *Strades*; beguiled by the feigned teares and subtile persuasions, of cruell and disloyall *Weomen*.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of three Gentle-women, who became all amorous of a Gentleman at one instant, without any suite or motion made vnto them; And by what meanes it happened.



The City of *Vrbine*, is reputed to be one of the most ancient Citties in all *Italy*, as may be gathered by the Books of *Pliny*, and of *Cornelius Tacitus*. It is not now above sixscore yeares, since this Cittie was subdued by the Countes of *Ferrara*, and of those Countes descended one, named *Otho*, who made himselfe Duke of *Vrbine*, and who suffered himselfe to be so ouer-swayed by voluptuous pleasures: that both by power and violence, he abused, defloured, and violated, not onely many virgins, but likewise married wiues of very worthy houses, inferiour to none in the City or Dukedome of *Vrbine*, without any respect, eyther of consanguinitie, Nobilitie in blood, or age. In breesfe, his abuse was generall, and his owne will euerie where followed; being accompanied with another, as bad as himselfe, who was called the Pregnotary of *Carpa*. And therefore they were both slaine at one time, in a popular tumult, because their insolencies were insupportable. Also, their priuy members were put into their mouths, and their naked bodies laid in the open Market place: to serue as an example to all other, that afterward should abuse the honesty of *weomen*.

Vrbine a City of great antiquity.

An impudent and lasciuious Prince.

A iust and deserved punishment for such leud incontinency.

This wicked Father; had yet a good Son, that succeeded him, named *Guydo*, who feared God, was valiant and magnanimous, and was so fortunate in his marriage, that his wife descended of the house of the *Colomes*. And this Dutches (for her great vertues) was held to be the chiefest, both for good grace and modesty, that liued in those times. And therefore many Noble and worthy persons, as well Men as Women, had a desire to the house of this Duke of *Vrbine*, and to be of his Court. Among others, was the Lord *Gastar Paluoisine*, one of the most valiant Gentlemen in all *Lombardie*. *Casar Gonzagua*, *Robert de Barry*, *Frederick Fregosa*, who was Archbishop of *Salerne*. Count *Lodowicke*, who was Byshop of *Bayeux*. The Lord *Octavian*, who was Duke of *Gennes*. *Bernardo Bibierua*, who was Cardinall de *Saint Marie aux Portiques*. The *Magnifico*, who was Duke of *Nemours*; and Great Maister of *Frances*. *France Maria Rouero*, who was Prefect or Bayliffe of *Rome*, and many other, not forgetting *Pietro Bembo*, who was Secretarie to Pope *Leo*.

Guydo a good Prince, & the dignity of his Court in Noble attendants.

As for Ladies and Gentle-women, it shall be needlesse to name them: onelie I am to speake of three, who were then in his Court, and who became all amorous (at one time) of one Gentleman, without any suite or sollicitation made vnto them. By which discourse, wee may perceiue the great power of Loue, and learne, not to mock or scorne at such, as fall into the like accidents: because, that all Men and Women are subiect thereunto, at least, very few, that can tearm themselves to be free or exempted. Because I will hold the Reader no longer in suspence, we will proceede to the History.

Three Gentlewomen of the Court.

The Soueraigne power and prerogative of loue.

It happened on a day, that a faire and honest Gentlewoman, attending on the fore-said Dutchesse of *Vrbine*; reputed to be vertuous and well aduised (being of the house of the *Vlpades* of *Florence*, Gentlemen of great Antiquity) did vse amity towards a Gentleman of *Sienna*, attending also in the Duke of *Vrbines* Court. Day by day affection encreased, and the young Gentleman declared like correspondency; but the meanes wanted of sight, and conferring together. Because, as euerie one verie well knoweth, that the *Weomen* and *Maidens*

The *Vlpades* of *Florence*, a house of great antiquity.

Women and Maids of *Italy* kept in continual subiection.

of *Italie*, haue (from all times of Antiquitie) beene held in great subiection.

The Gentle-woman, incited by extremitie of passion; discovered her minde to another Woman, by whose meanes she hoped to finde some conuenient remedy. This other Gentlewoman, neither in Nobility, or in beauty, was any iot inferior to the first. Wherupon it happened, that she hearing the other speake so affectionately of the Gentleman, whom she had neuer seen, and knowing withall; that the Gentlewoman (reputed very discrete, and of good iudgement) did affect him in all extremitie: she began to imagine immediatly; that he was the very goodliest, wisest, most discrete, and absolute Gentleman, and best worthy to be beloved, before any other man in the World. And so, without hauing euer seene him likewise, she grew so strongly enamoured of him: that shee began (soone after) not for her friend; but for her selfe, to acquire and purchase his equall correspondency in loue to her. Which to do, it had beene no *Herculean* labour for her: because in very deed, she was more worthy to be sued vnto, then in her selfe to sue to any other.

But now we must lend attention to another matter, much more worthy of admiration. Within some short while after, it came to passe, that a Letter, (written by this latter Gentlewoman to her Louer) happened to the hands of a third very Noble and vertuous Ladie. Who being (as the most part of Women are) curious, and inquisitiue in the knowledge of secrets, especially of other Women: opened the Letter, and as she read it, she well perceiued; that it was written by one, who was ouer head and eares (as we vse to say) in extremitie of affection. For the words were set downe so graciously, and carryed such a sprightly heate in reading: that, first of all, they vrged her to compassionate the Gentle-woman, because she well knew, from whom the missiue came, and to whom it was directed. Next, they were of such force and efficacy, that laying them to her owne heart, and considering withall, what kind of man he must needes bee, that could induce this Gentle-woman to

to such feruent affection: presently likewise she grew amouros of him, and the power of the Letter was as preuailling with her, euen as if it had bin sent from her selfe to the Gentleman. And, as many times it comes to passe, that poison prepared in meat for some great Lord, killeth the first that tasteth of it: so fared it with this poore Lady, who being ouer greedy, swallowed downe the amouros venome, which was prepared for another body.

What should I neede to write any more? The effect sufficiently declared it selfe. And it often falleth out, that many Ladies and Gentle-women (beside these of whom wee speake) partly to worke despight to others, and partlie to do as others do: they labour with all paine and industry, to preuent or forestall one another in their loues, sporting with their owne affections, as children doe with Cherries; til they fall into the like opinion conceiued by these Gentle-women, each of them prouing the Spurre, to the others amouros incitation.

Valentinus Barruchius, a Spaniard writeth; that a Dutchesse of *Sauoy*, became extreame-ly amouros of a Spanish Knight, of the Family of the *Mendozaes*; albeit shee had neuer seene him. But only heard a Sister of the said *Mendoza* (named *Isabella*) say, that in going to *Rome* on Pilgrimage for deuotion, she met the said Dutchesse (beeing an English-woman by Nation) on the way, taking the ayre for her recreation, by the River of *Pau*, and seeing her, saide aloud. *O would it pleased GOD, that this Princesse and my Brother were married together: one might then safely say, they were the most excellent couple (for beauty and perfection) that all Europe afforded.* Vpon these very words, the Dutchesse grew so exceedingly passionate in loue, to the Knight whom she had neuer seene: that shee feigned a sicknesse, euen to the death, making a vow, whereby she promised, that if she escaped, she would goe on foote to *Saint James de Compostella* in *Spaine*, onelie to winne occasion and meanes, whereby to see her beloved *Mendoza*, and so shee did. But this hypocrisie and counterfeit deuotion, had almost valued her life and honor; yea, and *Mendozaes* also. Neuerthelesse,

The diuers & sundry effects of Loue.

Loue is iustly tearmed to be a blind guide.

Ouer-much curiosity and enquiry, doth great harme oitentimes.

The wonderfull power & efficacy of a Letter.

An apt similitude or comparison.

The Dutchesse of *Sauoy* became amouros of *Don Mendoza*, a Spaniard, hauing neuer seene him.

Loue can enforce a feigned Religion, and vowes.

thelesse, God preserved them both in the greatest danger, and suffered them to be married together, some few years after. But because the History is written at large in so many Languages; I forbear any further relation thereof.

To conclude, it appeareth by these, and many other Histories, that among all the most grievous passions, which ordinarily doe besiege the mindes of Men and Women; Loue hath almost daily held the chiefest place. For, after he hath once fastned hold vpon some generous Subiect, he pursueth the Nature of the corrupting humor, as in such as haue a Feauer: which taketh his originall at the hart, and then walketh (incurably) through all the sensible partes of a mans body. Whereof our fore cited Histories, do make ample prooffe, being no lesse admirable, then true and certaine.

Loue is the chiefest of all other passions

CHAP. XXXII.

That the change of Habits and Apparrell, taken by one people from another; hath oftentimes proued a certaine signe, of being foyled, rauaged, or mollened by that Nation, whom they affected to imitate in their Garments.



He Lord de la Nouë, allegeth in his learned discourses, many signes or shewes, when any Estate tendeth to his owne ruine: drawne both from naturall things in Diuinitie, and sententious sayings, of auncient prophane Authors. Neuerthelesse, he hath forgotten one thing, to wit; change or alteration of our wearing Garments: which hath beene heedefully obserued, not onely in our daies, but likewise in all former antiquity. For, when a people tooke a fantasticke pleasure, to attire and cloath themselves, after the fashions of some strange Nation: it fell out very often, that they were mollened, warred vpon, yea, and subiected by the Nation, whom they apishlie imitated

Monfieur de la Nouë, in his French discourses.

Prognosticke euent by wearing of other country garments.

in their idle fashions of Habits. We will beginne then with such matters, as haue beene knowne to happen in our times.

The greater part of the *Grecians*, which dwelled in Citties, and followed the Warres, about the yeare 420. before they were made Slaues vnto the *Turkes*, they cloathed and apparrelled themselves after the Turkish manner: And that which is more, they that were were wont to weare long beards; which well became them, and gaue them faire Ornaments; they would shaue them cleane away, except the long Mustachioes onely, and practise how else to follow them in all their actions. As was too well noted in them of *Chalcondilla*, who likewise (very soone after) fell into their seruile subiection.

Grecians that imitated the Turkes in their fantasticke Garments.

The *Portugalles*, a little before they lost their King, named *Don Sebastian*, who was slaine in *Affrica*, in a battaile giuen against the King of *Fez*: attired themselves after the *Castillian* manner, and all the Noblest persons and Courtiers, practised nothing more then to speake *Castillian*; forsaking their owne natural language, which is the most orate and eloquent tongue, that euer was spoken in all the *Spaines*. It came to passe, that the saide King *Sebastian*, hauing left no Successour behinde him in *Portugall*: King *Phillip* of *Castille*, King of all the other Realmes of the *Spaines*, found himselfe to be the neereft in succession, and made himselfe King, partly by right; and partly by terrour, as beeing a most potent Monarcke. And the *Portugalles* obeyed him, and (euen to this day) are vnder his commaund: notwithstanding, the deadlie hatred borne them by the *Portugals*, for foure hundred years hitherto, or thereabout; albeit, that the Kingdome of *Portugall* was Feudatorie to the King of *Castile*.

The Portugals clothed themselves like to Castilians.

The * *Liouians*, a Northerne people. inhabiting not farre off from *Russia* (ouer whom the Brothers, called *Porte-glaiues*, other-wise reamed *Knights Teutones* commaunded) some yeares before they were subiected by the Duke of *Moscovia*; those *Knights* went in Habite verie like to the *Moscovites*, greatly following them in their manners, and barbarous behaviour

* A people in a part of *Sarmatia*, very far North, beyond *Lithuania*. *Knights Teutones*, or *Alle-migne Knights*

of life. For they became Deceiuers, Exaeters; Drunkards, went cloathed in long Gownes, making reuerence after the order of our Cowledreligious Monkes, as the *Moscouites* vse to doe, in bowing or ducking their heades forward. Also, when they drinke and Baechanallize, they say, they doe it like the *Moscouites*. In breefe, it was such an ill presage for them, that within a small while afterward (which was in the year 1502.) they were ouercome in warre by the cruell *Moscouite*, and the said Knights, hauing lost such a goodly estate; were all flaine, or kept as Captiues.

The *Gaules* (saith *Iulius Caesar*) when they were deuided among themselues; some wore Garments after the *Romaine* fashion; others, like the *Allemaignes*, and left the vse of their owne short habites, and long close Breeches: which prooued an indiction, that the *Gaules* were soone after reduced into a Province, & made subiect to the *Romains*. Then, re-conquered againe afterward (two hundred yeares, or there-about) from the *Romaines*, by the *Franconians*, a people of *Germany*.

The *Iewes*, thirty yeares before that their Countrey was whollie ruined, and they made Slaues to the *Romaines*, vnder the Emperours, *Titus* and *Vespasian*: imposed no other Names on their Children, but such as were *Romaine*, neither would they weare any Garments, but after the *Romaine* guise. Their Armes for Warre, and Souldiours Cassockes, were (in all respectes) like vnto theirs; yea, they stroue to imitate their fashions and actions very intirely: whereby they fell afterward into large expence of blood, euen throughout their whole Dominions, and neuer since could regaine their libertie.

What may we prognosticate, by the vnhappy humours of our *French-men*, and which haue kept them company for these last forty yeares? Some going in habite like to *Spaniards*; Others after the manner of *Reistres*; And others like *Suitzers*. For well neere all our Courtiers, since the year 1557. as also the Youthes in Citties, Noble-men, and Souldiours for the Warres, must haue their Hats and habits for the body,

meerely Spanish; Their Cloakes and Hose, like the *Reistres*, and their Haire also; Saddles for Horses, Boots, Spurs, and Armes, all made Rutter-fashion. Hath not this beene a presage, of plots, practises, and intelligences, betweene *Spaniards* and seditious *Frenchmen*, contriued against the Kingdome of *France*? Haue they not made vse of the best places in *Brittaine*, *Champaigne*, *Piccardie*, with *Amiens*, *Dorlan*, *Calays*, and other? They tearmed *Paris* their good Cittie; there they had Garrison of *Hispaniolized French*; there they made commotion of the Estates, beside many other mollestations, which they brought to the Kingdome. The chiefest French of their faction, went all in Spanish Garments, to testifie the good affection which they bare to that Nation. And the fashions of Cloaks, Doublets, hose, and other garnishments, worne by the *Suitzers*, *Reistres*, *Lansquenets*, and other *Allemaignes*, fell out to be apparant predictions, that the Kingdome should be pilled, pouled, and rauaged by them. Hath not all the Money in the Realmes Coffers been exhausted, to pay for this fond pride? I appeale to both sides, during the deuision. Nay, is it not so daily seene? I am sure it was so, within these three daies.

Count *Baltazar* held opinion, that the first fashion of Garments vsed by the *Italians*, was a signe of libertie and freedome, as the nouell habites were a presage of seruitude, which we haue beheld to fall out verie truelie. And as one writeth, that *Darius* King of all the East, hauing the yeare before hee fought against *Alexander*, caused the Sword that he wore by his owne side, (which was a *Persian* blade) to be made after the manner of those of *Macedon*: It was interpreted by his Diuiners or Soothsayers, to signifie, that they (according to whose fashion, *Darius* had altered the forme of his *Persian* Sword) should come to Domineere, and be Superiours, or Lordes of *Persia*. Euen so (saith he) in hauing changed our *Italian* Habits, into those of Strangers; it seemeth to me, that it should signifie, that they into whose habilliments wee haue altered ours, should come to ouer-awe vs. Which was found to be most true, for

The fantastick behaviour of the *Gaules* in their apparrell.

The *Iewes* changing their names & garments.

French men apparrelled like *Spaniards*, *Rutters*, and *Suitzers*.

Affection which *France* very dearely paid for.

Strange disguises worne among the *Italians*.

King *Darius* his alteration of his Sword.

to this day, there is scantly any Nation in the world, to whom *Italie* hath not been a prey.

It was no matter of meruall, if *Vegetius* cried out against the Souldiers of his time, who had leste the waighty, yet actiue Armor of the ancient Romains, and went naked (as it were) to warre, which was the verie cause, that ledde them the way vnto the losse of many foughten battailes. For, those Soldiers came at length to weare, a verie barbarous and Gothish kinde of furniture, far differing from the Legionaries order, that flourished vnder the good Emperors, such as were *Traian*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, & *Marcus Aurelius*, vnder whom, the men of warre, as well for foote as horse, were in their strength and vigour, and Armes, and Military Discipline, in most high reputation. For, in stead of Corlets and Cuirasses of Iron or Steel, our nouelists would weare Coats of Wool, and counter-pointed cottons, imposing an vnvsual name on this Armor, as *Thorocomachs* or *Iackes*; and euen to this day, those habits doe retaine that name, which signifieth nothing else, but a *Thorax* or Cuirasse for warre, vsed in stead of the Militarie Corlet, which our Elders most esteemed.

Those chaunges of Warlicke habiliments, which the latter *Romaine* Soldiers made, besides the losses which they had brought with them, signified also the perdition of the Easterne Empire, which the *Gothes* inuaded; for they made themselves Lords of *Italy*, *Spaine*, and of other great Prouinces. Wherefore, I conclude (because that which hath been noted by experience, standeth in no neede of any other demonstration) that the often chaunges and habits of a Nation, can declare nothing else, but some future domination, or ruine to be receyued from those people, of whom they borrow the fashion of Garments, as hath beene proued in this chapter, by sundry examples.

Vegetius complaint on Roman Soldiers for leauing their ancient Armour.

Newe names imposed on new martiall Garments.

The reason of loosing the Eastern Empire.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Discourse on the vocation and life of S. Luke, Physitian, Euangelist, & Scholler of the Apostles, which may serue as an Apo'logie for Physitions, falsely calumniated.



THE reason that moued me to write a Discourse on the life of Saint *Luke*, Physitian, Euangelist, and Scholler to the Apostles: was, in regard that a great number of people, (yea, and some of the Learned sort, reputed of the best aduised) haue beleueed and affirmed, by a certaine kinde of brute, receyued of long time from Father to the son, that Physitions giue no credit vnto God, but to Nature only. Or else, if they doo beleuee in him, then they think ill on the Catholick faith. I haue been many times very much amazed, from whence this so strange an opinion should arise, considering, that I haue frequented diuers Philosophers and Physitians, & could neuer tast in them any of those erroneious imaginations.

I thinke that this may seem to receiue Originall from *Aristotle*, by some that did not well vnderstand his writing: and therefore haue not spared to publish, that he did not acknowledge any god, neither any prouidence of his, but that all things went by a naturall brandling, and the world to be either without beginning or ending. Hence is conceiued, that Physitions, as taking the beginning of their Art from his Bookes: do in these things wholly follow his opinions. I say that it may well bee, that in some places of his workes, such things do seem to be spoken by him: but let vs see the Catastrophe of his intention. Marke what he saith in his Booke of the world *God is the engenderer and the conseruer of all that is in this world, in what fashion soeuer it bee.* And in his *Metaphisicks* also, after he hath reiected the opinion of diuers, concerning the principles. *That man (saith hee) who hath saide, that God, or the Vnderstanding, is cause and Author, not only of the creatures,*

The Authors reason for writing this Chapter.

Aristotle presupposed to be the Originall of this error.

Arist. in lib. de Mund. *Aristotle* defended fr: 6 slander & calumny.

Arist. in *Metaph.*

but of Nature it selfe, and of the world, & of all the order therein contained: seemeth to speake aduisedly, and as well awaked; but all other, rashly, and inconsiderately. And they which do thinke so, haue very wel placed that cause, to bee the beginning of all whatsoeuer: euen such a beginning or principle, as gaue motion to all things. And in his Booke of meruailous things, he speaketh more clearly. That Naturally the Sea would couer the earth, as beeing more high then it: but God hath kept it backe, to the end, that the earth might bee discovered, both for the vse of man, and all the Creatures.

Aris. in Lib. de Reb. Mirac.

Thus we see plainly, that *Aristotle* beleued there was a God aboue Nature. And that the worlde had beene created, and was not eternall; and that there was a Paradise. In his Booke also of Heauen and in the ninth Chapter, he saith. *Above the Heauens, there is neither euacuation, or time; That which abideth or dwelleth there, is subiect neither to place, to motion, to mutation, nor yet to any effecti- on: but that there is in this vniuersall eternity, a most happy and contented life.* In like manner, *Aristotle* had beene Scholler to *Plato*, who had taught and instructed him in these things.

Aris. in lib. de Coel. cap. 9.

To alledge, that *Hippocrates* might be the cause of this conceite, there doth not appeare any likely reason: because al that he re-commendeth to his Disciples, is to call vpon God, and to exercise Charitie towards the sicke. As may be seene in his Booke, *Of Conuenable, decent, and honest comportement in a Physition.* And in the protestation and Oath which he maketh that day, when hee goeth to exercise his Art, which was performed before an infinite number of men, within the temple of *Apollo*, and in a solemn Sacrifice. This he caused his Schollers to do, so long as he liued: which I am the more willing to set downe, word by word, according as it is set downe by himselfe, at the beginning of his Workes, in this manner:

Hippocrates beleued that there was a God.

The Protestation and oath made by *Hippocrates* & his Schollers.

I sweare by Apollo, Physition, Æsculapius, Hygea, Panacea, and by al the other Goddesses: and I cal all the Goddesses to witnessse, that with al my power, and so long as I shal liue, I wil keepe this protestation and Oath which I make, deliuering it in writing presently, sincerely, and as becommeth an honest man, so wit: that he who hath taught me the Art of Physicke, I wil respect & ho-

nor him as my Father; and that I will lay downe my life for him, and assist him with al my meanes in his necessities. I wil keep and regard his Children as mine owne: and if they bee willing to bee instructed in this Art, I wil do it in meere gratuity. In like manner, I wil not hide any iot of all that I know, from such Schollers as I shal stand obliged to teach. Ouer and aboue what hath beene saide, I make thereto this Addition more.

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Concerning due respect, of gouerning & healing the diseased by diet or otherwise, I will appoint such vnto them, as I shal deeme necessarie for their health, hindering by all my vtmost, that they shal not fall into inconuenience by them. I wil neuer suffer my self to be perswaded, by the procurement of who-soeuer, to impoyson any one by anie meanes, much lesse, giue any aduise whereby it may be done. Likewise, I will neuer giue any Pessary, Suppositorie, or other medicament, to cause abortiueneesse in any woman: but wil liue heerin holily, and exercising my Art vertuously. I wil neuer make any essay, to fetch stones out of the bladder: but leaue that worke to be done, by such as are experienced in that Arte. Al houses that I shal enter into, or be called for my helpe, I will

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not go, except it may be for their profit, keeping alwayes my will and body chaste, vsing secrecie and silence in al things that are not honest, or fit to be vttered. Graunt then O you Goddesses, that so long as I shal keep this Oath and Protestation, I may happily (and with your blessing) prosper in mine Art towards all men. And doing the contrary, that I may be iustlie punnished. This was the manner of his protestation: Nay, he did very well beside; for, in the first Booke of his Prognostickes, he giueth especiall aduertisement to a Physition, to bee verie carefull, that the sicknesse do not fauor of any Diuine cause: that is to say, some extraordinary matter sent from God, to punish men for their sinnes; or whether it followeth the common course of Nature. I am of the mind, that who-soeuer readeth these thinges, will neuer tearme *Hippocrates* to be an Atheist, much lesse, a wicked man. And therefore, such men as shall read his Books, can learn nothing in them, but how to liue as becommeth good people, and faithfully to exercise the Art of Physicke.

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That they should learne Atheisme of *Galen*, is altogether false: for he beleued

in

A further addition to the Oath & Protestation.

The Prayer or imprecation vnto the Goddesses.

Hip. in lib. 1. de Prog. Cap. 5.

Gal. in lib. 3. de usu part. Hom.

Galen Sung a Song to the glory and honor of God.

Gal. in lib. supra diff. Cap. 17.

An excellent and woorthy resolution in Galen.

What nature is.

Obiection.

in one God, and rendereth thanks vnto him for his admirable works, in the third Booke of the vse of the partes of our human bodies; & these are his very words. *Heere will I compose a true Song, in the honor of our Creator: for, I doe perswade my selfe, that it is truly such seruice as he requi- reth. Not that I should Sacrifice Bulls vnto him by hundreds, or burne Incense on heaps before him: but that I should knowe, and make knowne to others; what, and howe great is his wisdom, power, and goodnesse. I hold, that this is a demonstration of a perfect goodnesse; & therefore ought his goodnesse to bee celebrated for euer, for hauing found the manner how things became so richly embellished. This sheweth a soueraign wisdom, in accomplishing and perfecting all things, which he had formerly destined & ordained. And a might and power that cannot any way be surmounted.*

In the seuenteenth chapter of the said Booke. *Whosoeuer (saith he) shal consider, the structure and composition of euery creature, will finde, that therein is contained a prooffe of the Creators wisdom: Seeing then, that in the midst of this receptacle of humours, a soule dwelleth in euery one, which hath so many vertues: by much greater reason, let him admire the woorth and excellency of that vnderstanding which abideth in Heauen. In the fifteenth Chapter also. I confesse (saith he) that I do not know what the Soule is, although I haue searched very diligently for it. Neither know I which way to yeelde a reason how an Infant is formed. But I verie well perceiue, that in this verie cause, there is great Art, and wonderful wisdom. And therefore, I am of the minde, that no man should meddle in the search thereof; but let it suffice vs, that our Creator pleased, things should bee in that manner. For in such cases, which (but by Anatomie) wee neuer knew to be made, shal we dare to contest, and seek by what reason they haue become made? That is, as if hee would haue saide, Nature whom we doe admire so much, is nothing els, but what it hath pleased God to command. These words also, do not relish of an Atheist; but of him that beleued in one onelie God, and honoured and admired him in his workes.*

I make no doubt, of any Obiection to be made, in reproouing *Moyse* and the Christians, in saying; that God is omnipotent or Almighty: and that if he plea-

fed, he could suddenly of a stone, make a man, or of ashes, a horse. Himselfe answereth: *Nature is not wont to make anie such things; and God maketh nothing, but by the common order of Nature which hee hath instituted.* And such was the opinion of *Plato*, concurring with his. This ought to bee taken, as coming from a Phylo- sopher that beleued in God: Neuerthe- lesse, not as yet instructed in the Law, as well of the Olde as New Testaments. And it is not to be doubted, but that all the Grecian Physitions (before and after *Hippocrates* and *Galen*) did scarcely know, reuerence, and worship God according as he is described in the holy Scriptures. Notwithstanding, since *Galen*, who liued in the yeare of Iesus Christ, one hundred thirtie eight: all the Grecian Physitions haue beene Christians: as *Paulus Egin- tus*, *Alexander*, *Trallianus*, *Actuarius*, *Nicholans Myrepsicus*, and others. Now because there were two Sectes of princi- pall Physitions, to wit; *Greeks* & *Arabes*, we hauing already proued the *Grecians* to be men of honesty, and to haue in them both the knowledge and feare of GOD. Let vs now see, if the *Arabes* (all saide to be of the *Sarazin* and *Mahomet* Religion) did not beleue in God. And we will be- gin with *Mesius*, who liued about the yeare, 1045: a such time as *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, was King of *Ierusalem*. He com- posed three Bookes of Physicke; and in his Preface before them, hee beginneth thus, in these verie words.

In the name of the mercifull God. (by the grace of whom, these Words & writings receiue Grace, and their Doctrine perfecti- on) these workes and writings are begunne by Iohn, the Sonne of Mesius, the Sonne of Hamech, the Sonne of Hely, the Sonne of Abdela, King of Damas. And Auicenne, who liued in the time of Almerick, Brother to Baldwine King of Ierusalem, & of Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor in the West; and of Emanuell Empror in the East, in the yeare, 1165. Before all things (saith he) I would render praise and thanks to God, according as the Greatness of his Maieſtie, and the merit of his benefits requireth: the mercie of whome, exceedeth that of all the Prophets. Then in the end of the chapter, he further saith: May it please God, to grant mee life and time, for the finishing of this Booke, I wil take paines to compose others. The like hath been done by diuers other

Phyſi

Galen in lib. 11 de usu part.

All did not know God a right.

Physitions among the Grecians that wer Christians.

Mesius in Pte.

Physitions among the Arabians that beleued in God.

Mesius in Pte.

*Auerroes in lib.
3. de Anim.*

Physitions; as *Hamech, Novus, Alman-
for, Zachary, Rasis*, and others. I am sure
they will not obiect *Auerroes* vnto mee,
who approued not the *Mahumetists* Law
(as being full of grossenesse and vices, viz:
Whoredomes, Theftes, and such like)
neither that of the Christians: but was al-
together *Aristotelian*, as may be noted in
his third Booke of the soule, which hee
wrote vppon *Aristotle*. And thereby
may be gathered, that he knew one God,
and him to be the Creator of all things.

That Physiti-
ons are not
found in faith

Well then, concerning the other de-
tection, that if they are not Atheists; yet
they are not found in faith, which should
seeme to ensue: because they are not su-
perstitious, neither do giue credite to so
many foolish superstitions, wherein the
people repose too much beleefe. As for
example; to guesse how great the sole of
the left foot is, of him that hath the oppi-
lation of the Spleen, or the Feauer Quar-
taine; the rinde of a Walnut gathered
before day, will help him. Also, to write
the word *Ioannes* vpon a Bay-leaf, and
then lay it vpon the fore-head of him or
her whofoeuer, that hath the Head-ache,
and it is a present helpe.

Superstitious
belief in some
people.

*Plin. in lib. 22.
cap. 14.*

The ancient Græcians, instead of *Io-
annes*, vsed to write *Atenea*, so saith *Pli-
ny*. Antiquitie also beleeued, that a man
(offended with the palsy) holding a green
Frogge in his healthfull hand, and speak-
ing the word *Apollo* three seuerall times,
it would restore him. Some haue written
that by writing in a little Paper, these two
barbarous words, *Abra, Cadabra*, and to
speake them backward, beginning with
the latter Letters, and so going on, it is an
infallible helpe for the Quartaine Ague.
Physitions, because they would not cre-
dit such fables, were reputed but badlie
addicted to the faith of those times. And
some Physitions, not to incurre so vile
reputation, either of the times passed be-
fore, or present: haue beene constrained
to auouch such superstitions, as *Alexan-
der Trallianus*, who writeth; that if a man
did beare about him this verse of *Homer*,
Orbis terreque tremor, it would cure him
of all Gouts.

Idle and vain
opinions, for
curing some
diseases.

Cardanus, a
most learned
Physition.

Cardanus, a great Phylosopher and
Physition, recounteth things much more
absurd, only because hee would not bee
thought incredulous. All these thinges,
and others of like Nature, haue not only
bin reprobued by learned Physitions; but

likewise by catholick Diuines, euer since
the Primitiue Church.

Now, for as much as Religion is one
of the cheefest Vertues, which consisteth
in the midst of two extreame vices, to
wit; Atheisme and Superstition; and in
regard that Physitions are neither Athei-
stes, nor superstitious, as euery one well
knoweth, and as I haue already proued:
it followeth then, that they are Religi-
ous, and full of piety.

There was somtime a Physition (whose
name I could not easily attain vnto) that
builded a goodly Temple, in honour of
the Virgin *Mary*, in the same place wher
Babylon stood in Egypt; and not farre off
from where the Graund *Caire* standeth
at this present, there being now but a ve-
rie small Village. Vnder this Temple,
there is a Vault, wherein (as some haue
thought) shee hid her Sonne *Iesus*, when
he was sought for by *Herod* to be murde-
red.

Eusebius, in his Ecclesiasticall Histo-
rie, writeth; that a Physition, named *A-
lexander*, a Natiue in *Frisia*, highly belo-
ued and esteemed of euerie one, for bee-
ing Religious, prudent, vertuous, and in-
riched with all good manners, in the per-
secution vnder the Emperour *Seuerus*, as
they were leading Christian prisoners be-
fore the Iudges Tribunall at *Lyons*, to
vnderstand whether they would persist,
or denie their Christianity; hee made a
signe to them with his head secretly (in
the best maner he could deuise) that they
should continue constant in their Faith.
The Guards and people standing by, ha-
uing perceiued it, accused him immedi-
ately; whereupon, he was martyred, and
indured the torments long and constant-
ly, euen to his latest gaspe of life. If I
would, I could alledge many others: but
I am forced to leaue them, for feare of
being too prolix. Yet let me remember
Porphyrius, who liued in the yeare, 224.
a cruell enemy vnto the Christians (yet
esteemed the most Learned Phylosopher
of those times. Hee scorned and mocked
many Physitions then with him, because
they had left Paganisme, and embraced
Christianity: but *Origen* answered him
so well, that he stopt his mouth from fur-
ther deprauing.

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Messire Angelo Cattho, who was first
in seruice with *Charls* Duke of *Bourgognz*,
and after that, entertained by *Lewes*, ele-
uenth

The Authors
argument,
which he alo-
weth for good

Bel. in l. 2. ca. 38

*Euseb. in Eccles.
Hist. lib. 5. ca. 3.*

*Alexander, a
worthy Physi-
on & Martyr.*

Porphyrius the
Apostata.

*M. Angelo Cat-
tho, a Prophe-
tical Physition*

uenth of that Name, King of *France*, being a Physition well learned in the Mathematickes, becam afterward (in regard of his good life & great deuotion) Arch-Bishop of *Vienna Gauloise*.ouer and beside his deepe knowledge, hee hadde the guift of Prophesie: for hee foretolde the saide Duke, of the battailes which he lost against the *Suisses*, and in the end, the manner of his death, according as it happened afterward; which was the cause that he left the saide Dukes Court. For on a day, as Masse was celebrating before K. *Lewes*, in the Church of Saint *Martin* at *Tours* (distant from the Towne of *Nancy* ten good dayes iourney at the west, which Towne the Duke had then besieged) hee offering the King the *Pax* to kisse, because he serued that day as *Almoner*, hee vttered these wordes: *The Lord God hath giuen you peace and repose, & you may haue it if you will. For, your enemy the Duke of Bourgogne, is a dead man: hee commeth to be slaine, and his Army discomfited.* The day and instant was iustly obserued, the King sent, and it was found to bee verie true.

He foretold likewise many other things to diuers great and honourable personages, which accordingly came to passe. And ordinarily, Physitions do gather by obseruation, some presaging of the day and houre, of the health or death of the sicke patient; which ensueth not so much by their Art, as the speciall grace of God giuen them, in regard of their pietie and firm faith in him, hauing continually the admirable prouidence of GOD before their eyes, being mainly thereto incited by their Art.

Marcilius Phicinus the *Florentine*; a Phylosopher, and reputed to bee one of the most learned men, that liued after *Aristotle* and *Galen*. He was a Priest full of sanctity, and published manie Bookes, which serue for the benefite of health. Also, he Commented vpon *Plato*, whom he made to speake Christianly: he liued in the yeare, 1475. *Petrus Belonius*, a Frenchman, and Physition in the Cittie of *Mans*, in meere deuotion made a voyage to *Ierusalem*, which was troublefom, long, and full of many difficulties. But it may be obiected to me, that many Physitions of our time, haue withdrawn themselves from the Catholicke Romaine Church.

I answer, some haue done, but very few: and a great part of people, of *Germany*, *Flanders*, *England*, *France*, of the *Suisses*, & diuers Prelates also, yea, Kings, Queenes, and Princeesses; haue done as much, as seeking for their soules saluation; and perswading themselves to doo well therein; in which case, we must referre them to God, the onely searcher of the heart and Reines, and that disposeth of all things, as seemeth best to his diuine wisdom. But that this hath bene per-ticuler to Physitions, more then to anie other, I flatly deny.

Some will alledge *Rabelais* vnto mee, an excellent Physition; who is thought one while to speake like an Atheist; another while like a Luthierian. I answer, that it is a difficult matter to iudge in such cases, and to comprehend a mans intention: especially, in such people as haue no knowledge, neither any solide iudgement. But they that looke vpon him a little neerer, shall find, that he is a *Democritus*, laughing at all our humane actions. Or a *Lucian*, who maketh a mockery of such abuses, as daily are committed among men: but he medleth not with anything, which toucheth the Apostolical Church. Neuerthelesse, I am of opinion; that, for the better orders sake; and in regarde of such obscuritie in conceiuing his intention, that he should bee neither read, nor receiued; for so he was censured by the Counsell of Trent. But as for the last Booke that is added among his woorkes, which is entituled *L'Isle Sonnante*; and seemeth (indeede) to blame and mocke at men, bearing office in the Church: I protest, that he neuer composed it, for it was made a long while after his death. I my selfe was at *Paris* when it was done, and I knew very well the Author thereof, who neuer was any Physition.

Let vs nowe come to Saint *Luke*, the Physition and Euangelist: God pleased to make vse of his seruice, in writing the life and actions of our Lord Iesus Christ, according as he heard them declared by the Apostles & Disciples, who had seene him and them; as also the things hapning after his resurrection, by hauing seene them, which none of the other Euangelists had done. For, but by him, the Ascension had bene vnknowne to vs; the descent of the Holy Ghost, vpon the Apostles

A prediction concerning the death of the Duke of Bourgogne.

Physitions skill in life or death of their Patients.

Marcilius Phicinus, a learned Florentine.

Petrus Bellonius a deuoute Physition.

Of leaving the Romaine Church.

Diuers opinions, concerning the book of *Rabelais*.

The Book of the founding Island.

Concerning *S. Luke*, Physition, & Euangelist.

S. Luke wrote more then all the other E-uangelists.

S. Luke elected to bee the Secretarie of the New-Testament.

The great modestie in S. Luke.

Acts 17, 34.

Colof. 4, 14. 2 Tim. 4, 11.

The Authors aduise in conclusion.

postles and Disciples; the variety of tongues which they spake; their eloquence and great knowledge. The testimonie of the Resurrection and Ascension of Iesus which they preached before euerie one, without any feare. Their imprisonments, their myraculous deliuerances. The conuersion of S. Paule, his actions, his myracles, and of some other of the Apostles. His Voyages and sufferinges, euen vntill he was brought to Rome, there to bee put to death, which he neuer gainfayed. Some do hold that Luke was conuerted by him, hauing conferred with him; and hauing obserued in his myracles, the great Vertue of God. And it seemeth, that he was the rather made choise of, to be Notarie and Secretary of the New-Testament, as being more apt to that vocation, then any other, to the end, that his writings might be the better receyued and credited.

There is great modesty acknowledged in him, because (doubtlesse) he did performe some miracles, as well as the other; and yet he neuer speaketh of them. He disputed at Athens against the Philosophers, with S. Paul, where many were conuerted; and among other, S. Dionysius Areopagita, &c. He wrote in the Greek tongue, which he seemed rather to haue by the giuft of the blessed Spirit, then by his studies: for his mother tongue was in Syraque, as being borne and brought vp in Antioche. He was brieft, but very intelligible in his writings. In summe, the whole Church oweth him much obligation, in regard of his woorkes: for, they haue serued, and shall do, to confirm many in the Christian faith. S. Hierom ranketh him in number of Virgins; and that he liued fourescore and foure yeares, dying in Bythina, Titus being Emperour. I wold gladly giue aduise by this discourse, that heereafter none should exprobrate against the Physitions, that either they are Religion lesse, or conceite ill of our faith, which we haue approued to be false by our former relation.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of the great Prouince of Moscouia. As also the Manners, Religion, and power of the Prince, ruling ouer that people.



Was the more willingly induced, to make a perticuler Chapter, for description of the country of Moscouia, the peoples Manners, Religion, and power of their Prince: because very manie, inhabiting in our neerer regions, are ignoraunt thereof, the men of those parts hauing so small frequentation with vs. Neuerthelesse, it is the terror of Poland, yea, to all Germany, as much or rather more, then the Turke; as Laurentius Surius the Germaine giueth assurance: for within few yeares, they haue Conquered all Lithuania, and other great Prouinces.

Moscouia, is a verie large Northerlie Region; containing very neere fiae hundred leagues in length. The principall Cittie therof being called Mosca, or Moscouua, greater then the Cittie Paris in France, and seated on the Riuer of Mosqua. There was wont to be a large squared stone, in the middest of the Market place belonging to the Cittie; whereon whosoeuer could first mount himselfe (in vacancie of the Crowne) without beating down, he was held as Prince of the countrey, and obtained the principality. The Inhabitants haue had great fightes and combates, each against other, about the prioritie of mounting on that stone. He that comes to be Prince of the countrey, cannot call himselfe King, but Duke; being contented with that popular Name, and differeth not in his Garmentes from other Noblemen of the Land; saue onlie that he weareth a higher Bonnet on his head.

It is a Countrey rich in Siluer, and so strongly guarded thoroughout, that not onely their owne people, but stranngers likewise, can passe away without the Princes Letters. The Countrey is flat and

The Moscouits are a dreadful Nation.

The greatest of Moscouia.

A strange election of the D. of Moscouia

Concerning the Country, flat, Plainy, & not mountainic.

Store of beastes skinned.	<p>and plaine, without any Mountaines: therefore, that which is faide of the <i>Ryphæan</i> Mountaines, and that they are in this Countrey, are meereley fabulouſ; for there is no ſuch Hill at all. There are great ſtore of Forreſts, abounding with wilde Beaſts, which are daily chaſed: and great profit is made (by Traffick) for the ſkinnes of thoſe Beaſtes; as of Hartes, Wolues, Ermines, Martines, <i>Zubelines</i>, <i>Fouoynes</i>, and diuers other of great value and worth.</p>	<p>in the fore-named Citie, as alſo in diuers other places; men verie learned and wiſe, whoſe retirement is where the Schooles are kept.</p>	The Moscouite tributary to the Tartar
The countries confines	<p>This Prouince, confineth <i>Liunia</i> on the one ſide, <i>Tartaria</i> on the other; and on the thirde quarter it hath the <i>Euxine</i> Sea. It containeth many Prouinces in it, ſo that the Prince can (in very fewe dayes) leaue four hundred thouſand men on foote, to beginne warre withall. They drinke nothing but a kinde of Beere; and yet none but the rich may drinke thereof: for they haue no Wine, but what is brought from other Countreyes: They be ſubiect vnto drunkenneſſe, as al Northerly people are: and Winter is there ſo ſharpe, long, and extreame, that if water be but ſprinkled or caſt vpe into the Ayre, it freezeth before it can fall to the earth.</p>	<p>The <i>Moscouite</i> is Tributarie vnto the King of <i>Tartaria</i>, who ouercame them in the yeare of the world, 6745. according as their Annals doe teſtific. For, their Chronicles are not after our obſeruati- on, in accounting by the yeares of Ieſus Chriſt. When the <i>Tartarian</i> Ambaſſadors are ſent to the <i>Moscouite</i> Princes he ſtandeth vp on his feet, and bare-headed before them, and they ſit couered. Hee hath (wel-neere) daily warres againſt the <i>Polonians</i> and <i>Scythians</i>, who albeit they are ſubiects to other Kings, yet doth hee much enlarge his dominions ouer them.</p>	Plenty of fiſh in Riuers.
Men readie for the warre.	<p>Their Corne neuer perfectly ripens, but when they haue reaped it, they dry it in their Stoues or Hotte-houſes. The Spring is verie cold with them, and their Summer, which laſteth but two months onely, is extreame hot. They haue not any uſe of monies; but in ſtead thereof, they haue Plates of Gold or Siluer, ſquared, without any marke or ſtampe thereon, which are taken in Merchandize, for aſmuch as they waigh. As for their Garments, they go cloathed like Turkes, in long Gownes or Robes, hauing narrow ſleeues, and guarded about the middle. Their buildings and manner of life, doo differ verie little from theirs of <i>Poland</i> & <i>Bohemia</i>: They are Chriſtians like vnto the Greeks, receiuing order of Prieſthood, from the Patriarche of <i>Conſtantinople</i>, ſaying ſeruice (in their Temples) in their vulgar tongue, which is the <i>Sclauonian</i> Language, and their Characters are Greeke.</p>	<p>The Country is very plentiful in Fiſh, by the goodly and great Riuers which runne along thorough it; wherein they haue their breeding: As <i>Oxos</i>, <i>Drunus</i>, and <i>Boryſthenes</i>, which is alſo called <i>Depnerus</i>. There is great ſtore of Paſture grounds; all kinde of Oxen, Kine, and ſuch like Beaſts, as alſo Horſes & Mares; but of ſlender corpulence and lean. They haue not any ſweete fruites growing among them, except it be Cherries: neyther is there any fruites to make Oyle of, as of Oliues, Walnuts, Filbeardes, Almonds, and ſuch like. But all kinde of Pulſe are there in abundance, and Corne that they make bread of. The verie beſt harueſt which they haue or gather, conſiſteth in waxe and Honie, by meanes of their Bees, which do not make their abiding in Hiues, but in hollow Trees in the Forreſtes, in wonderfull great plentifulneſſe.</p>	Paſture ground, and Cattle.
Long & ſharpe Winter.	<p>The abyding of the Prince, is in a goodly great Pallace, in the City of <i>Moscoua</i>, built after the <i>Italian</i> manner; being ſo ſtrong and ſpacious, as (in our times) the like hath not bene ſcene. There are</p>	<p>The Prince in all ſuch Countries as he conquereth from the <i>Scythians</i>, compelleth them to become Chriſtians; ſo that the laſt Prince <i>Iohn</i> (within the ſpace of threſcore yeares) won many Countreyes from them: as <i>Perne</i>, <i>Corela</i>, <i>Peruſca</i>, <i>Iura</i>, <i>Cetiremiſa</i>, <i>Baacquid</i>, and many other Idolaterous people, whom hee conſtrained to receiue Baptiſm. He gaue them alſo a Biſhoppe, named <i>Stephen</i>, whom thoſe barbarous wretches ſlayed aliue, after the ſaide Prince was gone forth of their Countrey. But when he hard tydings thereof, he returned againe vpon them; and cauſing them to feel the rigour of his warre, they were gladde to continue Chriſtians. They haue Poaſts</p>	Fruits, Pulſe, and Corne.
Their Drink and Corne.		<p>N n n or</p>	Wax & Honie in great plenty.
Their Spring & Summer.			Countreyes won to Chriſtianity.
Their money.			<i>Stephen</i> a Biſhop martyred
Their Garments.			Swift Poaſts.
Their buildings, life, and Religion.			
The Court or abiding of the Prince.			

or swift Curriers in *Moscouia*, which rid more way, and in shorter time then is doone amongst vs: although their Horses are verie badly bredde, and small of bodie.

These Princes, in former times, contented themselues with the name of Duke only, vntill the dayes of his Father nowe reigning, who vsurped the name of King, giuing himself great Titles in his patents, which continued to his Son succeeding him, in manner following. *The Great Lord Basilius, Great Duke of Velodimeria, Moscouia, Nouogardia, Plescouia, Sureluchia, Tuneria, Ingaria, Permia, Vraquia, Bulgaria*; Great Lorde and Duke of the Lands in *Nouagardia* the lower, of *Geruigonia, Rezania, Volotia, Riscouia, Belloya, Iaroslania, Bierosolia, Vdoria, Obdoria, Condidia, &c.* By which large pluralitic of Names, and of so manie Seigneuries, it appeareth, that he is farre more potent, then some haue imagined him to be. But concerning his keeping himselfe in vassalage to the Great King of *Tartaria*, hee should hold it no dishonor to him, for he hath this end in it. While hee keepeth peace with him, he reduceth much more easly vnder his obedience; all the neere neighbouring people and territories: & with the power of the Great *Tartarre*, he is ten times stronger then of himself. For the mightie *Tartarre*, bringeth ordinarily, a million of men with him to the field, all well appointed for warre, with two or three hundreded pieces of Cannon, and 300000. Horse.

He hath beene Tributary, euer since the year, one thousand two hundred, when *Baty* King of the *Tartarres*, an Idolater in Religion, subdued, wasted, and pilled a great part of Christian *Europe*, with an Army of a Million of men. Euen then, when Pope *Innocent*, fourth of that name, sent verie Learned and Religious men towards *Baty*; with entreatance, to deport himselfe from any further mollestation of the Christians; and that himselfe would become a Christian. Shewing him withall, that the Sunne and the Moone which he adored, were onely but Creatures of God, subiect to mutation, and must haue an ending. He gaue consent to truce for siue yeares, promising; *That thenceforward, he would do no more displeasure vnto Christians; and that hee had a desire to bee instructed in Christian*

Religion.

The Popes Ambassadors, being verie ioyfull of this successe, made hast homeward, in hope to returne againe speedily. But they were no sooner departed, but others were sent thither from the Sultan of Egypt, Mahometanes, who dissuaded the well-minded Prince, not to lend any eare to Christians, but much lesse to embrace their Religion, full of many superstitions. For, they told him, it contained prohibition, from vsing certaine meates at certaine times, and commaunded Fasting, Chastitie, continency, and other laborious matters. It rather fitted him, to accept and receiue into his countries, the Mahometist Religion, full of al pleasures and contentments. Whereby it was lawfull for him, to admit as manie Women as men to his bed, as himselfe best liked; and euerie one was allowed, (without any diffrence) to vse such meats as his appetite required.

In the end, *Baty* suffering himselfe to be swallowed vppe in the Gulphe of all Libertie and Voluptuous desires, receyued immediately the Mahometane Law. So did the most part of his Subiects, by his example; and which they did and do keepe it to this present day. I am sorry to write, what I heare from such, as haue & do frequent those Countreyes, to witte: that the King or *Precep* at this time, accommodateth himselfe to al kinds of Religion. For, with Christians, he wil Christianize; with Iewes, he will Iudaize; and with Idolaters, carrie himselfe in like manner: but commonly, hee is more Mahometan then any other, louing euerie one with his Religion.

This *Baty*, the *Tartarian* King, hauing dealt like *Paris* the *Trojan*, who loued carnall delights, better then all Heauenly wisdom, died within a short while after, hauing then great store of Ciuill Warres in his Kingdome. During which time, the *Tartarres* (who were distributed among the Prouinces in Garrisons) retired themselues, as willing to take part in those Ciuill Warres, and so were called from one place to another, still to yeeld their assistance. By which meanes, diuers of the Prouinces, seeing themselues free without Governours, and cleare from Garrisons of their enemies, returned againe to their former libertie; and (aboue all other) of the *Moscouites*.

But

The King of
Moscouias
Titles.

The policy of
the Moscouite,
in being Tri-
butarie to the
Tartar.

Howe long
since hee be-
cam tributary

A humain an-
swer of the K.
of Tartaria.

Good inten-
tions do often
meete with
bad preuen-
tions.

The Tartarian
King yeildeth
to become a
Mahometist.

The Tartares
vse all Religi-
ons.

The death of
Baty King of
Tartaria.

Liberty is the onely ground of disobedience.

But within some yeares afterward, perceiuing the *Tartarian* Ciuill VVarres to be ended, and no more Kings commanding but one, as before had doone: fearing to be reuisited again by the *Tartars*, they yeelded themselues backe againe as their Tributaries; but yet with condition, that they should obserue Christian Religion.

No Metals in *Moscovia*.

There groweth not any Mettall in *Moscovia*, how vile or base soeuer it be; no not so much as Iron, or Quarries of stone: whatsoeuer Mettalles, Jewelles, or Stones they haue, is brought thither from straunge Countreyes, wherewith the *VV*omen decke themselues, and make pendants of them to hang in their eares.

Wholesome Ayre free fro Pestilence.

The Ayre is verie healthfull, neuer engendering any Pest; or contagious diseases. Thus you may discern in these few words, what I could collect concerning this Countrey, which is no vnvsual distance from vs: but may well serue to acquaint the Reader, (that is not versed or scene in *Cosmography*, neyther hath trauailed) both what the Country is, and the people.

CHAP. XXXV.

Concerning those clauses, inserted by the *Romaine Emperors* in their Edicts, to wit; Such is Our pleasure; And, Of Our Owne meere motion.



Many Emperors haue bin Tyrants.

We finde it recorded, that manie tyrant Emperors, made diuers vnadvised Edictes, which redounded to great detriment of the Common-wealth. And because they would not haue them passe by the Senate, they make addttions of these words or Clauses: *Such is Our pleasure: Or, Being done by Our meere motion.* A thing contrary to their Oath: howbeit, that those inserted words, are the true markes of a Soueraigne Prince.

Mark Anthony tearing himselfe Emperour of the East, sent by expresse wordes, and without delay, that a like imposition should be leauied, as hee had caused to bee done the same yeare before, which was insupportable. And albeit the Prouinces and Citties sent vnto him, to shew him the indigence and pouertie of the Country, as well thorow barrenesse of the grounds, as in regard of the wars, which had preceeded in the passed years. And that if it so fell out, that hee would needes impose such a tax vpon the people, yet to let it be done in such manner, as they might haue two Haruestes, and two Vintages: Neuerthelesse, in this matter, hee would haue no other aduise but his owne, and saide; *It was His Will, that it should be raised vpon the people, for such was His pleasure.* This Patent was the cause of the perdition of his estate, and of his life also.

Plutarch in vita Mar. Ant.

M. Anthony by his Edicts lost both his State & life.

Theodosius, a Christian Emperour, commaunded by Edict, that so manie of the *Thessalians* as could be found, should bee slaine and massacred; and sent Men of warre, to execute the same in *Thessalie*, whereuppon (in two or three dayes) seauen or eight thousand was pnt to death. And these were the words in the patents; *Such is My Will, and of Mine owne proper motion.* Nay, a much greater murdering had beene committed, if *Saint Ambrose* (who liued then) by holy and learned documents had not stayed it. But afterward he made another Edict, whereby he willed, that if he sent to command the death of any one, the matter should rest vpon intermission, for the space of thirty daies before execution, and heartily repented him for the former offence. I could easily alledge many other Histories, which are full of such Edicts proceeding from the meere motion of Princes, & contrary to the lawes of Nature; but they wold require too long a space, being irksome also to the Reader, when he perceyeth, what discomoditie they haue brought to Kingdomes, causing their total ruine, and the Princes also.

Theodosius made an Edict against Nature.

Repentance & reuocation of vniust Edicts.

The Kings of *France*, hauing more power ouer their people, then euer the Emperors in those times had, wold yet insert this clause. Neuerthelesse, it was neuer known, that they made any edicts against nature, albeit, against ciuil lawes and customs of the kingdom, thorow il counsel,

The Kings of *France*, greater soveraigns then the Emperors.

and not of their owne proper motion. King *Lewes* the eleauenth (dissembling vnto the vttermost) made some Edictes which were vniust, and contrarie to the ancient Lawes of the Realme of *France*. The Court of Parliament at *Paris*, refused the publication of them; although they had receyued expresse command (twice or thrice) from his Maiesty, euen so farre as menaces to the losse of their liues. The President *Lauacrie*, accompanied with a number of the Counsell (attired in their Parliament Robes) went to attend the King, shewing him the iniquity of his Edicts, and what threatnings he had sent to the Court. He beholding the Port, grauitie and dignitie of the men, who would forgo their honours, their seuerall charges, yea, and loose their liues, rather then verisye such Edicts as he hadde sent them, was not a little amazed. But redoubling the authoritie of Parliament, he tore the Edicts in pieces before their faces, entreating them, to continue on stil in doing Iustice; and sware vnto them beside, that he would neuer more vrge any Edict, which should not be both iust and reasonable.

This was an acte of very great importance, to maintaine the King in obedience of reason, who had alwaies before, vsed absolute power. And at the time when he was but *Dau'phine* of *France*, he sent for the Presidents of the Court, and saide vnto them: that they shoulde blot out the clause of expresse commaunde) which the Court had set downe, as verification of the priuiledges graunted vnto the Count *du Mayne*: Otherwise, that he would not depart out of *Paris* except it were done; and that they shoulde leaue the Commission which the King had giuen them.

The Court ordained, that the wordes should be defaced. But because it might be seene, what was rased, they appointed; that the Register should be kept; and the same is yet to bee seene, in what order it was ordained, in the date of the twentie eight of Iuly, one thousand four hundred forty three.

According to the example of that good President, and the Counsellors assisting him; all other Magistrates ought to do the like vpon new Edicts, which tend to nothing else, but to the grinding of the people and the Common-wealth.

But not to alter auncient Lawes or Customes, long before enacted and published, because a Magistrate that is allowed, taketh Oath, strictly to obserue the ordinances already confirmed. But in the case of Nouelties, that appeare vnworthy of any embracing, he should vse remonstrances to the Prince and importune him so much as possibly he may, vntill he bee reduced to reason. Which was well put in practise, by the Chancellor to the Duke of *Bourgogne*, who would not passe or seale any vniust commaund: but declaring the matter to the Duke, offered resignation of the Seale, rather then he would bee forsworne in his Office.

The Duke beholding the constancie of his Chancellour, reuoked the Edict. And oftentimes, this firmenesse & constancie in a Magistrate, preserueth the honor of the Prince, & maintaineth the Commonwealth in her greatnesse, when she standeth supported vpright by Naturall equity.

The *Tolomeyes*, successour vnto him that was Kinsman to *Alexander* the great (I meane not heere to speake of the *Pharaohs*;) caused their Magistrats to sweare, neuer to obey any of their Mandates, if they gaue commaund to iudge vniustlie, as we read in the sentences of the Kinges of *Egypt*; deliuered and spoken of by *Plutarch*.

For Conclusion, all good and Vertuous Soueraigne Princes, although they may sette downe the sayde Words (*Such is our Pleasure, and, Of our meere motion*) yet they should frame all their Edictes and Mandations, by good Councill and aduise; that they bring not anie damage (how little or great soeuer) to their Subiectes. But rather, to vse such clauses as auncient Princes were woont to doe, to wit; *Si qua mihi causa iusti videtur*, which was interpreted after this manner: *If it appeare to me to bee iust and equall*.

And, for the inferiour Magistrate to the Soueraigne Prince, if hee giue commaund to publish an vniust Edict (provided, that it bee not against Gods Honour, and the Naturall Lawes) hauing diuers and sundrie times, shewne the Prince, the iniquitie of the charge on him imposed, hee then ought for to lette it passe, & cause it to be published, for it is

com-

Lewes the 11.
reuoked his
Edicts, & vpon
what reason.

Lewes the 11.
somewhat opiniuie
and headstrong

The dutie of
good & faithful
Magistrats

The Chancellor
to Phillip
Duke of Bour-
gogne.

Example of
the Egyptian
Magistrates.

Clauses ob-
serued by good
and auncient
Princes.

The carriage of Magistrars in no well Edicts.

commanded by God, that we should be obedient to Soueraigne Princes. Or els, to delay the publication, and detain it in sufferance so much as he may: for manie times it cometh to passe, that Princes (euen of themselues) reuoke what they haue done, either by the lapse of time, or by the death of some bad Counseller, the cause thereof, or by the death of the Prince himselfe.

As it happened to Caligula the Roman Emperour, who made an Edict, whereby he commanded, that his Statues should be set vp, and honoured in all the Temples of his Empire; whereunto the Jewes made refusall of obeying. Petronius, who had the charge of executing this Edicte, perceiuing the matter to be so detestable and repugnant (oppositively) to the honor of God, and the Lawes of the Jewes, deferred the execution, and sent vnto the Emperour, shewing him the great difficultie he had, to execute the Edict. In the end, vpon this temporizing, Caligula was slaine, and the Jewes were deliuered.

It hath beene many times obserued, that the Generall Assessors of Subsidies in France, did not so promptly impose all those monies on the people, as they were commanded to impose and set downe by Royall Patents, and namely: when they were extraordinarie. But haue made som deferrance, sending back to his Maiesty, shewing him the pouertie of the people. Whereupon, the King hath sometimes made reuocation, or (in Grace) remitted the moity, or some part; or deferred the payment to some other season, whereby the people might be so much the more eased.

Now, whither a Magistrate ought, or may denie, if the Prince constrain him to publish an vnjust Edict. I answer, that he neither may, or ought. Otherwise, the title of Maiestie should be but illusorie; and people might thereby be ouer apt to reuoltes, and all things might then runne to ruine in the Common wealth. But, then it is to be noted withall, that the right of Emperours cannot warrant these wordes, *Such is Our Will or Pleasure*. For they do protest at their election, to acknowledge the Senate aboue them, in controlling or verifying their Edicts, and to enterprise nothing without their know-

The iustice & equitie in Petronius a worthy Romaine Captaine.

Generall Assessors, verie good officers.

Obedience must be performed vnto Princes.

The Senate superiour to Emperors.

ledge and consent: for Emperour is but a Title of Office. But the Royaltie of France is an estate Soueraigne, that hath no Senate for superiour or Companion.

CHAP. XXXVI.

That Oratours, Pleaders, and others, that make profession of well or eloquent speaking, are dangerous men, and may easily overthrowe the estate of any Common wealth.



Cicero giueth the definition of an Orator, saying; He should be an honest man, speaking well, and elegantly. I finde this definition to be probable; but it appeareth then in very few Orators, because among an hundred of them which we finde in Histories, as well Greeke as Latine, Germaine, French, Italian; or of what Nation else soeuer, hardly there is to be found one honest man. For, the greater number of them, preach according as they haue practised amongst the seditious: Eloquence hath so much power, as it can overthrowe the Estates of Princes, and of whole Common-Weales.

Our ancient predecessours, in their Medalles and Paintings, to represent the power of Eloquence, faigned a Cecricke Hercules, in shape of an olde man, drawing the people after him, chained and fastened vnto him with Chaines, hanging downe from his mouth; and tyed to their eares. Declaring thereby, that the Armes and power of Princes and Monarches, are not so strong as the heat and vehemencie of an eloquent man, which exciteth and inflameth the basest coward to overcome and vanquish the most valiant person.

It droppes downe Weapons out of the most fiercest hand: It turneth cruelty into wonderfull mildenesse; Barbarisme into humanity. It altereth Common-wealths,

Cicero his definition of an Orator.

How our Ancients in elder times figured Eloquence.

The great power of Eloquence.

What eloquence is,

The greater part of eloquent Orators scarce honest men,

A view of some Orators & eloquent men.

Cicero & Demosthenes both Orators, were slain for their eloquent tongues.

The King of Marocco, expelled by means of a pleasing speaker.

weales, and playeth with people at his owne pleasure. Nor do I speake this, as in praise of eloquence, but to shew what might it hath; and which many times is imployed rather to euill then goodnesse. For, seeing it is nothing else, but a disguising of trueth, an Arteficiall cunning to make euill appeare good, wrong right; yea, to make a great matter of nothing; of an Ant to raise an Elephant, or (in plaine tearmes) to lye ingenuously. It is not to be doubted, but that for one man, who vseth this Art honestly, an hundred may be found that do abuse it. And as hard is it, among an hundred Orators, to picke out one honest man: for, it is a thing contrary to that profession, to pursue any matters of truth; because trueth (being naked) is euen then in her best and richest Ornament.

Let but a perusall be made, of al them that haue had fame to bee worthy speakers and Orators; and we shall finde; that they haue moued the people to seditions; yea, many haue chaunged Lawes, Customes, Religion, Common-weals, euen to the vtter ruine of them, & they themselves, haue (wel-neere all of them) had violent deaths.

Marke *Anthonie*, who contended for the *Romaine* Empire, against *Augustus*; thought hee could neuer come to it, so long as *Cicero* the Orator liued: & therefore, he procured his death. And *Antipater* the successor to *Alexander*, perswaded himselfe, that so long as *Demosthenes* the *Athenian* Orator liued, he should neuer be intire King of all *Greece*: & therefore, he gaue order for his death. And indeede it was true, for that his eloquent toong did him more hurt, then al the armies of the *Athenians* could do, or all other among the *Gracians*. We may well perceiue then, by the ends of these two famous Orators, what power their eloquence had; in hindering two so great Princes, from attaining to domination in their Common-wealths: and yet notwithstanding, they were reputed to bee men of honest conuersation.

But leauing these *Greeke* and *Romaine* Orators, let vs come to them of our age, who employed their paines so well; that all the Empire of *Affrica*, and of the East, may make report thereof, and are yet vp in Armes. Nay, it is found recorded, that by their eloquence, Kings haue been ex-

pulsed, and their estates seized on. As it happened to the Kings of *Marocco*, who were of the house of *Ioseph*: from whom a Preacher, vnder the Vaile of Mahometane Religion, tooke both Scepter and Crowne.

Now, albeit he was called *The Knight of the Asse*, yet he could speake so wel and pleasingly, that he assembled an Armie together, of aboute sixe score thousande men. In like manner, he that was called the first *Sophie*, seized on the kingdom of *Persia*: and no long time since, hauing expelled the legitimate Children of *K. Vsancaffanus*, vnder the same pretext of Mahometan religion.

In *Germany*, a reuolted Priest, named *Thomas Muncerus*; and *Phiferus* an Apostate Monke, both conceiuing ill of the Catholicke faith, preuailed so much by their eloquent tongues, that they caused aboute an hundred thousand Countrey Peazants (poore ouer-credulous people) to vndertake Armes against the Clergie, Nobility, and Officers that executed Iustice.

In the same yeare, the Rustickes and Countrey Boores met together in many places, desirous to vndergo some nouell kind of liberty: so that they committed a thousand outrages, and incredible indignities. They quickly massacred *Lewes, Counte d'Heluesten*, who hadde espoused the Naturall Daughter to the Emperour *Maximillian*, and burned more then two hundred Monasteries and Castelles, in the sole Countrey of *Franconia*.

It is also a matter verie manifest, and well knowne vnto euery one, that this tumult had ruined all *Germanie*; yea, and laide it on a heape, with all the Neighboring Prouinces, if the Lords hadde not speedily entered into Armes, and foyled them in diuers battailes. But in the end, the two Apostataes were taken, and grieuouly punished.

Nestorius the Hereticke, in all his Sermons preached before the Emperours *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*; at *Constantinople*, would speake out alowd, and verie elegantly; *Giue mee the Land emptied of Hereticke* (for so he termed Catholicks) *and I will giue thee Heauen. Ingulph and swallow me vp with the Hereticke, and I will therewith ruinate the power of the Persians.* Heereupon, he was called a *Boutefeu*, for if the Emperour had beleueed him,

The Knight of the Asse.

The first Persian Sophie.

Seditious speakers and Oratours amongst the Germanes.

Lewes, Counte d'Heluesten, son in Law to the Emp. Maximillian.

Nestorius the Hereticke, a Boutefeu or fire brand of sedition.

An apt comparison.

What an Orator may doe, being an honest man.

Plato in his Timæus.

Tyrants doe stand in feare of Orators.

him; he had put to death the more part, and almost all his Subiects, and Nestorius the chiefe.

Like as a Knife is very dangerous, in the hand of a furious or mad man: euen so is eloquence or well adorned speech, in the mouth of a mutinous Oratour. And yet notwithstanding, it is the meanes (in such as can well vse it) to reduce people from barbarousnesse, to humanitie. It is the Instrument for correcting of manners, reformation of Lawes, chastising of Tyrants, banishment of Vices, and maintenance of Vertues. And like as men vse to charme Aspicks, Vipers, and other Serpents, with certaine words: euen so can Oratours charme the most sauage and cruell men, by the meere sweetnesse of eloquence, so saith Plato. He further addeth, that there is no better meanes, to appease seditions, and contain subiects in their Princes obedience: then to haue a wise and vertuous speaker. For by his pleasing words, he can bow and bend sweetly, the hearts of the stubborn and most rebellious. And there is not anything, that is more dreadfull to a Tyrant; then an Oratours Eloquence: for it begetteth the peoples full voyce, especially if he be in neuer so little hatred.

CHAP. XXXVII.

A Contradiction of the common Prouerbe, (approouing it not very likely to be true) when we vse to say: That the Viper neuer seeth his Mother aliue, nor the Wolfe his lining Syre.



Doe not know, from whence Aristotle, Pliny, Alianus, and the common people haue conceiued; that the viper neuer beholdeth his Damme or Breeder aliue. Because they hold it, as a matter most certaine, that when the Female producteth her brood of Vipers: they bite her entrails in sunder, to get their issuing foorth,

The opinion of Aristotle, Plinie, Alianus, &c. concerning the Viper.

whereof she dyeth. And that it is done, as by Diuine vengeance, in regard, that she her selfe slew her begetter, at the coniunction: by grasping or byting off his head, thorow the extreame delight she conceiued in her copulation. And thus, as being but badly informed in the Nature of Creatures; they adde lie vpon lye. But in matters that haue had ocularie testimony: there shall be no neede of any other demonstration. Because in these daies; there are Vipers (of both Sexes) kept and nourished in Cages, that haue beneene seene to produce their young ones. Which (to speake truely) are not brought into the World, after the manner of other Serpents, that first of all (after the Seede) are engendred of Egges, then sitten on, and hatched: But young Vipers are enclosed within the membranes, or vpper most skinne, as are all fore-footed creatures on the Earth, and men in the Matrixe of their Mothers, which they open and vnlace, the birth time beeing come, determined by nature. And those leasings of Antiquitie, haue receiued sound root; onely thorow want of better obseruation.

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As concerning that which is spoken of Wolues, that they also neuer see their Syres or Begetters: this is likewise well neere as false, as the precedent report. And they alleadge this reason, to wit; the Wolues coupling together like Dogges and Bitches; are likewise fast tyed by the Members, while the Female is retaining the Males auoyding. Then other Male Wolues, hauing pursued this Female or Bitch-Wolfe, being in extremity of heate, and finding them thus conioyned together: they doe kill that Male Wolfe, whereby shee hath conceiued, and so the young Whelpes which are to proceede of this copulation, doe neuer behold their Syres aliue.

I wonder, and am much amazed also, from whence this second Fable should proceede: for it is much more easie to behold the natural behavior of wolues, then of Vipers. And I am very certaine; that during the last pestilence (which was in the Towne of Vserche, where my dwelling is) walking abroad one day into the Fieldes, to take the Ayre, being accompanied with a Countrey Swaine,

How the Viper is engendred, & cometh into the World.

The Fable of the He and She-Wolues copulation.

The Authour maketh mention hereof; as being an eye-witnesse.

Eight Male
Wolues follo-
wed one Fe-
male.

Another
prooffe con-
cerning the
She-wolfe.

A vile & base
nature noted
in many Wo-
men

Swaine, of good and bold Spirit: as I returned homeward to my House, after Sunne setting, in the month of February, we perceiued eight Wolues, that followed a She-Wolfe in her heate of pride, their eyes glaring as brightly, as if they had beene so many Candles. We hauing no Weapons of defence, climbed vp suddenly into a Tree, for our owne safetie, where we were forced to stay aboute three houres. In which time, we could discern plainely, that that this company of Wolues followed but this one She-Wolfe, as hath beene said, and hee that made himselfe strongest againtt the other, by keeping them off, and often wounding them with his teeth: became at last fastned to the Female, none of the rest then stirring at him, neither killing or byting him. And this verily I think to be their customary vse, as I haue also heard credibly the like reported, by Collyers and Wood-fellers, who dwell ordinarily in Forrests, and hath assured me thereof:

It hath (neuerthelesse) beene also affirmed, that the She-Wolfe, being salt or proud (as we term it) and followed by many Wolues; could not be couered or lined, because they still hindred one another, by their byting and hurting. And hauing thus pursued her ten or twelue daies together, they being all wearied with trauaile, hauing eaten nothing, and gone such an extreame compassse of ground: haue couched themselves downe by her, and false fast asleepe, which when shee her selfe hath espyed, she hath risen secretly and softly, gone and awaked the most Truant, scurvy, itchy, and mishapen Currier in all the troupe, to make him possesse her. And then the other Wolues (awaking with their noyse) finding them coupled, haue taken and torne him with their teeth. And thus you may see, from whence came the Prouerbe, vsed by old, in-discreete and lasciuious Women, that make the like measure of their owne brutall Nature; affecting (more commonly) an euill fauoured and lothsome man, then one of comely feature, sweete, gentle, and honest disposition.

Also, it is commonly seene, that in a Country, where there is but one Male, and another Female Wolfe, who cou-

pling together, and no other Wolues there to impeach them; the Sire of the young ones, cannot be slaine, and therefore such Whelpes as come of him, by that coniunction, must needs see their Syre. We may then gather by this discourse, how farre these Prouerbes are from truth, and that this case deserued some consideration; to take away the error of such people, as assuredly credited these idle vanities.

The Sires of Wolues, and the Whelpes engendred by them, are of contrary Natures, for the young ones, when they are but a yeare old, and addict themselves to prey and purchase: although they haue not seen their Sire and Damme in two or three moneths, yet when they meet, they will do them reuerence, and vse a thousand flatteries to them.

Contrariwise, the Sire-Wolfe, giueth no helpe (at most, very little) in nourishing them. For, when the yong ones sucke no more, but grow to some bignesse: then the Dam bringeth them food; which he taketh and feedeth on, not suffering the Whelps, to eat a jot, vntill he haue filled his owne belly. But if she returne home, and bring no food with her; then doth the Male beate her outrageously. But then the Female hath this subtiltie, not to bring home any food, so long as he keepeth in the Kennell: but hydeth it secretly, till he be wandred abroad for purchase; whereby we may discern their different Natures. All these thinges are written by the Lord of *Clauourgan*, and *Olaus Maagnus*, Arch-bishop of *Westphalia*, which doe nothing approoue the common saying; That the Wolfe neuer seeth his Sire.

Seeing we haue formerly spoken of Vipers, I now call to minde some Serpents, which are oftentimes found, to breede in the blaines and botches of old Wolues, neere the backe-bone, containing the length of a foote, and some as long as a mans Finger, and others lesse. These leane Serpents, by successe of time, doe cause the Wolues death, and continuing in their rotten putrifaction, conuert themselves to Vipers, and Serpents very venomous. It may then well be said, in such a case as this, that these kinde of Vipers doe neuer see (such as engende-

Another
prooffe concer-
ning wolues.

Of Wolues &
their young
ones, & how
vnnatural the
Sire is to his
owne whelps.

Different ver-
tues in the
Male and Fe-
male.

Serpents and
Vipers, which
are often
found in the
raines of
Wolues.

engendered them) aliue. But this concerneth not any of the other kinde, which are so much sought for by the Compounders of Treacle: whereunto so many vertues are attributed, against all poysons, infections of the Ayre, and many diseases, appertaining to the field Vipers.

There are diuers diffetences of Wolues, for some are called White-
 10 Wolues, who being at their prey, and feeding on it: if they perceiue any thing which is more proper for them; they leaue the first purchase, and quite forgetting it, follow after the other. There is another kinde (although it should not be differing from the other) which is called the Man-kinde Wolfe, and liueth only by humane Flesh. The reason whereof is, that when they haue
 20 once tasted of mans Flesh, by following Armies, and seeking such places where battails are fought; or when they haue eaten dead carcases faln from Gibbets. From that time forward, though they should perish and starue with hunger; yet will they not feede on any thing else, especially if they be old. Heereupon they ranne at Children, and Sheep-
 30 hearsds keeping their flockes; yea, they wil enter Townes and Villages, and carry Children out of their Cradles, or any they can meete within the streetes, hazarding Mens and Weomens liues, except they do the better defend themselves. And let them passe by whole Heardes of Cattle, Sheepe, or other: yet will they not touch one of them, but Mans Flesh onelie, and chiefelie, where they haue been well resisted and beaten.

Some hold opinion, that a full-fed or glutted Wolfe, neuer doth any harme, or if any food remaine to him, which he hath hidden in the ground, and doe not feele himselfe hungry. They say beside, that many times he will play with his prey, as a Lambe, Sheep, Kid, Goat, Hare, or such like, euen as a Cat playeth with a Rat, before she eats it.
 50 But seeing we are entred into the play or sport of Wolues, I will describe an History, which was reported (my selfe being present) by *Monsieur de Humtere*, vpon Saint *Andrewes* day, 1563. before *Monsieur*, Brother to King *Charles*, who afterward was *Henry* the third, King of

France. In *Piccardie*, in the Forrests of *Ardenne*, certain Gentlemen and Countrey Yeomen (belonging to diuers Parishes) assembled themselues together, to vndertake a hunting of Wolues, which had done them many harms and mischances. And as they had giuen chase to about a dozen of them: some were taken in Snares and Nets, others kild with Caliuers, and (among the rest) they slew a She-Wolfe, that was followed by a young Infant starke naked, aged about seauen yeares, of strange complexion; with faire curled Hayre, that (seeing the Wolfe dead) ran fiercely at them which had slaine it. But he was beset with so many men, that they tooke him, and found the Nails (both on his hands and feete) bowed inward: and nothing he spake, but gaue forth an inarticulate voyce, like to a Calfe. They brought him thence to a Gentlemans House (a Man of good account, and well knowne) in a great Village not far off, where (not without much difficulty) they put Iron Manacles on his hands and feete. In the end, by hauing long fasted, he became more mild and tame, and, within the space of seuen months, they had taught him to speake. Then they walked abroad with him, to Cities, Townes, Villages, Noble-mens Houses, and Castles, & they that were his Guardians, got great store of Mony by him.

Now, to hold the Reader in no longer delay, concerning how this Infant should come into the company of Wolues; you must vnderstand, that about the Feast of All-Saints (commonly called All-hallontide) the weather then beeing very cold; young Boyes, Girles, and poore Weomen of a Village (the name whereof I doe not well remember) went into the neereff Forrest Royall, to cut downe and gather stickes of Trees. It was at the euening time, the sky cold, dimme, and cloudy, which caused them to make hast, binding vp their burdens like little Fagots, and so intended to beare them thence: but the Guardes and Forresters coming vpon them, and they being fearefull, both of imprisonment and other hard vsage, fled, some one way, some another, leauing their Hatchets and burdens behind them. Among the rest,
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A strange History of a young Infant taken by a Wolfe.

The manner of finding the Childe in the Forrest.

How the child came into the Forrest among the Wolues.

White wolues engendred between a Hind and a Wolfe.

The man-kind Wolfe, feeding on mans Flesh.

The bloody nature of the Man-kind Wolfe.

The Wolfe being glutted or full-fed, will doe no harme.

A poore Woman that cam to gather sticks, mother to the Childe.

Sorrow perswadeth it selfe on any likely occasion.

The poore womans enquiry after hir child

one of the poore women, had brought her Childe in her Armes thither, being not aboue nine months old, not having any body in her House, to tend it when she was absent: for her Husband was a daily labouring man, that came not home to his house, but on Sundaies or Feast daies. Having set downe her Childe, and being frighted, as before is said; she made escape into the Forrest, as thinking their pursuite seuerely followed her. But perceiuing that safety friended her, and the watches of her eies descried no perill (for indeede, the Forresters were gone, and darke night drew swiftly on) she came againe to the place where she left her burden, which the Guards had caried away with them. Finding neither her Child nor Wood, yet seeking still about with teares and complaints; at length, throwing off both greefe and feare, her hopes gathered this perswasion: that the Forresters had seized her Child for her other offence, and now it stood her on, notwithstanding, whatsoever amends or satisfaction they should demaund, to them she must goe, and re-obtaine her Childe.

Vpon this perswasion, she returned home to her dwelling, and enquired of all those that went to the Forrest with her, if they could tell her any tydings of her Infant. Having no comfort of them, she ran to the Village, where the Forresters made their vsual retreat, and found them in a Tauerne drinking Wine, the bundles of wood, Hatchets and other furniture (which they had brought with them from the Forrest) lying by them, and in teares she required her Childe of them. But they, reproving and threatning her for her offence, by sollemne oathes and protestations; assured her, that they saw no such Childe. On the morrow morning, poore Soule, she went to the Forrest againe, and made another search, but all inuaine. And her Husband being returned from his labour, by reason of the Feastiuall daie, hearing the wofull losse of his Childe, and what informations the *Harpyes* of Iustice made against them (because it was alleaged, that thorow their default, the Babe was exposed to sauage beastes) after a long and bootlesse perquisition in the For-

rests; the Father and Mother of the Childe, dreading least Law would punish them for the Childe, because they could yeild no better reckoning of it, forsooke the Countrey, and neuer any tydings was heard afterward of their being.

Now, it may well bee presupposed, that the fore-remembered She-Wolfe, searching some prey to beare vnto her Whelps; found the Childe so forsaken of the Mother, as before hath bene saide, and carried it away with her. And (indeede) it is very likely, for a Wolfe will carry a Sheepe in her mouth, or a young Beast (how big or weighty soeuer it be) without any offence, halfe a mile and more, yet neuer resting her selfe, euen as a Grey-hound dooth a Hare. It is well knowne, that if she find a Horffe or a Cow dead, in any hollow or Dith: she will easily drage it forth to feed on, which a Horse (well harnessed thereto) can hardly doe. And hauing brought this Infant to her young ones (as the She-Wolfe doth al young Beastes that shee can seize on, to teach them how to looke their living:) the Whelpes, perchance beeing suffised, would play with the Child before they fed on it. The Damme being laid among her Whelps, the Childe finding the teates of the Wolfe, tooke one of them in his mouth, and suckt it, as weening it had bene the Dugge of his true Mother, which caused the Wolfe, (thence forward) to loue it as her own. For She-Wolues doe take delight and pleasing, when their teates are tickled, suckt, or plaid withall, and all Female beastes haue the like naturall inclination. For, if the teat or dugge be giuen to a Creature, although it be of a different and very contrary kind, yet it will loue the Giuer: As we haue noted in Bitches, that haue nourished Cats; Goats that haue fostred young VVhelpes; Kine, Serpents, and Lambs, Hennes, that haue loued them all their life time.

And so it may be, that thus it fell out with this She-wolfe, her VVhelpes, and this younge Infant. And beside, albeit the whelps grew to foure or fise yeares age: yet, in regard of the long continuance, and finding the Infant neuer to wander, but still their owne Dam was in his company; they would bee the more

The Father & Mother of the Child, banish themselves.

The Authors imagination in this case.

The ability of a Wolues carriage.

A supposition concerning the nourishing of the Childe by the wolfe.

The iudgement and knowledge of Wolues when they affect.

more familiar, gambould, frisk, and leap vpon him, after the maner of playing Puppies, and all other Wolues of that Countrey would neuer hurt him. I think also, that the matter which best preferred the Childe, was: that not only the She-wolfe, but her young ones likewise, tooke great delight in the Childes Excrements; for he should no sooner performe the office of Nature, but both she and her VVhelpes would runne in hast to him, to deuour his deiections; yea, they would eate the verie Earth whereon his Vrine ranne along, and so, while she kept society with him, shee made this the best and contentedst part of her prey.

This Childe liued on raw flesh, about the space of sixe yeares, by that which himselfe declared afterward, as hauing good memory of all things happening vnto him. And hauing attained to the age of foure yeares, guided on still by Nature; hee kept no other course; so that they had much labour, to bring him to feed on other prepared meates, but rather affected still his former nourishment. He told them moreover, that euery yeare the VVolfe had a Litter of VVhelpes, and he had the charge of keeping them, when she went abroad in quest of her prey. Also, that she would snarle, snappe, and bite the Male wolfe, when he came to look on them: by which meanes, both he, or any other Males, in that time resorted very sildome thither.

After his taking, as before you haue heard; his naked body being brought to the wearing of Garments, himselfe instructed how to speake, and made domestically, hauing changed his brutish, to a more ciuill kind of life, appearing like to other Children in behauiour: by an especiall marke or note, to wit, sixe Fingers on either hand; he was knowne to be the Sonne of the fore-mentioned poore woman, and the age which hee then was of, agreed with the iust time of his losse. Hee was made a Heardsman of Sheepe, and other Beastes, for the space of other seauen yeares, in al which time, VVolues neuer made any attempt on the troupes committed to his charge: albeit he kept great store of Cattle, as Oxen, Kine, Calues, Horses, Mares, and Poultry. This was very

well obserued, by the Inhabitants of the Village where he had dwelling; and therefore, that other Heafdes might participate in this benefit or priuiledge: the Husbandmen of other Villages, & their Shepheards, would drine and bring their flocks where he kept his; and desire him but to stroke his hands vpon them, which he would doe, with some of his Phlegme or spittle on them. After which done (let others coniecture as best shal please them) for the space of fiteene dayes; Dogges of the greatest fury, nor any VVolues, would by any urgency touch them. By this meanes he got a great deale of Mony; for hee would haue a *Double-Turnois*, for euery beast that he so laid his hand on; or stroaked their eares.

But as all thinges haue a certaine period, so this Childe, hauing attained to the age of about foureteen yeares: the vertue which he had, to hinder wolues from doing harme to his Heafdes of Beasts, or those that he stroaked on the backe, or handled their eares; was lost; and left him. I guesse that this happened, because he had changed his natural complexion and temperature at that age; and by hauing fed so long a time on other nourishment, then his former woluish dyet. And this was well obserued by himselfe, by reason, that wolues would not come so neere him, as they were wont to doe; but kept aloofe off, as being feareful of him. The former propertie sayling him; hee gained no more then the meanest Shepheard did, whereat he tooke such dislike: that hee forsooke his Pastorall life, and went abroad in the fields, to seeke his fortune. At length, he heard where warres were in hand, and there he became a Boy to attend on a Souldiour: afterward, hee prooued himselfe to bee a Souldiour; braue, bold, and verie valiant; but fell in the end to be a Theefe, excelling all other in craft and subtilty. Hee was slaine in the yeare 1572. by the followers to the Duke of *Alba*, being among the companies of *Gehlis*; which he conducted in *Flanders*; against the King of *Spaine*, who made war on the States of the Low-Countries: where he behaied himselfe manfully, and sold his life at a deare rate.

Hauing ended the Historie of this Child,

The child was fed with raw flesh sixe yeares.

What hapned to the Childe after his taking, and how he came to be knowne.

An admirable property, naturally intufed into the Child.

turnois
of two pence
in that Countrey.

* The value of two pence in that Countrey.

The alteration of the Childs natural vertue.

The alteration of the Childs natural vertue.

He became a Souldiours Boy, and then a Souldiour himselfe.

In what manner he was slaine in the Low Countries.

One mans good fortune is no warrant to others in the success.

The honor & benefit of hunting the wolf, in regard of his harmes & annoyances.

All aduantages against a Wolfe, are tollerable.

A Wolfes skin may be good vse made of.

Childe, so borne away, and nourished by the Wolfe; I am of the mind, that notwithstanding all the kindnesse he receiued from her, as being a matter rare and extraordinary: yet, in regard of the detriments and annoyances, which they bring to all sortes of Men, and in all Countries, except in the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*; that both Princes and Noble-men, as well as Countrey Yeomen and meaner persons, should striue to exterminate the race of such pernicious Creatures, which by their breath and sight, not onely doe make men hoarse and wheeze, if they meete them, but also doe bereaue them of all power to speake or cry out. Great men then ought to be the first beginners, to haue the larger interest in honour: and so much the rather, because it is the fairest and most beneficiall kind of hunting, beyond all other. For Princes, great Lordes, and others, exercising themselves in this pastime: shall be the more hardy, valiant, and apt to Armes. In like manner, by this kind of hunting, they shall deliuer the Countrey from wicked and pernicious Beasts, that (among a thousand other discommodities) doe rob Kings and Princes of their young Fawnes, Hindes, and Fallow-Deere; yea, Husbandmen loose al their young breeds about their Houses, and in their Fieldes, which were determined and hoped for future profit, and enlargement of store. And, a matter much more to be pittied, many times they set vpon young Children, Women great with Childe, and sometimes on people of more strength and ability.

Good strong Dogges, are fittest against them, or the Irish Grey-hound, or Grinnes, Snares, or pits, all aduantages are faire and commendable, the Beast is so much despighted. Hee is worth nothing, but vnprofitable to all Men. He is neuer tamed, but he will then doe (daily) a thousand mischiefes: for such is his Nature, so long as he enioyeth life. But being dead, there may then some commodity be deriued from him. For his skinne, being prepared by a Leather-dresser, is very good for Cloakes, the Furre (in cold weather) worne inwardlie, giueth great warmth to the body: and the hairy-side worne outwardly when it raineth, will neuer

be pierced thorow with any moysture, how long soeuer it lasteth. A couerlet made of Wolues skines, and laid on any Bed whatsoeuer; it shall continually be free from Fleas, Bed-Punies, or any other Vermine. The most inconuenience is, that Dogs will euer be pissing against it.

The Fat or Grease of a Wolfe, is singularly good against all Aches of Gouts, Palsies, Luxations, Fractures, or verolicke anguishes. His Liuer, which is made like the Naile in a Horse hoofe, being dried in an Ouen, and beaten into powder, and then drunke with Succory Water: recouereth the Liuer of a man, how altered or corrupted soeuer it be. *Galen* saith, that a Phisition of his time, cured as many people subiect to the Collick, as could be brought vnto him, without refusing any one: onely by causing them to drinke the Dung of a Wolfe. And such as would not, or could not take it; did wear it hanging vpon their bellie, and there it expressed the same operation. There are also certaine little bones found in his Excrements, which being washed, and held vpon the tooth that is pained, and it appeaseth the anguish immediatlie. The head of an old Wolfe, fastned on the doore of a mans house, impeacheth all Charmes or Sorceries from entring therein. Also, the great teeth of a wolfe, are good for all diseases in the throat, mouth, or teeth, if they bee but held therein a while.

It is a matter very certaine, and hath bene experimented, that if a Woman be in trauaile of Childe-bearing, how difficult or doubtfull soeuer it bee: let but a little Flesh of a Wolfe bee giuen her to eat, and she shall suddenslie bee deliuered, both of the Fruite and after burden; or if a Man that hath eaten any, stand hood-winckt by, it auaileth. A Wolfes right foote before, is yerie Soueraigne Phisicke for all paines in womens breasts, and for the swellings of the Swine-poxe.

The Wolfe is of so wicked and peruerse Nature, that if he come among a Heard, be it of Swine, Pigges, Sheepe, or Lambes: the whole troupe is sure to dye, if he haue the opportunitie. And if it happen, that a Horse doe set his foote where a wolfe hath trod: he will after-

The Grease or Fat of a Wolfe.

The Wolfes Liuer.

Wolues dung

An old woues head.

A Wolues great teeth.

The flesh of a Wolfe.

A wolfes right foote before.

Vile discommodities ensuing by the Wolfe.

afterward become heavy, dull, & slothfull. Moreouer, if a man make any Gowne or other Garment, of a Beasts Wooll that hath been kild by a Wolfe, or if the Wooll of the Beast slaine by the Wolfe, be but mingled among any other Wooll, whereof the Gowne or Garment is made: it wil continually be lousie, or infected with Vermine.

Thus you see, what I haue learned and collected, concerning the severall Natures of the Viper and the Wolfe, as well by good experience which I my selfe haue made, as read in sound and approued Authors. As for the History of the Infant so carried away, and nourished by the Female Wolfe, beside the Princes presence, before whom it was reported verie faithfully: I haue enquired (since then) of many more, beside mine own vnderstanding it by the Lord of *Humiere*; As of *M. John Kussell*, Abbat of *Vigoeas* in *Lymosine*, a *Piccard* by Nation, and borne in the same place. *De la Vaquerie*, who assured me, that the History was very true, and that he himselfe saw the Childe, after it was taken from the Wolfe, and educated, as you haue heard. As much did the Lord of *Valen* tell me, a Gentleman of great honour, and who is yet living. For when this strange case happened, he had some employment and comandat *Rocroy*, a frontire Towne of *Piccardie*, neere to the Forrests of *Ardenne*. He was then present at the killing of the wolues, and taking of the naked Childe. At this instant, he dwelleth in *Lymosine*, as overseer for the Lands and Seigneuries of *Monsieur de la Guiche*, sometime Great Maister of the Artillery of *France*; and at this present, he is Lieutenant to the King, and Gouvernor of the Countries of *Lyornois*, *Forests*, and *Beauilois*, &c. And since this accident was within compasse of mine owne knowledge; I do not hold that rare or strange, recorded by *Titus Linius*, beside other *Roman* Historians: that the first Founders of *Rome*, young and newly borne, to wit; *Remus* and *Romulus*, being exposed to disastrous fortune, were preserued and nourished by a She-Wolfe.

The Conclusion of this Chapter.

Eye witnesses approving the truth of the History of the Infant & the Wolfe.

Titus Linius concerning Remus and Romulus.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Whether Lucius Apuleius, Sir-named Platonicus, were transformed into an Asse, or no: And whether he were a Sorcerer or Magitian.

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Here needeth no further question or doubt, whether *Lucius Apuleius Platonicus*, were a Sorcerer, and likewise transformed into an Asse: because he was dealt with all in Iustice, before the Pro-consull of *Affrica*, in the time of the Emperour *Antoninus* the first, sir-named the Pittifull, and in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 150. As *Apollonius Thyaneus* (long time before him) vnder *Dioclesian*, An. 60. was impleaded for the same fact. And more then three hundred yeares after, this fame still continued, euen to the time of *S. Augustine*, who was an *Affricane*; he also wrote and confirmed the same: auouching likewise, that in his time, the Father of one *Prestantius* was transformed into a Horse, and this is also affirmed by *Saint Augustine*.

This *Lucius* (the Theame of our instant discourse) was learned, for, in his younger yeares, he studied at *Carthage*, where the *Romaines* had founded diuers good Schooles. Afterward, hauing passed his youth-hood, his Father sent him to *Athens*: where he learned the doctrine of *Plato*; and profited so well, that hee was sir-named a *Platonist*. Then his desires drew him to study Magick, and for his better proceeding therein, he transported himselfe into *Theffalie*; because, in that Countrey, there were Men and Women, that made profession of such enstruction; but yet very secretly, in regard, that (by the *Romain* lawes) all such were punished, as addicted themselues thereto. In brieft, hauing taried there so long time (as valued his succeeding transformation, to learne those deuillish sciences) he returned home to his Fathers

Ooo House:

Lucius Apuleius tried by Iustice before the Proconsull.

The testimony of Saint Augustine.

Lucius Apuleius a Student at Carthage and Athens.

His passage into Theffalie, where he learned Magick.

His going to Rome.

House: who thought he had lost him, and therefore sent him to *Rome*, for found apprehension of the Latine tongue, to the end he might be provided of some estate in his Countrey, by the *Romaines*. He was of so excellent a spirit; that (with smal paines, & in short time) he became so ingenious a *Latinist*: as he was reputed for one of the chiefest Aduocates, and most eloquent in pleading before the Senate; as is yet to be seene by his famous Orations, remaining extant in our eyes.

His returne home, into his own country, from Rome.

From *Rome* he returned to *Malaura*, a Cittie of *Numidia*, his owne Countrey, and a Colonie of the *Romaines*: his Father being yet liuing, named *Theseus*, who had exercised (in that Countrey) the estate of an *Ædilis*, with some other Offices for many yeares, and was verie wealthy. His Mothers name was *Salvia*, being of the linage to *Plutarch*, and the learned Philosopher *Sextus* his nephew, vnto whom, *Marcus Aurelius* the Emperor, had sometime bin Scholler and Auditor. Being there arriued, all the Orators of *Malaura*, and the neighbouring Citties, made a prize, which should be giuen to him, that could declame most elegantly. Easily did he win the honour from them all, in regard whereof: beside the prize, two Statues were erected to him, one at * *Oea*, and the other at *Carthage*.

The great eloquence of Lucius Apuleius

* One of the three Citties of the Countrey *Tripolis* in *Affrica*.

Imputations concerning Lucius in his marriage and otherwise.

His Father beeing dead, in a small while he wasted the greater part of his goods, about his Magicall Artes, and to preuent pouertie; he compassed to marry with *Pudentilla*, a verie rich widow (for long time) in *Oea*. With her he continued till she died, and soon after, her onely Son and Heire, whom she had by her other Husband, Matters passing on in this manner, made some to coniecture, that by magick art he had seduced *Pudentilla*; whom many worthy men laboured to possesse in marriage, onely in hope of her Sons great riches. It was reported also, that he had a Dæmon or familiar Deuill, because by such great and profound knowledge, he ordinarily resolued strange and difficult questions, exceeding the common capacity of other men. Moreouer, he had beene noted to doe many admirable things; as to go inuisible; other whiles to transforme himselfe into the shape

of a Horse, or of a Bird; to pierce himselfe through the body with a Sword, yet without wounding, and diuers such like thinges. Which caused the *Ethnickes* of those times, to esteeme slenderly of the miracles, which the Disciples of the Primitiue Church performed, being of the second time; yea, or those of Iesus Christ: but they admired them of *Apuleius*, of *Thyaneus*, and others of the same stampe. In the end, he was accused by one *Sicilius Æmilianus*, the *Censor*, before *Claudius Maximus*, Pro-consull of *Affrica*, who was said to be a Christian; but no condemnation was found or approued against him.

Wonders performed by *Apuleius*.

Lucius accused before the Proconsull, and quitted.

Now, notwithstanding his learned defensue Orations, the same continued of him (to be a Sorcerer vndoubtedlie) yea, euen to the time of Saint *Augustine*, who liued about three hundred yeares after. And that which brought him in more suspicion among the Christians to be such a one: was, that hee vsed the sacrificing, and the same manner of Priest-hood among the Paganes, in his Countrey of *Affrica*, whereof Saint *Augustine* giueth assurance. For the Priests of the Paganes at that time, were (well-neere) all Sorcerers: onely to make the people (by their false Miracles) to beleue, that their Religion was true, and not dissembled. To approue the truth hereof, in the time of the said *Apuleius*, there was a certaine Image of *Iupiter* made, called *Phyleus*, that is to say; *Amiable*, composed by Art Magicke in such manner: that it wrought wonders, and gaue many answers, and among others, this. Hence-forward, let not the Christians be suffered to dwell in Citties, nor any where neere about them: but let them be driuen the furthest off that may be.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. lib. 7. cap. 18.

A strange I-doll made of *Iupiter*.

Ruffinus in lib. 10. Cap. 33.

He wrote a Booke, which he entituled, *The God of Socrates*; wherein hee sheweth, that there was not any God, but a Dæmon, and of what kind, and after the maner of *Socrates*, he made himselfe familiar, by whom he was still aduertised, concerning things to come, or absent. And because his Booke should bring no scandall to the Reader; he rather chose to entitle it the God, then the Dæmon, or Deuill of *Socrates*: by which Booke, he gaue sufficient testimony,

His Booke of the Dæmon of *Socrates*.

mony, that he was skilfull in Magicke:

For his transformation into an Asse, Saint *Augustine* holdeth it very certainly, hauing read it in diuers good Authors, and well deseruing beleefe, beside his owne being of the same Country. And this transformation happened vnto him in *Theffalie* (before hee had knowledge in Magicke) by a Sorcerer, that so sold him: and yet recouered him again, after he had done the drudgery of an Asse for some years, hauing the same strength, and behauiour in eating and braying, as other Asses had; yet his reasonable Soule (neuerthelesse) remained sound and intire, as himselfe auoucheth. Now, because, this fact might bee couered, by reason of the rumour then bruided abroad to be so, and very likely: he composed a Booke, which he called *The Golden Asse*, intermedled with Fables and discourses, to demonstrate the vices of men in those times, which hee had heard spoken, or scene done, during his transformation; beside many paines and trauailes, which hee suffered in his transformation.

That it might be so, the said S. *Augustine*, in his Booke of the City of God, declareth, that (in his time) there were certaine women witches, or Sorcerers on the *Alpes*, which would giue a kinde of Cheese to Passengers, whereby they were suddenly transformed into Asses, or some other Beasts of burden. And they would make them carry their luggage, to such places as themselfes pleased; which being performed, they restored them to their former condition againe.

The Byshop of *Tyre*, the Historian, writeth, that in his time, which seemeth to be, about 1220. there were certaine English-men, whom their King had sent to assist the Christians, then warring in the Holy Land: who being arriued in the Hauen of *Cyprus*, a woman Sorcerer transformed a young English Souldior into an Asse. And he, being willing to returne to his companions in the Ship, was beaten back with Stones and Staues. Being thus returned to the Witch, he continued in this estate, vntill at length it was perceiued, that the Asse entred into a Church, and there fell on his knees, expressing such signes and actions, as could not but pro-

ceed from a reasonable creature. Vpon this speaking suspition, the witch (whom he serued) being apprehended by the authority of Iustice: restored him to his humaine shape againe, three yeares after his transformation; and shee in the open field was executed to death.

We read, that *Ammonius*, the *Peripateticke* Philosopher, at such times as he ordinarily read and taught in the Schoole, had an Asse still present by: which was in the time of *Lucius Septimus Seuerus*, Emperour, and in the yeare of our Lord Iesus Christ, 196. Some said, that he had been first the Schoolemaister of *Origen*, and a Christian: but did not perseuere, fearing martirdome, as *Porphyrus* saith. I am of the mind also, that this Asse had formerly beene a Man, and could well comprehend what *Ammonius* did teach: for in such persons as are transformed, their reason still remaineth with them, as Saint *Augustine* maintaineth, and many other Authors.

Fulgosus writeth, that in the time of Pope *Leo*, who liued in the yeare 930. that there were two Witches in *Germany*, Hostesses of Innes, who made a practise or custome, of changing their Guests into Beasts. Vpon a time, they Metamorphosed a young Lad (who was a Mountebanke or Iugler) into an Asse, causing him to shew a thousand trickes and gambaulds before al Passengers, yet retaining still his naturall reason. One of their neighbours bought this Asse at a deare price, but they forewarned the Buyer, that they could not make any warrant of the Beast: onelic they feared, that if the Asse went into any Riuer or Water, they would be in danger of loosing him. On a day, the Asse escaping from his guide, ranne into the neereft Lake, and plunging himselfe well in the Water; he recouered againe his former shape. And *Apuleius* telleth vs, that he regained his shape of Man, by hauing fed on *Roses*.

It is yet (at this day) to bee scene in *Egypt*, that some will bring Asses into a publike place, where they will make them shew diuers feates of agility, and Apish-like trickes: Vnderstanding all that is commaunded them, and executing the same. As, to reueale the fairest

Aug de ciuit. Dei. Lib. 7. Cap. 18.

His transformation into an Asse.

His Booke of the golden Asse.

Aug. De ciuit. Dei Lib. 18. Cap. 17. 18.

An Englishman transformed into an Asse, in the Isle of *Cyprus*.

An Asse that came to Lectures, read in the school.

Eaptist. Fulgosus in lib. 3. cap. 2.

A young Iugler turned into an Asse.

Asses in *Egypt* that appeare to haue vnderstanding.

Sorcerers are
euer wicked
wretches.

fairest Woman in the company, which they doe, and many other thinges (hard to be credited) which they perform, according as *Belonius* declareth, in such obseruations as he hath noted, and diuers other beside, who haue bin there, and auouched euery thing to me. Thus then you see my conclusion, which is (concerning the Metamorphosis of *Lucius Apuleius*) that he was changed into an Asse, and exercised Magicall Artes: albeit he was one of the learnedst Men of his time, and neuer was provided of any honourable estate, as (willingly) no Sorcerers will be. For they are but abiekt Wretches, and keepe themselues concealed among the people, according as *Saint Augustine* saith.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of a Taylor, named Iohn Leyden, a Hollander, who by his smooth tongue, was elected King of Munster, in the Countrey of Germany.



He reason that moued me to remember *Iohn Leyden*, who made himselfe a King, though hee was no more then a miserable poore Tailor: was, in regard of a former Chapter, where I discoursed of such, as abused the eloquence which Nature bestowed on them, and (many times) came to violent deaths, according as this man did, of whom I will describe the true History, recorded by *Sleydan*, *Surius*, and others, that were in *Germany* at the very same time.

Authors being eye-witnesses,

We must first vnderstand, that in *Westphalia* (a Countrey of *Germanie*, subiekt partly to the Arch-bishop of *Cologne*, and partly to the Dukes of *Saxonie*) there is a faire, great, and opulent Citie, named *Munster*, seated vpon a goodlie Riuer. In which Citie, in the yeare 1534. were abyding so many *Anabaptists*; as durst boldly enterprise to make themselues Maisters of the Citie: expulsiug the Arch-bishop, and

The bold and impudent Anabaptists of Munster.

all other of the Inhabitants, that would not take part with them, not suffering them to cary any thing away with them. They deposed the Magistrates, creating others according to their owne pleasures, which beeing thus done, people of many neighbouring partes resorted thither, being infected with the same error: and (among others) a Taylor, that was an *Hollander*, expert and eloquent, who would needs mingle preaching among these mutinies. So well he preuailed by his smooth speaking, that he perswaded them: *That GOD had appointed him to be King of Israell; and of Iustice, as Dauid was; and that he should extend Gods Dominion and Rightes ouer the whole Earth. But in the accomplishing hereof, he must put all them to death, that would refuse to embrace the Faith, and be subiekt to righteousnesse.*

This Taylor beeing established a King, omitted no occasion whatsoever, to make himselfe starke drunke in all voluptuousnesse, which possibly hee could dreame of. According to the manner of the *Mahometists*, hee married many Wiues; hee instituted his Court and Officers, euery one hauing charge and Office in his House, and all cloathed in Gownes tissued with Gold and Siluer, euen as himselfe was, and all came of those goods which he had robd from the Churches.

He wore vpon his Head a Diadem of three Crownes, made of the best Gold that could be gotten, and then hee had a Chaine of Gold, enriched with precious Stones, and a Pommander of Gold hanging at it, whercon was engrauen a little Crosse, with this Inscription; *The King of Iustice vpon the Earth.* In brieft, his Sword was of inestimable price, and nothing wanting to adorne him most richlie: but it would require too long a time, to set down all the rablement of this Royalty so much admired, and then to be noted in that distracted Citty.

For the maintenance of his estate, when he had made attribution to himselfe of all their goods and moouables that were vnder his obedience, as well Ecclesiasticall as Lay-men: hee sent forth strong bands of Souldiours (for he had both Horse and Foote, at the least

A poore Taylor would needes make himselfe a King.

The creation of his Court and Officers, in their pomp and magnificence.

The King of Iustice on earth.

The defence and maintenance of his authority.

least five or six thousand) which were partly of *Munster*, partly of *Holland*, *Saxonic*, and other neere neighbouring places, all of the Anabaptists Religion, who ouer-ranne and spoyled the plaine Countrey, making all such their Prisoners, as they could entrap or seaze on, of what Age or Sexe soeuer they were. And this Taylor King, tooke the third part of the Monies, which ensued by their ransomes and other thefts: the rest was distributed among the Souldiours, who left neyther Horses, Mules, Mares, Coltes, or any other kinde of labouring Beast whatsoever, (beside Sheepe, Kine, or other Cattle) within tenne miles compasse round about. They left not a handfull of Graine in any Towne or Village: providing themselves of all kind of Weapons, fortifying the Bulwarkes, Casemates, Spurs, Trenches, and Ditches, not omitting any artefice or defence of the Cittie.

To the end also, that their Heresie might spread it selfe in length and largenesse, the King commanded; that some should be sent vnto the neighbouring Townes, and this commaund was as speedily effected. Wheretupon, one of his Prophets made a conuocation (by sound of Trumpet) of all the people, in the great Shippe of the great Church, so that there came about four thousand Men, and found there their Supper ready prepared, with no meane abundance of all kind of meats, and being all set, they were serued by the King and Queene. At the ending of Supper, the King presented to euery one, a piece of Bread, speaking these words: *Take, eate, and declare the death of the Lord.* The Queene likewise presented them the Cup, saying; *Drink, and declare the death of the Lord.* When this company had supped, there were about a thousand more, who had stood as Guards all this while; and they sate downe to Supper, even as the other had done. The whole Supper being finished, the fore-named Royall Taylor and Prophet, sitting on an high seate, demanded; if they would bee all obedient to the word of God? whereto they answered, yea. Then he added, that it was the wil of the Father, that certaine men should be sent from the cittie, to sowe the Doctrin abroad

which they had embraced.

In a Roule brought before the King, the names of eight and twentie Men were rehearsed, of which number, eight were sent to *Suaburg*, and as many to *Coffeld*: eight more were commaunded to goe to *Susac*; and the other eight to *Vuaremdorp*. All these beeing good Townes of that Countrey, and had entertained Garrisons, to defend themselves from the surprises and inuasions of the *Munsterians* and *Anabaptists*. This being done, the King & the Queen with all their Seruants and delegate Apostles, went and supped againe at their owne liking. And as the King sate at the Table, hee rose, and gaue a lofty leape, saying: *That the Father had commaunded him some thing to be done.* And forthwith, hee imposed vpon a Souldiour, that he was a Traytour, and instantlie did cut off his head. Then returning to the Table againe, he did nothing but maintaine talke, of the bloody and horrible deede done by himselfe, which made the supper much more execrable.

Afterward, hee dispatched away his worthy Apostles, and the King gaue a crown to euery one of them (beside the Mony they had of their owne) to buy all necessary thinges: because they should leaue those places (where their doctrin would not be received) in testimony of their perdition. These things were full of admiration and folly, hardly to bee credited by posterity: but there is not any matter whatsoever, which such men wil not voluntarily execute, that are deprived of the light of truth, and their owne best senses, beeing made drunke with the dregs of the Deuill.

On went those fond headed fellowes, according as he had commanded them, and cryed out horribly at their assigned places: admonishing the people to bee repentant, or else they should perish very soone. They would presume so farre as the iudgement Bars, and there spread a Gowne on the ground before the Magistrate, casting also downe the fore-mentioned Crown: giuing assurance, that they were sent thither by the Father, to proclaim peace. Which if they receiued, they must then make all their goods in common: but if they refused so to do, they testified by that Crowne,

Their thefts and spoyles.

The fortification of *Munster*, and their courses.

Five thousand men bidden to supper in a Church.

A very strange kind of communion.

The sending abroad of his counterfeit Apostles.

The King at his supper performeth the act of a Hang-man.

The Kings liberality to his Apostles.

The behavior and doctrine of these idle-headed Apostles.

Horrible and blasphemous pretences.

The apprehension of the Apostles.

The false Apostles put to death.

The City of Munster besieged.

The Kings Hangman beheaded one of his Queenes.

Diuorce of Wiues allowed by his laws

that they had dinorced peace, when she was presented to them. For they saide, the time (fore-tolde by the Prophets) was now come, wherein Gods pleasure was, that Iustice should bee exercised on earth. And when as the King (doing his office) had sowed and dispersed Iustice throug hout the world: that then, Iesus Christ would resigne the Kingdome to his Father.

These Apostles were taken, and first of all, examined without any punishment, afterward, tortures were thought conuenient, to vnderstand their Faith and beleefe, and concerning the surprizall and fortifying of the Citty, with such like matters, as were very necessary to be enquired. Among other things, their answere was, that they onely had the true doctrine, neither more or lesse then other Christians. In breefe, none of these warlike Apostles, willing to be dismounted from their high horsed frenzies; were conducted to death, only one escaped.

Soone after the Citty was besieged, by means of the Byshop, assisted by many Princes of *Germany*, as well Catholikes as Protestants; and especiallie the Arch-bishop of *Cologne*. The siede continued before *Munster* (very neere) teu months, and was so strictly shut vp on all sides: as they imagined to tast of daintie delicates, when they could feed on Rats and Mice; yea, to eate dried parched skinned in stead of Bread; all which notwithstanding, the King felt no want of any thing. It happened, that as many dyed with famine, one of the Wiues to the King (moued with pittie towards the poore men) saide to some other; that the calamitie of these miserable Soules, appeared to her, not pleasing God. Which being vnderstood by the King: he brought her (with his other Wiues) to the place appointed, & there saw her head cut off. Whereat the other began to sing, and rendred thanks to the heauenly Father: so that the King himselfe began to dance, and perswaded his people to do the like, although they had no food to whet their teeth on.

He had established by his lawes, the repudiation of wiues, and marrying of as many as a man would: in which case, he had more then two hundred causes

in his Court of Audience; and onelic brought before himselfe. The dearth of all things grew so extreame (during this siede) in the Citty: that two Men escaped out to the Byshop; of whom he learned, which side of the Citty was most compelable. And heereupon, the Byshop exhorted the besieged, to yeild themselues, because pardon should be granted to the poore abused people; and the more part of them would gladly have gone forth: for the Byshop had appointed twelue expert Captaines, who gaue so diligent guard and attendance, that they who were within, could not scape any way. The Inhabitants of the Citty, in the presence of their King, made answere by *Bertrand Rotman*, that they would neuer forsake their first apprehension. Vpon this refusal, fiftene hundred men (conducted by the two Fugitiues) won one of the Bastions of the Citty, where they slew all them that were the Guards, and suddenly entered into the citty, where fighting awhile against the Citizens, they opened the Gates to the rest of the Army. Then all the rest entered crowding in, and put all to the Sword; yet notwithstanding, pardon was graunted to some, that required mercy. The King, and *Knipperdolling* were taken, and the wretched beggarly *Bertrand Rotman*, who was (well-neere) the sole cause of all the tragicall action: but breaking away very desperately, to thwart his resistors; he was massacred among them, and his Soule sent to the highest Disposer.

After this, the King, his Councillers, *Knipperdolling*, and *Crechring*, hauing bene in Prison some moneths: to the mockery of the whole world, they were punished; in the yeare one thousand, five hundred, thirtie sixe, with such a punishment as they had well deserued. For, being bound to the Trunkes of diuers Trees; they were nayled thereto all along, and then the Sword passing thorough their bodies, their liues were ended. Then were they enclosed in Cages of Iron, and so hanged on the top of the highest Tower in the Citty: the Kings body hanging in the midst, and higher then all the rest. Such was the conclusion of these wretched men, who (questionlesse) had brought the Land

Pardon offered to the people.

The Cittyes answere.

The City of Munster taken by the Bishops forces, and the King and his Councillers.

The Taylor King and his companions put to death, and in such manner as they had iustly deserued.

Land to ruine and confusion, as hee refo-
re the *Gothes* and *Vandales* did: if the
diuine prouidence, which euermore is
asistaunt in our humane actions, had
not broken & dissipated their desseigns:

CHAP. XL.

*Of the Order and manner, which ought to
be obserued in laughter; and prouoca-
tion thereto. Of the cause of Laughter,
with manie discourses tending there-
unto.*



Albeit, that it is the
propertie of man (as
all the Phylosophers,
and men of greatest
knowledge haue writ-
ten) to Laugh, or else,

speaking in another manner, that man is
a laughing creature: yet may not wee
thereby inferre, that he ought to Laugh
without reason, to no purpose, or out of
measure; neither to prouoke others to
laughter, but in good sort and ciuillie.
For, such is the quality of people, with-
out vnderstanding, Bouffons and disso-
lute persons, who by their Lyes, Tales,
and villanous Ribaldries, doe scandalize
honest Natures, & raise laughter in such
as are as bad as themselves. For all things
which incite laughing, and gladdeth the
spirit, by yeelding pleasure thereto: doth
not yet permit; that in this point, men
should bee vnmindfull of greuaunces,
which are as naturall attendants vpon
life. Therefore, we may well say, that
Laughter is verie agreeable to men, and
commendable also in the procurer, so
it bee done in good sort, and at apt sea-
sons.

In regard whereof, we beholde many
things, which men haue deuised to this
effect, as Feasts, and diuers kinds of plea-
sing spectacles. And because wee affect
such, as are the cause of those recreati-
ons wherein we take delight, the Kings in
ancient times, the *Romaines*, the *Atheni-
ans*, and many more beside, to purchase
the good liking of their people, & to feed
their eies and minds in whole multitudes
together; had a custome, to make great

Theaters, and other publicke buildinges,
where new Playes might bee exhibited,
courses of Horses and Chariots, Com-
bates of strange Beasts; Comedies, Tra-
gedies, and Morisco Daunces. And yet
these spectacles were not so disordered,
but seuerer Phylosophers would bee pre-
sent at them; where manie times, by such
delectations, or representations of that
kinde, or else at Banquets; they founde a
relaxation of their spirits, being former-
ly busied & wearied with high discourse,
and Diuine thoughtes. As all manner of
men, euen in these daies can affoord the
like. For, not onely Labourers, and all
such as take the greatest paines and tra-
uell of body: but likewise religious holie
men, yea, and prisoners, that awaite the
stroake of death from houre to houre,
would neuerthelesse, seeke some Medi-
cine and remedie for theyr Recreation.

The causes of Laughter, are a certain
kinde of deformity, in regarde, that wee
laugh at such things; which do not con-
cord in themselves, but seeme vnfitly,
albeit they are not; I know not howe to
expresse them otherwise. But whosoeuer
considereth wel with himself in this case,
will finde; that euen daily (as it were) the
matter which is laughed at, is a thing
that hath no conueniency, and yet not-
withstanding, it is not ill be seeming. I
will shew ye, what means a discreet per-
son ought to vse, for the moouing of lau-
ghter, and euen vpon what tearmes: be-
cause it is not alwayes conuenable, that
he should vse it, neither in such maner,
as is vsed by Fooles, Drunkards, Sottes,
Iesters, and namely Bouffones. And al-
beit such manner of people are faouored
in Courts, yet howsoeuer, they deserue
not to be called wise or discreet, but eue-
rie one by his name, and to be esteemed
as he is. For this cause was it, that *Mar-
cius Aurelius* dismissed one of his Sonnes
Schoole-maisters (although he was lear-
ned) for Laughing out of measure in a
Theater. And the Sonneto *Phillip* the
Emperor, looked on his Father with an
vnfriendly countenance, because he had
likewise Laughed in the Theater disor-
derly.

It is fit likewise to be well considered,
what limit and measure should be obser-
ued in pointing, girding, or taunting, &
who it is that is thus dealt withal, because
he cannot induce or procure Laughter,
by

Seuerer Phy-
losophers pre-
sent at plea-
sing shewes.

Euerie one
desirous of
merriment.

A definition
of the causes
of laughter.

The manner
and means to
moue Laught-
er.

Examples al-
legged in this
case.

No scorn or
mockery is to
be made of
poore infor-
tunate persons

It is both ci-
uill to laugh,
& to procure
laughter with
modesty.

To be merrie
with a mix-
ture of sor-
row.

Occasions
which haue
bin deuised
for laughter.

by mocking or deriding a poore, wretched, or vnfortunate man, neither at any wicked, notorious, or publick badde bodie. For, in mine opinion, such people of the first degree, deserue rather to be pittied and relieued, and the other to be seuerely punnished, then Laughed or mocked at. And manly Spirites, cannot easilie encline themselues, to Laugh at miserie or pouertie, except it bee in this lowe and down-cast condition, presumption, Pride, or Arrogancie bee too palpable,

Laughing & mocking very dangerous, & therefore to be wel regarded.

How a man may deride honest cause of Laughter.

Care is to bee had also, of such as are rich, beloued, and respected of euerie one, because in Laughing at such, a man may beget very dangerous enemies. And therefore, it is fittest to Laugh and smile at such vices, as flowe from men that are not so miserable, as may moue compassion, neither so wicked and unhappie, as death were more fitting for them; nor yet so great, as their smallest spight and enuy, may incurre too much daunger. Heerewith we are to know, that in places where words do prouoke Laughter, they may lift also to graue sentences, both of praise and dispraise, sometimes expressed in one and the same words. As, in commending a liberal man, saying; he makes his wealth common, at the command of his friends: the very same may be spoken to his disgrace, if hee haue gotten it by Theft, or any other euill purchase, because it is neither his to vse, nor theirs. Of a Ladie of honor, or voluptuous carriage, in condemning or commending, no more neede be saide, but that, She is a Lady of much.

Concerning newes and iests.

Report of Nouelties, and prety leasfs may bee vsed, with some imitation of them whome they concerne, reseruing alwayes the dignity of a discrete person, without dishonest speeches, or actions of lesse qualitie. Not scruiing the Countenance, nor writhing the bodie, but carried with such demeanor, and mooued in such manner, that he who vnderstandeth and beholdeth our motion, gesture, and words, may imagine much more then he seeth, or readily vnderstandeth; and thereby be the better induced to Laughter. As in a Nouell, which was related before the Duke d' *Aumale*, one made his complaint to the Maire d' *Auxonne*, the Capitall Town in the Vicountie of *Bourgogne*, because one had robd him of his

Report of a Nouell, that may yeeld no offence.

Asse, saying; *My Lord, if you had but seen mine Asse, you would know what great occasion I haue to complaine, and much more then (as yet) you haue heard by mee. For, when he had his pannel on his backe, he looked verily like Marten.* And Marten then was the Maiors name. And another, that was rehearsed before King *Henry the 3.* of one, who meeting with a Hearde of Goats, made his stay, and (with a verie straunge countenance, because the foremost was a great Male Goat, leading the way, and hauing a long Beard) saide: *Behold this goodly Goate, doth he not look like Plato?* And an infinite other of like Nature, which can offend no man.

Some haue been noted oftentimes, to Laughe and weepe at one and the same thing. As a man is seen to be very ioyfull to succeed in the goodes of some deceased person: and neuertheless mourneth, after his reioycing with his friendes, both which do well agree with that which the Poet saith:

Heredis fletus sub persona risus est.

Which is as much to say, as: *The teares of an heire, are nothing but smiles & ioyes.* As a yong Maiden in the County of *Limosine*, shewing her self iocund & laughing on her wedding day: but when shee should be had out of her Fathers house, she hung about her Mothers necke, bitterly weeping; and held her so stronglie, as very hardly could her Armes bee loosed, only for beeing to depart out of her paternall dwelling. The like may be saide of *Iulius Caesar*, for when hee was presented with the head of *Pompey*, Historians say, hee turned his lookes aside, weeping at so harsh and vnpleasing a spectacle, & said; *Hath there been betweene vs so long intelligence, for managing of the publick affaires? Such Community of fortunes? So many reciprocall Offices and Alliances? And yet could it bee immagined, that this Face would proue false and counterfet?* But breaking off this discourse, he was verie ioyfull, and laughed heartily, to see himselfe without a Competitor in the Empire of the world.

Laughing & weeping at one and the same things.

Anew married Wife in the Country of *Limosine*.

Iulius Caesar hauing *Pompey*'s head presented him.

Alexander the Great laughed in his chiefest mishaps.

Many illustrious and great men, haue laughed in their chiefe aduersities, as *Alexander the Great* (according as *Plinie* testifyeth) who beeing on the very point and instant to giue the battel against *Darius*, the Disputing then betweene them, was for the whole Empire of the East, he

he laughed and reioyced with his friends. *Titus Livius* hath left in writing, that whē the *Carthaginians* were reduced to such estate, as to pay tribute to the *Romaines*, all of them wept, except *Hanniball*, who had foreseene that fortune, because they of the *Barchan* faction wer his hindrance, that no succour could be sent him, he being in *Italy*. *Brutus*, by his continuall Laughing, faigned himselfe to be a fool, albeit he was extraordinarily wise. *Mark Antonie*, in all the losses of his battels & estates. yea, during his very flights, would laugh continually.

To speake now my iudgment, which of the conditions was more tollerable in the two Phylosophers, to wit; *Democritus* that Laughed ordinarily; or, *Heraclitus*, who wept in the like extremitie? Surely I should say (yet submitting vnto more solid opinion) that that of *Democritus* was the most allowable: because hēe found humane condition to be vain and ridiculous; and therefore, was neuer seene in publicke, but with a smiling and mocking countenance.

Heraclitus, taking pittie and compassion on the same wretched estate, carried a sad face continually, and his eyes overflowing with teares. I affect rather the first humor (not that I take more delight in Laughing then weeping) but because it is more disdainfull, and accuseth vs far beyond the other: and me thinkes, euen but according to our owne merites, we neuer can bee sufficiently contemned. Complaints and Commiseration, are mingled with some esteem of the thing which wee mourne for.

Those things which we mocke at, are of vaine account, and without anie Value: and I cannot thinke, that there is so much infelicity in vs, as there is vanitie; neither so much maliciousnesse, as there is folly; for wee are not so miserable, as we are vaine. *Diogenes*, who trifled the time alone by himselfe, rolling his Tub, and nodding his head at Great *Alexander*, thought him & vs all, to be no better then Butter-flies, or as bladders blowne vp with winde.

Now, albeit that no Naturlist, hath as yet expressed, what Laughter is, and whence it proceedeth: yet to content the curious Reader, I will deliuer my opinion thereof. To speake no more then truth, it is a matter of much amazement (as at

any turbulent commotion) to behold so strange effects. As when a man seemes extraordinarily chearefull, yet his eyes to ouer-abound with teares, that the voyce, face, Linges, and all the breast, shake, mooue, and are blowne vp thereby, euen without any possibility (in many bodies) to maister such an assault: without a respect either of persons, place, or time, presented then before their eyes. No man could euer (as yet) satisfie me heerein; and I know not, whither I shall satisfie you, or no, with such breuitie as I am bound vnto.

This cause of so little apparance, consisteth (in mine opinion) in a tickling of the blood, which is in some more sensible then in others, according as they contain most of the bilious or sanguine Complexion: for other men can verie hardlie Laugh, that haue their blood colde and fast settled as it were. Now, al that which maketh an ouerture or opening in our apprehension, pricking sweetly, softly, & as it were, by stealth, is the propper subject of Laughter, such as are wordes and fashions of making it, either by some folly, or at a sudden and industrious Nouelty. For that which contrarywise, is familiar to vs, and wee haue often tasted or knowne, looseth all power of motion in vs, and moouing is the chiefest thing of all. As it happeneth with our Comedians or Stage-Players, in double repetition of one and the same thing: or Mirth-makers, that are not skilled in diuersifying their Iests and merriments. For in verie deede, nothing but variety robbes vs of a former glutting, and begets a newe birth of liuely conceit; and such frequentie procureth the oftner motion, euen of it selfe.

The blood then, which (as one sayth) is the Father, Nurse, and Host of all pleasure, is that which first of all, receyueth such an effect within vs; and then giueth encrease to his Laughing impression, as it taketh hold of our immagination, and disperseth it selfe lightly thorough the Veines, Arteries, and braine, euen to the puffing vp, or pressing downe of the body, yea, to start or gush teares out at the eyes, causing many prouokings in some, of those things that are pleasing to them, and engendering the like in others. Much like vnto a stone cast into the Water, which of one circkle maketh manie, and mul-

The laughter of Hanniball.

Brutus & Marcus Antonius.

Laughing is more allowable in a man, then weeping

Democritus preferred before Heraclitus.

Teares and smiles compared in our own condition.

What maner of thing Laughter is.

The Authors Proposition, from what part laughing cometh.

The sanguine and Choleric, & matter of nouelty

Variety is the best for prouoking laughter.

The Blood is the Father, Nurse, & entertainer of all pleasure.

Apt Similitudes to this purpose.

multiply so fast, that the first loosing it selfe, re-delivereth to this Element, his equality and smoothnesse. And as a quaking or shiuering, which from one certaine place, runneth suddenly ouer al the body, when a man is vncloathed, vntill heate bee regained, and chafeth it away. Thus is it easie to know, how Laughter beginneth, continueth, and redoubleth of it selfe.

Laughter ensuing by tickling.

It is not in all men alike, to Laugh on constraint, to wit; hee that is tickled vnder the Arme-pits, it is then attributed to a trauersing of the breast or *Diaphragma*; the harine or offence whereof, produceth an itching, which (according to the authority of some Bookes) maketh men to dye with Laughter. It is not then to bee doubted, that these two kindes of Laughter, Naturall, and constrained, haue one and the same Original, neither doe arise of a suddennesse, surprize, or a tickling, not awaited or expected, or else by such an inward maturity, that (as we vse to say) stiflith by custome, befor e-casion be giuen.

Two kinds of Laughter not alike.

Of tickling & prouoking to Laughter, in some that can endure it, and others not.

Which may appear to be so, by proof of them, who perceyuing that they must be tickled, or made to Laugh, by putting a mans hand to the sole of the foot, or in the necke, do resolue themselues against it; and with a deliberate purpose, make a setting of their bloode; by this meanes, they shall in a manner, not be moued a jot. On the contrary part, some cannot suffer it, when they striue most to defend themselues from it: aswel, because meere imagination giueth them such a feeling, as by reason of motion, which presserth the Veines, & still encreaseth such a tickling. So one saieth, that the best makers of witty Iests or conceites, are neuer the first Laughers; for thereby they shoulde beget losse of that perswasion, which they haue of others, that shall see or heare them. Therefore, a word to win Laughter, must be quickly decocted, working vpon some sudden & vnexpected thing: whereof man only is capable, by a qualitie perticularly giuen to him. In briefe, all that can be said, concerning the cause of Laughter, is comprized in these foure Verses:

Man only (among al creatures) capable of Laughter.

Within the Braine I breede, and to the Liuer fall,
By tickling I controule, and make all yeelde to me:
On Man I onely waite, but come before he call,
And in his face set smiles, how sad so ere he be.

CH AP. XLI.

Of the Nature of Common-Weales. And of their naturall mutability and instability, exemplified in Empires, Kingdomes, and other Estates.

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BEfore wee enter into Discourse of a Commonwelth wee must first consider the Naturall mutabilitie and instability thereof; which consisting of men, must needs be subiect vnto the same mutation and corruption, whereto all men and humain things, are subiect by an inuolable decree and Law of God, the Author of nature. He hath irreuocably ordained, that whatsoever is compounded, either Naturally of Elements, or artificially by the industrie of men, shall be dissolved; and whatsoever groweth and encreaseth, shall likewise decrease and perish. Therefore we see, that all earthly things haue theyr beginning, their growth, and encrease, their state and consistance, their declination & decay; and finally, their dissolution. For beside infinite externall causes, by which they are sooner or later corrupted and consumed: euery thing breedeth in it selfe an internall sicknesse, which in the end, doth ineuitably bring it vnto corruption. The Iron and other Mettals breed a rust; Corne and other fruits, a Worm; Cloth, a Moath; Mens bodies, and other living Creatures, diseases, which destroy them in the end. So in like manner, Commonwealth engendereth in it selfe, disorders, discordes, and dissensions, which sooner or later bring it to ruine.

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For the better explication heereof, & the Nature of Common-wealth it is further to be noted, that, as the health and integrity of euery thing, that is compounded of different and contrarie qualities, consisteth in the equall temperature of the saide qualities: so by the distemperature and inequality thereof, groweth the corruption and dissolution of the sayde compound. For, where there is a continuall conflict of contrarieties (euerie one working according to his owne Nature

The naturall mutability & instabilitie of Common-wealths.

Euery thing hath in it selfe an inward sicknesse.

The Nature of Common-wealth.

A continuall conflict of contrarieties.

ture

ture and property) it cannot be, but that in time, one will abounde, and another decay; one weare and wast another; and so in the end, one ouercome and extinguish the other, whereby the composition must needs, sooner or later be dissolved.

And this we see verified, not onely in all Naturall bodies, compounded of naturall humours or Elements (as in men, Beasts, Hearbes, Trees, Plants, and such like) but also in the polliticke bodie, that is to say, in the Common-wealth it selfe, which consisteth in the Combination of persons of different Sexes, Orders, Degrees, and qualities. As of men and Women, Prince and Subiect, Rich & poor, Noble and Base, Bound and Free, Good and Bad, and of innumerable perticuler men, differing among themselues in profession of Life, Faculties, Trades, and Occupations, in maners and affections: and yet all vnited and combined together in the Communion of one Law and gouernment.

Wherefore, euen as mens bodyes, being compacted of contrary Elements, and affected with different and contrarie humors, are so much the more healthful found and dureable, by howe much the saide humors are better and more equally tempered amongst themselues (which neuerthelesse, can neuer haue such an exact and perfect temperature, but that in time, they will consume one another; and consequently, destroy the body with the effect.) Euen so, the polliticke bodie that is to say, the Common-wealth, is so much the sounder, and flourisheth the longer; by howe much the temperature of the diffrent Orders and degrees therein is better, and more equally composed. Which temperature, *Plato* calleth; *A Harmony consisting in an equal and concordant disparity, or inequality*, wherewith the Common-wealth is (as it were with a certaine bond) knitte and vnited in it selfe.

But forasmuch, as it is not possible, that the saide polliticke hermony & consonance, can be for euer preserued, in the continual discord and conflict of contrarie degrees, humors, inclinations, affections, and passions, it must needs follow, that the bond, that is to say, the hermony being interrupted and broken, the Common-wealth shall fall to disorder, and con-

sequently decay. As both *Aristotle* and *Plato* do teach; and is also most manifest by the experience of all ages and times, and of all Kingdomes & Commonwealthes, either past or present. As to say somewhat briefly of both, wee see evidently in the ancient Kingdomes of *Iuda* and *Israell*, of *Egypt*, *Macedon*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Lacedemon*, and in the Commonwealthes of the *Carthagenians*, *Athenians*, *Corinthians*, *Thebanes*, and such others; all of them famous in times past, & some of them no lesse flourishing in all kindes of Learning and humane VVisedome, then in Armes and militarie Discipline: yet now vtterly perished, insomuch, that there is scant any monument or memory of them. And hath not also the like hapned, to the mighty and potent Empyres of the *Affyrians*, the *Medes*, the *Greekes*, and the *Romans*? VVherof tne last which was the mightiest aboue all the rest, had so many changes in a few Ages, to witte; in sixe hundered yeares space, that it receiued all formes and kinds of gouernment.

Passing first, from Kings to *Decemviri*; that is to say, ten Gouernors. From the *Decemviri*, to Kings againe. From them to *Consuls*. From *Consulles* againe, to *Decemviri*. From them, to the *Tribunes of Soldiers*. From *Tribunes* to *Consuls*. From them, to *Perpetuall Dictatours*. From *Dictatours*, to *Triumviri*. And from them to *Emperors*; vnder whome, the Empire being miserably rent and torne with *Ciuill warres*, became in the end, to be a prey and spoyle to all barbarous Nations.

And, if wee looke to the Kingdomes and Commonwealthes, which stande on foote at this day, as namely, our owne Countrey; and what changes and mutations there haue beene therein, since it was first Conquered by the *Romains*: how many Kings it hath had at once, to wit, seauen? How oft it hath been conquered by strangers; as by *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*? VVhat *Ciuill warres* and bloodie battels there haue been since the Conquest? First, in the time of King *Stephen*. After, in the *Barons wars*. And after againe, betwixt the Houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*; for the space of aboue thirtie yeares, wherein we read, that onely one King, to wit; *Edward* the fourth, was present and fought himselfe, in eight

Arist. in Polit. lib. 5. cap. 12. Plato in Lib. de Repub. 80.

The desolation and ruine of many ancient Kingdomes.

The often change of gouernors in the Romane Empire.

Titus Livius.

The diuerse mutations in Britaine, since the *Romains* conquered it. *Pol. Virg. in hist. Angl.*

Wherein, and of whome a Common-wealth consisteth.

A Comparison of the composition of mens bodies.

Plato in lib. 8. de Repub.

Of politicke Hermony & agreement.

The reuolu-
tions and de-
uisions in the
Realmes of
Scotland, France
Flanders, and
other King-
domes adioy-
ning.
Phil. Com. in
hist. de reb. gest.
Lodo. cap. 10.
Ioan. Laf de O-
rig. Scot.
Proyard.
Poplinier.
Mercurius Gal-
lo Belgicus.

Rode. Toletan.
Ioan. Vassius.

The often
changes and
innouations
of diuers
States in *Italy*

Blond. Sabel.
Lib. Singonius.
Guic.

Goths, Vandals
Alaires, Huns,
and *Lombards,*
ruinating *Ita-*
ly.

or nine seuerall battails; and that, during the same time, there were slaine and banished, fourescore Princes of the bloode Royall. Againe, if we adde thereto, the depositions, expulsions, imprisonments, and murthers of Kinges, in diuers ages and times; and the frequent rebellions of subiects against their Princes, for exacti-
ons, extortions, and innouations. If we also consider in *Scotland*, our next neighbor, the like, or rather greater reuoluti-
ons, which caused the vntimely death of eight or nine Kings and Regents, in these two last ages. The great mutations and domesticall deuisions, which haue miserably distracted, & almost ruined *France*, no lesse heeretofore at diuers times, then now of late. Also the most frequent, or rather continuall commotions in *Flan-*
ders, sildom or neuer quiet in times past, and in great garboiles at this present. Againe, if we cast our eyes somewhat fur-
ther, to the Countries next adioyning, as to the Empire in *Germany*, very potent in former times, and now much decaid. Or to *Spaine*, first subiect to the *Romans*, after to the *Gothes*, and then conquered by the *Moors* (solicited and brought in by the *Spaniards* themselues) then diuided into six or seuen seuerall Kingdoms & States. And now at length, after continuall ciuill war, for six or seauen hundred years together; reduced againe (not many years ago) to one Monarchy. Finally, for breuities sake (to range no further abroad then *Italy*, if wee waigh the innouations that haue succeeded therein, as well in this last age, by the bloody wars betwixt the *French* and the *Spanish*, for the States of *Millaine* and *Naples*, subiect somtimes to Kings and Princes of their owne, and now made Prouinces to *Spaine*) as also the mutation in former times, not onely in the saide States; but also in *Rome* it selfe, taken and sacked, or at least besieged thirteene or fourteene seuerall times, and in all other parts of *Italy*, miserably distressed, spoyled, and ruined, partly by the frequent irruptions and inuadations of barbarous Nations (as *Goths, Vandals, Alanes, Hunnes,* and *Lombards*) and partly by inuasions of *Germane* Emperours; and lastly, by Domesticall and ciuill wars, proceeding other-whiles, of the ambiti-

ons of Tyrants in many perticuler Cit-
ties; and sometimes, by the furious facti-
ons of the *Guelfes* and *Gibelines* (which, for some yeares, filled all States, Citties, Townes, yea, and priuate houses, with cruel slaughters and murders of parents, Kinsfolkes, Friends, and all sorts of people.) Sometimes again, by popular tumults and seditions, whereby there hath
bin noted in *Geneway*, ten notable changes of that State, in the space of thirtie yeares. Sometimes the common people preuailing against the Nobilitie; and sometimes the Nobility against the people: by which meanes, they are brought now to so low an ebbe, that wheras they were able in times past, to holde competence with the State of *Venice*; yea, and took the duke of *Venice* prisoner in a battell at Sea (wherein they had 200. Gallies of their owne) they haue not now past 25 and the same also waged and payd by the Catholicke King. If we waigh and consider al this, we may draw from thence two notable documerts.

First, the casualty and vanity of al humane Power, Honor, Dignity, Dominion, and Glory, seeing they do not onely perish sooner or later: but also are subiect (while they last) vnto such mutation, and accompanied with infinit corrosiues and afflictions. Which consideration may iustly moue vs, to lift vp our cogitations from earthly delightes, to the contemplation and desire of heauenlie, that are ineffable, incomprehensible, and eternal. For as *Seneca* saith; *Nothing is more contemptible, then man: if he doo not raise and eleuate himselfe aboue himselfe.*

The other Document is, that considering the Natural mobility, inconstancie, and infirmity, as wel of anie Commonwealth, as of man himselfe, and of al humane creatures, no humane wit or power, is more able to defend any kingdom or Commonwealth, from declination and decay, then to preferue a man from al sicknesse and mortality, or earthlie things from corruption.

CHAP.

The State of
Geneway chan-
ged ten times
in 30. yeares.

Two Docu-
ments cōcer-
ning the mu-
tabilitie and
chaung: of
States.

Sen. Praes. in
Lib. 1. Natural.
Quest.

CHAP. XLII.

Who was the first that used Circumcision: From whence it proceeded. Of the use thereof: What people have used it, and who do yet use it.



N this Chapter, the Christian Reader may Learne, by howe much the Christian Church is more happie, and full of holy Libertie, then the Jewes Synagogie; for therein were long Ceremonies, irkesome and tedious, Sacrifices of great cost and charge, & such commaundements, as no man was euer found, that did, or coule accomplish that Lawe, but onely Iesus Christ, true God, and true man; and after it was fulfilled by him, the Law immediately ceased.

In that Mosaicall Iewish Lawe, there were such commandements, as whosoever exceeded the least iot in the worlde, without hauing regard to euey true circumstance, was put to death. As hee that had kindled a little fire on the Sabath day; vpon some necessitie, was publickely stoned to death. That euerie infant male, that was not circumcised, at, or within eight daies after his byrthe, should perish, and neuer obtaine saluation, with many other such like commandements.

This Circumcision whereof I speake in this Chapter, was practised first in Abraham, in the Lande of Charan, from whence he departed by Gods commandement, because the inhabitantes were Idolaters, and for many other occasions, which the Reader may finde in the holyc Bible, to be in that manner ordayned of God. Abraham, passing into strange Countreyes, with his family which was great, leading a Pastorall life, abounding in Cattle, slaues, and many other moueables of great value; God inioyned him that hee should circumcise himselfe, his children, and al the males that wer in his house, as a signe that the true God was their God, in whom only they shold put

their trust. This was the most auncient commaund that euer God made, before the Law was giuen, which was 292. years, or thereabout, after the Deluge. Moreouer, hee commanded, that all the male Infants of the Israelites, should bee Circumcised within the saide eight daies, vpon paine of death, vnto him that should not be.

10 The Iudaicall Circumcision, was performed with a sharpe cutting stone, and not with any Knife of iron steeled, a thing which was most dolourous; and wherby the young tender infants sometimes got a Feauer, whereof they after died. Howbeit, they had enough to doo with other occasions, as the cutting and fall of the Nauell, whereby Hippocrates giueth assurance; that Children doe incurre diuers daungers.

20 Theuet, and manie others, who haue voyaged into the Countries, where this Circumcision is vsed, doe say; that they hane seen store of yong people dy, grown to indifferent stature; and yong children of eight dayes old, onely by being Circumcised. Which may manifestly be proved by the sacred histories. The sonnes of Jacob, after they had fraudulently elrcumcised al the males in the City of Sichem, scituate in the land of Canaan, they tooke them the third day after their circucision & madethem passe the edg' of the sword: for they well knew, that they were so sore and tormented with paine, as they could not stand vpon their owne defence.

30 Next to our speaking of the originall of circumcison, and the first that suffered it to be done vpon himselfe, we come to the definition of the word. Circumcision is as much to say, as to make incision, and cut round about; and to speak more properly, it is a cutting away a part of the prepuce, and double skin, which covered the head or extremitie of Virga Virilis. Moses, the first Ecclesiasticall Historiographer of the world, hath giue no other reason of this circumcison, but only that it was a certaine and assured signe, that God would be a protector & defender of the circumcised. But many holy men, learned, and of great Authoritie, haue stroue to yeelde a more pregnant answer. Amongst others, Saint Cyprian saith; That as the time of publication of the Lawe drew neere, GOD ordayned and appointed Circumcision, and would haue

The most ancient commandement of God before the Law.

How the Iewes Circumcision was performed

Great dolors & dangers in Circumcision

Countreyes where Circumcision is still vsed.

Genes. 34, 26.

The definition of circucision.

Moses his reason for Circumcision.

S. Cyprian his reason why Circumcision was commanded.

The Christiana Fayth much more happie then the Iewish Law.

Seueritie of the Iewish Law.

Abraham was the first that vsed Circumcision, apointed by God, to him & his household.

Genes. 37, 23

that that part of the bodie, wherein the seed of voluptuousnesse lyeth, and the shape of Paillardise, should be cut from litle infants. To the end, that they should offer the first frutes of their blood to him, who should shed all his, for our liues and saluation. And that the common Sacrifice of euerie one, shoulde preceede the great and singuler Holocaust, which hee offered for our Redemption.

Another reason by S. Paul and Origen.

Another reason is alledged by Saint Paule, and afterward by Origen, to witte; That all the circumcised part, declared what ought to be plainly pure, cleane, & no way taxed with pollution. And euen so it behooueth, that our hearts should be offered vp to God, wide open, pure, and clenfed from all sinne.

S. Iohn Chrysoft.

S. Iohn Chrysoftom saith; It was the most ancient of all the Commandements that God gaue, and serued to the Iewes (according as Saint Cyprian declareth) to wipe away Original sinne, as Baptisme dooth at this present among Christians. But after the resurrection and Ascension of our Lorde Iesus Christ, Circumcision ceased, and was no more vsed: but onely to baptize young Infants, as well Males as females; yea, Men and VVomen of all ages, that is to say, to be washed with the water of Baptisme; and by that meanes, be receyued into the lap of the Church holy and Catholicke, out of which there is not any saluation.

At what time Circumcision was abolished

The Apostles condemned Circumcision

There was a Counsell held by the Apostles, concerning the acte of Circumcision; and they were of the minde, that the Gentiles by no meanes should vse it. Afterward, some Iewes, making profession of Christian Faith, caused themselues to bee circumcised; not that there was any need thereof, or commanded by the Apostles; but to the end, that they might the more willingly be accepted of other Iewes, to instruct and aduance them in the Faith, & to be admitted into the Synagogues, according as Saint Paule did to Timothie. But in the end, the Iewes that were conuerted vnto the Christian Faith, left Circumcision as vnprofitable, and a matter of great mollestation to the Christians.

Christians being Ethyopians, do onely vse Circumcision.

Neuerthelesse, the Christians, called *Abyssines* who liue in great *Ethyopia*, they are cicatrized with the hotte Iron in the forehead, as wee may perceiue by them that are sent to Rome, who remaine all in one house, behinde the Tribunall of

Saint Peter, to whom Pope Paule founded a reuennue for their maintenaunce. But, besides this cicatrizing in the forehead; and Baptisme, they are also Circumcised, which is a verie great error. It is to be presumed, that they haue neuer seene the Booke of the Acts of the Apostles, written by Saint Luke: or els, they haue not (as yet) receiued and approued it. I haue not read or heard of any Christians, that haue vsed, or do vse Circumcision, but only the *Ethyopians*. Verie wel I know, that in the primitiue church, many Iewes (who had beene conuerted) would haue circumcised to be continued. But this matter was discided at *Antioche*, where Saint Peter presided, as hath formerly beene saide. And it was not knowne, that any Christian vsed it, but the *Abyssine* Church only, which helde very manie great Prouinces. Al the other Christians, as *Maronites*, *Georgians*, *Armenians*, *Iacobites*, *Greekes*, *Nestorians*, and other of that Liuerie, neuer vsed it at all.

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Yet this is not enough, for not onely they which liue after the *Abyssine* manner, transgressed the aduise & command of the Apostles; but haue added sin vpon sinne, and error vpon error; for they cause their females to bee circumcised, whom they call *Cophles*. A thing, which was neuer practised in *Moysses* Law, neyther was there euer founde any expresse commaundement to do it. I know not where the noselesse *Moors* learned it, for they cut their females; although they be of Marriage estate, taking away a certain *Apophysis*, or excrescence of musculous skin, that descendeth from the superiour part of the matrix, which some cal *Nympha* or *Hymenea*, one growing on eyther side, euen so far as the orifice of the neck of the bladder, which serue the erection to coition. Many women both heere and elsewhere, haue caused themselues to bee cut, as being ouer great, and exceeding Nature, but not for any matter of Religion. The Mahometans of *Affrica*, doo circumcise themselues, because that a Prophet named *Homar*, commaunded them. And there are Wemen, that haue this Office of cutting them, but practise it not in the presence of men; which act is thought well of in the women. And they go crying in the streetes of Citties, Townes, and Villages, to make knowne what

Hier. Giglo an Italian.

The Abyssins being Christians, onely vse Circumcision.

Women that are circumcised.

Moors that haue no Noses, doo Circumcise maides marriageable.

Wemen in Affrica, that are Circumcisers.

Turkish Hereticks vnder the Sophy.

what they can do, carying themselues so wisely in the deed, that they cut but a little of the superficies; for otherwise, there would follow a great flux of blood. But the Turkish people of *Asia*, and of *Europe* (subiects to the Emperor of Turkes) do not vse it: except it be such as are vnder the Dition of the *Sophye*, whom they tearme to be Turkish Heretickes.

Plin. l. 30. c. 17

Plinie writeth, that the Egyptians haue from Antiquity, vsed Circumcision, and they of *Cholcos*, as wel as the Iews, which I hardly beleue. Well it may be, that it was vsed by some Iewes, who liued among them, euen as they do at this day, liuing among vs. Count *Ferdinand*, in his voyage of *Mexico*, in the first Island where he landed, named *Ascamil*, found, that the people of the Isle vsed Circumcision, and yet they were Idolaters, vsing oftentimes to sacrifice men, and to eate the flesh of them. Notwithstanding, it could nener yet be knowne, that eyther Iew or Christian had beene there before him, nor so much as any tract of foote of man.

Sauage people that vsed Circumcision

Neuer was Circumcision vsed in so many Countries, as it is at this day, because the Iewes haue lefte no place vn-sought, where they could inhabite or get dwelling for their money; except it bee in *France* and *Spain*; where heeretofore they regented liberally, and both were & are allowed euer heereafter to enter, but Circumcision not so frequent as it hath bin. In like manner, the Mahometan law, which vseth Circumcision, spreading it selfe both in power and Doctrine, thorow the verie greatest parts of the earth; gineth a large passage thereto; for, they which entertaine it in their Empires, are the most potent Monarkes of the world. As the Prince of Turkes; the Sophy of *Persia*; the most mighty King of the *Tartars*; *Cham*, and al the great Kings of the *Indiaes*, which dwell in the Countreyes, where the Riuer *Indus* and *Ganges* run along, and likewise all *Africa*.

A reason why Circumcision is vsed yet to this day, in so manie Countries.

A large compasse of the world.

Slaues & captiues not forced, to be circumcised among the Turkes.

Such as haue conuersed with the Turkes, do say; that they constraine not their Slaues or Captiues to be circumcised: true it is, that they haue better entertainment, if it may be called so. But afterward, if they come into the handes of Christians, they are searched; and being found to be cut, they are handled by the inselfsame manner as the Turkes doe.

And nothing can they say, but that in their hearts they are Christians; & were otherwise forced.

Therefore, we are to thanke our Lord Iesus Christ, who hath beene so gracious vnto vs, as by his death and passion, to free vs from Circumcision, graunting vs Baptisme, thereby to wash away Originall sinne. And heerein it may bee euidently seene, how greatly the *Echyopian* Church doeth erre, to vse Circumcision with Baptisme.

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CHAP. XLIII.

A Paradox, in the defence of Bastardie: Approouing, that the Bastard is more worthy to be esteemed, then he that is lawfully borne, or Legitimate.



HE great Pruiledges, which I see are duely appertayning to Bastards, and illegitimate Children, (whom the Italians in high contempt,

do terme Mules Foales) makes mee vn-
dertake the boldnesse, to preferre them before other; and to shew by good reasons, that they are greatly superiour to such, whom we call legitimate and lawfull borne Children. First of all (Gentlemen) I entreate yee to consider, that Bastards generally, are begot in more heat and vigour of loue, with more agreeable conformity of willes, and farre sweeter Vnion of the spirites. then the most part of our Legitimate Children. Consider withall, that their conception is performed by stolne opportunities, warie preuentions, watchfull discretion, and an infinite number of more ingenious deceits, and amorous actions, then eyther needeth, or is required, in a setled condition of marriage, free from that fierie feate, which is the sole spurte vnto a longing appetite. Such Conceptions (many times) are acted without anie gayetic of heart, without anie fauourie pleasing of both the souls, or that height

Bastards termed by the Italians Mules Foales.

The actiue, willing, and reciprocall loue in the act of Bastardes.

of affection and delight, that makes an act well done, before it be halfe doone. Which is the reason (as I thinke) why we see many sightly and formall Fathers, to haue Children dul of spirite, lame of disposition, and deformed in body.

How Bastards (for the most part) do yeeld preface of themselves.

Contrarywise, yee shall not find a Bastard (for the most part of them) but he is ingenious, of sprightly iudgement, and commonly accompanied with befeeming corpulence of bodie; and some other faire fore-telling rules, of good aduventure and Fortune. Beside, it seemeth as a certainty, that Nature had some peculiar respect of Bastardes, in squaring them forth such liberall allowances, as to erect and builde magnificent houses, in places of solemne and publick note, yea, in most celebrate and stupendious Citties, as hauing this care, that in following times, they should rise to great request and honour. And that it must needs be so, wee may euidently discern by al Bastard thinges, be it but in fruits, Horses, or anie other matter to be alledged, that they are better, feater, and fairer then any other are.

Examples deuied from Bastard thinges.

Of Mules.

To begin with Mules or Mulets, which are Beasts that we cannot (although wee would) in reason blame or despise. For, what is he, who can deny, that these kinds of Beasts do not endure all paines, and al turmoiles we can deuise to put them to? Notwithstanding, they eat very little, beare heauier burdens, and pace more smooth, and for mens ease, then naturall Horses do or can. And this is the reason, why reuerend and Religious Prelates, men of graue and great iudgement, especially Physitions, for the ease and health of their bodies, make choise of their daily riding on these Beastes, rather then other.

Of Bastards fruits, being grafted vpon contrary stockes.

If we speake of fruits, we shal find, that the daintiest and most excellent of all other, are such as are grafted vpon contrary stockes, which are called constryained, or Bastard fruits. They commonly, are greater, faire, sweeter, and more fauoury, then such as come of Naturall plants: & as for insensible things, we shal finde, that the name of Bastard hath bin giuen to weapons of warre: witnesse the Bastard Sword, Crosse-bow, Musket, Culuering, Cannon, and manie more, which would bee too too tronble to recount.

Insensible things.

But let vs come to men againe, & beginne with *Romulus* and *Remus*, Founders of the verie greatest City in the worlde, were they not both Bastardes? What was *Ismael*, *Hercules*, *Perses*, and *Ramires*, King of *Arragon*: a Prince (beyond all other in his time) most vertuous and famous? What was King *Arthur*, & the Emperour *Alexander*, who for his deeds was sur-named Great? And, not to alledge *Iugurth*, let vs speake of *Constantine*, Emperour of the *Romaines*: of *Mercurius Trismegistus*, and others of elder time, whose memories are not of inferior reputation, to them that haue bene accounted legitimate. But let vs come to moderne and present times, and wee shall finde, the greatest houses of Princes in *Fraunce*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Spaine*, and elsewhere, to be renowned by Bastardes: and Histories are filled with their knightly deedes and valour. Witnesse Duke *William* of *Normandie*, who Conquered *England*. The Duke of *Borse*; the Lorde *John Sforza*, and many more.

Examples deuied of men famous in diuers ages of olde.

Moderne and later times.

Let vs see howe manie learned men, the stolne pleasures and sweete embracings of women, haue yeelded vs. And we will not shame to beginne with worthy *Peter Lombard*, who yet to this day, (for honours sake) is called, *The Master of the Sentences*; who like wise hadde two Btetheren, adorned with the selfe-same Learning and sanctity as hee was. Such embracinges likewise left vs, the skilfull *Iason du Main*, who was reckoned the verie incompareable Index or Protocle, of the direct Cannon, and Ciuill Lawes. VVee had also, by the same meanes, *Erasmus Roterodamus*, who though a reuerend Abbot of *Flanders*, was saide to be his Father, yet in the iudgement of the best Learned, he was most deepe in Diuinitie, and more then meanely excellent, in the Arts of Grammar and Rhetoricke.

Examples of Learned men & great Writers.

The praises of *Erasmus Roterodamus*.

His industry, not only stirred vp good Letters in *Germanie*, *Brabant*, and *England*, but also restored and amended infinite good Authours which were before mangled and depraued; yea, his excellent Learned workes, furnished all the Studies and Libraries of *Europe*.

I will not speake of the Wise *Christopher Longueil*, of *Malignes*; whom a Good and Vertuous Byshoppe leste vs, as a true *Cicero* of our time; besides the great

The scituati-
on of the
kingdome of
Mossul.

Haelon king of
the Tartars,
stirred to armes
by the Eastern
Prince.

Baldach a very
welthy Citie,
and trading
to the *Indiæes*.

The Caliphe
leuied forces
for safetie of
his Land.

Alland maketh
a Vow to take
the City.

yeare of Grace, when the Emperor *Fredericke Barbarossa*, with many Christians was gone into *Syria* against the *Sarazins*, and in the time of Pope *Gregorie* the 9. a great and potent Emperour came out of *Tartaria*, named *Alland* (yet cald by some others *Haelon*) with an Armie of foure hundred thousand men on foot, & three hundred thousand horse, being iurged so to doo, by some Easterne Princes and Christians, to refraine the audaciousnes of the *Sarazins*, he being a warlick man, and endued with many Vertues. He was neyther Christian nor Mahumetist, and yet a Pagan that worshipped the Sunne and Moone.

After he had fought against the people of *Condares*, the *Paricanes*, *Bactrians*, *Bomareans*, *Rosanes*, *Dahes*, and manie other puissant Realms of the *Scythians*, he came into *Arabia*, where he subdued also foure Kings; and so iourning on in *Armenia*, passed neere to *Baldach*, the chiefe Cittie (as hath beene saide already) of the kingdome of *Mossul*. This Citie was rich and opulent by reason of great traffick which the Inhabitanes made to the *Indiæes*, by helpe of a goodly Riuer passing through the middest thereof; and taking his Originall in the Cittie of *Chisy*, by which riuer, within eightene dayes they coulde faile to the *Indiæes*. There is made great quantity of Silke, and cloath; of Gold & Siluer, with an infinite number of other faire and rich commodities.

The Caliph of *Baldach*, vnderstanding that this Prince approached so neere his Lands, and with an army of such power sent into *Arabia* and *Numidia*, to make a leauy of Soldiers to place in Garrisons in all the tenable Townes of his Kingdom; and among others, in his capitall Cittie of *Baldach*. *Alland*, making no doubt of taking this Cittie, did his best endeauour to get entrance: but founde it very difficult, in regard of their resolution that defended it within. Neuerthelesse, he made an Oath and Vow, that he would not budge thence, vntill he had taken the Cittie. By meanes whereof, the siege lasted longer time then the Caliphe dreamt of: for victuals begin to faile them, although they were still conueyed in secretly, but sold at verie deare rates.

The Soldiers and other people, consumed all their meanes in nourishing themselfes; and when they had no fur-

ther supplies, they desired but a quarter of such things, as were not able to content the, or but the left part of their wages before hand, onely to withstande the stroke of extreame necessity. The Caliph made them answere, that he was naked of money; but he would impose a Taxation on the people; and therewith, they should be paide. The inhabitants, by reason of the long sledge, were quite emptied both of victuals and money, as well as the Soldiers, who perceiued wel inough how matters went; and therefore, all of them (with one consent) did conspire against the Caliphe, that had a wonderful abundance of Treasure, and yet refused to helpe them, who had no cause of being there, but for the safetie of his life. Wherefore, some selected persones, in name of all the rest, went forth secretlie to the enemy, capitulating with him, that they would surrender vp the City: conditionally, that it should neither be pilled, nor burned; nor any one put to death, but only the Caliphe, and his house & treasures to remaine at his disposing.

The Emperor of *Tartaria* being wise, and one of the discreetest Princes of his time: vnderstanding, what they of *Baldach* had willingly offered, accepted their honest offer; and in the night time, hee sent in thirty thousand men, who tooke the Caliphe, sleeping securely among his mucke, and committing his body to prison, saw all things safe looked vnto til the next morning. At which time, *Alland* entred the City; and the base-minded Caliph was presented vnto him, of whose greedy Auarice he had been sufficiently informed. Forthwith he caused him to bee brought along with him to a strong Tower, where he had lockt vp his infinit treasures, because he would himselfe be a witness, whether they were answerable to the report, or no. After he hadde a while looked on his wealth, it mooued some admiration in him; because hee found there 16000. Markes of Gold and in Siluer, three times as much, besides numberlesse precious Stones, and other Jewels of inestimable price. Hee tooke forth all the victuals which were there as carefully enclosed as his wealth, only for his owne bellies satiety; & then shutting vp the wretch himselfe among his riches, would vse no long Oration to him, but spake as followeth.

A Conspiracy against the Caliphe, and vpon what reason.

A purpose of surrendering vp the Citie.

The Emperors acceptance of the offer, surprisal of the Caliph, and sending to prison.

The wonderful riches of the Caliphe.

If

The speeches of Alland to the Caliphe.

If thou hadst not beene so much affected, to the preservation of thy Riches, thou hadst the meanes of deliuering thy selfe, them, and the Cittie also. Now use thy Treasures as thou canst, which thou hast so dearely loued, eate them, and drinke them, at thine owne pleasure. So, making fast the doores vpon him, he placed good and sufficient Guards about the Tower, that no sustenance might any way be brought vnto him: and on the seauenth day, the poore and rich auaritious Wretch dyed. During which time, the Emperour sojourned in the Cittie, refreshing his Army, and people came from diuers Prouinces, and Kinges of neere neighbouring Confines, to conferre with him, bringing great store of prouision for his Souldiours, which he payed very truly and liberally for. I find it faithfully written, that this was one of the richest Armies, that euer was knowne to passe into Europe. Hee distributed the abundant riches of the Caliphe, in part, among them that had yeilded the Cittie, and the rest to his Army, reseruing not a iot thereof for himselfe. Thus this infortunate man, was he that enioyed least of his owne Treasures, so greedily scraped together; and yet many people fared much the better by the, after his wretched death.

The death of the Caliphe.

The distribution of the Caliphe wealth.

Guil. Anglic. Episc. Tyricensis

Fourescore yeares before, or there about, according to the *Sarrazine* Histories, there was another *Caliphe*, & King of *Ægypt*, who resided at *Cayre* (for, as I haue already said, the *Caliphes* did then raig in those quarters) and feared the great multitude of the Christians, which were come out of *Europe*, for recovery of the Holy Land. And because it was thought impossible (if they surprized *Palestine*) to preserue whatsoever was possessed in *Ægypt*, the power of the Christians being so much doubted: he called *Saladine* to his ayde, who was King of some part of *Tartaria*, a young Man, and couetous of glorie, honours, and principalities: who came with a worthy troupe of Souldiours, well invred to Warres, to helpe the *Caliphe*. It fell out so, that they reconquered such places as had beene taken from him, and won one notable battel; wherein, such Christians as remained, capitulated for their passage, had promise to auoyde the Country. *Saladine*

The Caliphe called *Saladine* to his assistance.

having ended the expedition for which he came, demaunded recompence; and paiment for his men of warre; who had (as yet) touched no Money, but two quarters; and so hee purposed present returne home againe.

Saladine demaundeth recompence for his paines; & men.

10 The vnthankfull *Caliphe* Priest, made him answer; that at the instant, his Coffers were emptied of Mony, by reason of his long Warres maintenance: and therefore he was voyd of all meanes, to recompence him as he had worthily deserved. But, after a small time of breathing and repose, sufficient recompence should be sent him. As for his Souldiours, he needed not to giue them any Wages, considering, they had dailie held the field, feeding on the Country, where-with they might well rest themselves contented, and the spoyles of the Enemy.

The ingratitude of the *Caliphes* answer to *Saladine*.

20 *Saladine*, who was aduertised; that the *Caliphe* had gathered vnualueable Treasures, and was somewhat impatient, that he could haue no other payment but wordes: suddenly smote him on the head with an Iron Mace, and slew him. When the Guards and others heard the death of this couetous Wretch, in stead of taking vengeance, they saluted him as their King, and exercised large liberalitie of those ill gotten goods, to al the Army, and chiefest Men of *Ægypt*. Whereby they made a settled assurance of their State; and after him, his Successours haue raigned peaceably in *Ægypt*, for the space of four hundred yeares.

Saladine suddenly slue the *Caliphe*.

30 In like manner, it happened to a Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the Chansons of *Saint Sophia*, who suffered the *Grecian* Empire to bee lost; because no assistance of treasure could be had (from them that had gripply hoarded it vp a long time) for the Emperour *Constantine Paleologus*, besieged by the *Turke*; to pay the *Hungares*, *Italians*, *French*, *Spanish*, and other Nations which came to succour him. So that, in the end, the *Turkes* became full possessors thereof, and they were all made Slaues, as all the rest of *Greece* was dealt with beside.

Saladine is made King of *Ægypt*.

The Empire of *Greece* lost thotow couetousnesse

40 You may see then, what recompence auaritious men do iustly receiue; who may well bee compared to Rats, that liue in rich Mines, and gnaw on Gold and

The Empire of *Greece* lost thotow couetousnesse

Couetous mē
compared to
Rats in Mines
of Gold and

and Siluer, and yet (notwithstanding) gaine no benefit thereby. But when they are taken, and vnbowelled, then their rich stuffing is found: and so they make others wealthy, though altogether against their wils. They are likewise relembled to Pipes, Channels, or Conuoyes of Waters from Fountaine heads, that disgorge their carriage for all other mens affaires, and keepe nothing for themselves. The same may we iustly say of such miserable minded men, of whose wealth no man can haue benefit, till after their death; as hath appeared by these two *Mahometane Caliphes*.

CHAP. XLV.

Of certaine Beastes, and other Creatures, that (by a naturall instinct) do beare enuie to Man, in some things, which they thinke may be profitable to him; yet kept or remaining in their power. And therefore doe strine (by all their uttermost meanes) to hinder him from enjoying the benefit of them.

The opinion
of the lear-
ned concer-
ning Enuie.



Any learned Diuines, Philosophers and Poets, haue left vs in their Writings, that there is not any greater torment, or passion of the Spirit, which more meagereth the body, or disfigureth the face, then Enuie. And truely, this vice is not onelic a possessor of men; but likewise of reptile creatures, Foure-footed beastes, waterie inhabitants, yea, of Dæmons. For there are many of them, that (by meere instinct of nature) do know some thinges to be abyding in themselves, which may returne som commoditie to Man, without any touch or preiudice, either to their life or health, or returning them the least discommoditie in the World, although it consisteth but in an Excrement, or some superfluitie issuing from their bodies. And yet notwithstanding, such is their mallice to man, as to frustrate him thereof: some will hide it vnder-ground; others deuour it, or in some other manner pro-

Naturall en-
uy in Beastes
and other
creatures a-
gainst man.

cure the losse of it.

As an inducement to others, we will begin with the *Stellio*, which almost is like vnto the Lizzards among vs; they hide themselves in Walles, and there is little difference betweene them, but onely in small spottes of their skines, which do resemble little Stars. But this *Stellio* will not looke a man in the face, as the Lizzard doth, and seemeth to take a delight therein. For he shunneth him by all meanes, except hee can hurt him, by byting, or otherwise; which is most venomous if he doe it. They are different also in their Excrements, for that of the *Stellio*, mingled among complexion or painting, raiseth ouglines & deformitie in them that vse it. Contrariwise, those Excrements of the *Lacertes*, or *Lizzards*, doe greatly embellish them that make vse of them among their Vnguent, such as they apply to their faces, to make them looke the more amiably. And questionlesse, if the *Stellio* did know, that his Dung were profitable to Man: he would take order, that it should (by no meanes) be found.

Whereas, the Lizzard, louing men, and knowing that his ordure bringeth him som benefit: he empties it in a publike and cleanelly place; as vpon stones, where it may be gathered of euery one, to make what vse he pleaseth thereof. The *Stellio* (indeed) doth as much, but it is to another end: for he leaueth it openly to be found, because it hath some neere resemblance with the Lizzards, to the end, that when vse is made thereof by man, it may make him more deformed and loathsome, then a confirmed Lazer.

Beside what hath already beene said, he hath a propertie, which is, that euery yeare (at Spring time) he casteth his skinne, as Serpents doe: but knowing, that it serueth Man, as an assured and siguler remedie, against the wofull disease of the Falling-Sicknesse, to deprive man of the benefit, which (harmlesse to himselfe) hee might receiue thereby, so soone as he hath left or cast it off, presently he deuouret it. And this is the reason, why they are so rare and deare, and that (for to be possessed of them) people giue such watchfull attendance in the Spring time, to get them,

The *Stellio* is
an euill crea-
ture.

Difference
betweene the
Stellio and
the Lizzard.

The Excre-
ments of the
Lizzard.

The Excre-
ments of the
Stellio.

An excellent
propertie of
the skinne of
the *Stellio*.

In what manner the Stelio casteth his skinne.

Great difficulty in getting the skinne.

A memorable History of a Gentlewoman at Lyons, known for a truth.

A matter of truth, and knowne to the Authour.

The Hart or Stag enuious against Man.

them, so soone as they are despoyled or throwne off, which is in the extreamest heat of the day, and in some remote place out of haunt, by rubbing himselfe against some stone. When he is discharged of it (as by their dilligent attendance they doe discern) he would presently eate and swallow it, but that it requireth longer time: and therefore they seeke to entrap him, or hunt him, or else to kill him as he is feeding on it; and by these means they recouer it, yet not without great vigilancy and carefulnesse.

In the yeare 1586. there was a Turke at Lyons, who had to the number of a dozen of those skins, and none of them being greater then the finger of a Child of seauen yeares old, yet he sold them at ten Crownes apiece. A Gentleman of Auvergne, that was then at Lyons, being come thither, to be cured of the Epileisie or Falling-Sicknesse: an Apothecary named *Vymarde*, gaue her counsell in the case, and so shee bought two of the skinnes. They being beaten into powder, she was to drinke them in one and twenty daies: to wit, the weight of three graines, with an ounce and a halfe of Piony Water, euery morning fasting; after which, shee felt her selfe not touched therewith, in the least manner whatsoeuer.

I my selfe saw three of these skinnes, which an Apothecary of Paris (a Man very excellently experienced in his Art, and curious in thinges that were rare and strange) named *Peter Cucthe*, shewed me. With one of them he pleased a Knight of *Malta*, who was subiect also to the same infirmitie; and albeit he was a Man of threescore yeares old, yet it fully cured him. It may appeare to many, that these thinges which I write, are almost impossible; because they seeme to happen, against any precepts of the Physition, and daily experience. But let such doubtfull men know, that secrets in nature are day by day discovered, which (before) were neuer dreamt or thought on, expressing rare and admirable effects, as hath beene obserued (weill neere) in all ages.

The Hart or Stag likewise, is as enuious towards man, as the Stelio is, because when he casteth his first Head, especially, that on the right side: he hi-

deth it in the earth, or within some hollow Tree, or otherwise as best he may, but very subtilly, because men should deriue no benefit by it, which (indeed) is very great and excellent, if it can be found. For I am well assured, that there is not any Antidote among the Apothecaries, nor remedy read in the Books of Physicke, that can compare therewith, although it were the true Horne of a Vnicorne. For, if a man be distracted in his senses, or meere mad, if he take the filing of this Horne, no more but seauen Graines thereof, in a draught of white Wine, or of Baulme-water, twenty daies together, it will perfectly restore him.

Moreover, whosoever taketh nine Graines of it fasting, with the Syrope of Lymons; vndoubtedly, that day he shall not be smitten with the pestilence. It preserueth from all poysons. And they that drinke of the Water, or haue it tempered with some of this Horne burned, standing steepy four and twenty houres: it both killeth and auoydeth all Wormes; in any that are offended with them. It is also very singular, being Clysterized to dissenteriques. By approoued experience, it helpeth also the Falling-sicknesse, if during thirtie dayes, the weight of twenty Graines be taken, either with some decoction, or soueraigne Water. But the partie must beginne to take it, the first daie, when the Sunne entreth into the signe of *Aries*. This Horne hath many other vertuous properties; As, to voide the stone out of the raines, and out of the bladder. The decoction thereof, not onely easeth the paine, but also intirely cureth the Gout: if wee may giue credit to the great *Grecian* Physition, *Alexander Trallianus*. All which vertues, and many more, for breuities sake I am enforced to passe over: because I come next to the Mare, which beareth as much enemy to mens delights, as any of the former.

When the Mare hath foaled, shee hath this bad qualitie, that with her teeth, she suddenly snatcheth or biteth from the young Foales fore-head, a little Morfell of Flesh there growing, about the bignesse of a small green Fig, which the *Greekes* vsed to call *Hippomanes*. And it hath so great and excellent

The vertue of the head or horn first cast by the Stag, as well against all poysons, as many dangerous diseases.

A prescription for the time of taking this medicine

The malicious nature of the Mare.

Hippomanes, what it is, and wherefore it is profitable.

a property, that if either man or woman doe beare it about them, and can compasse the meanes, to conferre with him or her, on whom they dote so much in affection, as they are desirous of carnal knowledge or copulation; the weight of three Graines only, mingled among any Meates or Confections, will (in a very short while) vrge affection in him or her that receiueth the Drug; albeit they were (before) neuer so vnwilling. This *Hippomanes* is very difficult to be recovered, and he must not be a dull or slothfull body, that goeth about to get it: but one that is most watchfull, and quicke of Spirit, which will appeare by his paines, if he endeouour to haue it. For, to speake vprightly, if it could be easily come by; many notorious abuses would be committed thereby. But God who hath created all thinges to be vsed well, and for the benefit of man: taketh away all commodious meanes, from loose and voluptuous people, in easilie getting this peece of flesh, because they should not lewdly abuse themselues.

This *Hippomanes*, doth not serue onely to procure loose and veneriall loue; but likewise it causeth honest and vertuous affection: provided, that it be ioyned with the Stone called an Emerald, for then (by a strange & vnkown property to vs) it maketh men happie and successfull, in all their Negotiations; as also hardy, couragious, & martially disposed. A Gentleman by birth, an *Angeuine*, who made no meane esteeme of my friendship; often shewed mee one of these *Hippomanes*, which he wore about his necke, in a case of Christall, being dried, and about the bignes of a Filberd, somewhat hard, and blacke of colour. He hath bin so fortunate, that in fise seueral combats or *Duelloes*, man to man: he was still the vanquisher, and himselfe little hurt. In the end, he was so louingly respected by the duke of *Anjou* (who afterward was King of *France* and *Poland*) that when the said Lord left the Crown and Countrey of *Poland*, to claime his right in the Kingdome of *France*: passing thorough *Germany*, the Emperour espied this Gentleman attending on the King, but he grew so extraordinarily affected towards him, that he won both the Kings fauour and his, for abiding with him, which hee promised to recompence very royally, as after-

ward he did. The Emperour so dearly respected the Gentleman, that he aduanced him to a worthy mariage in *Austria*, where he had very rich & noble gouernments, and commaunded ouer the Emperours Armies against the *Turke*. The sum of all is, that all happinesse, which could accompany a man of honor, was found in him, and not only my selfe, but many more, not meanly or triuially acquainted with him, did imagine this felicity (next to Heauens fauour) to proceede from nothing else, but onely the *Hippomanes*, which he alwaies bore about him. One thing I am well assured of, that he was beloued of diuers worthy Ladies; from whom hee deriued many regardful fauours: which kindnes could not proceede from any beautie or handsomnesse in him, because hee was very hard-fauoured, and much crookebackt. Himselfe told me many times, that it cost him much pain & diligence, to recouer the *Hippomanes*, relying vpon no mans trust, but his owne watchfull care, and awaited til the Mare was newly discharged of her Foale. He vsed such meanes, that he did cut it from the foals forehead, albeit the Mare both bit, and smote him often with her heeles: but when she found it gone, she would neither feed, nor let the Foal suck; but died within three daies after. Euery man may beleue as best him pleaseth. I protest, that I do not set down any thing in this case, but what I heard fro him that had the thing it selfe, and shewed me the manner therof. But to come to our first purpose, the *Hippomanes* hath beene as well knowne to our elders, as to vs; as wee may read in *Virgill*. *Marullus* speaketh of one, that was not natural, but compounded: the composition wherof I wil not here set downe, because it is vnworthie to be declared. I hath as powerfull operation, in procuring affection, as the other: but most often, in such extreimity of louing, it maketh men mad and foolish, and therefore I refrain to set down any more. I think, that nature, the handmaid to God, produced the first *Hippomanes*, for a medicinable vse to such, who being ioyned in marriage, doe not loue one another, or cannot enioy the benefit of mariage, by reason of natures coldnesse: in which case, it is a most soueraigne remedy, and I haue knowen it very successiuelly practised in such a case.

Dull or negligent persons cannot come by this *Hippomanes*.

Hippomanes procureth honest and vertuous affection.

The History of a Gentleman, that had an *Hippomanes*

This K. was named *Henric* the third.

Opinion conceiued of the Gentlemans felicity, the Author himselfe being an eye-witnesse.

How the Gentleman recouered the *Hippomanes*.

Another *Hippomanes* described by *Marullus*.

The Authors opinion concerning the first *Hippomanes*.

A vse not to be discommended.

It is therefore presupposed, that the Mare, by a meere naturall instinct; knowing what a helpe and benefit this *Hippomanes* would be to Man: as enuious, that he should enioy so much goodnesse by her, maketh as speedie a deuouring thereof, as the *Stellio* doth of her skinne.

Now, not onely do these Foure-footed beasts on earth, bear such mallice to Man, but Fishes in the Water doe the like, as (very many) that haue frequented the Seas, haue seene and obserued. Among other Fishes liuing in the Water, they haue noted the Sea-Hare to be touched with enuy, as much as any of the foresaid Creatures, although she seemeth to haue no vnderstanding of the act. For it is a Fish, drouisie, sleepey, snorting, lumpish, deformed, and vnwholsom. This foule fish, hath a kind of Curd within her, which so soone as she shooteth or casteth, she presently deuoueth it againe: onely because shee hath a naturall vnderstanding, that it hath many secret vertues, to help both Men and Women. For it is a singuler remedy to ease Women that haue the bearing downe of the Mother. And being taken inwardly, or applyed outwardly, it is a soueraingne help against the byting of all venomous Beasts. It prouoketh Weomens Floures, when they are verie grieuouly staied: and bringeth away a Child dead in the Mothers Wombe, with the after burthen or birth also. Being drunke with Vineger, it preferueth against poyson, and is succourable for the Chollicke, frettings or grindings in the belly, and all clotted or congealed bloods. When it is Clysterized, it awaketh all Lethargies, and preuaileth against all benummings whatsoeuer. Receiued in drinke, it is good against all tremblings, swounings, and all griefes and defects in the Nerues. *Aelianus* hath recorded, that the Sea-Calf hath oftentimes beene seene to sucke her selfe, and draw her owne Milke: because men should haue no vse thereof, in regard it is very much auayling against all the fore-named diseases.

The Vrchin or Hedge-hog well knoweth, that he is not followed by Huntsmen, by any desire to eate his Flesh, for it is of most vile digestion: but the pur-

suite is onely for his skinne; which hath many good properties. For, being burned, the Ashes thereof is very helpfull for such, as cannot auoide their Vrine, but drop by drop. It is also verie precious, for Vlcers or scarrified wounds, being put into them. Now, because he would not afford Man any such remedy, hee shuts himselfe (like a round Footeball) vp in his skinne, and so auoydeth his owne vrine in it, which conuerteth to venome, and killeth him in his skin. As for this beast, it seemeth that he is not much ashamed of spoiling his skin; because he looseth it and his life together.

The *Lynx* likewise knoweth, that his Vrine is medicinable, for so soone as he yeildeth it, it conuerteth into a Stone: and then he hydeth or couereth it with Earth, to the end it may not be perceiued by any man, and (indeede) it is a thing very rare, and hard to bee found. The Vrine of the *Lynx*, thus stonified; taketh away all spots and wrinckles. It whiteth; and maketh a faire colour in the faces, of such as annoint themselues therewith; especially, being mingled with the Oyle of sweet Almonds, there is nothing more assured, or that whiteth and taketh away all corruption of the teeth.

Euill Spirits doe beare mallice to Man, as well as these Creatures; not onely to procure his damnation, or depriving him of the vse of Gold and Silver, which is found in Mines, and the bowels of the earth: but likewise, that (being in this Mortall life) he should finde no remedy of bodily infirmities. For we finde, by good authority, that Spirits doe bite or nibble off the roote of a Plant, which is cald *Succisa*, otherwise tearmed *Morsus Diaboli*, or Devils bit: because it hath beene iudged in all times, that the Deuill himselfe byteth these rootes, and yet could neuer pluck them wholly out of the ground, whatsoeuer paines and diligence he bestowed on them, yet still they are found to be bitten, and al opinion hath held, that the Deuill is the Authour and doer thereof. It is an Hearbe sufficientlie knowne; and frequent among vs, in the vse of many, and serueth most conuenientlie; for the ripening of pestilentiall sores and Carbuncles, being bruised

Rondelet. in Lib. de Pisc. 16. Cap. 17.

The Sea-hare that hath a Curd, naturally good for many causes.

Notes worth the obseruation.

Aelianus in Lib. 3. Cap. 18 The Sea-Calf.

Of the vrchin or Hedg-hog, and vertue of his skinne.

The Lynx, & the vertue of his vrine.

The mallice of euill Spirits to man.

Succisa, or *Morsus Diaboli* and the vertues thereof, as it is to be applied to diuers grieuous diseases.

fed in a Morter, and laid thereon. The decoction of it in Wine, being drunke in the morning, it both healeth and preserueth from the plague, seruing also most soueraignely, against the paines of the Mother. The powder of this roote, is good to kill all Wormes in the belly. It is likewise proper, for the taking away of al black spots, paleness, & bruises. By these Histories, borrowed out of *Ælianus*, an ancient Greeke Authour, thou mayst (friendly Reader) obserue the workes of God, worthy of admiration; and wherein he is to be praised and honoured.

Ælianus in lib. 2. cap. 18. 19. &c.

CHAP. XLVI.

The unfortunate and successelesse Loues, of Strato and Aristoclia: And of Achamas, the Sonne of Theseus, with his miserable death.



IN the City of *Astarta* in *Bocotia*, was a most goodly, rich, young and Noble Virgine, of whom, two gallant worthy youths became extraordinarily enamoured: to wit, *Strato*, the *Orchomenian*, and *Calisthenes Aliarnus*, each of them coueting to enioy her in marriage. In the end, it was agreed, that *Calisthenes*, because he was of her Countrey, and a Kins-man, should most conueniently enioy her. The day of Nuptials drawing neere, the Parents of *Aristoclia* (in regard of his intire kindnesse and affection) invited *Strato* also to the solemne marriage dinner. But he, whose fiery loue could not easily be quenched: had ambushed a troupe of young Gallants by the way, in whose company he seized on the Bride, as she was going home to her Husbands house. And being possessed of her, he held her very strictly in his Armes, purposing to makelike rape of her, as *Paris* did of *Helen*. *Calisthenes*, the new married Bridegroom, laboured by all means to recouer her from him: but the yong

* *Orchomenus*, a Towne in *Bocotia*, by a Riuer of the same name.

The violence of loue, when it exceedeth government.

Lady (being detained by *Strato* and his Friendes so violently) also tyred and ouer-spent with striuing; dyed in his Armes. *Strato* beholding his deare affected *Aristoclia* soulelesse, slew himselfe vpon her body: giuing the world thereby to know, how highly hee prized the life of his beloued *Aristoclia*, without whom he could not liue, and therefore requited her death with his owne.

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Achamas, the Sonne of *Theseus*, after the sacke and spoyle of *Troy*, came with certaine Shippes among the * *Bisaltes*, a people of *Thrace*, where hee was intirely beloued by *Phillis*, Daughter to the Lord and Gouvernour of that Region: and her hee tooke to Wife, vnder condition, that (after her Fathers death he should succede in the Kingdome. It fortunated, that *Achamas*, being desirous to visite his owne Countrey, and to see some of his Kinred and Friends: desired (with very earnest instance) both of his Wife and Father in Law, that he might bee fauoured with so much liberty; promising to returne with all possible speede. Hauing obtained his request, *Phillis* bare him company a great deale on the way, and gaue him a little Casket or Coffer fast lockt vp, entreating him; that in regard of the loue he bare to her, he should neuer open it: but when he had an absolute determination; neuer to returne to her againe. So, with many kisses, and mutuall embracings, they gaue a louing Adieu to each other, and parted. *Achamas* being arriued at *Cyprus*, hauing no respect of promise made to *Phillis*, for returning againe to her: set downe his resolution, to continue there, and therefore was the more forward in desire, to open the Casket that his Wife had giuen him. Which he had no sooner done: but a sudden furie seized on him, inciting him to a distracted madnesse, in which violent Phrenzie, falling with his bare breast on the point of his Rapyer; he ranne it quite thorough his body, and thereby suffered the punishment of his owne wilfull periurie.

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Others do repute this *Achamas* to be the Sonne of *Antenor*. * A free Countrey of *Macedon*, by the riuer *Strymon*.

The integrity of loue, teare full of obliuion.

Wilfull periurie in loue, iustly reuenged.

The End of the Seventh Booke.



The Eight Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kings of Poland; their Lawes, Customs, administration of Iustice, and all things else deserving memorie.



POLAND, in elder times called *Sarmatia*, is saide to receive that name of the word *Pole*, which (in that Language) is as much to say, as plain, smooth or ecuen. And so much the rather it is to be credited; because all the Country is plaine, spacious, full of thicke Woods, and very few Hills or Mountaines in it. The Earth is cold and freezing, whereby it produceth little store of Wine or oyle: but contrariwise, it yeildeth much Graine, and diuers other kinds of Pulse. It aboundeth in Cattle, Flesh, Honny, Milke, Butrer, Waxe, and Fruits of all sorts. It affoordeth perfect Lead, and Salt in great plenty: It hath Mines of Iron, Gold, and Silver, which are found in diuers Hilles, and in certaine Rivers: but there is no search made for them, onely thorow their negligence. There are also (in some places) pits of Brimstone and Sulphure: but as concerning any Bathes, produced by nature; *Poland* is very barren, and scarce of them.

Of the name, manner, and scituation of Poland.

Such commodities as Poland affordeth.

Zechus and *Lechus*, or *Lethus*, were the first that euer gouerned in *Polonia*, or builded there any Cittie or Castle. They both held the Regiment for some time, but after the whole race of *Lechus* was extirpated: the Barons of the kingdom, being assembled about the Successors of *Lechus*; concluded to liue at libertie, and without any farther check or controule. Neuerthelesse, that Iustice might be administred to the people, and they gouerned as necessity required: they ordained twelue *Vaiuodes*, or *Paladines*, which order hath continued in that Kingdome, euen to our daies, but not without great hurt to the whole Land. For there was no change of these Officers, but the dignity lasted their life time: although they carried themselves badly in their authority, despising their betters, and euill entreating their inferiors. Among these *Vaiuodes*, such as were *Castillians*, Commanders of Castles, Capraines, Iudges, and such like great Magistrates, holding these offices til they died: did what themselves pleased, whereby ensued, that this Kingdome could neuer haue any great progression in Armes, being so oppressed and kept vnder by such pettie, and no potent or mightie Lords. But, in no long while after, the faction of *Lechus* (growing in hatred of the *Vaiuodes* or *Paladines* government) would needes haue one peculiar Prince. And therefore they made choise of a worthy and valiant man, named *Gracchus*, who dwelt at the foot of the *Samaritan* Mountaines, neere vnto the River *Pistula*.

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He builded a city, calling it *Graccotia*,
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Zechus and *Lechus*, the first Rulers or Gouernours in Poland.

The election of twelue *Vaiuodes*, otherwise called *Paladines*.

Magistrates during their life time.

Gracchus chosen to be the first Prince of Poland.

(which is now corruptly named *Cracouia*) a Citty greatly blessed, both in beaury and scituation, as also infinite Merchandizes, which is there Traffiqued from all Nations of the World, it beeing the Metropolis of the whole Kingdome.

The Citty is round engirt with the Riuier *Rudis*, which entering into the Land by sundry Channels, spreadeth it selfe ouer all the Market places. It hath seauen Gates, and many honorable Palaces, belonging to great men: and a Fort also, builded in a very conuenient place, wherein there is a most excellent colledge of Students. On the other side of the Riuier *Vistula*, vppon the shoare banck, directly fronting *Cracouia*, there is a Castle, cald *Casimira*, after the name of King *Casimirus*. This citty, as we haue already said, being the only Mistresse of the whole Land, is very beautifull, rich, and best edified beyond all other. The people, vniuersally, are wise, pleasing to Strangers, delighting much in their owne Natiue drinke, for there is verie small store of wine. The earth is plenti- full in all good things; and in brieft, it is a fat and beneficiall Countrey.

The race of *Gracchus* failing, it returned againe to the government of twelue *Paladines*, but with much infelicities: because, in contending for Competitors, diuers factions grew among them, and (consequently) Insurrections in Armes, to withstand one another, whereby great dammage happened to the whole Land. Among these turbulent Spirits, there was a *Polander*, named *Priaristlaus*, a man expert in armes, of quicke apprehension, and one that could well fish in such troubled Waters. The people reuolted all to his faction, they made him their King, and he was the fift Governour of that Prouince, after the first *Lechus* or *Leschus*. After his death, another Gallant young Man succeeded him, tearmed by the *Polacks*, *Leschus* the second, who proued to be a Man of singuler prudence: but, made old with time, and dying, he left it to his Son *Leschus* the third.

This man made his Sonne *Pompilius* legitimate, but deuided the Kingdome betweene twenty other, that were his Bastards, to the great detriment of the Country. But *Pompilius* being the law-

full King, entred againe on the government, and leauing *Cracouia*, appointed his Seate in another Citty, called *Gneza*: but finding it too molestuous, hee transferred the State to another Citty, named *Crusincza*. In this Citty he dyed of the Stone, according as himselfe had continually fore-told, that in such manner his death would be. And the chiefe Lordes being assembled in Councell, they concluded, that no more of *Pompilius* his Posterity should raigne ouer them: but (with one consent) made choise of a Countrey Gentleman, named *Piastus*, one of no great stature, yet strong, and well sinnewed. This was the first branch of those Kings, that continued to the time of *Casimirus* the second, and of *Lodowick*: of which selfe same race also, descended the Moderne Princes of *Slesia*.

This *Piastus* accepting the government, would take on him but the Title of Duke only, whose succession comming at length to *Boleslaus*, in the yeare D.CCCC.XC. IX. he was then made King by *Otho* the third, Emperour. But the Kingdome comming to another *Boleslaus*, successor to the former; he was expelled thence, and dyed. Whereupon, the *Polonians* aduanced in his place, his Brother *Vladislaus*, in the yeare MLXXII. by the Title of Duke. But in yeare MCCXCV. the Title of King was taken againe, by *Primislaus* the second, who (at first) was Duke of the greater *Poland*, and of *Pomerania*, or *Pomerland*, and so continued the succession, euen to *Ladislaus*, the first begotten Sonne of *Casimirus*, who (while his Father liued) was designed to bee King of *Hungaria*, and of *Bohemia*. He tooke in marriage *Anne*, Daughter to the King of *Fraunce*, by whom he had *Lodowicke* and *Anne*. *Lodowick* succeeded his Father in both the Kingdomes, and tooke to Wife *Marie*, Sister vnto *Charles* the Emperour. But in the yeare of Christ, MCCCCXCII. the Barons of *Polonia*, (at a dyet) elected after the death of *Casimirus*, his Son *Iohn Albertus*. His continuance was but a while, therefore, by the greater part of the Barons, *Alexander*, Great Duke of *Lithuania*, was elected: who going in Armes against the *Tartarres*, died in *Vilna*, aged fife and forty yeares.

Sigismund

The Citty rounded with the riuier *Rudis*.

Concerning the Citties building and behauiour of the people.

The government of *Paladines* aduanced againe.

A K. created againe, named *Priaristlaus*.

Poland deuided among twenty *Bastards*.

Cracouia forsaken by the K. and the State transferred to another Citty.

Piastus chosen king of *Poland*

Piastus refused the name of King, calling himselfe Duke of *Poland*.

The order & lineal descent of the Kings of *Poland* and *Bohemia*.

Alexander great Duke of *Lithuania*, elected King of *Poland*.

Sigismund, his younger Brother succeeded him, in the year MC. and he had the title of King, in Anno. MCVI. and made great war vpon the neighbouring Nations; especially on the Moscovites, of whom he slew thirty thousand, in the yeare MDXIII. He deceasing, Augustus Sigismund took his place, and after him, succeeded Henry the third, brother to Charls the ninth, King of France, who was chosen and made King. But his brother dying, and hee affecting his paternall Kingdome, more then the other: forsooke Poland, and went into France, to his rightfull inheritance. The Polanders being thus forsaken, they made choise of Maximilian the second, being Emperor, to be their King. But he, not resolving to accept it, and the kingdom standing on some doubtfull tearmes: Stephano Battori, Prince of Transilvania (being a man of great valour) came into Poland with a slender power, where he was created King, and so continued.

1 Next vnto the King are the Paladines, and next to them, the Castilians, on whom (in very deed) dependeth the whole gouernment of the Prouince. Neuerthelesse, there are Iudges, both criminall and ciuill: and others, that take order for occasions of warre or peace, as in all other States and Kingdomes. They can make a very great Army of Horsemen, and they are reputed sufficiently valiant. In briefe, it is they that curbe and controule the Tartarres, from presuming into those partes and limits. It is to be noted, that the Paladine of Cracouia, is the chiefe of al other in dignity, and next to him, the Castellano of Cracouia, vnder whom are (well neere) infinite Captaineships.

2 Polonia is deuided into two parts, the one being tearmed the Lesser, and the other the greater. In the lesser Poland, which is at the head of the Riuer Vistula, is the Cittie of Cracouia, a verie Noble and famous Cittie. But the greater Poland, is that which containeth in it Gnezna and Posnania, two worthie Citties, with other especiall and honorable places.

Moreover, it hath the gouerning of Prussia, and part of Pomerania. In Poland the very greatest Dukedome, is that of Mazouia, and it is feudatary to the King.

The Archbishoppricks of the Kingdom are two: the one in the Cittie of Gnezna, a Cittie of the greater Poland; and the other in Theopolis, of Austria.

Two Arch-Bishops Sees.

CHAP. II.

Of many famous and worthy men, who, hauing left gouerning in the Commonwealth: made their retirement, to a priuate and solitary kind of life.



One of the Catoes, hauing attained to the age of eight and fifty years; gaue ouer his publique charge and trauaile, in affaires of the Romaine Commonwealth, and went to weare out the remainder of hys daies, neere to Naples, in a Country village, which then was called Picenum, but now it is named Marca de Aeona. Where he maintained his faculties, and nourished himselfe, which such reuenues, as his poore Landes and Liuing afforded him. This good and vertuous Cato, keeping a simple Cottage, one while perusing his Bookes, and otherwhiles looking to his Vines and Plants: his Neighbours had written (with a Coale) ouer his doore, these wordes. How happy a Man art thou (o Cato) because thou onely knowest, what it is to liue in this world, among other men?

This was not the Censull, for he neuer gaue ouer-medling in the publique occasions. Neither was it he of Vitcas that slew himselfe.

40 Lucullus the Confull and Romaine Captaine, continued at the wars against the Parthians, sixteene yeares together: during which time, he won much honour to Rome, many Prouinces to the Commonwealth, great renowne to himselfe, and mighty Treasures for his House. This man, after his returne from Asia to Rome, found the Statefull of partialities and dissentions, through the quarrels betweene Marius and Sulla. He resolved to leaue Rome, which forth-with he did put in effect, causing certaine places of sumptuous workmanship, to be builded neere Naples, along by the Sea side, in a place now cald Castello di Lupo. Ther he made his sojourn

Lucullus the Confull, Captaine against the Parthians.

*Stabie, a Towne in Campania, destroyed by Sulla.

1500

Henry, heire to the Crown of France, K. of Poland.

Stephano Battori, Prince of Transilvania.

The Gouernours in degrees next to the King.

The Paladine of Cracouia.

Poland deuided in two parts, the greater and lesser.

ning for the space of eighteene yeares, in quiet repose and silent pleasure; free from all the turmoyles and trauailes of State, and in this contentment he ended his daies.

The Emperor Dioclesian forsaketh his Empire of Rome.

* A Region in Bithynia.

The answer of Dioclesian to the Ambassadors of Rome.

Dioclesian invited to the marriage of Constantius, when excuses would not auaile him, poisoned himself.

Dioclesian, after he had gouerned *Rome* eighteene yeares, and had attained to very old age: he gaue ouer the Empire, from whence he dismissed himselfe into *Nicomedia*, with no other intention, but onely to returne home to his owne House, and there in peace and quiet to spend the rest of his life. So, he having taken his leaue and farewell from pomp and dignity, came to * *Salon*, which was the place of his birth, prouoked thereto (as I am perswaded) with the naturall loue, that all men do beare to their natiue Country, and there he dealt in husbandry ten yeares together. Two yeares after he had cast off the Empires Clog, the *Romaines* sent two worthy Ambassadors vnto him, to entreat (if he were so pleased) to returne to *Rome* againe. The Ambassadors being come thither, they found him in a gardē by his house, weeding his Beds of Lettice and other Hearbs: but when hee had heard their Legation, he made them this aunswere. *My Friendes, do not you thinke it more honest and better, that hee who digged and planted these Lettice, should eat them peaceably and quietly in his owne house: then to forsake such wholesome fare, and returne to the tumults and rumours of Rome? I haue now made good prooffe, both what it is to commaund, and what benefit ensueth, by labouring and deluing in the ground. Leaueme then to my selfe I entreat ye, in this priuate state of life: for I much rather affect, to maintaine my life by the labour of my hands, then to be troubled with the charge of the Romaine Empire.* With this aunswere the Ambassadors tooke their leaue, and parted. At another time afterward, he made the like excuse, being invited to the marriage of *Constantius*, by the Emperours *Constantine* and *Licinius*, alleaging his weaknesse, and infirmity of old age. But the Emperours sent againe vnto him, writing Letters full of terror and threatnings, that his excuses were not allowable in this case. Whereupon, he began to suspect, that they intended some shamefull death for him, because he had lend ayde and fauour to

Maxentius and *Maximinus*. And therefore dranke a certaine poyson, whereof he dyed, being aged seauenty yeares and more.

Doris the *Athenian*, hauing gouerned the Common-wealth fixe and thirtie yeares, in vpright sinceritie and Iustice; became aged, and weary with publike negotiations. Wherefore he dislodged from *Athens*, and went to a Country-House or Farme, which he had in a not far distant Village: and there, reading Bookes of husbandry in the night time, and practising the exercise of those instructions in the day time, he wore out the space of fiftene yeares. Vpon the frontispice of his Gate, these wordes were engrauen. *Fortune and Hope, Adieu to ye both, seeing I haue found the true entrance to rest and contentment.*

Scipio Africanus, was one of the most dearest esteemed, and reuerenced Captaines, that euer Rome had; for, during the space of fixe and twenty yeares, being the continuance of his Warres in *Spaine*, in *Affrica*, and in *Asia*, hee neuer committed any dishonest action, neuer lost any battaile, nor euer failed in Iustice to any one. He subdued *Affrica*, ruined *Carthage*, conquered *Hanniball*, destroyed * *Numantia*, and re-established *Rome*; which Cittie, after the battell of *Cannas*, he (almost, or altogether) neuer vtterly forooke. Notwithstanding, in the two and fiftith yeare of his age, parting from *Rome*; he retired himselfe to a small inheritance of his owne, between *Pozzuolo* and *Capona*, and neuer after would be scene againe in *Rome*.

All these excellent men, of whom we haue spoken, and an infinite number more, left their Kingdomes, Consulats, Dignities, Gouernments, Citties, Palaces, Favours, Courts; and Riches, to the end, that they might liue peacefully. And it is the more memorable, in that no slanderous tongne can auouch, that any of them forooke their Countries, as being infamous, wretchedly poore, or banished: but onely beeing thereto moued, in pure and simple goodnesse, and on their owne liberall free will, for the more commodious order and direction of their liues, before death should tyrannize ouer them.

Doris the worthy *Athenian*, that forooke State, and followed husbandry.

The glory & honour of Rome, *Scipio Africanus*.

* A Cittie of *Celtiberia* in *Spaine*, besieged foureteen yeares by the *Romains*, yet destroyed at last by *Scipio*.

Vertue onely was the object of all these worthy mens intentions, and no enforcement by shame or villainy.

CHAP. III.

¶ Of the impefection of Politicall Science, with a consideration of the imbecillitie of Law-makers, &c.



IN a former Chapter, we have signified, that there are such multitudes of people, such difference of degrees, qualities & conditions, such peruerfity of wils, humours, and affections in euery Cowmon-wealth: that no humane wit is able to reduce them to that perfect temperature and hermony, which is requisite for the cōseruation of ciuill vnity and amity. To the end; that all may continually concur, in the obedience of one Law, in one kind of government, and liue therein contented, each one in his vocation, in security, peace, and plenty, which euery Law-maker or Gouvernour of a Common-wealth ought to procure. Which may partly be iudged by the government of a Family, be it great or little, because it is many times turned vpside downe, and dissolved by the peruerse humour of some one or two; being not corrigible by any counsell, or chastisement of the head or Maister. What maruaile is it then, if in whole Kingdomes and Common-weales; among so many thousands of different persons, and of different humors: there are so many exorbitant and turbulent Spirits, that no wit or power of man can bee able to tame or temper them? And do we not see many times, that the couetousnesse, or the lust, or the treason, temerity or folly, or the ambition of some one man, endangereth or overthroweth a whole Empire? The Kingdome of *Macedon* was lost through the couetousnesse of *Perseus*, King thereof. The treason of one Count *Iuhan*, offended by the lust of *Rodoricke*, King of *Spain* (who deflowered his daughter) was the cause that the *Moore*s conquered *Spain*, and possessed it sixe or seauen hundred yeares. The temerity of *Terentius*

Varro, when he was Consull of Rome, & gaue battell to *Hanniball*: caused the great ouerthrow which the *Romaines* receiued at *Canna*, to the great daunger of the Common-wealth, which (in the end) was vterly ouerthrowne by the ambition of *Iulius Caesar*.

10 But what should I speake of a King of *Macedon*, or a King of *Spaine*, a Consull of Rome, or a *Iulius Caesar*; when the turbulent humor of a base fellow, or a pety Companion, such a one I meane, as a *Blacke-Smith*, or a *Iacke-Straw*, or a *Iack-Cade*: hath bin able to put al England in a garboile, to the great daunger of the State? Seeing then, that the fault or error of some one man, may ruine or endanger a Kingdome: how shal mans wit or pollicy bee able, sufficiently to prevent the inconueniences, which must needs grow thorow infinite faults and errors, that (in tract of time) are committed in euery Common-wealth, by so many thousands as are therein; through the folly or mallice of men?

20 Furthermore; if we consider, what pollicke science (whereby Common-wealths are instituted and gouerned) is able to performe, and how farre it may extend it selfe: we shall easily see, how little perfection and establishment any State can receiue, by the Law-maker or Gouvernour thereof, be he neuer so pollicke. For whereas other Sciences and Arts were (as *Aristoile* teacheth) inuented by some, augmented and amplified by others, and brought in time to perfection: it falleth out otherwise in the pollicke science, which is so vncertain & variable, that although the rules & precepts therof, were many hundred years ago deliuered by most famous Philosophers, and explicated & enlarged since, by infinite Authors, Ancient and Moderne; yet; both reason and experience sheweth, that it neuer arriueth, neither can reach to intire perfection. For, neyther one and the selfe-same pollicie, is fit and conuenient for all Common-wealthes, (as one Art or Science is not fit and conuenient for all kinde of Men) neither is a Common-wealth so dureable in one manner and forme of government: that the selfe-same pollicy will euer serue for the same State. Seeing all Common-weales are subiect to mutation, & many times, one is engendered

Titus Livius. Dec. 3. Lib. 2. Part. in 1st. Cesare.

The Garboils and tumults in England, raised by Iacke Straw and his fellows. Stow, Haule Holmhed.

How farre Pollicke Science may extend it selfe.

Arist. in Lib. 7. Ethic. Cap. ultimo.

All common weals subiect to alteration.

In the one & forty Chapter of the last Booke.

Comparison by the government of a Familie.

One man ofentimes causeth the destruction of a whole Empire

Plut. in Paulo Aemilio.

Roderic, Totolan. in Lib. 5. de reb. Hispan. Cap. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19.

engendred by the corrupting of another, euery one requiring different lawes, and a different pollicie.

And although the Common-wealth doe remaine in one forme of government, as either in a Monarchy, Aristocracy, or a Populare State: yet such is the variety of times, and instability of the humors and affections of men, that new Lawes and different pollicies will be necessary thereto. And therefore, whereas the *Romains* had foure kinds of lawes; as *Cicero* testifieth: yet one was *De abrogandis legibus*, to abrogate and repeale lawes; by the vertue and authority whereof, many lawes (made by very wise men) were afterward (by their posterity) annulled and repealed, as vnprofitable and inconuenient. The same may be obserued in the very Lawes of God, which haue varied, according to the different state of man and times: as it is euident by the Law of Nature; the Law of *Moyse*; and now lastly, the law of Grace. The reason whereof, *S. Augu.* giueth, saying. *It is not to be wondred at, that God made different Lawes, in different times: seeing that in one day, and in one house, and in one man, one thing is conuenient to amend another, and one thing to one man; and another, to another, and that the thing which is expedient now, will (an hour hence) bee vnlawfull and inconuenient.* Whereby it appeareth, that time, which breedeth certainty of iudgment, and experiencé in men, for the perfection of other Sciences and Arts: doth so change and abolish lawes and pollicies, that it causeth in Law-makers and Governours, ignorance, error, and confusion. For this cause, *Plato* affirmeth expressly, that no man, be he neuer so excellent of wit, or neuer so prudent & practised in affairs; can be able (without the inspiration and assistance of God) to make sufficient Lawes, for the perfect establishment of a Common-wealth. And therefore, in the institution of his owne written Common-wealth, and lawes thereof: he craueth helpe of Almighty God, and otherw here saith. *As brute Beasts cannot be happily gouerned by Beasts, without the helpe of Man: so Man cannot be well and happily gouerned by man, without the helpe of God.* And againe, in another place he teacheth. *That as men cannot lue without lawes; so neither could*

men haue had sufficient Lawes from *Promethus* (that is to say, from the prouidence of men) if *Iupiter* himselfe, the creator of all, had not sent *Mercury* to men with lawes, to bee the Interpreter of his Diuine will. Whereby he signifieth (mistically after his manner) that without Gods especiall assistance: no wit or prouidence of man can suffice to institute, and conserue any State or Common-wealth, either by the meanes of lawes or otherwise. This also *Salomon* well knew and acknowledged, who therefore craued Wisedome of Almighty God, for the government of his people, adding. *Quis enim potest iudicare populum istum, populum tuum hunc multum? For who can, without thy help, iudge and gouerne this thy people, so many in number?* And againe. *Giue me (o Lord) that wisedome which assisteth thy Seat. For I am thy Seruant, a weake Man: Et minor ad intellectum iudicij & legum; And not of capacitie to vnderstand, what is Iudgement and Law.* Thus said this prudent King, considering, and humbly acknowledging his own imperfection. In respect whereof, Almighty God gaue him greater wisdome, honor, and glory, then euer had any earthly Prince.

But now, for the further prooffe of this matter, let vs examine some of the Lawes, of three or foure of the most famous Law-makers that euer were: that, by discouerie of their errours, the weaknesse of mans wit, in the institution and administration of a Common-wealth, may the better appeare. And whereas some haue founded and instituted many Comwon-wealths indeede, and some in writing, to serue for Patterns to others: I will here speake only of foure, of greatest fame, of either sort two; As of *Solon* the *Athenian*; *Lycurgus*, the *Lacedemonian*; *Plato* the *Diuine*; and *Aristotle*, Maister to *Alexander* the Great. When the Comonwealth of the *Athenians* (hauing beene gouerned for many yeares together by the Lawes of *Draco*) was falne to decay, through the excesssiue couetousnes and rigor of rich men, whom the poorer sort (being laden with debts, and not able to pay the) were forced to serue as Slaues, by the sentence of the Iudges, wherupon there arose daily infinite tumults and seditions: it seemed good to them all, to recom-

Foure kindes of Lawes among the *Romains*. *Cicero de legib.*

The lawes of God haue varied according to the different state of man, and times.

August. De Confess. lib. 3. cap. 7.

Time breedeth maturity of iudgement.

Gods inspiration necessary for the making of good Lawes.

Plato in lib. 4. De Legibus.

Idem in Minoe Idem in Protogara.

2 Chron. 2. 11
2. Cron. 3. 7.
Wisd 9. 4. 5.

Salomans humble acknowledgement of his weaknesse

The lawes of foure famous Law makers, examined & reprobued.

The *Athenians* were gouerned many yeares by *Dracoes* lawes.

re-commend the reformation of their whole state to *Solon*, a man so highlie esteemed for his wisdome, that hee was accounted one of the wisemen of *Greece*: who perswading himselfe, that it could not be conueniently reformed, except the poore were releued and eased of their debts, imparted his minde therein, to some of his friends first; who, perceiuing his resolution, borrowed great store of money, and employed it in Lande. Whereupon it folowed, that when *Solon* had published his New Law, (which he cald *seysacthia*, that is to say, *A discharge of Debts*) they remained exceedingly enriched, their Creditors defrauded, and he much suspected of deceite, as to haue secret intelligence with his friends, and part of their gaine.

And although it seemeth, that therein he had wrong (for he lost by his own Law as some haue written, fiteene Talentes, which were owing him) yet he cannot be excused in two things. The one, in that he caused not his friendes to restore the money, which they had guilefully borrowed. And the other, that without examination of the perticuler causes & reasons of euerie mans debt, hee ordained a generall abolition of all debts, good and bad; whereby, as well those which were able to pay, as the vnable, were discharged: and all creditors (without diffrence) defrauded, contrary to all equitie and iustice. Which as *Cicero* saith, speaking of the like case, *Requireth aboue all thinges, that euerie man haue his owne.* And that equall regard be had to the right, as wel of the rich, as of the poore. And that is no way obserued saith he, *Cum locupletes suum perdunt, & debitores lucrentur alienum, when rich men loose their owne, and debtors gaine that which belongeth vnto others.* Besides, in this case, the necessitie was not such, to breake Iustice so notoriously, because the incouenience might haue beene redeemed otherwise, without iniury to any. As partly by the means which he himselfe also practised, to wit; by raising the money: and partly, by borrowing some great summes, with the which he might (at least) haue made some composition with the Creditours, in behalfe of the Debtors, and haue repayed the money after in time, by penalties, confiscations, and some moderate taxes, whereby the poore might haue beene for

the present releued, and no man wronged.

Therefore, *Cicero* greatly commendeth *Aratus*, who when the Citty called **Syciona*, had beene oppressed, 0. yeares by Tyrants, and himselfe banished with fixe hundered others, of the verie richest men to bee found therein: first founde meanes to kill the Tyrant; and after, hauing called home all those that were banished: and finding difficultie, in restoring them to their goods & liuings (whiche were in the possession of other wien, and had beene in fifty yeares space, alienated by many Contracts, and bargaines of sale, Dowries, Leases, and such like) thought it not conuenient, either to take the said liuings from those that possessed them; or yet to leaue the other vnatisfied. And therefore, he borrowed a great summe of mony, of *Protomy*, King of *Alexandria*; and examining euerie mans cause, and making an inestimate of the Lands, dealt so between the parties, that for ready mony, some of them were content to leaue their possession; and others to sell their right, and so surcease their claime whereby peace and concord was made. *Et sic par est* (saith *Cicero*) *cum Ciuibus agere, & non alijs sua eripere, alijs dare aliena. So it is fit to deale with subiects, and not to take from some their owne, & to giue it to others to whom it did not belong, as Solon did, who therefore was to be blamed, not only for error, but also for Injustice.*

I omit other errorrs of *Solon*, which might be obserued in the forme of Commonwealth, to come to the examination of one of his Lawes, whereby hee ordained: *That whosoener in any publick sedition should be newtrall, and take neyther parte, shou'd remaine euer after infamous.* His reason was, because hee thought it not conuenient, that any man shold so much loue his owne ease, as not to participate in the trouble of the Commonwealth, whereof he was a member. Which reason, together with the law, *Plutarch* wisely reiecteth; for that it would be an assured meanes, to put (as it were) Fire vnto Gun-powder, & to set all the Commonwealth on a flame, without hope of anie internall remedy.

For (saith he) *euen as in a sicke bodie, all the hope of helpe within it selfe, is to bee expected from the partes that are sound. And there-*

The Reformation of the Commonwealth of the Athenians by *Solon*. *Plut. in Solone.*

Two foule errors of *Solon*, about the reformation of the Athenian Commonwealth

Cic. in lib. 2. de Offic.

Great iniustice committed by *Solon*. *Cicero ubi sup.*

How *Solon* might haue reformed the Commonwealth without the breach of Iustice.

*An old Ciry of *Peloponnesus* neere *Corinth*. *Cicero in lib. 2. de Offic.*

The wisdome of *Aratus*, in reforming the Citty of *Sicyona*.

Cic. ubi supra.

An absurde Law of *Solon*, forbidding newtrallitie in a publicke sedition. *Plut. in Solone.*

Idem in his Booke of enstructions, for such as deale in matters of State.

therefore, when the bodie is wholly corrupted, there is no helpe of remedie but from abroad: euen so, in a politick body, sicke with sedition, all the interal remedie, is to come from the whole and sounde partes thereof.

Solons Lawe reiected by Plutarch.

Ibidem. A principall point of politicke science, either to prevent seditions, or quickly to appease them.

Plutar. Ibidem. A storie of the dissention of two young men of Syracuse.

Good aduise neglected causeth much harme.

The danger that groweth to a Prince by maintaining diuision among his subiects.

That is to say, from such as are newtrals, who may labour with the one part, and with the other, to compound the quarrell: for otherwise, where all is in tumult, no remedie can bee expected, except it come from abroad. And therefore, *Plutarch* holdeth it for the highest and principall point of politicke Science in anie Governour, to know, how either to prevent seditions that they neuer grow; or else quickly to appease them, when they are growne, be they neuer so little. For, euen as the least sparke that is, may fall into such a matter, that it may set a whole house on fire: so the least ciuill sedition, may fall among such persons, and in such a time, that it may put a whol Commonwealth in combustion, and vtterlie ruine it. And for this cause, wise Governours haue an eye, not only to dissentions concerning the Commonwealth, & publick matters: but also, to priuate quarrelles, though they be among meane men, because (many times) they redound to publicke detriment, whereof *Plutarch* recounteth a very notable example.

Two young men of *Syracusa*, were so great Friends, that the one of them being to go abroad vpon occasion, recommended vnto the other the care of his Concubine. Hee in his friends absence, being ouercome with loue and lust, abused her. In reuenge whereof, his friend (at his return) corrupted the others wife; by which meanes, there grewe a great quarrell betwixt them. And the matter coming to the notice of the Senate, a wise Senator gaue aduise, to bannish both, least their priuate quarrell might breed some publicke sedition. But his Counsell was neglected; whereupon followed, that the Friends on eyther side taking parties, made (within a while) such a tumult and ciuill warre in the Cittie, that the whole state was ouerthrowne thereby.

But, as all priuate quarrels may proue dangerous to the Commonwealth, so most of all is it, when they grow betwixt the greatest personages. In which respect, *Phillip de Comines* greatly blameth such Princes, as do not seeke to compose dis-

sensions and quarrelles, among some of their greater subiects: but rather nourish them, by fauoring one partie more then another, wherein they do no other (saith he) but helpe to set their owne house on fire. Whereof hee alledgeth two notable examples, the one of the Queene of *England*, wife to King *Henrie* the sixt, who taking part with the Duke of *Sommerset*, against the Earle of *Warwicke*, was an especiall cause of that Warre, which the Earle made (many years together) against the King and House of *Lancaster*, to their vtter ouerthrow. And therefore (sayth he) the Queene shoulde haue done much more wisely, if she had shewed her selfe at the first indifferent betwixt the two parties, & holpen to agree them.

The other example which hee alledgeth, is of *Charles* the seauenth, King of *France*; who, when hee was *Daulphine*, tooke part with the Duke of *Orleance*, against the Duke of *Burgundy*, in a priuate quarrell of theirs. In reuenge whereof the Duke of *Burgundy*, called *Henrie* the fift, King of *England*, into *Fraunce*, and helped to Crowne him, and his son after him, Kings in *Paris*.

And whereas, *Phillip de Comines*, seemeth to take it for no inconuenience, that a young Prince, should sometimes for his sport and pleasure, nourish some iarres and quarrelles among the Ladyes and Gentlewomen of his Court, I cannot but dissent from him therein, because Womens iarres, may make mens wars. And experience hath taught, that mutations haue sometimes hapned in States, by womens quarrels. As in *Rome*, where *Fabius Ambustus* hauing married his two Daughters; the elder, vnto a Nobleman called *Sulpitius*, who was after made consull; and the younger to a *Plebeian*, called *Licinius Stolo*, who (by the Lawes) was not capeable of that dignity. It chanced, that a disgust fell betwixt the two Sisters; for that the younger, visiting the elder, who was then wife to the Consull, and holding her selfe to bee contemned of her, in respect of her meane estate, lamented so pittifully to her Father, that to appease her, he practised with the people, to make his Sonne in Law, *Licinius Stolo* Consull, in derogation of the ancient Law and Custome, which excluded the *Plebeians* from the Consulship. And although the chiefe Senatours, opposed them-

Phil. de Com. Cron. du Roy Louis. Cap. 138

War in England betwixt the King, and the Earle of Warwicke.

Henrie the fift K. of England Crowned in France.

Phillip de Comines, reproued, for allowing in a yong Prince, to nourish quarrrels amongst the Ladies of his Court. Plin. de viris illust. Tit. Liii. Dec. 1. Lib. 6.

The trouble that often ariseth by the dissentions of Women.

themselues thereto with might & maine, as to a great noueltie, and a matter verie preiudiciall to the dignity of the Senate, yet he preuailed; and not only procured a Decree, that from thenceforward, the *Plebeians* might be *Consuls*, but also obtained the election of *Licinius Stolo*, his Sonne in Law. And this was done, to satisfie the disdain of a woman against hir owne Sister.

But more dangerous and lamentable, was the quarrel of two Sisters in *England* in the time of King *Edward* the sixt, one of them being *Queene Katherine Parre*, lately before, wife to King *Henrie* the 8. and then married to the Lorde *Thomas Seymer*, Admirall of *England*; and the other was the Dutchesse of *Sommerset*, VVife to the Lorde Protector of *England*, Brother to the Admirall. These two Ladies, falling at variaunce for the precedence which either of them challenged; the one, as *Qui. Dowager*, and the other as wife to the Protector, who then gouerned the King and all the Realme, drew their Husbandes into the quarrell, and so incensed the one against the other, that the Protector procured the death of the Admirall his Brother: whereon also followed his owne destruction shortly after. For, being depriued of the assistance and support of his Brother, he was easily ouerthrowne by the Duke of *Northumberland*, who caused him to be conuicted of felony, and beheaded. Beholde what inconuenience followed, by the falling out of two women. Therefore *Aristotle* wisely aduiseeth Princes, *To haue care that their wiues doe no disgraces, nor giue iust cause of disgust vnto the Wiues of their subiects, because Commonweiths haue bin ouerthrown by such meanes.*

But what meruaile is it, if the quarels of weomen may bee dangerous vnto a Commonwealth, seeing a famous and pernicious faction in *Italy*, began by the occasion of a quarrel betwixt two Boyes, whereof the one gaue the other a box on the eare. In reuenge whereof, the father of the Boy that was stricken, cut off the hand of the other which gaue the blow. VVhose Father, making the quarrell his owne, sought reuenge of the iniury done to his sonne, and began the faction of the *Neri*, and the *Bianchi*, that is to say, *Black* and *White*: which presently spred it selfe thoroughout *Italy*, and was the occasion

of spilling much Christian blood.

VVhereby we may see, how necessary it is, for *Gouernors*, to haue an eye vnto quarrels, though among mean persons: And how dangerous it is for a Prince, to make deuision in his State, betwixt great persons, to ballance and counterpoize one of them with another, to the ende; that they shall not conspire against him. As *Machiauel* counselleth absurdly, following the olde tyrannicall Precept; *Si vis regnare, diuide. If thou wilt Raigne, make diuision.* As though it should bee alwayes in the Princes power, to moderate the same at his pleasure, whereof no mortall creature can assure himselfe, bee he neuer so wise or potent. And therefore, we may say of such dangerous courses, as saith the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, *Qui amat periculū peribit in illo*, He that loveth danger, shall perish in it.

Neuerthelesse, to returne now vnto *Solons* Law, which condemneth neutrality in publicke seditions or factions; although in some cases, the said law would be pernicious to a Commonwealth: yet in some other, I holde it so necessarie, as that no man could do his dutie eyther to God or his Countrey, except he should put the same in practise.

As for example, if the quarrell were for matter of Religion, or touching either the seruice of God, or the publicke good of the Commonwealth; or for the iust defence of the rightfull Prince, and *Gouernour* thereof. In these cases, all neutrality were vnlawfull. For, when there is question of Gods seruice; to bee then neutral, were nothing else but to betray Gods cause, and to declare a Mans selfe to be his owne enemy. According to our Sauours saying; *Qui non est mecum, contra me est, & qui non colligit mecum dispergit. Hee that is not with mee, is against me: And he that gathereth not with me, scattereth.* And therefore, the Neutralls in that case, are those whome the Holy Ghost calleth *Tepidi*, men that are lukewarme, of whom the Scripture saith in the person of God. *Vtinam esses aut calidus, aut frigidus. Sed quia tepidus es, euomam te ex ore meo. I wold thou wert eyther hot, or cold. But because thou art but luke-warme, I wil therefore spet thee out of my mouth.*

Againe in the other case, where the Controuersie concerneth the good of the

The dissenti- on betwixt the Dutches of Somerset, & Q. Katherine Par in England

Beholde the fruits of mallice & spleene in Women.

Aristot. in Pol. Lib. 5. Cap. 2.

A quarrel began in Italic, betwixt two Boyes, which caused much blood shed.

Tarcagnota hist Mund par. 2. lib. 15.

The danger of Machiauel's doctrine, concerning diuision.

Eccles. 3, 27.

In what cases neutrality is to be allowed or disallowed

Neutrallie vnlawfull in deuisions concerning Gods seruice.

Luke 11, 23.

Apoc. 3, 15, 16.

Neutrality condemned, in matters concerning the iust defence of the Prince or Commonwealth.

the Commonwealth, or the iust defence of the King or Gouvernor: Neutrality in this case, were meere treason, and should iustly deserue not onely the note of infamy (as *Solons* Law ordained) but also any rigorous punishment whatsoever. And therefore in all such cases, all men are bound in conscience and duty, without any delay, to declare at least their good willes and affections, for maintenance of so iust a cause. And where persuasions will not suffice, then to employ all force, yea, and their liues, for suppressing of such seditious wretches, rather then to suffer that they may any way preuaile.

Neutrality in priuate quarrels condemned.

But in other cases, as when some particuler mens priuate dissentions do grow to a publicke sedition; or, when the contention is not betwixt the head, and some of the members, but betwixt the members themselves; to adhere to either partie (as *Solons* Lawe commaunded) were no other, then in stead of Water where-with to quench fire, to cast on Oyle, to nourish and augment it, to the great danger and detriment of the whole State. Therefore, in such a case, the neutrall & indifferent man, may best helpe to remedie the disease of the Commonwealth, putting on (as *Plutarch* saith) the *Bushkin of Theramines*, which serued for both feet. That is to say, dealing indifferently with both parties, to draw them to a composition; not for his owne ease, or to auoyde the participation of publick or common calamity, as *Solon* in his Law supposed of Neutrals, but to extinguish the fire kindled in the Commonwealth, or at least, not to minister further matter therto, by any act of his.

Plutarch in his instructions for such as deale in matters of State.

Thus then we see, how *Solon* erred in his Lawes and ordinances, though *Aristotle* seemeth to preferre him before all other Law-makers, censuring & controlling all the rest, and excusing him in that wherein others reprehend, and concluding him to be an excellent Law maker. So doth *Plato*, who for patternes of all such as shall institute Commonwealthes and Lawes, proposeth *Minos*, *Solon*, and *Lycurgus*, of which last man I meane to speake.

Plato de Legib.

CHAP. III.

The Weaknesse of Law-makers, exemplified in certaine wicked and absurd Lawes, of *Lycurgus*, *Plato*, and *Aristotle*. With certaine Obseruations, no lesse pious, then Politicall.

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Lycurgus was no lesse famous for his royall Birth, then for his great wisdom. For, he being Brother to *Polidectes* king of *Lacedemonia*, succeeded him in the Kingdome, at the earnest request of the people, in regard, that his Brother left no yssue, but only his Wife great with Childe. And beeing earnestly solicted by her, to marrie with her, with promise to destroy the Childe in her wombe, to the end, that his Kingdome might bee the more assured: hee did not only refuse it; but also, when the Childe was borne, and proued a Sonne, he proclaimed him King, taking onely to himselfe the tutelage of him, and the gouernment of the Realme during his minority. With intention in the meane time, to reforme it, beeing growne to great corruption, and almost vtterly decayed. And therefore, he abolished most of the olde Lawes, and ordained newe; by the vse whereof, the *Lacedemonians* flourished many yeares, aboue all the rest of the *Gracians*; insomuch, that they hadde the Dominion of al *Greece*, for some certain time.

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Neuerthelesse, if we examine his Commonwealth, and the Lawes therof, we shall finde, that hee failed both in true prudence, & immortall Vertue. For whereas a good Law maker, ought to frame his Commonwealth, no lesse to Religion, Iustice, and Temperance, then to Fortitude, that it may stand and flourish, as well in time of peace, as in warre: his Lawes tended principally, to make the people valiant and warlike: whereupon it followed, that the *Lacedemonians* flourished so long as they had warres. But when they came to enioy peace, they fel to decay within a while, as *Aristotle* noteth, whereby the error of *Lycurgus* evidently appea-

Plato in Licurgus.

Lycurgus earnestly solicted by his Brothers wife to mary with her.

Of the lawes of the Lacedemonians, reformed by Licurgus.

How Licurgus erred in framing his Commonwealth rather for warre then peace.

Arist. in Polit. Lib. 2. cap. 7.

appeared. For, as peace is not ordayned for warre, but warre for peace, as motion and labour is ordained for rest (in which respect, Cicero saith: *Warre is to be vnderaken, so that peace may bee attained thereby.*) So in like manner, a Commonwealth is rather to bee framed and ordained for peace, then for warre, and yet for both, that it may stand by both. In which respect, the Commonwealth of the Athenians, as Plutarch writeth, chose Pallas for their Patronesse, who was called both *Polemica* and *Politica*, thar is to say, *Warlike* and *Ciuill*. As also the Thebanes had for theirs, *Hermonie*, which was helde to bee the Daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*: whereby they signified, that the hermony of a Commonwealth, consisteth in the consonance and coniunction of Military and Ciuill Discipline. Which also *Iustinian* specified, in the institutes of the Ciuill Law, saying; *Imperatorium maiestatem, &c. It is conuenient, that the Imperial Maiestie bee not onely decked and adorned with Armes, but also defended with Lawes.*

But in the Commonwealth of the Lacedemonians, this was no way performed. For the Lawes of *Licurgus*, tending only to make them strong, laborious, and valiant: could not make them Religious, iust, and truly temperate, which for Ciuill Discipline, and peaceable gouernment, is most requisite. As for Lawes tending to Religion, we find none made by *Lycurgus*, nor any religious act of his, but onely one more ridiculous then Religious. As hee that dedicated an Image to Laughter, which hee made a God, or (at least) would haue to be worshipped as a God, to make the people mery at their publicke Feasts and meetings. And as for Lawes pertaining to Iustice, he made few, and one among the rest, which opened a great gappe to Iniustice, and to all cozenages and deceipt. For he ordained that it should be lawfull for any man, to steale any kinde of meate, so that he were not taken or discovered in the dooing of it. And that Boyes and Children should haue so little allowed them to eate, that they should be forced to proule & steale for their better prouision, to make them thereby the more industrious, nimble, & quicke of spirit: and others, more warie and watchfull, to keepe well that which they had in so much, that he which could

steal most cunningly, was most commended.

But who doth not see, that this was the next way to fill the Commonwealth with Theeues? For, is it likely, that they (who from their Infancie) are brought vppe in stealing & pilfering trifles, wil afterward (when they haue got the full habit thereof) not forbear to steale things of greater importaunce? Or, can Theeues practise their occupation with more safetie ane way, to become in the end most expert, and thereby pernicious to the Commonwealth, then with the warrant, and vnder protection of the Lawe? Seeing the penaltie ordained for them that were taken with the manner, was not inflicted for the Iniustice of the fact, but for their lack of skil and dexterity in the performance, which must needs make euery one labor to excell in the act of Theeuery. Finally, when the Law not onely permitteth but also induceth men to deceiue somtimes, and in some thinges, doth it not also dispose, and, as it were, direct them to deceiue as often, and howsoeuer they may? Therefore, good and wise Law-Makers seeke to preuent euils, and to cut off the occasions of vice; and not to administer matter or occasion thereto, which in our corrupt Natures, breedeth a bridle to restraine it, and not a spurre to pricke it forward.

And this may also be saide, in respect of another Law of *Lycurgus*, inducing to intemperance, and al kind of incontincie. For, although hee ordayned some thinges notably, for the education of youth, tending (as it seemed) vnto the repression of Concupiscence and dissolute life (as a verie spare and homely diet, hard bedding of Reeds, or as some write, no beds at al, continual labor and exercife, one only Garment for the whole yeare, and such like) yet it appeareth, that his meaning was no other therein, but only to make them able to endure the labour and toile of warre.

For he ordained other lawes, so much in fauour and furtherance of Lust and all carnality, yea in the verie worst kind, that it may be iustly saide, he made his whole Commonwealth, worse then a *Burdello*. For he instituted certaine *W rafflings* & *Daunces*, with other exercifes of Boyes and Wenches naked, to be done in publicke at diuers times in the yeare, in the pre-

Cicer. in Offic. lib. 2.

Plut. in Phocione & pelopida.

Iustin. Institut. in prœmio.

Whereto the Lawes of Licurgus tended.

A ridiculous Law of Licurgus.

Plut. in Licurgo

Cunning Theft and deccit allowed of in the laws of Licurgus.

Contending for excellēce in theeuetic.

The care and respect of good Law-makers.

Another Law of Licurgus, inducing intemperancie and incontincie.

Iustine in lib. 3.

Plut. in Licurgo

Abfurd lawes of *Licurgus*, tending to lafciviousneffe.

Leuit. 20. 10. *Lex Inlia.*

Adultery permitted by *Lycurgus*.

Plut. in Licurgo

Arist. in Polit. Sib. 2. Cap. 7. The overthrow of the *Lacedemonians* at the plaine of *Leuctra*. *Plut. Narrati- one amator.* *Diod. Siculus in l. 15. c. 14. cap. 20. m. 3.*

Licurgus and *Solon* accounted by antiquity, mirrors of Law-makers.

presence of both old and young men. but what effect it might worke in the mindes and manners of their Cittizens, a man may easily iudge. Especially, seeing both their Lawes and Customes permitted, that men should be enamored of Boyes, which was held for lawdable, and necessarie for their good education: it beeing presumed, that their louers woulde carefully enstruct them in vertue and honesty.

Furthermore, Adultery, which was punnished with death, not onely by the law of *Moyfes*, but also by the law of the *Romaines*, and other Nations, as a thing pernicious to any Commonwealth, was not onely permitted, but also approoued by *Lycurgus* his law. Ordaining, that if an olde man married a yong Wife, shee might (with her husbands license) make choise with any yong man that she liked, to haue a childe by him, which hir Husband brought vp as his owne. And if a valiant or vertuous man (as good Souldiers were there termed) liked well of anothers mans wife, hee might demaunde leaue of her husband, to haue yssue by her, which was not denied, but thought conuenient for their Commonwealth, to maintaine a good race or breede of Valiant man therein, as *Plutarch* testifyeth, in defence of this Law of *Lycurgus*. This then being so, what meruaile is it, that al sinne of the flesh and beastlines, raigned more in *Lacedemon*, then any where else in *Greece*, as *Aristotle* witnesseth? Nay what wonder was it, that almighty God (of his iust iudgement) plagued them for it in the end, with a memorable overthrow at the plaine of *Leuctra*? Where they lost the Dominion of *Greece*, by the occasion, and for the punnishment of an horrible Rape, committed by two of their Cittizens.

But to conclude, concerning *Licurgus* and *Solon*, I will not stand vpon other things, reproued by *Aristotle* in the lawes of *Lycurgus*: seeing it is euident inough, by that which I haue touched before; that these two mirrors of Law makers (for so were *Solon* and *Licurgus* accompted of al antiquity) may serue no lesse then others of meaner marke, for examples of mens infirmities, and weaknesse of wit in matters of Commonwealth. To whom, I will now adde *Plato* and *Aristotle*, who, although they founded no Commonwealths, as the other two did; yet, they

framed (in writing) either of them one, wherein they laboured to shew, both the excellencie of their owne wit, and the perfection of humane policy; yet therein notwithstanding, they euidently declared the weaknesse of both.

For, what can bee more absurd or impious, then the community which *Plato* ordained in his Commonwealth? Not only of goodes and possessions, but also of women? which was done to the end, that no man should haue any thing proper or peculiar to himselfe: infomuch, that fathers & mothers should not know their own children, neither yet any child know his owne Parents. VWhereby hee thought, to establish such a perfect vnity in the Commonwealth, that no man should be able to say; this is mine, or this is thine, but euerie man haue a generall care of all. Whereas, if that Lawe were put in practise, the vtter ouerthrow of the Commonwealth, and of all humane society must needs follow thereon. For Matrimonie beeing taken away, and such a promiscuous and beastly procreation introduced: the Naturall loue betwixt Parentes and their Children; Bretheren, Kinsfolkes, and Allies, all Consanguinity, Kindred, and Affinity, wold be quite abolished. Horrible Incest betweene Kinsfolkes, Brother and Sister, Father and Daughter, Mother and Son (which all Nations abhorre) would ordinarily be committed, and in occasion of quarrels (which somtimes could not be auoided) one Brother would kill another, the Father the Sonne, and the Son the Father, through want of knowing one another: beside very manie other inconueniences, declared verie perticularly, and at large, by *Aristotle* in his Politickes. He proueth also very euidently, that the vnitie which *Plato* sought to establish in his Commonwealth by law, would not follow thereon, whereby appeared his double error. All which I omit for breuities sake, to speake a worde or two of another Lawe of his. Hauing ordained, that young men shold for encrease of their strength and agilitie of bodie, exercise themselues Naked at certaine times, and in certaine places appointed for that purpose, called *Gymnasia*; he commanded also (not as *Licurgus* did in *Lacedemonia*, that young Girles and Wenches should daunce Naked among Boyes; but farre more absurdlie) that

Plato in lib. de Legibus.

The impious Lawes of *Plato* in his Commonwealth.

Promiscuous and beastly Procreation in the Lawes of *Plato*.

Arist. in Polit. l. 2. c. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Another most absurd *Platonicall* Law.

that Weomen, in the flower of their youth, should Dance, Wraſtle, Runne, Ride, and do all exerciſes with yong Naked men, as well as they. Which (ſaith he) whoſoeuer miſliketh, vnderſtandeth not howe profitable it is for the Common-wealth.

But who coulde imagine, that the Prince of Phyloſophers (for ſo was Plato eſteemed) could ſo farre forget himſelfe, as, hauing inſtituted and framed his Commonwealth, to all kinde of vertue; as the onely meanes to arriue at perfect felicity: for which purpoſe, he gaue notable documents and Precepts; & made excellent Lawes concerning all vertues: and among the reſt, touching chaſtitie: who, I ſay, conſidering this, could imagine, that this Profeſſor, Maiſter, and teacher of Vertue; this commender and Commander of Chaſtitie; woulde not onely permit, but alſo ordaine a thing ſo contrarie to his owne profeſſion, to the end of his Commonwealth, and vnto his owne Lawes, Precepts, and Counſels, as the laſciuious Aſpect of naked women? Whereby, the fire of Concupiſcence being kindled in men, and the bridle of Naturall modeſtie taken from weomen: what elſe could followe thereon, but all beaſtly diſſolution, and Carnallitie of life, as well in the one, as other?

For, Precepts are giuen, and Lawes ordained in vaine, againſt incontinency; when the occaſions, prouocations, and nourishments thereof, are permitted. Which whoſoeuer vſeth to admit, playeth with the flame, as the Flie doth, and commonly is burned thereby. How many do wee ſee daily ouercome with vice, and eſpecially that of the fleſh, becauſe they will not forbear the occaſions? we may put fire to ſtraw when wee will, but we cannot quench it when wee will. It is in our owne power and choiſe to combat with our enemy, but the victorie is not in our hands. Euen ſo, we may eaſily enter into the conſlict; and admit the allurements of ſinne when we liſt, but cannot ſo eaſily ouercome it, nor yet retyre our ſelues when we liſt: And therefore, in this kinde of combat, the verieſt Coward gets the victorie, that is to ſay, hee which flieth away at the firſt, or rather dare not abide, to ſee ſo much as the face of his enemies. In which reſpect, the Ho-

ly-ghoſt aduiſeth vs, *Fugite a fornicatione, Fly from fornication.* And, *Iuueni'ia deſideria fuge, Fly from all the luſts of youth.* And again, *Sicut a facie Colubri, fuge peccata, As from the face of a Serpent, ſo fly & run away from ſinne.* Whoſoeuer delighteth to admit the occaſions; whoſoeuer, I ſay, doth not ſhut vp the doores and windowes of his eyes & ears, againſt the enticements of luſt, but is content to entertaine them into the ſecret Cabinet of his heart, although hee were ſtronger then *Sampſon*, holier then *Dauid*, and wiſer then *Salomon*, let him make account to be vanquiſhed as they were.

Therefore *Ariſtoile*, *Platoes* Scholler, knowing how eaſily men are corrupted, by the hearing and ſight of wanton and laſciuious obiects; and eſpecially, Children (whoſe firſt impreſſions of good or bad, are hardly remoued euer after) ordained in his written Commonwealth, that they ſhould be kept from the hearing of wanton talk, and from the ſight of laſciuious Comedies, and ſuch other representations as might moue them to carnal cogitations, which enflame concupiſcence to all inordinate appetites. In reſpect whereof, hee commaunded, that Magiſtrates ſhould not ſuffer in the Commonwealth, any diſhoneſt Images, or wanton pictures, which might repreſent anie vn-cleane or laſciuious act to the beholders: Which when I conſider, I cannot but lament the little care that is commonlie had thereof, in any Chriſtian Commonwealthes; where, not onely moſt mens mouths overflow with beaſtly and diſhoneſt talke, but alſo al places are furniſhed with wanton and laſciuious pictures and Images, euen as with ſpecial ornaments. Being kept likewise in their Bed-chambers, and moſt ſecret Cloſets and Retreats, for ſatiſying their libidinous eies; and prouoking their ſpent and languiſhing Luſt, with the frequent and greedie aſpect of them. I am aſhamed to ſay the reſt, or that I haue ſayed ſo much, conſtrained thereto by the iuſt grieſe, which I conceiue for ſo great an abuſe, that hauing beene forbidden and diſallowed by Paynims, is neuertheleſſe permitted among Chriſtians.

But to returne from whence I digreſſed. I conclude, that theſe *Platonical* laws had been more fit for a *Sardanapalus*, or a

Rrr Helio.

1. Cor. 6, 18.
2. Timi 2, 22.
Ecclef. 2 1; 2.

Sin prevented, is halfe conquered.

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An excellent order taken by Ariſtoile, forbidding wan on talk, and laſciuious pictures. *Ariſt. in Polit. Lib. 7 Cap. 17.*

The ſmal care in Chriſtian Commonwealthes be- moaned.

That which hath beene diſallowed by Paynims, is ſuffered by Chriſtians.

Plato accounted to be the Prince of Philoſophers.

Plato contrary to himſelfe, allowing young women in the companie of naked men.

Lawes ordained in vaine againſt Vice, when the occaſions thereof are permitted.

What remaineth not in our power we haue no command of.

Plato professed to bee a Physition of soules.

Heliogabalus, if they had written of Commonwealth affairs: then for a *Plato*, who professed himselfe to bee a Physition of soules, a reformer of manners, a teacher of temperance, and the Schoolemaister of all Vertue; so blinde is man, be hee neuer so wise, without the light of Gods grace. But perhaps, some may thinke that *Aristotle*, his Scholler (who was the wonder of the world for his wit, and vnderooke to censure and findicate him, and all other Lawe-makers before him) saw clearer into matters of Law & Commonwealth, then they. Let vs then examine him a little, and we shall find, that he erred more absurdly, then anie one of them.

Arist. in Polit. lib. 2. cap. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

Two absurde Lawes of *Aristotle*.

As may appeare by two of his lawes: whereof the one was, that if a man had any deformed or lame child, he should cast it out like a whelp, and expose it to perrish. And the other was, that if a man had about a certain number of children, which number hee would haue to be determined, according to euery mans abilitie, his wife should destroy the fruite in her wombe, when she found that she had conceiued. Wherin he shewed himselfe more vnnaturall and inhuman, then the verie brute beasts. For, as *Cicero* saith verie well. *These two thinges cannot agree together, to wit; that Nature would haue procreation; and yet, when the Creature is borne, that it should nos be beloued and conserued. Which appeareth evidently, saith he, in brute Beastes, whose labour and care in conseruation of that which is borne of them is such, that we may acknowledge the force and voyce of Nature therein. Wherefore, it is manifest, that as we Naturally shun and abhorre all kinde of grieffe, so should we bee likewise moued to loue the yssue of our Bodies. Elsewhere also he saith; Whereas it is common to all liuing creatures, to haue a care of those things which they haue brought forth: Euen so, Nature hath giuen specially to man, a loue to his Children, and a care to prouide them of all things necessarie. Thus saith he, and common experience teacheth as much.*

Arist. in Polit. lib. 7. cap. 16.

Cicero de finib. Lib. 13.

Cicero in Offic. lib. 1.

The absurdity and inhumanitie of *Aristotles* Lawe, for the exposition of lame & deformed Children.

What then can bee more dissonant from reason and Nature, then that a mā who is borne, and Naturally enclined to Clemencie, Humanity, and Pietie; should shew himselfe vnkinde and inhumaine, not towards Beasts, but towards

men; not towards strangers, Friendes, or Seruants, but towards his own children? And that for no fault of theirs, but for some defectes or deformitie of bodie, which they could not remedy, but ought rather to moue pittie and compalsion in a man, then rigour or crueltie. Beside, such corporall defectes, doo not for the most part, hinder the operation of the minde and vnderstanding. Therefore, it may well happen (by execution of this inhumaine Lawe of *Aristotle*) that not onely a Father thalbe deprived of a good Sonne: but the Commonwealth also, looseth a necessarie and notable Member. For as *Seneca* saith: *Ex casa vir magnus exire potest, et ex deformi, humilique corpusculo formosus animus, & magnus. A notable man may come out of a poore Cottage: and a beautifull and high minde, out of a lowe and deformed body.* Could Corporall imperfections and deformities exclude *AEsop* from the number of Phylosophers? Or take from *Cræsus* the reputation of a most excellent & wise prince? Hee Wrote of himselfe (hauing inuited *Anacharsis* the Phylosopher to come to his Court) *That although Nature hadde made him deformed, Crook backt, one eyed, lame of a Legge, a Dwarfse, and, as it were a Monster among men: yet he thought himselfe so monstrous in nothing, as in that hee had no Phylosopher in his Court, and of his Counsell.*

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The like may bee saide of a notable, though verie deformed Byshop of *Cullen*; of whose great Wisedome and Vertue, *William of Malmesbury*, giueth testimonie, declaring the occasion of his advancement, to that great Arch-Byshoppricke, in this manner:

*An Emperor of Germanie, saith hee, being a Hunting, and wandering by chance with verie few or none with him, in a Morning, vpon the Sunday before Lent, cal'ed Quinquagesima, came vnto a poore parish Church, dissembling himselfe to bee a Souldier, and desired to heare Masse. The Parish Priest, being a man so deformed of bodye, that he was *Pex portentum Naturæ*, almost a Monster of Nature, saide Masse before him. And as the Emperor wondered with himselfe, that Almighty God, who is of infinite beauty and Maestie, would suffer so deformed a creature to do him such high se uice, it chanced that the Priest, reading*

Deformity of body doth not preiudice the beauty of the minde.

Sen. ad Lucul. Epist.

King *Cræsus*, very deformed of body, yet a wise and excellent Prince.

Gnevara in vita Mar. Aurely

Guicli. Malmf. lib. 2. cap. 10.

A Storie of a deformed Priest, made Archbyshop of *Cullen*.

Psalme 100, 2

A note well strained, & in apt houre.

Arist. in lib. Ethic. 5. Cap. 11. Aristotle against himself

Arist. in Polit. lib. 7. Cap. 16. The absurdity of Aristotles law, concerning the destruction of children in their mothers wombe. Cic. in Orat. pro Cluentio.

ff. de penis Lib. Si aliquid parat. qui abortiu.

ding the Verse of the Tract, which was that day; Scitote, quoniam Dominus, &c. Know you that our Lorde is God, and that he made vs, and not we our selues; he pronounced that in such a different tune and voice, from that which he hadde reade before, that the Emperour tooke it as an apte answer to his present cogitation, and began to conceiue so reuerently of the Priest, (being further enformed of his life and vertue) that he made him Archbysbop of Gal- len, much against his wil, &c. Whereby appeareth the absurdity of Aristotles law. For, if it had beene in force; where this deformed Byshop was borne, the church had wanted a notable Pastour, and the Common wealth an excellent and spiri- tuall member.

Furthermore, it is manifest by Ari- stotle himselfe, that this Law of exposi- tion of Children, is most vniust and iniuri- ous vnto the Commonwealth. For, whereas he prooueth in his Ethicks, That a man may not kill himselfe: hee affirmeth among other thinges, That hee which be- sides the course and forme of Law, doth hurt another, who neither defendeth him selfe, nor hurteth him, doth iniury to the Comon- wealth. Therefore, how much more in- iurie is it, to destroy an innocent Childe, that can neither defende himselfe, nor hurt any other, and may (in processe of time) doo notable seruice to the Com- monwealth?

The like also may be said of the other Law of Aristotle, concerning abortion, or destruction of the Childe in the Mo- thers womb, being a thing seuerely puni- shed, by all good Lawes, as iniurious not only to Nature, but also to the common- wealth, which is thereby deprived of a designed Cittizen, as Cicero termeth it. So speaketh he of a Woman of Milesus in Asia, who hauing procured the abor- tion of her Child, a little before hir time of trauaile, was condemned vnto death. Neque iniuria (saith hee) quia designatum Reip. ciuem sustulisset. And verie iustly for that she made away one, that was designed to be a Cittizen of the Commonwealth. In which regard, the Ciuill Law doth grie- uously punnish all wilfull abortion, after Conception, whether the Childe haue life, or no: inflicting death, if the Childe were already quicke; and otherwayes, banishment, with Confiscation of the Offenders Goodes, if they be Noble, or

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of account; and condemnation to digge in the Mines, if they be poore. Besides, our Cannonists do holde it to be a dead- ly sinne, either to procure abortion after conception (though the childe bee not quicke or voluntarily to hinder concep- tion, or to cause sterility: because it is (say they) Contra bonum prolis generanda; Against the good of generation, which Na- ture ordaineth, for the continuation of mankind, and maintenance of humane society. Therefore, whereas Aristotle himselfe aduiseeth, that the abortion bee procured after conception, before the Childe haue life, adding this reason, For that to do it after, were Nefas, a Wicked act.

His reason excuseth not his absurditie in this Lawe, and condemneth him of wickednesse in the former, concerning the exposition of Children. For, if it be a wicked act, to kill a quick Child before it be borne: much more wicked and cruell is the act; to expose it vnto destruction and death after it is borne; when it hath farre more sence and feeling of hurte; and Naturally mooueth more to com- passion.

But perhappes some will say, that hee which exposeth or layeth forth a Child, dooth not kill it: for, that it may happe (as manie times it hath) that the Childe may bee taken by some other, and nou- rished: as it chanced vnto Moyses, Romu- lus and Remus, Cyrus King of Persia, and diuers others.

Whereto I aunswere, that although the prouidence of GOD, ouercommeth manie times the mallice of man; yea, and turneth it to good: yet mans offence, is neuer a iotte the lesse, neyther can anie chance that happeneth after an acte, al- ter the Nature of the acte. I meane, it can neither rectifye it, if it bee ill done; nor make it ill, if so bee that it bee well done.

And therefore, I say, seeing reason and the Lawe of Nature commaundeth (as I haue shewed before) that euery one haue an especiall care, of the life & con- uersation of his Children, he which not onely forsaketh his owne Childe, that hath not anie way offended him; but al- so exposeth it to the perill of death, can- not be excused of vnnaturall dealing, in- humanitie and impietic; although some strager thold chance afterward, to proue

Syluester verb. Abortus. Arimlia ibid.

Arist. ibid. ut supra.

Aristotle con- futed by his own assertion

An obiection made & aun- swered.

Exod. 2, 5. Plat. in Remus. Iustin. in lib. 2.

A note well worth the ob- seruation in Fathers and Mothers.

more humane and pious toward it, then the Father himfelfe.

Well then, to conclude this point. I say of *Aristotle*, as *Augustus Caesar* said of King *Herod* (when he vnderstoode, that among the Innocents which he had caused to be killed, after the birth of our Sauiour, one of his owne Sons was flaine) *It is better*, quoth he, *to be Herods Pigge, then his Sonne*. And this he said, in regard that Piggess were not killed in *Iudea*, because the Iewes did not eate anie Swines Flesh. And euen so I say, it were better to bee a Beast in *Aristotles* Commonwealth, then a man, for Beastes shoulde bee assuredly cared and prouided for by their Dammes: whereas the Children of men, should bee in daunger to be forsaken both of Father and Mother, and so perish.

And heere I cannot forbear to say somewhat, of another Constitution of his, which I knowe not, whither it were more absurd or ridiculous. We made mention a little before, of a notable Law of his, forbidding in his Commonwealth, the vse of lasciuious Pictures & Images; least young men, and especialy children, might be corrupted in manners by sight of them. Neuerthelesse, he excepteth in the same Law, the Images and Pictures of certaine Gods: *In whom* (saith he) *Custom alloweth Lasciuiousnesse*. Meaning no doubt, the painted and graued Stories of the Adulteries of *Iupiter*, *Mars*, and *Venus*, and other Gods and Goddesses, set foorth euery where amongest the Paynims, as well in publicke places, as in their priuate Houses and Temples. Wherein may bee obserued, the ridiculous absurdity of this great Phylosopher, not only in matter appertaining to Religion, but also in matter of Commonwealth; yea, and concerning his owne law formerly mentiond. For, what could it auaille, to take away all other wanton pictures and representations that might corrupt the minds of youth, when he expressly alloweth the vse of Lasciuious Gods pictures, which must needs corrupt them much more, and as it were, instill into them, vicious affections & wils together, with their Religion, and by example of their Goddesses? For, by their imitation, they could not but hope to attaine, as well to perfection of Vertue, as to eternall beatitude and felicite, belee-

uing as they did; that they were true Gods?

For, how could any man bee perswaded, that Adulteric deserued punnishment, or was not a great, yea, a Diuine Vertue, seeing *Mars* taken tardy with *Venus*, or *Iupiter* stealing away *Europa*, in the shape of a Bull; or violating *Leda*, in the forme of a Swanne; or entering into the house of *Danae* (by the Louer) in a Golden showre? Would not anie man that were Religiously deuoted vnto these Gods, bee animated by sight of them to do the like? Yea, and Children, learning their Religion, and not only hearing, but also seeing euery where, by Pictures and Images, that such actes were committed by their Gods, could they imagine, that the same were euill, and not to be imitated?

This is verie well declared by *Lucian*, of his owne experience, who, in his Dialogues, maketh *Menippus* say thus: *When I was yet but a Boy, and heard out of Homer and Hesiodes, of the Adulteries, Fornications, Rapes, and seditions of the Gods, Truly I thought, that those thinges were very excellent, and began euen then, to be greatly affected towards them. For I could not imagine that the Goddess themselves would euer haue committed Adultery, if they had not esteemed the same to bee lawfull and good. The like also signifyeth Cherea in Terence, who beholding a Table, wherein was painted how *Iupiter* deceiued *Danae*, when he came in at the top of the house, saith; that hee was greatlie encouraged to defloire a yong Maid, by the example of so great a God. At quem Deum? (saith he) *Qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit. Ego hominico hoc non facerem? Ego vero illud ita feci & lubens. But what God was this? Euen hee, which shakes the highest Temples of the Heauens vwith Thunder. And therefore, might not I, that am but a poore wretch, doe the like? Yes truely, I did it, and that with all my heart.**

These are the effects, that the sight of such Lasciuious Pictures of the Goddesses, must needs worke in their minds which beholde them; and are withall, Religiously affected towards them. And therefore, *Aristotle* permitting these, and forbidding all other, to preuent thereby the wonderfull corruption of youth, may verie fitly bee compared vnto one, that should

Macrob lib. 2.
Saturnal. cap. 4.

Herus owne
onne slain a-
mong the In-
nocents.

Another ab-
surd error of
Aristotle.

Lasciuious
pictures and
Images of
Gods, absurd-
ly allowed by
Aristotle.

If Gods do a-
misse, men
presume to
follow.

Mens mindes
corrupted a-
mongest the
Gentiles, by
the sight of
the lasciuious
pictures of
their Goddesses.

Lucian in *Me-
nippo*.

Ter. in *Eunuc.*

Aristotles ab-
surdity made
plaine & ma-
nifest.

A verie true
and apt Com-
parifon.

should make a Law to prohibite the burning of houfes, except it were with fome artificiall wilde fire, that could not bee extinguished. For fuch may be faid to be the fire of Concupifcence, kindled in the minds of men or Children, by Religious acts or representations, which maketh fuch impreffions, as neuer after can be rafed out againe, fo long as affection to the fame Religion remaineth. Which maketh me therefore to conclude, that *Aristotle* failed and erred no leffe, or rather more abfurdly, then the other Law-makers, whose errors hee censured and controlled.

Heereby two things are inferred, and do appeare evidently. The one, the weakneffe of mans wit, when it is not fupported and directed by the grace of GOD. And the infufficiencie of humaine lawes, through the weakneffe of the Law-Makers, who intending (manie times) to make good and wholefome Lawes, for benefit of the Commonwealth, doo ordaine things very inconuenient and prejudiciall thereto: which *Cicero* obserueth in fome of the Wifeft men of his time. *I can tell you* (faith hee) of *Marcus Cotta*, whose Law concerning priuate iudgements, was abrogated by his own Brother, the fame yeare that it was made. And the Lawes of *Licia* and *Mutia*, made by two most wife *Consulles*, were in the iudgements of al men not onely vnprofitable, but alfo, pernicious to the Commonwealth. As alfo the Lawes called *Liuiæ*, were abrogated by the Senate in an instant. And in like manner, I holde the Lawes *Seixæ* and *Apulia* to be nothing worth. Thus farre *Cicero*.

The like whereof might be exemplified in euery Commonwealth, but this fhall fuffice at this time, concerning Law-makers. Now let vs confider Law in it felfe, what it is; to what end it is ordained; and what it can perform in a Commonwealth, for the perfection & establishment thereof.

The weaknes
of mans wit,
and the im-
perfection of
Lawes inferd
vpon the pre-
mises.

*Cic. de Reip. in
fragmentis.*

CHAP. V.

What Law is: To what end it was ordained.
And what it can performe in a Common-
wealth.



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Plato, speaking generally of all Law, as well written as vnwritten, defineth it to be, *A reasonable rule, leading and directing men to theyr due end; for a publicke good, ordaining Penalties for them that transgresse, and Rewards for them that obey.* And *Cicero* more briefly thus: *Law is* (saith hee) *the highest or chiefe reason grasted in nature, commaunding those things which are to be doone, and forbidding the contrary.* And againe, *Law is the force of Nature; the vnderstanding and reason of a Wiseman; the rule of right and wrong.* And speaking more perticularly of written Lawe, hee saith; *It is the reason & vnderstanding of a Wiseman, who ordaineth in writing what he thinketh good by way either of commandement, or of Prohibitions.* Lastly, the *Ciuitians*, most briefly and properly defineth it thus. *Lex est sanctio sancta, iubens honesta, prohibens contraria.* Law is a holy decree, that is to say, *A Decree which ought not to be broken, commaunding good and holy things; and forbidding the contrary.*

This Law, *Plato* calleth, *The soule, that giueth forme and life to the Commonwealth, and the Anchor that staieth and assureth it.* And *Cicero* sayth; *That neither any house, nor Cittie, nor Nation, nor yet humaine kinde, can stand without Law.* Neuerthelesse, how excellent or defectiue soeuer it is for a Commonwealth, yet it is to be vnderstood, that all Lawes whatsoever (which are meerey humaine) are Defectiue and insufficient, for the perfect Governement of a State. For whereas humaine Lawes consisteth eyther in Written Statutes or Decrees, or in the Commandements and Ordinances of a wise Magistrate (which Magistrate, *Cicero* therefore calleth, *A Speaking Lawe*; as he also calleth the Lawe, *A dumb Magistrate*,

*Pla. in Mino. de
Rep. et de Leg.*

*Cic. in lib. 1. de
Legibus.
Idem.*

The definitiõ
of written
Law.

*Accus. in instit.
ff. de Legib. ci
Scnat. cons. 3.*

Plato de Legib.

*Cic. in lib. 3. de
Legib.*

All Lawes
written or vn
written, are
defectiue.

The Magi-
strate a Spea-
king Law: &
the Lawe a
dumbe Magi-
strate.

gistrate) yet it is euident, that neyther of both apart, nor yet both concurring, can suffice.

For the first, whereas written Lawes are vniuersall, and concerne the action of men, which are infinite and perticuler, it is not possible, that any Law-Maker should extend his Lawes so farre, that they may sufficiently prouide for all cases that may occurre; but that hee must leaue place for the determination and iudgement of men, according to equity.

As not onely Aristotle, but also the Ciuilians themselues, doe teach, and experience is daily seene thereof. In the necessity of interpretation and mittigation of Lawes; in Dispensations, and in Appellations from Law to Conscience; whereby the imperfection of al written Lawes, sufficiently appeareth. And as for the ordinances of wise Magistrates, it is manifest (by that which I haue sayde before, concerning the errours of wise Gouvernors and Law-makers) that the weaknesse and blindnesse of mans wit, and the corruption of his Nature, is such; that hee can neither see so clearely in all cases, nor yet be so voide of affection and passion, that he can be able to determine, decree, and iudge according to equity. In which respect, Aristotle disputeth, *Whether it were better, That a Commonwealth should be gouerned by good Lawes, or by the wil of the best man?* And he preferreth the Gouvernment of Lawes, before the other, saying; *The Law is (as it were) a pure and cleare vnderstanding: whereas the vnderstanding of the best man, is ioyned with sensual appetite, whereby it may bee corrupted.*

And therefore, where the Law gouerneth, there God gouerneth: but where man gouerneth, be he neuer so wise and vertuous, there a cruell Beast (to witte; Concupiscence and Passion) entreth into the gouernment with him, and manie times obscureth his vnderstanding. For which cause, the Magistrate ought in all cases, wherein the meaning of the Law is cleare: to iudge and determine according to the prescript thereof, as the Ciuill Law it selfe ordaineth. And Cicero saith: *As the Magistrate gouerneth the people, so shou'd the Law gouerne the Magistrate.* Whereupon I inferre, that seeing no Law-maker can so sufficientlie prouide for the gouernement, and direct ruling of a Common-wealth, by the Let-

ter of the Law; but he must leaue infinite cases, yea, and the interpretation of the Lawe themselues, to the determination and iudgement of men, who are also (on their part) defectiue, to wit; subiect vnto passion and error: It followeth then, that neither the Law without the Magistrate, nor the Magistrate without the Law, nor yet both concurring, can suffice for the perfect gouernment of a commonwealth, but should bee to supply the defectes of each other. And therefore I conclude, that there is no sufficient and assured meanes, to establish any State by humaine Lawes.

This will be more euident, if wee consider, what are the especiall ends whereto Lawes were ordained, and what they can perform. Two things are principaly intended by them. The one, the administration of Iustice, by the decision of causes, controuersies, and suites, betwixt partie and partie. The other, is the reformation of manners, and repression of vice, for that it is pernicious to a Commonwealth. Of the first I haue already spoken sufficientlie, as well in the weakenesse of the Law-maker and Magistrat, as imperfection of the Law, in the determination of causes. And therefore, I will a little further enlarge my selfe, concerning the latter; which is, suppression of Vice, and reformation of manners: and I will declare, that humaine Lawes cannot sufficientlie performe, either the one or other.

If Lawes were able to reforme mens maners, or to repress vice, they must do it, either by Precept; or by Prohibition, or by Permission, or by Rewarding, or by Punishing, for in these fiue things, consist al the force of human lawes, as the Lawiers do testify of themselues. For the two first, to wit; Precept & Prohibition, they are altogether vnable and insufficient, to bring the corrupt nature of man to any perfection or vertue. For, what other help haue we thereby, but only the knowledge of our duty? which knowledge alone, as Aristotle saith, *Helpeth little or nothing to vertue, the praise and commendation whereof, consisteth in action and operation.* Because it nothing auaieth, though wee know neuer so much, if we do not put our knowledge in practise. And as little it profiteth a sickeman, to know what meat is good for him: when hee hath such a loathing vnto it, that hee cannot eat it. Euen so, the

The imperfection of written lawes.

Arist. in Ethic. lib. 5. cap. 10. Iul. lib. 10. ad edictum ff. de legib. & Senatus constit. 3. et Iul. Lib. 89. diges.

The imperfection of vn-written lawes

Better to be gouerned by good Lawes, then by the wil of the best man, & why. Arist. in Polit. lib. 3. cap. 12.

Where good Lawes gouern God doth gouerne.

As a Magistrate should gouerne the people, so should the law gouerne the Magistrate. Iul. lib. 15. diges. ff. de legi. & Senat. constit. 3.

Cicer de legibus

No sufficient meanes to make a perfect Commonwelth, by humane Lawes & Magistrats.

Two principall endes wherinto humane Lawes do tend.

A reference to the former discourse.

ff. de legib. & Senat. constit. tit. 3. Isidor. l. b. 5. Etimol.

The force of human lawes consisteth in Precept, Prohibition, Permission, Reward and Punishment.

Arist. in Ethic. lib. 2. cap. 4.

the corrupt nature of man hath litle help or remedy by the knowledge of his duty: when vertue is so loathsome vnto him, that he cannot brooke it. For, as Seneca saith. *Nihil proderit dare precepta, nisi prius amoueris obstantia preceptis.* It is to litle purpose to giue precepts, except thou first remooue the obstacles of them. And therefore the Poet saide truely

*Si possem, sanior essem;
Sed trahit inuitum, noui vis, aliudq; cupido,
Mens alius suadet, video meliora, proboq;
Deteriora sequor.*

That is to say;
I would bee better, if I could; but a new and strange force draweth me against my will. Sensuallity perswades me one thing, and reason another. I see and approoue the better, but I follow the worse.

Also, the Apostle speaking in the person of our corrupt nature, testifieth the same, saying. *Scio quia non habitat in me, &c. I know that there dwelleth no goodnes in me, that is to say, in my flesh: For I haue a good will or desire, but I cannot performe it. For I doe not the good which I desire to doe; but I do the euill which I would not do.*

Thus farre the Apostle. Whereupon it followeth, that precept and prohibition of the Law (whereby wee haue the onely knowledge of good and euill) litle auayleth vs for the attayning of vertue; except the infirmitie and corruption of Nature, be cured by some other meanes. For *Animus* (saith Seneca) *ut ad precepta possit ire, soluendus est.* The Soule must be loosed from the bonds that tie and entangle it, or otherwise, it cannot follow the good precepts that are giuen.

But what if the prohibition of euill doe hurt also, if it be not otherwise holpen? The Apostle prooueth this clearly. *Peccatum* (saith he) *non cognoui, &c. I knew not sinne, but by the Law, for I know not concupiscence, but because the law said: Thou shalt not lust. And sinne, by occasion of the Commaundement, hath wrought all concupiscence in me.* And how true this is; common experience may teach vs, seeing nothing is more proper and peculiar to the mallice of mans Nature; then desire to doe that which is forbidden, and commonly for no other reason, but because it is forbidden. Which the Poet signifieth elegantly, saying;

*Cui peccare licet, peccat minus; ipsa potestas
Semina nequitia languidiora facit, &c.
Nitimur inuetitū semper, cupimusq; nega-
sic interdictis imminet ager aquis.* (ta:

He which hath leaue to sinne, sinnes lesse: for the libertie to sinne, weakeneth the very roots and seeds of sinne. We alwaies strue to doe that which is forbidden vs, like to the sicke Man, who thirstes most after forbidden Water.

And another Poet saith to the same purpose. *Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.* Mankind runneth head long to sinne, when it is forbidden him. For euen as a torrent or Land-flood, running a violent and precipitous course, and meeting with any stop by the way, becomes the more furious, and with re-doubled force makes it selfe passage, bearing downe ail before it: Euen so, mans corrupt Nature, being carryed head-long with vabrideled desires, and finding it selfe repressed or hindred, by any Law or Commaundement; breaketh down the bankes or bounds of dutie with re-doubled fury, in such sort, that it committeth double offence, to wit; it doth not onely the desired euill, but breaketh the Law also. As the Apostle insinuateth, saying: *Lex iram operatur, &c. The Law worketh or causeth wrath, for where there is no Law, there is no breach of Law.* Whereupon Saint Augustine saith. *The letter of the Law killeth, for it makes a man rather know euill, then eschew it, and by that meanes, rather encreaseth then diminisheth sinne: because mans concupiscence or unlawfull desire, is accompanied also with breach of the Law.* Whereby it appeareth, that the Law in commaunding or forbidding, helpeth not sufficiently the reformation of mans corrupt nature.

But can Permission, or conuenience with euill (which is another point of the Law) worke any greater effect? Who seeth not, that it dooth nothing else, but bewray the imbecilitie and imperfection of the Law? Because it is forced to permit that, which it gladlie would, and should remedy, but cannot. And therefore I will proceede, to treat of Reward and Punishment, wherein, as Solon was wont to say, principally consisteth the gouernment of a Commonwealth. And Isidorus saith; *Legis premio*

Ouid. Lib. 3. de Arte amandi.

Mans corrupt nature thirsteth after things forbidden.

Horatius i. Carminū Od. 3:

An excellent comparison.

Rom. 4: 15.

In decerptis ex S. August.

Permission sheweth the imbecility of the Law.

Isidor. Lib. 5. Etimol.

Senec. Epist. 95
Precepts alone litle auale to the obtaining of vertue.

Rom. 7. 18. 19.

The precept and prohibition of the Law.

Senec. Epist. 95.

Rom. 7. 7. 8.

Prohibition (of it selfe) rather hurteth then otherwise.

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Of reward & punishment.

aut pana, vita moderatur humana. Mans life is wholly governed by reward or punishment of the Law.

Now then, for as much as these two have all their operation, about the effects of Vertue or Vice; that is to say; about good or bad actions (which are onely rewarded and punished by Law) and not about the rootes and causes thereof, to wit; the good or bad habits or affections of the mind, from whence doe spring all good and euill actions: It is manifest, that though they may be Motiues to good; yet they cannot be effectually and sufficient meanes to work it. For, so long as the cause remaineth; so long will the effects follow thereof, at one time or other. We see that trees are yearely lopped, and Vines cropped: yet while the rootes remaine sound, they bud afresh, and bring foorth new Boughes, Leaues, and Fruits. Euen so, although euill and sinfull Acts be punished in wicked men, yet if the causes from whence they proceede (to wit, inordinate affections and passions) be not taken away; they produce the very same effects sooner or later, openly or secretly. For, what commonly followeth on the punishment of a vicious Act, when the habit of the Vice remaineth: but that the offender sinneth more warilie another time? And how often do men offend the lawes, without punishment, yea, without any feare or danger thereof? *That Man (saith Cicero) who feares nothing but a Iudge and a Witnesse: what will he not do in the dark? Or when he finds a weak and rich man alone, of whom he may safely haue the spoile?*

Example by the yearely lopping of trees & vines.

Cicero de legib.

How many waies the penalties of politicall Lawes may be escaped.

Plutar. in Solon

Furthermore, how many waies may the penaltie of the Law bee auoyded? Some escape it by their power, in which respect, *Anacharsis* compared Lawes to the Spiders Web: which takes onelie the little Flyes, while the great ones breake thorough it. Some againe auoyde it by corruption, either of the Iudge, Witnesse, or Iurie. And some by fauour or friendship. Others by negligence of Officers, which doe not execute the Lawes: And some by the Princes pardon. But what shall we say of such, who offend the Law, not onelie without punishment; but also with reward? To the ende, that this may the better appeare, and that wee may see

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(withall) what force Law may haue, for suppressing the mallice of mans nature: let vs consider the power of a contrarie Law, which encountreth euery Common-wealth, and impugneith Politicall Law, to wit, the Law of the Flesh, whereof the Apostle saith. *Video aliam legem, &c. I see another Law in my body, repugnant to the Law of my minde.* And for as much, as this Law hath also her *Precepts, Prohibitions, Rewards, and Punishments*: Let vs put it in a Ballance with the Ciuill and Politicall Law, weighing the one with the other, that we may see, whether wil be like to ouercome, in a man deuoyd of Gods grace, & consequently in Common-wealths, that relye onely vpon humane pollicie and power.

Rom. 7. 23.

An exact comparison of politicall Law, with the Law of the Flesh, to shew the aduantage of the later.

It is therefore to be considered, that the Carnall Law, flowing from the very bottome of mans corrupt Nature; is so much stronger, and more forcible, then the other, to moue and draw him: by how much it is more internall and familiar with him, and the end or scope thereof more agreeable, and consonant to his corrupt humour, will, and affection. For Politicall Law tendeth onely to *Bonum verum*, and *Bonum commune*, *A true good, and the common good*, consisting in solide & perfect vertue: whereas the Carnall Law tendeth to *Bonum apparens*, and *Bonum priuatum*; *An apparent and priuate good*, consisting onely in a Mans owne profit, pleasure, and delectation, whereto every one is (of his owne corrupt nature) enclined.

Wherunto the Politicall and Carnall Lawes doe tend.

The like also may be said, of the Statutes and Decrees both of the one and other, that is to say; their *Precepts and Prohibitions*: consisting in Commaundements Negatiue and Affirmatiue. Wherein the Carnal Law hath also the like aduantage, in respect of the greater facilitie of the precepts thereof, and difficulty of the things it forbiddeth. For, whereas the Ciuill and Politicall Lawe commaundeth vs, to loue our Neighbours as our selues, and to preferre the publique good before our priuate; to be temperate and continent; not to Steale; not to deceiue; not to commit Fornication or Adultery: The Law of the Flesh, being opposite in all, commaundeth the contrary; as to loue our selues better then our Neighbours; to prefer

The Statutes of both the Lawes, politicall and carnall.

The opposition of the law of the flesh.

The Carnall
Laws precept

preferre our priuate good before the
publique; to steale; to deceiue for our
commodity; and to commit Fornica-
tion and Adultery for our pleasure And
to conclude all, in one precept, it saith:
*Ede, bibe, lude, post mortem nulla vo-
luptas. Eate, drinke, and be merry, for after
death there is no pleasure.*

Wisd. 2, 6, 7, 8
10, 11.

The Statutes
of the carnall
Law.

The Statutes of the Carnall Law,
the Holy Ghost layeth downe notably,
in the Booke of Wisedome, speaking
of wicked men, in these wordes. *Dixe-
runt impij, &c. The wicked said. Let vs en-
ioy the goods that we haue, and vse the
Creature in this time of our youth, without
delay. Let vs fill our selues with Wine and
Oyntments, and let vs not loose the floure
of the time, &c. Let vs leaue euery where
the signes of our mirth, for this is our part,
and this is our lot. Let vs oppresse the poore
iust Man, and let vs not spare the Widdow,
nor haue respect to the hoary Haires of any.
And let our strength be the Law of in-
justice.* These are the Statutes of the
Flesh, which how much more conso-
nant and agreeable they are to mans
corrupt Nature, and how much more
easie to be performed, then the statutes
and decrees of Politicall Law, which
commaunds and forbids the contrarye;
I neede not to declare.

Mans prompt
nesse and for-
wardnesse to
learne euill.

But who knoweth not, that to learn
Vice, a man hath no neede of any great
wit, or of a Councillour, or of com-
pulsion? who is so simple, that he hath
not wit enough to be wicked? Where-
as, to be vertuous, we neede not onely
wit and capacity, Maisters & Teachers:
but also Lawes, stripes, Prisons, Giues
and Gibbets. And yet, as *Seneca* saith;
*We may thinke we profit well, if we be none
of the worst.* So that, he which is eyther
left to his own corrupt Nature, or hath
no other then humane help: is drown-
ed in vice and sinne, before hee come
within a kenning of vertues port. *We
are (saith Seneca) taken vp by the way; wee
labour to come to Vertue, being already en-
tangled and intercepted by vice:* And no
maruaile, seeing men voyde of Grace,
(for such I speake of) haue neither suffi-
cient Armes to defend themselues, nor
refuge where to saue themselues. For
reason, which is their onely Weapon,
not being strengthened by Grace: is so
weak and brickle, that it breaketh at the
first blow. And Morall Vertue (where-

Seneca in Epist.
75.

Seneca ubi su-
pra.

Reason the
only weapon,
being streng-
thened by
grace.

in consisteth all their hope and refuge)
is so hard to be attained: that a man re-
ceiueth many deadly wounds of his E-
nemy, before he can arriue where it is.
Besides, his danger is the greater, be-
cause his Warre is so domesticall and
intestine; that hee is not secure from
harne himselfe. For, he is to fight, not
onely with the World and the Deuill:
but also with his owne passions and af-
fections, in so much, that his greatest
feare may be; least he himselfe betray
himselfe, and render himselfe Prisoner
to his Enemy.

Furthermore, wee see that our pro-
cliuity to Vice, and auersion from Ver-
tue, is such, that as it sufficeth to flesh a
Dogge onelie once vpon a Sheepe, to
make him a Sheepe-wurrier as long as
he liues: Euen so, one onely tast of vice
is enough, to make a man vicious euer
after. Whereas contrariwise, many
acts are requird, to the attaining the ha-
bite of any one vertue, and so timely is
mans friendship with sensualitie, the
Mother of Vice, and so late his know-
ledge and vse of reason, which leadeth
to vertue: that he hath gone halfe the
way to Vice, before hee know where
Vertue dwels.

By meanes whereof, he commonlie
groweth to bee vicious very earlie; to
wit, in his Childe-hood, and vertuous
very late, if euer he prooue vertuous
at all. For the way to vertue is long,
and full of difficulties; but the way to al
kinde of vice, is easie, and, as *Sa'omon*
saith; *Complanata lapidibus, Made plaine
with stones, euen, and wel paved, short,
and gone in a trice.* *Hesiodus* saith, *Haud
procul illa habitant, breuis est via qua sit
eundem. Vice dwelleth not farre from vs,
the way is short, and all in a descent.* *Wher-
vpon the Poet saith; Facilis descensus A-
uerni; The descent to Hell is very easie.* Fi-
nally, of these two waies our Sauiour
saith. *Lata porta & spatiosa via est, &c.
The way is broad and spacious that leadeth
to perdition, and many enter in thereat: but
the Gate is strait, and the way is narrow,
which leadeth to life, and few men finde it.*
Thus we see, what great aduantage the
Law of the flesh hath, of the Politicall
Law, in respect of the facilitie that men
finde, to fulfill the precepts thereof,
which (in some) are nothing else, but to
be vicious.

Vice is very
easily learned
but vertue
very hardly.

Men learne
halfe the way
to vice, before
they know
vertues dwell-
ling.

Eccle. 27, 10.

Hesiodus.

Virgil in Lib. 6
Aeniad.

Mat. 7, 13, 14.

The aduan-
tage that the
carnall Law
hath of the
politicall law.

The Carnall Law hath her Aduocates, Orators, Philosophers and Teachers.

The doctrine of Epicurus & his followers.

Metrodorus a Disciple of Epicurus.

Idem in his Treatise, that a man cannot liue merily in the Sect of Epicurus.

Phil. 3, 19.

Youth corrupted by lasciuious books and ballads.

But wanteth it any thing, wherewith Politicall Lawe is furnished? Hath not she them in as high a degree, and able to hold equall competence? Hath not this Carnall Law (thinke you) her Aduocates, Orators, Philosophers, & Teachers, to publish and proclaime it, to plead it, to teach it? What say ye to all the Sect of *Epicurus*? Whose Doctrine consisted principally in the Precepts of this Law, and impugning (as much as he durst) the Ciuill and Politicall Law? In which respect, al *Epicurians* were banished out of many good Common-wealthes of *Greece*; as *Plutarch* testifieth, and that worthily. For *Epicurus* hauing made a demaund, in certaine questions which hee wrote, whether a wise man would not doe against the Political Law, if he might be sure to escape vnpunished? answered freely thereto himselfe, *Yes truly*. And writing to *Idomeneus*, one of his Schollers, he admonished him seriously; not to subiect himselfe to the Lawes and opinions of Men, when soeuer he might hope to auoid the penalty of the lawes. And *Metrodorus*, a Disciple and familiar friend of his, writing to his Brother: forbad him to go to the warres, or endanger himselfe for the good of all *Greece*; aduising him, rather to drinke good Wine at home, and entreate himselfe well, that his body might receiue all pleasure and contentment. Concluding, that the chiefe and soueraigne good, consisteth in the belly, and in the pleasures therof. This is the Philosophy that belongeth to the Law of the flesh, and experience sheweth, what number of professors there are thereof in euery Common-wealth. *Quorum Deus venter est*, as the Apostle saith; *Whose bellies are their Gods*. Whose endeours tend to nothing, but to their priuate pleasure & commodity. Who imploy their wits, studies, and pens, to nothing so much, as to publish and promulgate the Carnall Law, in amorous and lasciuious Books, wanton Poems, and scurrillous bawdy Ballads, which abound euery where, to the corruption of youth, and consequently, to the prejudice of the Commonweale, & to the great shame of Magistrates, that see and suffer it.

Moreouer, to the end we may see, that this Carnall Law will yeild in nothing

to the Politicall: hath it not also Common-wealths wherein it gouerneth, and a prudence and pollicy appropriate vnto it? Yea, pollicicke Princes and Magistrates that practise it, and politick writers that teach and maintaine it? Looke vpon all tyrannicall States, where all is ruled according to the precepts of this Law: doe Magistrates and Gouvernours practise any other pollicy, but *Prudentiam carnis*; as the Apostle calleth it, *The Prudence and wisdom of the flesh*? And *Machiauell*, whose workes are so highly esteemed of many men at this day: doth he teach any other government, then that which proceedeth from the principles of this law, to wit; from selfe loue, and perticuler interest? Yet this were not so much to be wondred; at if it had not also a Religion conforme to it selfe, with Doctours and Diuines, to Preach and defend it. For as Politicall Law, hauing the help and assistance of true Religion, is more perfect, and worketh far greater effects in the Common-wealth, for the establishment and conseruation thereof: So also hath the Carnall Law, being masked with the Vizard of some Religion, eyther true or false, is of farre greater force, to ouerthrow or destroy any Common-wealth. And therefore it seeketh alwaies, to haue eyther the apparance and shew of true Religion, (in which respect, *Machianell* teacheth his Tyrant to be an Hippocrite) or else it serueth it selfe, with some new fangled and false Religion: which the Apostle signifieth, when amongst *Opera carnis*, *The workes of the flesh*, he numbred Sects of Heresies.

But perhaps you will say, that the other Law (in rewarding and punishing) surmounteth this, and represseth it in such sort, that it can haue no force in any wel gouerned Commonwealth. Let vs then examine this a little, and we shal finde: that the Politicall Law hath no oddes of this in that point, for it hath rewards and punishments also, as well as the other. The rewards which this Law proposeth, are diuets; for it promiseth (for some thinges) the pleasure & delight which is taken in the action, with the which, the party thinketh himselfe so well satisfied: that he is contented (many times) to bestow his Mony, yea, to venter his life to obtaine it.

Some-

The Carnall Law hath Common-wealths wherein it gouerneth.

Rom. 8.6.

Machiauell de Principe.

The Carnall Law hath Religion and doctours and Preachers.

Gal. 5.20.

The rewards which the law of the Flesh proposeth.

Sometimes againe, it proposeth some commoditie or benefit, which may accompany or follow the fact. And lastly, it findeth meanes (otherwhiles) to rob vertue of her reward, and apply it to it selfe: in so much, that there is no remuneration promised by the Politicall Law, whereof the Carnall may not sometimes giue hope, to such as follow it. As I will make eident, by comparison of the one with the other: whereby it shall appeare, that the Carnall Law hath euery where the aduantage.

Therefore (I say) that the rewardes proposed for Vertue by the Politicall Law, are vncertaine, in respect of the other, for neither is ther any at all assigned for very many good actes, neyther are all those rewards promised, performed. Whereas on the contrary, the rewards of Vice, are commonly more certaine, for eyther they goe before the act (as it falleth out in bribes, and many other cases of vnlawfull gaine, where the reward is paid before hand) or else they accompany the fact (as in all cases of intemperance and incontinen- cy, wherein onely pleasure is sought, or in cosenages and deceipts, which bring present gaine) or else they follow vpon the deede, as when some vnlawfull act is done, vpon promise of future pay. So that, for Vice the reward is alwaies eyther assured, or (at least) hoped for and expected; which is no smal Motiue to induce men thereto. But for vertue, neither is there any reward to bee had many times, nor yet hope of any by politicall Law, as we see by experience in very many Men, who liue laudably in the Common-wealth all their liues: and yet are so farre from hauing any remuneration, or from expecting any; that they thinke themselues happy, in that they can escape the penalties of the Law.

But let vs procede a little further. Is there any reward for vertue, so assured by Politicall Law, that Vice cannot; yea, doth not obtaine it daily? Hath it not honour (many times) for reward, as well as Vertue? Who sooner riseth to the highest offices, and credit in some Courts: then the Ministers of the Princes pleasures, or Instruments of his wickednesse? As *Seianus*, vnder the Empe- ror *Tiberius*. Two Slaues, called *Narcis-*

sus and *Pallas*, vnder *Claudius*. *Tigellinus*, vnder *Nero*. *Pexennius*, *Cleander*, *Regi- us*, *Iulianus*, and other Slaues, vnder *Comodus*. All which men, governed both the Emperours, and the Empire: to whom I might adde diuers other, if I thought it conuenient. For, whether wee looke to former times, or to the present: we shall finde euery where, as many aduanced by euill meanes, as by good. For no man is so wicked: but if he haue Mony, he may hope for any pre- ferment whatsoeuer.

Curia pauperibus clausa est, dat census hono- Censu amicitias, pauper ubiq; iacet. (res,

The Court (saith the Poet) is shut vp to poore men: but wealth giueth honours, wealth giueth friendship, and the poore Man lyeth euery where in the dust.

And if we consider also, how Princes doe commonly bestow their rewardes: wee shall see that merit is least respec- ted. Which *Phillip de Comines* sheweth by a pleasant example, of *Lewes* the elea- uenth, King of *Fraunce*, and *Charles* Duke of *Bourgundy*. Who, after the battaile (which was fought betwixt them at *Montlebery* in *France*) being de- termined to reward and punish such, as had deserued well or ill in their Arnies, and finding, that diuers ranne away on both sides, while the battel was doubt- full (some on the one side an hundred Miles East-ward, and others on the o- ther side, as many West-ward) the K. of *France* tooke from one of his Subiects, all his Offices and dignities for running away, and gaue it to another that ranne ten miles further then he. The Duke of *Bourgundie* deprived also one of his, of all his goods and authority, for the like cause, & within a while after, gaue him more then euer hee had before. *Whereby (saith Comines) it appeareth, that Princes bestow their rewardes and fa- uours, not like Angels, but like Men, as they are.*

Seeing then, that Vice hath not one- ly perticular rewardes, either of gaine or commoditie, or of pleasure at least, (which contenteth some more then Gold) but also hope of the rewards due to vertue it selfe, eyther by the Princes error or infirmitie, or by his fauour, or by

The two laws compared to- gether.

The reward for vertue ve- ry vncertain.

The rewards of vice are certaine, for the most part.

Good men dy many times, yet neuer re- spected.

The ministers of vice so- nest exalted to honour.

Sueton. in Tibe- rio, Claudio, Nerone.

Lamprid. Hero. Pedro Mexia. de vitis Impe- ra

Ouid. Eleg. 7.

Philip de Comi- nes in Cron. du Roy Louys. Ca. 7

Rewards gi- uen without any desert.

Kingdomes & Crownes oftentimes are obtained by wickednesse.

Wicked men honoured for Gods in elder times.

Wicked men sometimes get rakes and topes in stead of dignities.

Vertuous men disgraced and punished.

Read *Plutarch* in the liues of all these men

by purchase, or by accident and chance, (whereby many wicked men are also aduanced.) What aduantage can the Political Law haue of the other; by proposing reward, though it be neuer so great? Doe we not see Crownes and Soueraignties (wherin most men place the greatest felicity of this life) procured by murders, mischiefes, and most wicked meanes? And doth *Machiauell* propose any lesse reward to his Prince (for extreame wickednesse) then assurance in Soueraignty? So that the most wicked man that is, hauing hope to get or conferue a Crowne, (or rather, Soueraigne State) by some murder or mischiefe: what greater, or so great a reward, could he expect for all the vertue in the world, by obeying Political laws? Did not very many (in old time) get diuine honours, though they were most wicked men: as *Iupiter, Venus, Bacchus, Hercules, Tiberius Caesar*, and diuers Emperours as bad as he? And so it would still fall out, if Christian Religion had not expelled Idolatry out of the world. Whereby we see, Political Lawes, without the helpe of Gods Grace and Religion (for I consider them here) cannot assigne so great a reward for vertue: but that the wickedst man in the world may hope also to haue it, though he follow and obey the lusts of the flesh.

But a man may say, that many wicked men, which promise themselves great gaine or aduancement, by some wicked act: get nothing in the end, but rakes and ropes in recompence thereof. This I grant, but then let vs also consider on the other side, how many notable Men, cyther loose their liues in actions, for which they should be rewarded, or, in stead of the reward which they deserue, get nothing but ignominy, banishment, hatred of their Princes or people, death, and vtter ruine? As *Marcus Coriolanus, Furius Camillus, Scipio, Cicero, Themistocles, Aristides, Phocion, Dion the Sicilian*, and infinite others. Some of which men, were deprived of their Dignities, others banished their Countries, and others shamefully put to death by publike authoritie; after they had done great seruices to their Common-weales and States, wherein they liued. And did not *Lewes* the eleuenth, King of *France*, discover a great

secret, concerning the humors of Princes, in rewarding seruices past, when he said; *il perd souuent d'auoir trop bien serui; It ouerthroweth Men many times, to haue done too good seruice?* Signifying, that Princes are more willing to haue others beholding to them; then to bee themselves beholding to any. And some, as well Princes as others, are of such Nature, that when they see their obligation so great to any man, as they thinke that they cannot commodiously reward him, according to his satisfaction and merit: they hold him then but for an eye-fore, and seek to rid him one way or other. Therefore, how vncertaine and casuall is the reward of vertue by Political Lawes, seeing the distribution thereof is in the hands of such: as for some perticular respect, or interest of their owne, may not onely forbear to reward, but also (sometimes) vndoe and destroy those, that haue best deserued of them and the Commonwealth? Thus much of *Reward*.

Now, to speake of *Punishment*, wherein consisteth the greatest force of any Political Law, for the represson of mans mallice: let vs see, what are the penalties or punishments, where-with the Law of the flesh terrifieth men, to diuert them from vertue, and to draw them to vice. For, although it cannot (of it selfe) inflict any punishment vpon the true louers of vertue, who tread downe and triumph ouer all power of the flesh, and Lawes thereof: yet it setteth vp certaine Scarre-Crowes, to fright such simple Soules as it deceiueth, proposing vnto them farre greater difficulties, labour, and paine, then there is (indeed) in the practise and exercise of vertue. Which difficultie, they hold for no other then continuall affliction, and (as it were) a penalty or punishment, inflicted vpon such as labour to be vertuous. By meanes whereof, they contemne the penalties of Political Lawes, esteeming them, not only more easie to bee auoyded, but also more tollerable to bee borne, then the other. I say, more easie to be auoyded, for that, neither there is a penalty imposed for eucry offence, neither are those that be ordained, alwaies exacted vpon offenders. For, as I haue noted before, they are many times escaped, either

Philip de Comines Cap. 92.

The vncertainty of the reward of vertue, by Political law.

The penalties and punishments which the Carnall Law threatneth.

The Scarre-crowes and false frights of the carnall Law.

The escapes of the carnall Law.

ther by power, or by fauour, or by corruption of Officers, or by their negligence, or by their Princes pardō, wheras the paines that worldly men conceiue to accompany vertue, seeme to them ineuitable, except vertue it selfe be auoyded: whereto no man can arriue, but by the strait, narrow, and painefull way, which I haue before described.

And againe, the penalties of Politicall Lawes, doe seeme to them more tollerable then the other, because all penal mulcts, consist either in payment of Mony, or in Infamy, or in corporall or Capitall punishment. If in Mony, they feare it not much; for they are content to buy their satisfying there-with, and many we see doe voluntarily begger themselves, to obtaine their pleasures. If the penalties consist in Infamy; what care they for it, who hold sinne for no shame, but as an honour? And (as the Psalmist saith) *Gloriantur in malitia; They glory in wickednesse. Et laetantur (saith Salomon) cum male fecerint, & exultant rebus pessimis, quorum via peruersa, quorum gressus infames sunt. Who reioyce when they haue done amisse, and exalt in the worst thinges. Whose waies are peruerse, whose steppes are infamous.* If the punishment be Corporall, or Capitall, they esteeme the practise of vertue more painefull. For, what affliction, Prison, restraint of liberty, torment or death, can seeme so grieuous to a Man giuen ouer to lust and pleasure, as to afflict himselfe by restraint of his owne will? To conquer and subdue his owne vnbrideled affections? To chastise his body, that it may be made obedient to the Spirit? To mortifie and crucifie himselfe? To dye to his Lust and Concupifcence? Yea, and to bee (as it were) his owne Butcher and Hang-man? To execute ail this vpon himselfe, not for once or twice, or for a day or two, or for now and then: but daily, continually, and without intermission: for otherwise, true vertue can neither be attained, nor conserued. Can any thing (I say) seeme more irkesome, or any punishment more corporall, or capitall, to sensual & fleshy men, destitute of grace? *Qui non percipiunt ea quae sunt spiritus dei; Who haue no feeling or apprehension of matters be.onging to the spirit of God?*

Corporall torments they think (with

10 *Epicurus*) the greater they are, the sooner they dispatch a Man out of paine, & the lesse they be, the more tollerable they are, and death they hold for an end of misery: But the labours and paines, which they imagine to be in continuall exercise of vertue: they take for a continuall and neuer dying torment; & for an euerlasting death. So that, very many are so disgusted with the onely conceit & apprehension thereof: that they will not take so much as a tast of vertue, to auoid any penalty of Law whatsoeuer: as we see daily in many Malefactors that are incorrigible. And again, diuers that haue already made some entrance, into the course and way of vertue, are thereby so wearied within a while: that they vtterly despaire, euer to arriue at any perfection therein, such men (I mean) as haue no light or help of Gods grace. Infomuch, that one *Sexius*, a Gentleman *Romaine*, of whom *Plutarch* writeth, hauing giuen himselfe to the study of Philosophy, and the practise of morall vertue, was within a while so discouraged: that his friendes had much ado to keepe him from drowning himselfe. *Aemilius Probus* testifieth, that the Son of the famous *Dion* of *Sicile*, being restrained by his Father, from the licentious life which hee had led (for some long time) in his Fathers banishment: did desperately cast himselfe from the top of the house, and brake his necke.

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But put the case, that Subiects might be made vertuous, by the feare of punishment: what remedy is there for the Prince, when he is of a bad and maligne Nature? Truelie none, for he feareth no penaltie of the Law, being himselfe aboute the Law: and as for good counsell, if any man dare giue it, hee dare contemne it. What good did the good counsell and precepts, of the Diuine *Plato*, and of famous *Dion*, to the two Tyrants of *Sicily*, the Father & the Son, called *Dionysius*? In requitall of their good enstruptions, was not *Plato* solde for a Slaue, and *Dion* bannished out of *Sicilie*? What benefit reaped the wicked and cruell *Nero*, by all the good discipline he receiued from the wise *Seneca*? Did he exercise any lesse cruelty on him, then vpon all others? And what good effect wrought the good education, example, and enstruptions, which the

Epicurus his opinion of corporall torments.

The great auersion of wicked men from vertue.

Plutar. in Lib. de Tranquil. animi.

Aemilius Probus in Dione.

No meanes in politicall law, to reforme a vicious prince

Dionysius Father and Son, two Tyrants of *Sicily*.

Nero & Seneca

Penalties of the politicall law seeme more tollerable to wicked men, then the penalties of the carnall law.

Psalme 52, 7.

Prou. 2, 15. 16

Nothing more tedious and irksome to euill men, then vertue.

A hard lesson for a worldly man.

1. Cor. 2. 14.

Marcus Aurelius and his Son Commodus

The Princes life is a great example to the Common wealth.

Plin. in lib. 4. Epist.

No sufficient means in Politicall Law, to make the Prince and Common-wealth truly vertuous.

Al the premises examined ouer in due order for a Conclusion.

Emperour *Marcus Aurelius* (called the Philosopher) gaue to his Sonne *Commodus*? Succeeding him in the Empire; was not he far more detestable and hatefull for vice, then his Father was renoued & beloued for vertue? If then there be no sufficient meanes, by lawes, education, counsell, or exhortation, to reforme the vicious and corrupt Nature of a wicked Prince: who seeth not, that (by consequence) there is no assured meanes, to make the Common-wealth vertuous? For though it bee neuer so well ordered and disposed in the body: yet it may receiue such corruption from the head, that it may perish thereby. For, as *Plinie* saith; *Euen as in Mens bodies, so in Common-weales, the disease is most grieuous and dangerous, which proceedeth from the head.* And we commonlie see, that the maners of the people, are conforme to the maners of the Prince.

Now then to conclude. What sufficient meanes there is in Politicall Law, to suppress the Law of the Flesh, and to make the Prince and people truly vertuous? Is it precepts or Prohibitions? Nothing lesse. For, if they consist but in wordes; they are easily contemned. And (as I haue said before) Prohibition doth encrease the disease, that is to say; the offence and sin, rather then remedie it. And as for permission of euill, it doth but bewray the weaknesse of the Politicall Law, and shew the force of carnall Law: which the other is faine to permit, because it cannot redresse it. What then? Is it punishment or reward? Neither of both. For, as I haue signified, either the offences are so secret, that they are not subiect to punishment: or the Law is deluded, and the penaltie many waies auoyded. Or if not, yet in respect of the paines, that wicked men imagine to be in the exercise of vertue, they are litle feared. And as for reward, what reward (ordained by Law) can so satisfie a sensuall man, as pleasure? Which he holdeth for his Soueraigne and chiefe good, and for the onely felicity of his life? In so much, that I haue heard some men, most wickedly protest and sweare, that if it were not for the pleasures of the flesh; their liues would be loathsome and hatefull vnto them. Therefore *Licurgus* (with great reason) despaired, to make either the King, or

the Subiects in his Common-wealth, vertuous by the force of Lawes. For which cause, he ordained (as *Aristotle* saith) that the Kinges of *Lacedemonia* should not be perpetuall, but gouerne for a time: least some euill King, if his gouernment were for tearme of life, might destroy the Common-wealth.

The insufficiency of Politicall Law for the reformation of vice acknowledged by *Licurgus*. *Arist. in Polit. Lib. 2. Cap. 7.*

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CHAP. VI.

Of Sleepe and Rest; And what manner of seating, or lying in our Beds, ought to be obserued in our sleeping, as well for ciuility as for health.

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BY good reason did *Galen* say; *That sleepe is the repose of the whole body, and principally of the animall faculties, and without sleepe, a Man*

Galen his definition of Sleepe.

could not subsist: therefore there are certaine rules to be obserued in sleeping, as necessary as in eating and drinking. For it is not enough, that a man sleepe seauen or eight houres in a night; rise early in the morning; shun sleepe after dinner, vpon an indigested stomack, &c. But he is to vnderstand withall, what comperment or behaiour is conuenient for him in sleepe. Beasts and other animals, do heerein lend vs some enstruction, for they do not fall downe backward, when they prepare to rest; but couch downe vpon one of their sides, and (almost ordinarily) on the right side, and according to Nature, neuer faile therein. Neuerthelesse, albeit that men are endued with reason, yet very hardly shall three men bee found, lying in on Bed, or in one company, that do take their rest after one and the same manner. For one will haue his head raised high, another low. One lyeth to sleepe on the right side, and others on the left very ordinarily. Some on their bellies, or on their backs. In regard whereof, many people (thorow want of due obseruation) doe fall into grieuous diseases, which proue (oftentimes) incurable, or are found stifled in their sleeping, which falleth out too ordinary.

Beasts do giue enstruction for sleep.

Man onelie is disordered in the maner of his sleeping.

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The man that desireth to preferue his health,

What beha-
uour is to be
obserued in
sleeping.

health, should sleepe on his right side, during the time of his first sleepe to the end, that the meates may descend into the bottome of the stomack: because it is fleshy, and lesse full of membranes then the vpper part; and so, by consequent, more hot and proper for concoction. Afterward, for his second sleepe; hauing continued some foure houres; or therabout, on the right side: he may turne on the left, to the end, that the liuer may the better extend it selfe, and rest vpon the stomacke. In doing thus; digestion is made perfect; because the Liuer is hotter then the belly, and embracing al, serueth as if it were a warmth of fire. But if a man be constrained to keep his bed long, at one time & other, he must obserue turnings, one while on the one side, and then on the other.

Of sleeping
on the belly,
what incon-
ueniences are
caused there-
by.

To sleepe vpon the belly auaileth nothing, except in such as are of bad digestion, for such manner of lying heateth the stomacke so well, that it facilitateth and accelerates concoction: but then it bringeth a great discommodity; to wit, that it filleth the eyes full of defluxions, and (consequently) troubleth the sight, hindereth the excrements also, in their auoydance out of the belly. To sleepe vpon the backe and reines, doth manie times engender stones & sand in them, and being no way helpfull to digestion, causeth the Rhume to rise, which couereth most vp to the throat, and hastneth a man to the Falling-sicknes, Apoplexies, and other capitall diseases, beside the puffing vp or swelling of the Lights, and the Midriffe or *Diaphragma*. Wherefore, of al healthful situations for sleepe, there is none better (as hath beene said) then to rest on the sides: for beside all other benefits ensuing thereby, the body being turned one while on the right side, and then againe on the left, seeleth pleasure, contentment, and sweetest ease.

Of sleeping
on the backe
and reines.

Of sleeping
on the sides.

The bodies
figure in a
healthfull
mans sleeping

The body then ought not to bee so much extended or stretched out, being turned on either side: but that the thighs and legs must be somewhat bended or retired, for such is the figure of a healthfull mans sleeping. The head should not be laid too high; nor too low: for being raised too high, it prepareth a man to the Cough, and infirmitie of the Lunges, and causeth that he cannot

sleepe soundlie. And being laid too low, it procureth broken and painefull sleepes, and engendereth offensive dreames.

Of an apt
Bouister for
the head.

Of sleeping
with open
eyes.

To sleepe with wide open eyes, indurates (all along) the Tunickles or couering skinnes of them, and so by consequent, begetteth a short or nere hand sight, because that the visuall Spirit cannot penetrate crosse-wise. It may also happen, that some thing falling strangely into them, may greatly harne and perish the sight. And in any sharpe or extraordinarie disease, to sleepe with the eyes open, it is an assured signe of death: except the party have been long invred thereto; or haue had some great fluxe of the belly; or taken some violent purgation; or else hath endured long watchings.

To sleepe with the mouth open, is very contrarie and incommodious to the health of a man, because hee draweth abundantly to him (by the vocall Artery) all the ayre that it meeteth withall: which commonly (in the night time) is very impure and troubled. By meanes whereof, the Conduits whereby a man respireth, being ouer-moystened: either it maketh the voyce hoarse, or dull and feeble. Whereas, if a man sleepe with his mouth closed; then the exterior ayre (by little and little, and not in any excessiue quantitie) entereth at both the passages of the Nosthrils, and so goeth on to the Lights, where it moderateth the heate of the heart. Which is the cause; that they which sleepe with their Lippes fast shut; doe feele themselves the lesse disturbed. For they that sleepe open throated, by reason of the breath, which entereth and issueth forth abundantly: the tongue and rooffe of the mouth becommeth very much dried, which makes them, both in the night time; and in the morning, to finde themselves much altered.

Of sleeing
with the
mouth open.

Of sleeping
with the
mouth close
shut.

The lips fast
shut.

Sleeping open
throated, how
dangerous it
is.

A good Com-
parison.

In like manner, when the breath is some way kept and retained, concoction is made the more strongly & soundly: euen as meat is the better boyled in a couered pot. There may happen many other inconueniences beside, for in sleeping open throated; a Feather may fall, and passe into the body, which will cause a continuall Cough, by reason that neuer, or very hardly, it can

A deadly Phtisicke.

After what manner to hold the arms

Of talking in the night time, how hurtfull it is.

Of snoring or snorting in our sleepe.

A pretty Receipt against snoring in sleepe.

* Myrrhis, Mockberuill, an Hearb like to Hemlocke. Some call it Kex or Kexes.

be auoyded, and so grow to a deadly Phtisicke. A Serpent *Stellio*, Spider, or some such venomous Creature, may also get his passage, without all meanes of recouery, as I haue knowne too often.

As concerning the Armes, if they be held crosse-wise, like the signe of the Crosse, or else halfe courbed, and the hands resting vpon the little belly; it is very healthfull. But one thing (kinde Reader) take as a warning, that it is a very euill custome, to talke in the night time, and a notorious inciuitie. For such as are vsed to prattle at their wakings, doe very hardly fall to fasten on sleepe againe. And so consequently, such wakings doe cause Crudities in them: because their sleeps haue not bin sufficient, to boyle the meates receiued into the stomacke. Another reason is, that it impeacheth and interrupteth the rest of others, who (perhaps) take little delight in talking at such vnfit houres: but when once they haue made custome of it, they keepe it as an especiall habite.

Some, in their sleepe, are subiect to snore or snort, especially fat and round bellied people. It is a thing very odious and offensive, to lie by such a body, or in the Chamber where such a one resteth. A man were almost as good, to lodge in a Styre among the Swine, as neere or with such persons, especiallie, such as delight in liuing ciuilly and honestly. Therefore I will set downe a prettie receipt, which a *Portugall* Apothecarie (but yet a *Jew* by his Religion) taught me against this vndecency, and the receipt is thus. He that is subiect to this infirmity, halfe an houre before he goeth to rest, let him eate a little Conserue of an Hearbe called *Persil d'Asne*, *Asse-Perselie*, or *Wilde Chervill*. It is an Hearbe very sufficiently knowne, and the Conserue must be made of the root thereof. I haue made good experience of it many times. Or else let him gargarize a pretty deale of good Vineger, made somewhat warme, a quarter of an houre before he lyeth downe. This last remedy was practised by a Courtier (in the time of King *Charles* the ninth) with very happy successe: for, if he had snored neuer so little (as he was much subiect thereto) hee had

lost the gracious fauours of a Gentlewoman, who admitted him to her owne Lodging, her Husband being absent.

Therefore I would gladlie perswade Fathers and Mothers; yea, Schoolemaisters and others, who haue the charge of youth and young Children, to constraîne and accustome them in their tender yeares, to honest, decent, and wholesome lodging in their Beds: For, beside the comlineesse and ciuility, it is no meane propagation of their health. And let me tell ye more, thorough such vndecent behauiour in bed; I haue knowne many vnhappy quarrels and debates, sometimes betwixt the Husband and Wife.

The Authors friendly aduertisement.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the constancy, of some Lacedemonian, Romaine, and French women: At the decease of their Children, hurts, and nursing of them.



That Commonwealth may tearm it selfe happy, wher the Weomen are not onely chaste: but likewise endued with manly Spirits, full of constancy and magnanimity, for of such Women (commonly) are Heroicall Children bred and borne. Which Argument giueth me leaue, to speake of some Weomen among the *Lacedemonians*; then the *Romaines*, and lastly the *French*: but first we will begin with the most generous *Lacedemonians*.

Of good and generous women come worthy Children.

Lacedemon, *Sparta*, and *Laconia*, were all but one, to wit, a people and Country scituated in *Peloponnesus*, a Region of *Greece*, where *Lycurgus* had not onely beene King, but also was their Law-Maker. He left them many good lawes and Morall precepts, which while both the Men and Weomen knew how to keepe: they continued Lords of themselves, liuing in all enfranchisement and

The seuerall names, of *Lacedemon*, & scituation thereof.

What benefit ensued by keeping the Lawes of *Lycurgus*.

and libertie. But so soone as they wandered and swerved, from those good manners which the said *Lycurgus* had taught them: they became forthwith Seruants and Slaues vnto others. During such time, as they were obseruers of his Morall precepts; it happened, that the *Athenians* made Warre, in hope to subdue them: but as they were farre inferior to them in their forces, so were they as stoutly and valiantly resisted.

Of a mother and her onely Son.

Among the women of *Sparta*, there was one, that had but one only Sonne, who was grievously wounded in the foote, and greatly complained, of the yrkesome paines which thereby he endured: but his Mother saide vnto him.

Good & courageous counsell of a Mother.

My Sonne, if thou didst see vertue before thine eyes; not onely would this anguish bee forgotten: but (in reuenge thereof) thou wouldst shew thy selfe valiant. But the Mothers of our Countries, doe customarily augment the grieuances of their Children, by teares and cōckerings, too frequent among them. Whereas this worthy Mother, did breath her Spirit into his Heart, to teach him, how hee should suffer harmes manfully, and not to complaine, like a cowardly woman.

Foolish Mothers of these times.

Another *Lacedemonian* Woman likewise, hauing tidings brought her, that one of her Sonnes was slaine in the battaile, said: *Why, he was one of my Sons reioysing in the generositie of her Son, and neuer mourning for his death.* Contrariwise, another woman, hearing that her Sonne fled away cowardly; quoth she. *He neuer was any Son of mine.* Intimating thereby, that such Sons deserued no acknowledgement, who degenerated from the vertue of their Ancestours.

Two honorable minded Mothers.

I cannot forget another *Laconian* Woman, who had five Sonnes, and all of them lost their liues, fighting valiantly for the freedome of their Countrey. She, going into the Subburbs of the City, to know the issue of the battaile, meeting with a Vant-curret; demanded how all matters went? And he told hir the fatall hap of her five Sonnes. *Wicked Slaue* (quoth she) *this is no answer to my demand. I pray thee to tell mee, in what estate stands the affaires of the Commonwealth?* Hee told her, that the victorie went with the *Lacedemonians*. *Why now*

Another Mother worthy of immortal commendation.

(quoth she) *thou art an honest man, and I beare my Childrens death patiently.* Was not this a Woman full of honour, and endued with an incomparable Spirit; to prefer the welfare of the Commonwealth, before so many liues of her dear esteemed Sons?

Cicero alleadgeth another, who was a noble *Romaine* Lady, no lesse to be esteemed then the *Laconian* women. She beholding her Sonne, named *Spurius Caluidius*, that could go no other wise; but euen as Beastes doe, on all foure, through the greatest wounds he had received in the warres, fighting for his Countries liberty, and percciuing him to bee ashamed, because one had scorned him for going in that manner; she said vnto him. *Thou shouldst be the more iocund, and proud of thy valour, that made thee go in this crooked manner; then grieue at that poore spirit, that dare not shew his face where thou hast beene.*

Cicero in lib. de Orat. 3.

A most valiant Romaine Mother.

But let me tell ye, that neither *Lacedemon* nor *Rome*, contained all the generous Weomen: for in our Natiue Country of *France*, there haue bin very many, and yet are at this present, of whom I will (for breuities sake) alledge but two. The first shall bee *Madame Margaret de Sauoye*, Wife to the deceased *Anne de Montmorency*, Constable of *France*, who had five Children, all worthily educated, and euermore most lovingly affected vnto the Crowne of *France*, as beeing very remarkable for their fidelitie, as also well prouided of honourable estates. When newes was brought her, that one of her Sons was dead, named *Mombrun*, whom she most dearly affected aboue all the rest, and was slaine in the battaile at *Dreux*, fought against the *French* Protestants, in the yeare 1562. and also that her Husband (being wounded) was there surprized: She said. *Blessed be God, as well for the bad as the good, and gaue him hartie thanks, not onely because her Sonne was slaine; but that her Husband remained wounded, and a Frisner, for the seruice of his King, &c.*

Generous women of France

The Battaille at Dreux, in Anno 1562.

The braue resolution of *Margaret de Sauoye*.

Madame de Blacar, wife to the *Marschall Biron*.

Madame de Saint Blancar, Wife to the late magnanimous *Marschall de Biron*, was visited by a Lady of great Birth, who brought with her very goodlie workes of Silke, which shee and her Daughters had wrought in Samplers.

Madame de Biron of a vertuous & manly courage.

She brought with her also one of her Children ; that daunced delicately, and played sweetly on the Gitterne, whom she shewed to the said Lady Marshall, that she and her Children, should learn to spend their time in the like delightful exercises. Madame Marshall made her answer ; *That shee could not devise any better works exercises, wherein to instruct her Sons and Daughters ; then in the fear of God, and good maners ; whereby their hearts would become magnanimious, to do seruice for their King, according as their Father had formerly done.* And indeed, all the Male children issuing of her, were very braue minded and valiant men. As for her Daughters, ouer and beside their happinesse, to marrie with wise and worthy Knights : so were they well eductated in household discipline, by their excellent breeding, and famous houses of generous nourishing. As Madame the Countesse de Chasteauneuf, whose Husband is (at this present) Lieutenant to the King, in higher and lower *Lymosine*. Madame de Force, & others that I know.

A generous Exhortation of the Author to Ladies of greatest birth and others.

Let then great Ladies of blood, and others of meaner birth, bee aduertised by this discourse, that if it happen, that their Husbands and Children dye, or become maimed in their Kings seruice, and for the good of the Commonwealth: they would not bee so weake hearted, as to lament, grieue, or beate their heads against walles, because such behaiour is not seene, but in Women of ignoble and slender worth. But fixing rather before their eyes, the generous Spirits of these *Laconian, Romaine, and French Ladies*, formerly exemplified; to account themselues happy, when focuer the like disasters shall happen to them. Considering withall, that they whom they esteeme to be dead, do liue, and they shall see them again at the day of resurrection, accompanied with much glory and honor.

The greatest to any Christian soule.

The bountifull mercy of God to Job.

In the case of Death, how Parents ought to comfort theselues

To Job, all his goods and wealth were redoubled, onely his Children excepted, for he begat but such a number, and in the like number he had them againe. Yet heerein the promise of God was as well accomplished, as in his other goods : for he knew that they were not dead, but should be raised againe, and re-knowne of their Father and Mother. It may be presumed, that such women

as are so full of sorrow and vexation; do not beleue any resurrection. Otherwise they would embrace aduise and instruction, to teach their Sons & daughters al such exercises, as might redound to the benefit of the Common-wealth. As their Sons to haue learning, to manage Armes and Horses, with all vertues becomming man-hood. Their Daughter to feare God, and learne womens huswiuery : not idle Samplery, or Silken follies, which (else-where) is the exercise of Eunuches & Slaues. I would wish them to hold as firme a purpose, as did Madame *Katherine du Salaignat*, Wife to the late *Messiere Geffrey de Saille*, a braue and hardy Knight in his life time. She sending her Sonnes (in their very young yeares) to *Paris* for instruction, was aduised by some familiar Friend, to keepe them (as yet) at home, because they were but young and tender. She made answer. *That her Children resembled Vessels wholly new, wherein if good liquor were put at the first, they would saunour thereof so long as Nature lasted.* In like manner, if Children embrace good doctrine in their young age, they will rellish alwaies after thereof, euen to old age. Which they cannot doe, being kept vnder the Mothers Wing, as wee tearme it, where neither are like Masters, or commodious meanes, as is in such places, wher all vertues are taught, to such as will seeke for them. For this good Lady added, *That she desired rather to be without Children, then that they shold be not vertuous.* And indeed, such did her Sons proue to be, and good Seruitours to their King, notwithstanding all the partialities in *France*.

Example of the Lady Katherine de Salaignat.

A worthy president for all cockering and nice Mothers.

CHAP. VIII.

Against Obtrection, or Detraction. And why it is more vnseemly for men, to speake euill of Women, then Women of Men.



All Diuines and Philosophers, as well Auncient as Moderne, haue held, and doe maintaine, that detraction is one of the braunches of Enuy, which

Detraction one of the branches of Enuy.

which delighteth and nourisheth it selfe by calumny and lying : whereby people of honest conuersation, do continually receiue most greuous wounds; by giuing ouer light beleefe, to such as haue a felicity in lying. And therefore, *Diogenes* the Cinick being demaunded, what bite of any Beast was most hurtfull and dangerous, answered: *Amongst furious and wilde Beasts, none like the Detractor, and among tame or gentle, only the Soother and Flatterer.* Vpon the same words, *Themistocles* the Thebane, said; *There is no greater paine or miserie in the worlde, then to know and behold the honor of an honest and good man, to be in the mercy of a venomous tongue, there to be outraged by detraacting speeches.*

Diogenes his answer, concerning Detractors and Flatterers.

Good fame is the greatest riches in the world.

Princes subiect to heare flatterers and Detractors.

An excellent Comparison of the deprauers.

Of Medius, chiefe of the Flatterers about King Alexander.

Full wel we know, that vertuous fame and good renowne, is more precious then any treasure whatsoever. No lesse shame and wrong is done to a man, in taking away his honest name and good esteeme, then as if hee were robbed and despoiled of all his substance. But about all other, Detraction and calumny yeeldeth most pernicious effects, when Princes do willingly lend eare to deprauers; by whom, euen themselues doe become at length corrupted. For the enuious detractor, dealeth like a bad Painter; who when he hath made a mishapen Cocke, commandeth his Boy, to driue all Naturall Cockes farre enough off from his foule handy-worke. So hee, from such as he would command or gouerne, hee striues to keep off al honest minded men, for hee cannot worke his intent openlie, because hee stands in feare of their Vertue, whom he hateth in his heart. Hee maketh a shew of honouring, admiring, and affectuous embracing: but vnderhand, and behinde his backe, hee casteth forth and soweth all seditious slanders. But if his claudestine, and secret-wounding reports of the absent, do not quickly beget the yssue of his intent: hee hath yet alwayes readye in his memory, that which in elder times was obserued by *Medius*.

This *Medius* of whom we are to speak was as the Maister, or chiefe of all the troope of flatterers, that houered about the mightie *Alexander*, euen more bandying against well disposed people in his Court. Hee gaue instruction, that no one should bee so bolde, as to backebite

openly, or vse the power of calumnie too apparantly. *But rather in such sort* (quoth he) *that albeit the partie bitten doe recouer his harme; yet that the gripes or scratches may remaine incurable.* Euen so, by such scarres and gripes of lies and false accusations, or to call them better (according to *Plutarch*) by such Cankers and Gangeues, many great persons haue suffered themselues to be corrupted and retained still in their memory, detestable vnruth, deliuered of vertuous men, to their innocent ouerthrowe, and their owne great dishonor.

All the enmities and quarrelles, as well among great as meaner persons, whence haue ensued so manie slaughters, as daily are behelde with great greefe: neuer had any other ground or Originall, but onely detraacting the honour or repute of absent people. Now, albeit this Vice in generall, is most infamous, and about all other, vnshightly and il-seeming in persons of honor: yet, of both the sexes, I hold it to be more inciuil and disgraceful to a man, then to a woman. Howbeit, I know, that there are manie people, that are of contrarie opinion vnto my present purpose of speech. My first reason is, that among all the Nations of the world, there is a natural Law, obseruing it selfe; whereby a dissolute life is not held as any Vice, defect, or infamie in men: but in women it is an opprobrie, & so extreame a shame, that she of whom an evil report hath once passed (be it true or false in the imposition) she standeth for euer blamed or branded. Therefore, a wel aduised man, wil neuer touch the honor of women.

There is likewise another reason, to wit; That Weomen beeing imperfect creatures, and of little or no dignitie at al, in respect of men, it were verie requisite, that (seeing of themselues they are not capeable, to performe any vertuous action) some bridle or restriction were imposed on them, by shame and feare of infamy, that any good qualitie (though it were perforce) might bee planted in them. And it seemeth, that continency was thought more necessariē for them, then any other, for the better certitude of their Children. Now, because this hath bene enforced, euen by all ingenuous subtilties, Arts, and possible meanes or wayes, to make Ladies become continē;

The Wicked speeches of detraacting Medius.

Detraction the ground of quarrels and murders.

Detraction is more vnbe-seeming in men then women, and the reasons why.

The first reason.

The second reason.

Continencie thogh most conuenient in women.

Women allowed to commit all error, their chastitie referued.

An aduertisement to Ladies, and also other women.

An act of piety to defend womens honor.

A History alledged by Valentinus Barruchius of Tolledo, concerning the false accusation of a Dutcheffe of Sauoy.

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tinient; yea, it hath appeased, and (as it were) consented thereto by themselues, that in all other things they are of no validity, but continually they doe the contrary to all that they ought to do. Wherefore, seeing it is lawfull for them, to commit all other errors without blame, let them neuer bee taxed with those imperfections that they haue done, they being all permitted to them, which (in this respect) must not be iudged inconuenient, or carelessly regarded by them; prouided, that their Chastitie be preserued.

And yet for all this, I doe not inferre that it is lawfull for weomen to depraue or mispeake by any means: for, as I haue saide, it is one of the very greatest imperfections, and draweth vnto it more contempt and disgrace, then any other Vice whatsoeuer. But I would aduise honorable and worthy women, if at anie time it happen, that a Woman haue spoken reproachfully of them, or such as do appertaine vnto them, to tollerate & make no account thereof, for the reasons forementioned. But on the contrarie, it is a worke of piety, to offend their quarrel, if any do presume to defend their honor. And so much the rather, because it was neuer knowne, that euerie any Knight, who vndertooke the Combat, to support the honor of a woman, was at anie time vanquished.

Wee haue some prooffe thereof, by a History, which *Valentinus Barruchius*, a Natiue of *Tolledo* in *Spain*, hath sette downe in a great Latine Tome, most exactly written, and in verie elegant phrase, the brieffe whereof, is thus: A Daughter to the King of *England*, being married to a Duke of *Sauoy*, & Prince of *Piedmont*; by not yeilding to the immodest requests of the Count of *Pancalier* (whome the Duke her husband, had left Regent and Lieutenant of all his Lands in his absence while he was busied in the wars of *France*; because hee was there Constable) falsely imposed on her the crime of Adulterie, which he saide she had committed with his Nephew. And being to combat against all such, as woulde gainsay the truth of his deposition, he presented himselfe in the Lists.

In the end, as a matter proceeding from Diuine inspiration, a Knight of the Noble house of *Mendoza*, who although he was farre inferiour in bodily strength, not only in regard of a former long sickness, but also by so long a way of trauel, which had so tired himselfe and his horses: yet he accepted the cause and Combat, to maintaine the honor of that vertuous Princeffe. He foiled him in fight, and made him confesse his damnable imposture. After which, partly by some grieuous wounds receiued, but more by meere spight and hatefull malice, he died within few daies. And yet the said Count was one of the most valiant and strongest Knights (of his time) in all *Lombardy*.

In *Fraunce*, about the space of threescore yeares since, the combat was granted by King *Frances*, first of that name, to two French Knights, the one named *La Chastaigneraye*, and the other *Iarnac*. It was a great quarrell to bee discided, because the Lord *de la Chastaigneraye*, had offended the honor of a Ladie, that appertained in blood to the Lord *de Iarnac*. These two Knightes, fighting in the single *Duello*, and according to the Kinges iudgement, the whole Court, and all the spectators, it appeared that *La Chastaigneraye*, would haue the vpper hande, as hauing made good prooffe of his person, in diuers battailes, and single combates: yet notwithstanding, *Iarnac* slew *La Chastaigneraye*, and, as manie people were perswaded in Conscience, by the iust iudgement of God, for hauing defamed so worthy a Ladie. If it might be permitted, I could alledge infinite other Histories, tending to this purpose: but feare of offending, is my onely hinderance. And therefore, I will conclude with the Prouerbe, more then true: *That neuer were Women depraued, but by a Knaue or a Coward.*

The Noble *Mendoza* of Spain, defended the cause of the wronged Princeffe.

A Combate tried between two French Knights.

General opinion is oftentimes deceyued in prooffe.

An auncient Prouerbe.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

How Pythagoras founde out (verie ingeniously) the iust measure and proportion of the bodie of great Hercules.



IT is verie memorable, & therefore not to bee let passe in silence, the ingenious inuentio found out in a subtile and curious maner, concerning the true shape and measure of *Hercules* his body. When it was knowne, that the place where the Olympian Games were solemnized (from five years to five yeares) in *Achaya*, neere **Elis*, & before the Temple of *Iupiter Olympus*, had been measured by *Hercules*, who hadde there made a *Stadium*, containing six hundred and five and twentie foote, by the measure of his owne foote. Vnderstanding also, that the other *Stadiums*, which his successors afterward ordained throughout all *Greece*, did hold the like length of sixe hundred and five and twentie foote, it appeared yet neuerthelesse, that they were much shorter, then that of *Hercules*. For, *Pythagoras* knew easly by this proportion, how much the foote of *Hercules* contained in greatnesse, from the ordinarie feete of other men. And hauing thus vnderstoode, the size or measure of his foote, hee comprehended thereby: that the whole bodie of *Hercules*, must needs be (according to that proportion) much greater then the bodies of all other men, in regard that his *Stadium* surpassed al the rest.

*A Towne in the west part of *Peloponnesus*, neere the Riuer *Alpheus* where the *Olympia* games were performed.

CHAP. X.

How the Iewes did continually, and from time to time, giue Law and Religion to such as were their Conquerours and Commanders.

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S*eneca* fel into great admiration, so did diuers others, how it shold come to passe, that the vanquished Iewes, dispersed and scattered vnto the foure Corners of the world, should administer Law and Religion to their vanquishers. For, as concerning their subiectio, they are a people that haue beene troden vnder foote by the *Egyptians*, *Assyrians*, *Persians*, *Gracians*, *Romaines*, *Turkes*, &c. and how many Maisters soeuer they hadde, yet they neuer changed or altered their Law. Amongst other people, in matter of their Law and Faith, hath beene found some semblable constancie: but that the subdued, transported, vilified, made slaues, led in triumph thorowe Empires; that such men, I say, should not only subdue the hearts of their Triumphers to God, but (in a manner of speaking) traine their Gods also themselues, in triumph after them, is verie admirable. That the Conquerour could not giue Law to the conquered, but that the vanquished hath done it to the victor; the subiect vnto the Prince; the Captiue to the Maister; and the condemned vnto the Iudge; Who would beleue this, I pray ye, except he saw it? And hauing seene it, how can he say otherwise, but that **GOD** onelie did it?

But if *Seneca* could hear me peaceably, I woulde deliuer him from this astonishment and admiration, so strangely conceited, as thus. Those Gods which the Iewes had caused to be left to the people (commonly called inuolable and immortal) consisted of dumbe and insensible Statues, disguised like men, Beastes, and Fishes; and some of them, resembled hideous Monsters. So that infamous Demons, possessed themselues of these Statues and Symulacres, and in them requi-

Seneca in his Booke of Superstition.

The Iewes euermore subiect vnto be made captiues.

A rare & vnsuall thing in common obseruation for the vanquished to be victor.

The Idols of the Gentiles wer Demons, without anie vertue.

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red worse matters of men, then did the most detestable Tyrants that euer were. As, that a man should geld himself, lame himselfe, kill himselfe, yea, and that men should Sacrifice Women, Virgins, and Children to them.

But when the people heard speech of one only true God, the Creator of heauen and earth; and that he would be serued in heart and spirit: these wordes, although they came forth of a poor slaues mouth, made Captiues of the men themselves that heard them, and subdued their Gods. What then shall we say of the Iewes transmigrations, and flitting from place to place: but that they were as so many Colonies and Preachers, to proclaim the true GOD, and euen as so many armies, to extirpate Idolles?

That it could be no otherwise, Daniell and his associats, being as the rest) transported into *Assyria*, he shewed vnto the King, that the Idoll Bell (which hee caused to be worshipped, and had daily deliuered him such quantities of bread made of the finest Flower, a great number of Sheepe and fatted Cattle, and six * *Amphores* of Wine) was no true God, though he himselfe worshipped him, and went euery day to adore him, as believing that he deuoured all that meate and wine. He made it apparant to him, that it was but a meere manifest deceite, performed by his Priests & Sacrificers, who with their Wiues and Children, came in the night time, and ate vp al the Viands set before the Idoll, for which they were deservedly punished.

After he had thus shewne to the *Assyrian* King, the vanitie of the Idoll *Bel*, the King tooke him, and shewd him a mighty great Dragon, which the *Babylonians*, and himselfe, as well as the rest, worshipped beside the saide Idoll *Bel*. The King saide to *Daniel*, *Thou wilt not say that this is of Brasse, like the other, this cannot be denied to be a God.* *Daniel* hauing obtayned leaue to kill the Draggon, without the help either of sword or staffe, with pitch, fat, and haire (which he boyled altogether) made rounde balles thereof, and threw them into the Draggons throate, which made him burst in sunder. And then said *Daniel*, *Behold what ye haue worshipped.* But for these thinges, the people threw *Daniell* into a denne of hungry Lyons, of which Beasts hee was not deuou-

red, although he had nothing giuen him to eate, in the space of seauen dayes before. At the end of which time, the King finding *Daniel* yet liuing amongst the Lyons: caused him to be taken forth, and forsaking all Idolatrie, worshipped the true GOD, the God of the Iewes. Were not these worthy slaues, that conuerted this great King, and thus triumphed?

Who gaue intelligence to *Cyrus*, K. of *Persia*, concerning the true God, the God of the *Israelites* and *Iewes*, and to cause him send home the captiued Iewish people, giuing them meanes to repayre the Temple, ruined by the *Assyrians*, commanding them also, to pray to God for his prosperity; but euen the same Slaues of the Iewes? May we not likewise say as much, of *Alexander* the Great? He was brought to worship the true God, throwing and prostrating himself before *Iadus* the High-priest, who came before him with all the people of *Ierusalem*, hauing their heads and feete bare, to implore his mercie, and not to bee put to death by him, because they gaue him no aide with men and victualles, when hee besieged *Tyre*. Notwithstanding, these conquered and halfe-dead *Iewes*, by their humble maner of behauiour, but Gods grace more especially woorking, caused that great and inuincible Monarch, to fall on his Knees before their chiefe Priest; and not onely so, but to embrace them with amitie, and graunt them manie gracious priuiledges. And to their Neighbors the *Samaritans*, who obserued not the same Religion, he gaue inhibition and countermand, of enioying the same immunities. And himselfe would confesse, that the Iewish Law was good, but the *Grecians* Law was of no worth.

Did they not impose the selfsame Law on the Egyptians; who likewise led them into Captiuitie? Wee may read in the Greeke Histories, that after the death of *Alexander*, many of his Kindred, & some of his aduanced fauourites, possessed themselves (as best they could) on diuers portions of his Monarchy. And among the rest, *Ptolomy* seized on Egypt, and on many other adiacent Prouinces. And purposing to do as much on *Iudea*, he was impeached by the Iewish people, who would acknowledge no other superiour, but their High-priest and Sacrificer.

Where-

The Transmigration of the Iews, was for the honor and glorie of God.

Daniel discovereth the Idoll *Bel* to the King of *Persia*

* An ancient measure, containing 36. quarters.

The King shewed *Daniel* the great dragon.

Daniel killed the great dragon.

Daniel cast into the den of Lyons.

Daniel deliuered, and the K. conuerted.

Cyrus, King of *Persia*, beleeued in God.

Quintus Curtius in the life of Great *Alexander*.

Alexander inspired by God to his humility.

Ptolomy got the possession of Egypt, and spoyled *Iudea*

The Jews led Captiues into Egypt.

Whereupon, *Ptolomy* entred into *Palestine*, made there great deuastation and spoile, beating down diuers strong forts, and led away many thousands of them, as captiues into Egypt, where they were ill entreated, and employed in the basest & vilest slaueries. All which notwithstanding, poore soules, they ceased not to cry and call to the *Egyptians*, that their Religion was false, and that they had manie monstrous Gods: As Onions, a Cow, a Crocodile, and others.

The captiue Jewes did shew the error of the Egyptians.

In the end, their declarations were so manifest, and their cries so violent on their Idolatries, that the verie wisest men of the Countrey, with their King *Philadelphus* (one of the successors to the former King, who led the poore *Jews* awaie as Captiues) lent eare vnto them, and found all true, which the miserable and distressed Jewes had preached to them. In regard whereof, the King wold needs make more ample enquiry, concerning their Law and Religion. He caused all the Books of the Old Testament to be translated out of Hebrewe into the Greeke tongue, by seauenty Interpreters of the Jewes (most learned in the said tongues) seperately, so that they could not confer one with another, to know whether they agreed in their traduction of the Booke of the Old Testament, or no. When he had found a meruailous concordance in the seuerall translations, and had read, and read againe the saide Booke; hee acknowledged, that his Captiues the *Jewes* had saide nothing but the truth; and that there was but one God, the GOD of the *Israclites*, and the *Jewes*. Wherefore, he afterward embraced the feare of God in his heart, reformed his life, and set at liberty all the Captiue Jewes, thoroughout his Land. Thus you may see, how the vanquished gaue Law and Religion to the victor.

The Bible translated out of Hebrewe into Greeke.

The vanquished gaue law to the Victor.

The Syrians warred on the Jewes.

When that the Egyptians had suffered the Jewes to liue in peace, the *Syrians* within a while after, conceiued hatred against the Jewes, and perceiuing Ciuill dissentions to be among them, they also warred on them. *Antiochus* their King (by the meanes of Traitors) was brought into *Ierusalem*, where hee placed Idols in the Temple, rauaged all *Iudea*, and ledde away a great number of Captiues, according as *Zonarus* declareth. Yet the poore captiued Jewes shewed vnto the *Syrians*,

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that they had done verie euill, in polluting the Temple of the true GOD, for which they should be seuerely punished. As afterwarde it came to passe, for the saide King *Antiochus* was conquered by the *Romaines*, and paide tribute to them. Then could the *Syrians* and their King, remember the predictions of their poore captiues, whom they did gladly set at libertie, and entreated, that they woulde pray to God for them, being afterwarde in the *Romaines* safegard.

It were a matter impossible for me, to set downe all the Kingdomes, where the Jewes haue beene kept Captiues, & persecuted: and yet neuerthelesse, still acknowledged, that they worshipped the only true God, and brought diuers kings and people to discern their Lawe. And some verie speculatiue Diuines, haue bin perswaded, that these Captiuities of the Jewes, had not beene permitted by God, but onely to the end, that they shoulde beare testimonie in all the quarters of the earth: that the Histories of the Olde-Testament were true, and that the God of the Jewes, was the only true God. Therefore, it was no such matter of wonder, as *Seneca* made it, that euermore the Jewes gaue Law to the Conquerours, and such as kept them in captiuitie. For the law of the Gentiles, was nothing else but vanitie and lies: but that of the Jewes, was grounded on the knowledge of the true God.

The Syrians instructed by the Jewes.

The captiuitie of the Jewes vnexpressible.

The cause of the Transmigrations of the Jewes.

The Lawe of the Gentiles.

CHAP. XI.

Of Sorrow or Mourning for the dead. How it hath beene obserued, and yet is to this day, in manie Prouinces and Countries of the world.



MO mourne and sorrowe for Parents, Kindred, & Friends deceased, is not any matter of Nouelty, but most ancient. For it is found, that seauen score and ten yeares after the floode, and threescore yeares after the death of *Noah*, and in the year of the world, two thousand sixtie, according to the calculation

The antiquity of mourning for the dead.

lation of *Carion*, and of other Chroniclers, that *Abraham* mourned and sorrowed for his wife *Sara*, the space of thirtie dayes. I thinke, that the Iewes afterward continued (and yet do to this day) the custome of mourning, for no more then 30 dayes. But Christians, belonging to the Church of God, vsed mourning a whole yeare, to wit; cloathed in blacke for the most part: but Women, were cloathed partly in white, and partly in blacke; especially in some Countreyes, which was done according to the diuersity of Nations. But the ancient *Romaines*, before they were Christians, mourned 9. moneths onely. Heere we are to know, that if a Christian man or woman, in those parts, wearing mourning, came to agree againe in a second marriage, during the yeare appointed for mourning, the Matrimony was stayed; but thence-forward, hee nor shee were bound to weare any more mourning.

Mourning vsed amongst the christians

Mourning of the Latine Christians.

The mourning of the Greeke church.

Terence and Plautus.

The Mourning of the Malabrians & Iapparians.

Poste in lib. 2. De Repub. F.

The mourning of the Turkes.

The people of the Greeke Church, mourned a whole yeare, like to them of the *Latine* and *Romaine*, and neuer made any motion of a second marriage during the limited yeares space: but did much more, for euerie day of that yeare, at a certaine appointed houre, all the people of the house, vsed lamentations, and very greuous cries, for the party deceased. But at the renewing of the year, they left off their mourning habits, and Funerall sorrowings. In the times of *Terence* and *Plautus*, Commicall Poets; the like was practised.

They that inhabit the great Isle of *Iapparia*, and (wel-neere) thorow al the Prouinces, which are called *Malabria*, after that the dead mans bodie is publickelic throwne into a fire, and one of his liuing wiues therewith, the nearest in Kindred to the deceased party, weareth a garment of Violet colour, and neuer putteth it off for a whole yeares space, eating also but one meale a day during that yeare.

They that are of the Mahometan Religion dwelling in the lesser *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Affrica*, do mourne no longer for any man or woman deceased, but onelie eight dayes; & that it is the limited time for mourning. Their Garments are of coarse wollen cloath, gray of colour (called among them, *Chenine* or *Felte*) and whereof couerings are made for horses. But such as will not weare them of this

fashion, do carry a white Linnen Cloath, hanging down from the Turbant so low as the Girdle, and so go on with Teares and cries to the graue.

If the deceased Turk be a man of qualitie, and had Dogges and Horses, before he bee brought forth of his dwelling to buriall, they rub their noses with some sharpe graine or hearbe, to vrge teares out of their eyes, that they may appeare to mourne for their deceased Maister, & they are made to follow the bodye to the Graue, which commonly is without the Cittie, and so they continue on the mourning for eight dayes. Al which notwithstanding once euerie day (during this short time of sorrow, at a certaine limited hour in the day time, all the Kindred and friends do meet at the graue, to pray to God for the dead mans soule. The eight dayes being ouer-passed, all mourning is laide aside, and then they make a Feast: which beeing likewise ended, the suruiuer may then seeke after a seconde match.

Some do Write, that the Parents or Kindred of the dead, during the space of a whole yeare, do giue order to certaine men, called *Saintons*, to read euerie daie in the *Achoran* ouer the Graue, for the saluation of the deceased parties soule. In like maner, that some women very much deuoted to the Mahometan Religion, do leaue diuers Legacies, -to such as vse the wars, during the space of a year after their husbands death, to bring them home the heades of Christians, to offer vpon their graues. And commonly, they allow a * *Sultain* of Gold, to bee giuen for euerie head: but he must produce good witness and testimony, and it must bee soundly verified, that it is a Christians head. Most vsually they do but bring the skin or form of the face, but sildome the whole head. And this is the mourning of the Turkes.

It was my chance to find another mourning, of much longer continuance, then those formerly recited; which is vsed in a great Prouince, named *Cermos*, subject to the *Persian*, and professing the Mahometan Religion. This Prouince lyeth in so hot a country, that the inhabitants are wholly black. Neuerthelesse, the Lande is rich, abounding in Horses, gold, Silver, and Precious stones, of inestimable value for many rare and beautifull embellishings. Notwithstanding, the aire is meruailous

Beasts made apt to mourn for the dead.

The Turkes vse praier for the dead, and Feasting.

Of certaine Turkish Women, cruelly superstitious.

* A Turkish Coin of gold, valewing 7.s. 6.d. Sterling.

Mar. Paulus in lib. 1. cap. 23.

The women of *Cormos* doe mourne for their husbands death, the space of foure yeares.

lous vnhealthfull for Straungers, and therefore (very often) it causeth their death. The *Vice-Roy* of the place, knoweth well enough how to appropriate to himselfe (by way of Eschetage) what goods soeuer doe belong to strangers, being no Natiues of the Counery. And therefore when any one there dyeth, the wife of the dead man doth weare mourning the space of foure yeares, and neuer marieth againe during that time. But all that long and irksom limitation, she hath certaine sequestred houres daily, to kneel in her Chamber, accompanied with some of her neere kinred & friends; to make moanes, lamentations and funerall complaints, for the losse of her deceased Husband. As concerning the Men of this Country, and so of *Turky*; I cannot giue ye any assurance, of their mourning for the death of their Wiues: because their King despenseth with them, for the marrying of manie wiues. But the women of this Prouince of *Cormos*, are much to be commended for their chastity, beyond many of them remaining among vs, who rarely will tarry a yeares space of mourning.

CHAP. XII.

¶ Of diuers Paganes, that tooke the matter very offensive y, and a great dishonour to themselves; that any one should misprize, or contemne their Religion.



Ausanius reporteth, that neere the City of * *Mantineia* in *Arcadia*, there was a Temple consecrated to *Neptune*, the enterance whereof was interdited to men: and yet notwithstanding, it had no other guard or defence, but certaine little woollen cords, placed before the Gate, which caused such dreadfull fears, as the place thereby was accounted very reuerent. It chanced, that *Aepythes*, Son to *Hippotes*, King of *Arcadia*, a man slenderly affected to Religion, without any reuerence or respect, did cut the saide cords, and as he would haue entred into the Temple: the Waters of the Sea

Pausa. in lib. 10
* A City of *Arcadia*, some times also called *Antigonia*.

Aepythes, Son to *Hippotes*, King of *Arcadia*.

gushed forth abundantly vpon him, and wholly blinded him, so that hauing lost his eyes in this manner, he presently died. The auncient fame and report was, that the Waters were noted and obserued to rest in that Temple: And it was reputed to bee the greater Miracle, because the Sea was three miles, or thereabout, distant from that place.

10 In the City of *Cabiria* in *Beotia*; within a mile of *Thebes*, there stood a Temple dedicated to *Ceres*, and entrance therinto was granted to none; but only the *Cabirians*. It so fell out, that *Mardonius*, one of the Captaines to *Xerxes*, entring therinto with his Souldiours; to rob and bereaue it of the Treasures: both he & all the rest of his Army, were (in an instant) surprized with such a sudden fury, that casting themselues down headlong into very deep ditches, and from the tops of Rocks and Mountains; they all dyed most miserably. The like
20 happened to the Souldiers of great *Alexander*, who hauing taken *Thebes* by power, they would likewise enter into the said temple: but being smitten with lightning from heauen, they ended their liues cruelly, which proued a mightie terror to the Nation of that age. *Phlegyas*, King of the *Orchomenians*; or (according to *Virgil*) of the * *Lapithes*, hauing done infinite damniages in *Greece*, surprizing many Townes and Cities: became (in the end) so ouer-weening & foolish-bold, that he sacked the Temple of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, and slew *Philamon*, who brought a power of people to rescue the Temple. But it came to passe, that within no long while after, all the
30 Countrey of the *Phlegyans* was vterlie ruined, by a violent earthquake, and flaming Arrowes shot from Heauen, which killed most of the people, & they few that remained, died of the plague. Vpon which sacrilege, and contempt of the Gods, *Virgil* saith, that their king *Phlegyas* is grievously punished in Hell:

50 *Phlegyas miserimus omnes*
Admonet, & magni teliatur voce per umbras,
Discite iustitiam moniti, et non temere Dinos.

Which Verses were thus translated by *Masures*:

Phlegyas in that place,
Forewarneth all, of his great misery,
And as sad witness of such wretched case,
In those dim shades he cryes out wofully:
Learn to do Iustice: And by my contempt
Of the high Gods, do you like fate prevent.

Paus. in Lib. 9.
A Temple in *Beotia* dedicated to *Ceres*.

Another accident concerning the same Temple.

* A people dwelling in a part of *Thessalic*.

Philamon a cunning *Harper*, Sonne to *Apollo*.

Virg in Lib. 6.
de Aenid.

* Betweene
the two Ri-
uers, Sybaris
and Crathis.

* The place
where Apollo
made answer.

The Historic
of a slaue bea-
ren by his
Lord and
Maister.

That which
could not be
gained in re-
uerence of
the Gods, was
for a Fathers
sake won.

Amirys makes
open sale of
all his goods,
fearing what
was to follow.

King Cambyfes
his vnhallo-
wed intent a-
gainst the

The *Sybarites*, people of a * citty in great *Grece*, (so called, by reason of a Riuer which passeth there along, named *Sybaris*) being desirous to vnderstand the future felicity of themselves and their Citty: sent to consult with the Oracle of *Delphos*, to be resolued in the matter. Wher-
to *Apollo* in his * *Pytheum*, gaue them this answer. *Your Land shall run to perdition, & your felicity shal haue end; when you begin to make more account of men, then of the Goddes.* The Ambassadors hauing heard this answer, made report thereof to the *Sybarites*: who tooke good courage to them, perswading themselves assuredlie, that such disauster should neuer happen to them, and therefore their felicity would be eternall. But within some pretty while after, it happened, that a Maister beating his Slaue neere to the Temple: the Slaue fled from him, & knowing that the temple afforded refuge, ran thereinto, and mounting vp to the Altar, embraced the Image. His Lord pursued him, & hauing forcibly recouered him from the Statue, without any reuerence of the place, began againe to giue him many Bastonades. The seruant fled frō him once more, ran to saue himselfe at the Tombe of his Lords deceased Father: but then, in meer paternall duty, hee left punnishing any more, and pardoned the fault which hee had committed. All this being noted by *Amirys*, one of them that had bin Ambassador to *Delphos*: hee cald to remembrance the former words of the Oracle, and declared to some other of his Friends, that the time for accomplishment of *Apolloes* answer; was euen now come. But they giuing no credit to his words; imagined that hee was become foolish. Which when he perceiued, he took hold of their supposition, and (soone after) counterfeited as if he were growne somewhat distracted in his senses. So that, making publike sale of all his goods, and getting a large summe of Mony together: he departed suddenly thence, & went to dwell in *Morea*, expecting continually the fate of his Country. It fortun'd, that within no long time after, the Citty of the *Sybarites* (by what accident I know not) was rased, rent, and torne, and vterly made a heap of stones.

Cambyfes, the Son of *Cyrus*, sent fiftie thousand men to destroy the Temple of *Iupiter Hammon*: but by a sudden furious

tempest, they were al quite ouerwhelmed with heaps of sand, before they could get thither, and so perished most wretchedly, without executing their pernicious desaigne. All they which were with *Quintus Cepio*, at the robbery of the Gold out of the Temples of *Tholouse* in France, to the quantity of one hundred & ten thousand markes of Gold, and 500. Millions of markes in Siluer: dyed euery Man of them (with all their kinred and Families) within that yeares compasse, and not aboue one of them, did carry so much as one piece thereof home to his own house. *Strabo* hath left it written, that this Treasure of *Tholouse*, was a part of the *Delphian* riches. For *Brennus*, Captaine of the *Gauls*, being assisted by the * *Tectosages*, had ransacked *Delphos*: according as we find it recorded by *Iustine* the Historian. As then these *Tectosages* made their retreat to *Tholouse*, which was their auncient Country: the plague began to assaile them, and neuer ceased, vntill such time, (as answer came from the Diuines) that they had drowned al the Gold and Siluer (gotten by sacrilege) in the bottome of the *Thoulouzan* Lake. Out of which place it was (long time after) won and gotten, by *Q. Cepio* & his followers, who carried it thence to their owne deare detriment. The *Romains* hauing surprized *Carthage*, certaine of them despoyled the Statue of *Apollo*, of a costly robe of Gold worne about him: but the hands of him that committed this sacrilege, wer found cut off, and fastned to the same garment. And *Brennus*, captain of the forenamed *Gauls*, entred forcibly into the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*: and hauing committed it to publike spoile, was so furiously possessed, that he slue himselfe with his own hands.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Seiane Horse. And of the admirable Statue of a Horse, erected in Altina, a Citty in the Country of Olympia.

Caius Bassus, in his Comentaries, and *Iulius Modestinus*, in his second Booke of confused Questions (agreeing with that which *Aulus Gellius* reporteth in his *Attick* nights) do relate a memorable History, concerning the *Seiane* horse, & in this maner. In the *Prouince* of *Argos*, there

Temple of *Iupiter Hammon*.

Aul. Gell. in lib. 3. Cap. 9.

Strabo in lib. 4.

People of the west part of *Narbon*, towards the *Pyrene* Mountaines. *Iust. in Lib. 32.*

The *Romains* at their surprizal of *Carthage*.

Caius Bassus in Comentar. lib. 3. Cap. 10. Iul. Modest. in Quæst. lib. 2. Cap. 1. Aul. Gellius. in Noct. Attic.

there was a horse bred, reported to be of the race of those Horses, belonging vnto *Diomedes* the *Thracian*, which horse *Hercules* brought with him into *Greece*, after he had slain the said *Diomedes*. This horse was of a Bay colour, and of vnusual greatnesse; his Maine yellowish and long; his Nostrils very wide and open; his eyes great; his legges well formed; his breast goodly, and his taile long: in briefe, hee was perfectly faire, well limbd, stout, and full of courage for the wars. In the time of his beeing but a Colte, great rumour ran abroad of him, in *Asia*, *Iudea*, *Thebes*, *Pentapolis*, and all ouer *Greece*, procuring very many (from all these parts, and many more beside) to trauaile to see him; others to buy him; and diuers to draw his figure or proportion. But this goodly Beast had such an vnfortunate destinie, that whosoever was his Maister; must needs perish, with his Familier, House, and Goods whatsoever. For prooffe wherof, such as bought him, and mounted on his backe (which were five worthy Knights) dyed all both miserably and infamously. The first that bought and backt him, beeing then little aboue two yeares old: was *Cneus Seianus*, a *Romaine* Confull, and of great birth, as also verie verie wise in gouerning the Commonwealth, who being to returne out of *Persia* to *Rome*, followed the faction of *Octavius Augustus*; in regard whereof, sixe moneths after hee had bought the saide Horse, *Marke Anthony* caused his head to be smitten off in *Greece*, and commanded that his body should remaine without any buriall. Now, because that *Cneus Seianus* was the first Buier and Maister of this Horse, and also had (by his death) first experimented his fatall fortune: hee was therefore called the *Seiane* Horse.

Afterward, a *Romaine*, named *Cornelius Dolabella*, Confull also: bought this horse at an hundred thousand *Sester-tiaes*, which amounted to the value of two thousand Duckets. But if hee had knowne, that hee bought misfortune at so deare a rate: he neuer would haue accepted him in gift: For within lesse then a yeares space after hee had him, the vnfortunate *Dolabella* was massacred in *Syria*, in a mutiny of people that rose against him, and being thus slaine, his body (in meere despight) was dragd along the streets. *Dolabella* being thus dead, *Cas-*

us Cassius, who had great commaund in *Rome*, performd many warlike exploits in *Asia*, and had besiedged and ouercom *Dolabella* in that sedition: took the horse for his owne imployment; but hee had not kept him any long while, till his troups being vanquished, and his Armie quite broken, himselfe dyed very miserablie.

10 Thus writeth *Aulus Gellius*, howbeit, I haue else-where read, that at a Dinner, both Hee, his Wife and Children, were poysoned, and all them dyed within an houre after. Vpon the death of *Cassius*, this vnhappy and disastrous Horse hapned into the power of great *Marke Anthony*, who found him so faire; and well fitting his owne minde, that hee gaue in recompence to the bringer of the horse, as much as hee would haue giuen him if he had bought him. *Marke Anthony* was vanquished by *Augustus Caesar*, in a bat-taile on the Sea neere to *Actium*; and sau-ing himselfe by flight into *Alexandria*, (where likewise he was engirt, with sharp besiedging;) hee stabd his owne Sword into his belly, and so perished by a violent and contemptible death. When *Marke Anthony* was thus dead, a Knight of *Asia*, named *Nigidius*, bought the Horse, at a reasonable price, because now hee grew to waxe olde: but his successe proued as deare and fatall, as any of the former owners, and much more notori-ous. For within the years time of buying this Horse, as he rode with him ouer the Riuer * *Marathon*: the Horse stumbling in the Water, could by meanes recouer himselfe, but there, both Maister and Horse were drowned, and neuer after any tydings heard of them. This Historie made way to the ancient and well known Prouerb, to wit; *He had the Seiane Horse*, which continuallie was spoken of him, that came to any miserable and vnfortu-nate end. As the like was otherwise vte-red, *He met with the Gold of Tholouse*, for the reasons remembred in the precedent Chapter.

50 A very admirable matter is likewise remembred, of the Statue of the Horse of *Phormius*, erected in *Altina*, a Citty of *Olympia* in *Elis*. There stood a horse of Brasse, without any taile; yet appearing very goodly, and forged by the hands of *Dionysus* the *Argiue*, in honor of *Phormi-us* the *Arcaatan*, as was plainely giuen to

Cassius, third Maister of the Horse.

Mark Anthony the fourth Maister of the Horse.

* A Towne & Promontory of Epire, where *Augustus*, after he had foiled *M. Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, built the Citty of *Nicopolis*.

Belonging to a Towne so named, tenne miles distant from *Athens*.

Erasmus Chilia. 1. Cent. Lib. 10.

The Statue of *Phormius* his Horse.

Great affecti-on to a Horse that had so fatall a destiny.

Cneus Seianus, first bought the Horse.

Cornelius Dolabella the Con-full, second Maister of the Horse.

A strange per-
swasion of the
Elians.

This is recor-
ded by diuers
good Authors
for a truth.

be vnderstood, by certaine Carracters or Letters engrauen on his side. And the *Elians* were verily perswaded, and held it for infallible, that Stallions and Mares should both beget and bring forth the goodlier Beastes, if the act were performed before this Statue. And whether it consisted in some matter of enchantmēt, or any other vnknowne mystery, I know not; but if a man rode on any Stallion by this Statue: his rider could not be able to sit him, but he would breake al his Furniture, Bridle, Raines, Girts, &c. of what strength soeuer, and neuer cease till hee were at liberty, offering then to couer the Statue, as if it had bin a liuing Mare. And this was not don in the Spring time only, whē these beasts are said to be most thereto inclinable; but euen at other times likewise, contrary to the naturall custome of Horses. And he could not be had thence, but by violent strokes, and great compulsion.

CHAP. XIII.

*Of Lais, the famous Courtezan of Greece;
And the Epitaph engrauen vpon hir Tomb.*

Lais in her
tender youth,
taken & sold
among slaues



*L*ais was borne in a Towne of Sicily, named *Hiccarā*, and being a young Girle, when *Nicias*, Duke and Capitaine of the *Athenians*, surprized both *Catania* & *Hiccarā*: she was also taken by some of the Souldiers, and brought to *Corinthe*, where she was sold among diuers other Slaues, in the open Market. Being afterward enfranchised and set at liberty: ouer-much licence, want of respect and correction (being absent from her Parents and Friendes, whose care should haue extended, for her good education in honest and ciuill manners) was the onely cause of making a booty of her honor, to him that wold giue the most for it. So that, through wanton carriage in men, as forward as shee to all loosenesse: she won the fame and reputation, of the most queint and witty Courtezan (of her time) in all *Greece*. Wherupon, the *Corinthians* did esteem her as a great glory to them, and held themselues to be not a little honoured

Lais the onely
famous Cour-
tezan in all
Greece, and
reputed as an
honour to the
Corinthians.

by her, infomucht, hat they stiled her to be a native of their Country, and left it recorded in their Bookes and writings. Some say, that shee remained a great while in the Camp of King *Pyrrhus*, and went along with him into *Italy*: from whence returning againe to *Corinthe*, there she made her retirement altogether. This amorous woman, was endued with such exquisite beauty, that the chiefest Painters (according as *Athenaus* reporteth) came expressly to *Corinthe* to see her, to draw her Picture, & beare thence the true figure of her face, breasts, & whole body. She was of such entising nature, that men of the greatest wealth, would giue a knocke at her doore; yea, many Kings, Princes, and great Lords cam, not only from *Europe*, but from *Affrica* likewise, to serue, court and require her fauour. In brieft, shee was generally affected, highly esteemed, and enflamed all *Greece*, to woe & win her. For either in speaking, singing, dauncing, or what else, she could performe it with so absolute a grace: that shee meerly rauished the harts of all men to behold her, and hardly could they re-
fraine to be out of her company, such a commanding power had her beautie ouer them. Notwithstanding, she would neuer yeild her selfe to one Man; albeit *Aristippus*, *Demosthenes*, and *Diogenes*, were extraordinarily enamoured of hir. True it is, that *Aristippus* made his vant, that he had *Lais* alone in his owne priuate possession; whereas others did desire that they could haue the like fauor. *Demosthenes* came once from *Athens* to *Corinthe*, in a disguised habit, to see *Lais*, and enjoy her if he could. But before she would open the doore to him, shee bad him first send her 10000. *Drachmaes* (which valued 1000. Crownes, but else wher I haue read 8000.) for one nights lodging with her: he was so amazed at the demaund, that preuailing ouer the heat of his affections, hee went away, saying out aloud; *I will neuer buy repentance at so deare a price.* *Anulus Gellius* recordeth it in this manner. *ὄνι ἄνδρα, μισθίου δραχμῶν μετὰ μέλειαν.* That is to say: *I will not buy repentance with a thousand Drachmaes.* This hee spake (as I thinke) according to the saying of *Diogenes*, to wit: *That every Creature is sad after the Veneriall Act.*

Athenaus a
worthy Phi-
loopher of
Cilicia in *Au-
gustus* time.

From far and
neere they
came to *Co-
rinth* to see
Lais.

Lais in *Lib.*
3. Cap. 14.

Anul. Gell. in *lib.*
1. Cap. 14.
Macrob. in *Sat.*
Lib. 2. Cap. 2.

I haue read
that the *Drach-
mae* was a
piece of Mo-
ny valuing
three shilings
sixe pence.

One

The Answer of Lais concerning the Phylosophers of Athens.

One day, in the presence of *Lais*, there was one that verie highly commended the Phylosophers of *Athens* to be excellent Wisemen, lerned & honest. Wher-to *Lais* answered thus: *I knowe not what great Learning is in your Phylosophers, much lesse what they studie, or what Bookes they read: considering, that I who am a woman, and neuer was in Athens, do beholde them to come hither: & being Phylosophers I can make them to bee Louers. And yet notwithstanding, they cannot make anie of my other fauourites, Phylosophers.*

*A Countrie in Africa, called also *Pentapolitana*, of the five Cities *Beronic, Arsinoc, Ptoimais, Apollonia,* and *Cyrena.* *Athen. in li. 13. Cap. 20.*

Aristippus the Phylosopher, borne in *Syrenaitica*, of whom, I haue formerlie made mention did yearely continue for the space of two moneths, in the time of the *Neptuanales* (Feasts Dedicated vnto *Neptune*) with *Lais* in *Egypt*. And being reprooued by a familiar friend of his, because he spent so much money vpon that woman, who would neuertheless entertaine *Diogenes* without anie salarie, returned this answer. *I giue bountifullie to Lais, because I would haue my fill of content with her; and yet not to hinder anie other from enioying her.* *Diogenes* on a time said vnto him: *Aristippus, thou thinkest that thou hast thy pleasure alone with Lais, and yet she is a common Whore: Either lead thy life like a Cynick, as I do, or else leaue hir I would aduise thee.* *Aristippus* presentlie replied. *Diogenes, Doest thou deeme it inconuenient, to liue in an house where one hath dwelt before thee? Or to venter in the same ship, where many others haue formerly successessfully sailed? Compare my case then on the contrarie, that feare not to affect the Woman, where many fauourites haue beene accepted before me.*

Discourse betwene *Aristippus* & *Diogenes*, concerning *Lais*.

If *Lais* knew in hir youthful time, how to make sale of her kind entertainment to her Louers, and at so deare a rate, as beuty was sildom bought at the like cost: we must needs conceit, that when more mature and riper yeares came vpon her, she could much better skill of making hir Market, being so well plied with bountifull Pay-maisters. Moreouer, when her gallant flourishing daies were passed ouer, that her faire complexion began to faile, and futrowed wrinkles appeared in her face: she flew not then so loftie a pitch, but was content to welcome both young and olde, rich and poore, faire and deformed, lusty bloods, and cooler spirits; and to be briefe, all goers; and commers

Lais was skilful in making vse of hir vain time, yet stooped to al prices in her elder dayes.

indifferently, without exception, and at how meane a price soeuer. As *Iphicrates* painted her forth, in liuely colours, by those Verses which *Athenens* wrote of her, the substance whereof, are to this effect. *Lais is a very slothful drunken Woman, doing nothing but eat and drink all the day long. I thinke she hath experimented the behaviour and custome of Eagles, vwho when they are young, do scize on Sheepe & Hares on the highest Mountaines, lifting them aloft by the gripes of their Talents, but when olde age stealeth on them, then they leaue that bigger prey, and flye at none but young and smallest Birds.* Euen so, *Lais* beeing yong and gallant, had great sums of Money giuen for enioying her fauours; but when many yeares came on her, and blemished the beauty of her former cariage, she wold go then whither any man pleased, the **Carolus* or the *Sons*, serued insted of a Crowne of former offers, and old or yong was not to be reiected.

Athen in li. 13. Cap. 20.

Authors do not agree, concerning the place where *Lais* died; some say, it was at *Corinth*, she being aged 72. yeares, and that the *Corinthians* made her a magnificent Tomb without the Citie where she dwelled (for they did not allowe anie Whores or Harlots to abide within the City, neither vsed they to bury their dead within their wals) and that on the top of hir Sepulcher stood a catued Lionnesse in Brasse, holding a male Goat betweene her former feete. Some others, do holde it assuredly, that hir death happened in *Thessa'y*, whether she had followed one, named *Hippostrates*, whom *Athenens* calleth *Pausanias*; and *Plutarch* *Heppolochus* the *Thessalian*. She doating in affection towards him, forsooke the Mount of **Acro-Corinthus* (continually bedewed with fresh springs & waters) & escaped secretly without the knowledge of anie of her louers, into the field of *Alexander*, where other women, being both ielious and eniuous of her fame, forcibly drew her into the Temple of *Venus*, and there stoned hir to death with stones. *Athenens* saith, with seats and tooles: for which cause, it was after called the Temple of *Venus* the Murdresse: otherwise tearmed *αγορα των ασεβων*. Of *Impious Venus*. Her Tombe was found in *Thessaly*, neere to the Riuer *Renens*, whereon was made an Vrne of stone, and thereon was engrauen certain Greeke Verses, which were translated thus in Latine.

*Woorth an English penny, but valewing ten pence Tour.

Variance among authors about the death of *Lais*.

Athenens vbi sup. *Pausanias* in Lib. 2. *A high Hill in *Merca*.

Lais beaten to death with stones.

A Riuer running betwene *Ossa* and *Oymus*.

*Roboris inuicti animi sit Græcia quamuis,
Victa tamen formæ paruit illa suæ.
Laidis ipse parens amor est, aluitq; corinthus
Ac nunc ipsa tenet inclita Thessalia.*

By the Author thus turned into *French*.

*Bien que la Grece soit d'invincible courage,
Vaincue toutesfois a cede au visage
De sa chere Lais, belle comme la iouy,
Brave et Pimpante en tout, fille du Dieu Amour:
Aux meilleurs de ses ans Corinthe la nourrie,
Et ores ses os sont gardez en Thessalie.*

And thus by the Translator into *English*.

Though Greece was of vnconquerable might,
Yet ne'rtheless it yeelded, and gaue way
To the faire lookes of *Lais*, bright as the day:
Feate in all forme, the Loue-Gods deare delight,
Corinth gaue breeding to her better daies,
But *Thessaly* keepes both her Bones and praise.

CHAP. XV.

Of *Androchia* and *Alcida*, who were Sisters. Also of *Macharia*, Daughter to *Hercules*: Which Ladies, for the safety of their Countries, slew themselves.

Ophocles maketh mention, in one of his Tragedies, that at *Thebes*, in the temple of *Diana Euclyia*, were buried two Virgines; daughters to *Antipenus* the *Thebane* Cittizen; the one, being named *Androchia*, and the other *Alcida*.

*Oph. in Antig.
pp.*

*A Tyrant whome *Hercules* draue out of the City *Orchomeni*.

The rare resolution of two famous Virgins.

It happened that * *Erginus*, King of the *Orchomenians*, hauing besiedged the Cittie of *Thebes*, with full determination to ruinate it, in reuenge of the death of his Father *Climon*: the *Thebanes* consulted with the Oracle, concerning their fortune in this extremitie. Afterward, when the two fore-named young virgins had vnderstood from the Oracle, that if two such Virgines were to bee found (of Noble Family) and would bee so courageous as to kill themselves: they shoulde thereby be the cause of their Citties freedom, and ouerthrowe of the Enemy. These two young Ladies, desiring to be that happie paire of Virgins, and prefer-

ring their Countryes deliuerance before their owne liues: killed themselves presently, and the enemy returned ashamed and foiled; whereby both honor and victorie remained to the *Thebanes*, to the eternall praise & memories of those two worthy Virgins.

Hercules escaping the power of * *Euristheus*, went into *Thrace*, where hee remained til the time of his deth. He being dead, *Euristheus* demanded his Children of *Seix*, Lord and commander of *Thrace*, who fearing their liues losse, sent them to *Theseus* at *Athens*, to whose especiall care and trust hee re.commended them. When *Euristheus* had intelligence thereof, he proclaimed war against the *Athenians*: who as well for their owne safetie, as the Children of *Hercules*, determined constant resistance against *Ceix*. But consulting with the Oracle, which side shold be the Conquerour in this doubtfull triall, the Oracle gaue answere, that they should haue the dayes victory, provided, that one of *Hercules* his Children, must first die. This was no sooner heard by *Macharia*, Daughter to *Hercules*: but instantly she slew her selfe, and the *Athenians* were the Conquerors. Thus you may see, how the Deuill could get himself sacrifices, and make humain creatures prodigall of their liues to him, in those darke dayes of ignoraunce, when almost the whole world beleued those deluding Oracles: wherein, for any one truth, infinite Lies, Riddles, and Ambages, were deliuered vnto the poore ouer-credulous people.

*The King of Greece, the Theame of *Iunoes* reuêge on *Hercules*.

Macharia daughter to *Hercules* slew her selfe, for the Athenians deliuerance.

CHAP. XVI.

From whence came at first, our Orange and Cedar Trees. And how the Cedar is verie good and soueraigne, against the poysen of Serpents.



Oranges, Citrons, and Cedars, were neuer in ancient times known to be good to eat: but onely they were giuen as Offeringes vnto the Gods, and esteemed most especiallie for their beauty and fight; & being shut vp in chests

Oranges, Citrons, & Cedars offered to the Gods.

Iuba, in his Histories.

The Historie of two men condemned to death in Egypt.

Deuouring Serpents refused to touch poor condemned men, only because they had eaten Cedar.

10 chests or coffers, to yeild a pleasing fauor to Cloathes and Garments, as also to preserue them from Mothes & worms. Then, in regard that they first came out of *Persia* and *Media*: men vsed to call them *Persian Apples*, and *Median Apples*; Howbeit, *Iuba*, in his Histories, rearmes them Apples of Gold, or Apples of the *Hesperides*. In no long while after, men began to eate of the Cedar, and thereupon appeared, that a meruailous vertue was found therein, against the venome and poyson of Serpents & Aspicks. To approue the truth therof, we finde it credibly recorded, that two men, being condemned to death in *Ægypt*, their sentence was; that they should be exposed to Serpents, to bee deuoured by them, which kind of death had bene vsed among them from olde Antiquitie. The day being come wheron they should dye, one of them was (accidentally) visited by a friend of his in the Prison, who was champing and chewing a piece of Cedar in his mouth, and bestowed some little part thereof on the condemned Prisoner; which hee accepted very thankfully, and byting thereon, gaue some also to his deathes companion, in meere simplicity, and without knowledge of any secret vertue therein.

20 They being brought to the place of death, and thrust out to the greedy Serpents; they would by no meanes come neere them, or touch them, but auoyded so farre as possibly they could from them. The Officers of Iustice beeing there present, began to examine, what might be the reason of this sildome scene wonder: whereupon they found, that the Cedar (eaten by both the Prisoners) was the onely cause. But in regard they intended a more ample proof thereof, on the next day following, they caused one of the condemned Men to eate of the Cedar againe, but gaue to the other his accustomed food, and bringing them both to the place of execution: all the people beheld, that the Serpent ran fiercely on him that was fasting from Cedar, tearing and renting him in infinite morsels; but left the other againe without any touch, who died also the day following by the same Serpents, according as his fellow had done before him.

CHAP. XVII.

How hurtfull a thing it is to endure fasting or hunger: And what the reason is, that aged people are more capable thereof, the youthfull bodies, yet without any prejudice. Also, whence it proceedeth, and upon what occasion, that fasting is hurtfull to chollericke persons, and profitable to the Phlegmaticke.



20 **P**histitions doe hold opinion, that two principall inconueniences doe ensue by Hunger and Fasting: the one is, the naturall heate is therby consumed; and the other, that the humiditie of the stomach is thereby weakened. The body that is most offended by these two harms, endureth hunger with exceeding great difficulty: but whereas these annoyances do cause no oppression, it is suffered with the greater ease. The Infant then that encreaseth, hath his naturall heat in sufficient strength, and radicall moysture verie subtile: which resolueth it selfe much more by equall proportion, in not enduring hunger then, then it can doe in any other degree of age.

30 Moreouer the sensitiue vertue is then forcibly mooued, whereby it suffereth hunger with much passion and damage, which causeth both heat & the naturall Spirit to diminish mightily, & keeping nourishment then from him: is the maine hinderance to his growth and encreasing. By which occasion we may perceiue, that an Infant or young child is more iniured by hunger, then all persons else in any other age.

40 The young man, that hath attained to his intire and perfect encreasing, although his naturall heate bee as strong as that of the Infant: yet notwithstanding, he hath his naturall humiditie more grosse, and therefore it cannot so soone dissolue, as that in the Childe. In which respect, hunger doth no way so much offend a Man of middle age, as a
50 young

Two inconueniences caused by hunger

Of naturall heat in Infants, and radicall moysture.

The hinderance of an Infants growing.

Of the young man in his full state of encreasing.

younger Child or Infant. For it is vniuersally obserued, that in Adolescence, Youth-hood, or when a man is neere to his original: with so much the more paine and difficultie hee endureth hunger, because his naturall moysture is more subtile and resolueable.

Of the Aged or old man, in his declining estate.

The old, or aged man, hath his naturall heat much abased or deiected, and his humidity greatly thickned or closed together, which cannot so easily resolue it selfe. The sensitiue vertue also is highly decayed in him, and senteth nothing so perfectly, as when hee was an Infant, a Youth, or in his strength and best of yeares. And therefore, hee endureth not so much paine and damage then, as in the precedent conditions. But he who is the decrepite, or very old man, although he haue his naturall moysture much more grosse, his heate very feeble, and his sensible vertue farre more imperfect, then is in all the other Ages, as being Neighbour and neere to his extinction: yet for all that, how little soeuer he suffereth the accident or discommoditie of hunger; it endangereth the quite quenching of his naturall heat, whercon immediatlie he dyeth. And therefore it is very needfull, that food should be as often giuen to the decrepite man, as to the young Infant, but yet diuersly. For the Infant must haue enough at euery time giuen him, and but litle to the decrepite man: because, if he should receiue ouer much, it would suffocate the small quantity of heate remaining in him; as we see by a slender flame, when too much Oyle is put into the Lamp.

Of Decripite or the lowest age of all.

The decrepite old must be as often fed as a child, but in another kind.

How hunger is caused in man, and in all creatures els.

The Melancholly humor

Hunger is caused in vs, and all other Creatures else, by reason that naturall heate continually consumeth, and dryeth the humiditie of our members, which being consumed, consumeth likewise the moysture of the veines, and their consumption causeth attraction from the Liuer, and the Liuer from the stomacke. These humours thus consumed, the Soueraigne Creator hath ordained in vs, that the Spleene or Milt should conuay the Melancholly humor to the stomack, which being eager and corrosiue, consumeth likewise the substantiall humiditie in the stomacke it selfe, and so inciteth a desire of foode, from whence ensueth the occasion of

Hunger. Which is very hurtfull to Chollericke bodies, because whensoever they suffer hunger, their cholier descendeth into the stomacke, and wil not let them eate; but are possessed with fumes and vapours while cholier so mounteth, which afterward (when they doe eate) corrupteth and putrifieth the meates receiued. But in Phlegmaticke complexions, there is humidity enough in the stomacke, and in all the members. And therefore it is profitable for them to endure hunger; for by their sufferance thereof, their bad and ill-affected humours are consumed away by cholier.

The Chollerick humour.

The Phlegmaticke complexion.

CHAP. XVIII.

That there is not any thing in the World, which is more hurtfull to man, or procurereth him more losse and danger, then the Tongue: with many notable Examples to that effect.



Anacharsis the Philosopher, being one daie conuersing with his Schollers, concerning the tongue, spake thus vnto them. Not without great Art and Mystery (o my Schollers) did Nature bestow on vs two Fecte, two Legges, two Armes, two Hands, two Eyes, two Eares, and no more but one tongue. As signifying thereby, that eyther to goe, see, or heare, are offices which we can doe as often as we please: but to speake well, wisely, and modestly, is more then we can easily attaine vnto. He said moreouer, For no other occasion hath Nature left our face vncouered, our eyes, eares, hands, fecte, and all the rest of our body, except the tongue: which she impaled with lawes, and walled about with teeth, and afterward defended it with lippes: but onely to let vs vnderstand, that (in this present life) there is nothing that deserueth a stronger guard, then the vnbrideled tongue. We haue no part belonging to our body, which Nature hath so surely Rampiard vp, as the tongue. Before it is placed a Bulwarke of teeth, to the end, that it should be obedient

The speech vsed by Anacharsis the Philosopher to his Schollers concerning the tongue.

Nature left all our parts else vncouered, but the tongue.

The teeth ordained to punish the tongue.

Anacharsis at a Banquet with Solon.

Prou. 18.21.

Erasmus Enchir. Cap. 9.

Pittacus his comparison of the tongue

The answer of Afranius the Philosopher.

Plutar. in Lib. Exil. cap. 4.

bedient to reason, which restraines it, (as with a strong bridle) within: but if it will not be kept backe, her intemperance may be iustly punnished, with a bloody gripe betweene the teeth.

The same Philosopher banqueting one day with *Solon*, was esteemed to be wise, because being a-sleepe afterward, hee was noted by one or two: to hold his right hand on his mouth, and the left vpon his naturall partes of secrecie, as thereby declaring, that the tongue had neede of a much stronger Bridle, then the other partes of Nature. For the tongue containeth in it both good and euill; And *Salomon* saith: *Both life and death is in the power of the Tongue. If we vse the tongue well (saith Erasmus) it is as a Horne of plentie or aboundance: but if it want a Gouvernour, there is nothing more offensive.* The Philosopher *Pittacus* saide. *The Tongue resembleth to the world, the forme of a Lances point, but is much more dangerous: for the Lance woundeth the Flesh onelie, but the Tongue striketh quite thorough the Heart.*

Afranius, another Philosopher, was one day demaunded, wherefore he spent the most part of his time, in walking among the Mountaines, hazzarding his life euerie houre, where so many wilde Beastes might suddenlie deuour him? Hee presentlie replied. *Beastes haue no other weapons but their teeth, where-with to teare me: but Men cease not daily to commit outrage with their members, and to defame with their mallicious Tongues.*

Plutarck, in his Booke of Banishment, declareth, that the *Lydians* had a Law among them, that such Men as had bad and wicked tongues: should be bannished and confined for halfe a yeare, into some distant seperate place, without power of speaking to any one whatsoeuer. And many times it happened, that some of them chose rather three yeares slavery in the Gallies, then to be so bard of speaking for halfe a yeare.

Demosthenes, a Man of great authoritie, and preuailance in speaking; was much feared throughout all *Greece*, and therefore talked at his owne pleasure. In regard whereof, all the chiefe of the

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Athenians met together on a day, and at a meet appointed place, concluding to bestow a large recompence, and liberall Wages also on him beside. And calling him in among them, to let him vnderstand their bounty and beneuolence; one (in name of the rest) spake thus vnto him. *Demosthenes, we doe not bestow this great gifte, either because thou hast spoken, or that thou shouldst speak: but onely to the end, that thou shouldst hold thy peace.*

Marke Anthony caused the Father of Eloquence to be slaine, vpon no other occasion: but because hee had spoken too aduantageously on his behalfe. Which was manifestly declared by *Fulvia*, Wife to *Marke Anthonie*, when shee procured *Ciceroes* Tongue to bee puld out; for his false speaking, and pierced it thorough (in many places) with Needles. *Salust*, the Romaine Oratour, was verie odious vnto Strangers, and seuerely pursued by his owne Companions: because he neuer tooke Penne in his hand to Write; but it was against some especiall persons; neither would he open his mouth, but it was to depraue some others. The *Lydians* had an inuiolable Law, to punnish Detractors with death, but Homicides and Men-killers, they condemned them to labour in their Gallies: So that among those barbarous people; for one Man to depraue or defame another: it was reputed a far greater offence, then if he had slaine him.

As King *Darius* sat one day at Dinner in his Tent; such as hee pleased to accept in companie at his owne Table, beganne to mooue some Millitary Argument, concerning the warlike affaires of *Alexander* the Great. In which discourse, a Captaine, named *Mygdonius*, (one very highly fauoured of *Darius*) deliuered some reproachfull speeches of *Alexander*, whereupon *Darius* suddenlie saide. *Hold thy Tongue Mygdonius, and know, that I brought thee not with mee to this Warre, to defame Alexander with thy Tongue; but onelie to conquer him in Armes, if thou canst.* By which example, we may perceiue, how detestable and odious the Vice of Detraction is: because it is apparant, that euen Enemies themselves

The manner how the Athenians recompensed Demosthenes.

Mark Anthony caused the death of Cicero.

Of Salust the Romaine Orator.

The Lydians law against Detractors.

An honorable mind in King Darius towards his enemy.

This Mygdonius learned by some Mignus.

Over-much
talke is a great
blemish to
Honor.

selues cannot endure, to heare disgrace-
full wordes of one another. *Pytheus*,
Duke of *Athens*, was a very honorable
Prince, full of courage and resolution:
but yet so ouer-abounding in talke, that
it greatly diminished the glorie of all
his other atchieuements. A Philoso-
pher beeing bidden to a sollemne Ban-
quet, spake not one word while the fea-
sting continued, which made euery one
maruaile at his so long silence, and de-
manded, for what reason he was so spa-
ring of speech? Whereto he returned
this answer. *It is much better to know
the time when a Man should speake, then
barely how to speake: For nature hath taught
vs the one, but wisedome is the enstrueter
in the other.*

Read *Plutarc.*
in his little
Tracte of too
much talking.
Of him that
found the
empty Bot-
tle in the
Temple of
Iuno Chalcoecos.

No Man (at any time) repented him-
selfe for beeing silent, but many haue
done it for too much talking, because
one word hath sometimes beene the
price of a mans life. Let him be a Wit-
nesse, who interpreted the signification
of the emptie Bottle, found in the Tem-
ple of *Iuno Chalcoecos* in *Lacedemonia*,
after it was stolne thence: by ouer-la-
uish pratling, when no man deman-
ded any question of him, hee lost his
life, with his owne consent. He could
then haue wisht his wordes in his belly
againe, but it was too late, and time
past: for a word cannot be recouered a-
gaine, when it is out of the mouth, no
more then a Bird, when she is let go at
libertie: whereupon it was saide: *That
Words haue winges.* Sildome hath an
vttered word returned any such seruice,
as profit hath ensued by diuers neuer
spoken: For wee may alwaies deliuer
that wel, which is yet within vs, but ne-
uer call that backe to mending, which
is gone from vs.

Of *Epimenides*
the Painter
of *Rhodes*, that
trauailed into
Asia.

Epimenides, a Painter, parting from
Rhodes, trauailing into *Asia*, where hee
continued many yeares together: but
at length returned to *Rhodes* againe, yet
no one in the Cittie could heare one
word of him, concerning what he had
done and scene in *Asia*. Wheremat the
Rhodians making no little maruaile, they
entreated him, to acquaint them with
some discourse of his long trauailes;
whereupon, he gaue this answer. *I
was ten yeares on the Seas, to make me apt
for parting from place to place: Other tenne
yeares I tarryed in Asia, to better my skill in*

Epimenides his
answere to
the men of
Rhodes.

*painting: And sixe yeares afterward I studi-
ed in Greece, onely to learne how to hold my
peace. Your comming to me now, is, that I
should vse wordes to ye, and tell ye newes.
Come to me no more (kinde Countrey-men)
to any such intent: For you may see Pictures
in my House, if you please to buy them, but
I haue no newes to feede your eares withall.*
In my poor opinion, he answered them
like a verie wise man, for, by reporting
matters of farre Countries, which are
rare and diuers: people (of weake ca-
pacity) giue no credit to them; others,
make a mockery, and most are doubtful
of them.

Pythagoras being seriously questioned,
what was the reason that hee kept so
strict silence in his *Academie* (because in
the space of two yeares, all Schollers
that came to be enstrueted there, might
not speake one word, being thereto en-
ioyned by his seuer commaund) return-
ed this answer. *In the Schooles of other
Philosophers, they teach their Schollers to
speake; but mine learne onely how to bee si-
lent.* And vndoubtedly, concerning
the life of man, there is no higher or
fairer Philosophy, that this World can
affoord; then how to restrain the
tongue, when it is most needfull.

Reporters of
tales & newes
are sildome
well credited.

CHAP. XIX.

*What Feasts and Banquets were used in an-
cient times; And how Augustus prohibi-
ted in Rome, that any Man should in-
uite another to eate in his house.*



Mong the *Spartanes*, there
were certaine Banquets
vsed, which they com-
monly tearmed **Phiditia*,
and therein they fed on
Bread and Swines Flesh sodden in Wa-
ter, without any thing else for their first
seruice. For their last course, which
those Auncients called, the second Ta-
ble: they were serued with Oliues,
Cheese, and Figges. And to close vp
the feast, they had certaine baked cakes,
made of fine Flower and Oyle, cut vp-
on Bay-leaves: without any Perfumes
at their Tables, curious backt meates,

* Common
Suppers a-
mong the *La-
cedemonians*.
kept in the o-
pen streets.

or

Athenicus in Lib. 4. Cap. 5. Feasts in Crete free for all commers.

The manner and preparation of the Feasts.

The chiefe Lady and disposer of the Banquet.

Their Table talke, after Dinner or Supper.

A notable encouragement for youthfull spirits.

or choise sauces of sundry tastes, thinges in those dayes neuer heard or thought on, their Feasts & Banquets being much more modest then ours now are. In those elder dayes, thorough al the citties in *Crete*, on certaine dayes of the yeare; they were wont to make Banquets; common for who soeuer pleased to come to them. For maintenance whereof; euery Cittizen gaue the tenth part of all his fruites, which were gathered duely at the Citties entrance, by some of the society thereto deputed. The care and charge of the whole Banquet: was referred to a worthy Lady, who had (vnder her) three or foure weomen of more inferiour degree, beside two seruants, that fed the Fire with wood. In the house appointed for the Feast, first of all were prepared two Tables for the Cittizens, and two other, onely for strangers. The assistants were all serued with equall allowance: but younger people had lesse flesh meates affoorded them, then the elder. At each Table there was appointed a Vessell full of Wine, well qualified with water, whereof they dranke in common, and after they had indifferently eaten, they had other wine brought them, of better qualitie then the first: whereof the grauer fort dranke so much as they pleased, but the younger: in more moderate manner.

The Noble Lady, who helde the supreme authority of the Feast, accompanied with some other Ladyes; brought the most delicious meates to them, that in times of warre or peace, had done any famous and remarkeable deede, as being those that best deserued honour. When this Dinner, or Supper (as it fell out to be) was ended, they would sit still, consulting first together on publique affaires and afterward on matters appertaining to the warres, with repetition of their names and seruices, that had best deserued of the Common-wealth; profited their Country; beene beneficiall to the Temples, and household Gods of euery Familie; and were dreadlesse of death in all good actions. These wanted not their due praise and commendation, to the end, that yong men hearing the memory of such vertuous persons, might adiect them-selues to the like endeaours, and (finally) be pertakers of their glory. This beeing done, they arose from the

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Tables, and departed thence about their occasions.

The *Lacedemonians*, at their marriage Feasts; would permit no more but nine persons to dine together, which they did as in reuerence to the nine Muses. And this was conditioned also, that if any man talked at the Table, no wine should be giuen him to drinke; so that if a man desired to drinke, hee must be sure to holde his peace. This law would serue to good purpose in these dayes, because both in our marriage Feasts and other Banquets, nothing is more vsually heard then noise; rumour and babling, and they are best esteemed, that can maintaine the longest prating. The * *Nanratites* in the hallowed Feasts, which they celebrated in honour of their Father *Dionysius*, or *Bacchus*, in the *Pritaneum*, were all clothed in white Albes, then called *Pritanean* Gownes, and when they had heard the voice of the publique Cryer; they would al fall down on their knees to the ground, and hauing saide certaine priuate prayers, seate themselues at the Table, euery one receiuing two measures of wine; the Priests of *Apollo Pitheus*, and of *Bacchus* only excepted, who were allowed a double portion, as well of wine, as of all other thinges beside. Afterward the vse was, that euery one should haue a fayre large slice of very pure bread giuen him, and thereon a piece of courser Bread, with a morsell of Swines Flesh on it, beside a Cake of Barly Bread fryed, or else so much Meale fryed, or a messe of Portage made of Hearbes, according to the season of the yeare, two Egges, a cantle of Cheefe, dried Figs, and a Cake crowned with a Garland. If any one (in these sacrifices) prouided any other meats then those aboue rehearsed, he was to be amerced with a pecuniarie fine.

The vse of making Feastes and Banquets (as *Aristotle* writeth) was inuented by *Italus*, a very auncient King of *Italy*, who kept company with grosse and boorish people, feeding among them, obliging them (by that meanes) to yeeld him the more obeyfance, and he drawing the also thereby to a more humane, ciuill and pleasing kinde of life. *Suetonius Tranquillus* declareth, that the Emperor *Octavius Augustus* prohibited in Rome, that any of his subiects should inuite one another, to dine or suppe with him: but yet

Marriage Feasts among the *Lacedemonians*.

* *Nanratitis*, a City in Egypt.

The allowance of the Priests.

The Dole giuen at the Feast, and no preparation else, was to be allowed.

Arist in *Lib. 9. Cap. 16.* The first inuenter of Feasts and Banquets.

Sueton. Tranq. in vit. Imp. Octa. August.

The Empe-
rors answere
for prohibi-
ting bankets
and Playes.

Cicero in lib. 4.
de Offic.

The words of
Cato Censorius,
concerning
one Friend
inuiting ano-
ther.

The answere
of Eschines the
Oratour.

Of Pericles
the honoura-
ble Athenian.

The Authors
generall con-
clusion on this
Argument.

yet they might so much honor one another, as to send part of his Viands to the others Table, but not to partake in eating thereof. But being demaunded, what was his reason for making this Law, he answered. *The occasion that moued me to forbid Playes and Feastings, was for nothing else: but because in those plaies, Men cannot abstaine from blaspheming the Gods, and (at Feastes) one Neighbour defameth or backbiteth another. Cicero writeth, that Cato the Censor, being at the point of death, deliuered these wordes. Among other thinges done by me, not as became a good Romaine Cittizen, but rather like a presumptuous and barbarous Man; was this: I being once entreated by a friend of mine, that I would come and dine with him: suffered my selfe to be ouer-ruled, and went vnto him, which I ought not to haue done. For to speake vprightly, no generos and vertuous man, should goe to eat in the House of any Friend, or other: because, hee thereby looseth his owne liberty, and hazardeth his reputation and grauity in extraordinary perill. A certaine man demaunded of Eschines the Oratour, what hee should doe, to be esteemed a good and honest man? To whom he thus answered. If thou wuldst bee a perfect honest Grecian, thou must go to the Temples willingly, and to warre vpon necessity: but to Feastes or Banquets, neither on thine owne free will, or any importunitie; An answer well deseruing eternall memory.*

Pericles, a man of great account among the Athenians, did so highly detest the custome of Feastes and Bankets, and the prouision appointed for them: as hee did neuer dine or sup with any Friend of his, but onely Eurystolemus, on the day of his Nuptials. And yet he was a man of great honor, very liberall, and maintained many people with his goods. Nor doe I (for all this) wholelie condemne Feastes and Banquets: prouided, that mediocrity bee obserued in them. For I hold it very vicious and vnseemely, to shun honest conuersation, and ciuill resort to feede together: as is obserued in Societies and Companies, as well Religious, as others, in their Refectories or dining Haules, as we vse to tearme them. For, not onely Nature, but amity also necessarily requirereth; that we should support this Custome of Banquets, which the Latines

(our betters) vsed to tearme *Conuictum*, of *Cousuendo*, as a familiar kinde of life, when men louingly feede together at one Table. Neuerthelesse, I much mislike, and iudge it worthy of great reprehension; to super-exceede both in pompe and superfluitie in our Feastes, with such diuersity of meates, as (many times) prooues to a mans vndoing. For nothing makes vs so much like vnto brute beasts; as gluttonous gurmandise, and study wholly applyed for the belly.

CHAP. XX.

¶ Of many Men, that by their Prodigalitie and lawish kinde of life, made expence of all their faculties in very short time.

He most Prodigall Man of Auncient times, was *Epicharides* the Athenian, surnamed the Little Man; who in sixe daies, consumed all his wealthy Patrimony. *Paschisyus* king of *Crete*, after he had spent all that hee had, and could make beside: at length sold his Kingdome, and liued afterward priuately, in the City of * *Amathunta*, where he dyed miserably. *Aethiops*, the *Corinthian*, sold to *Archias*, all his lands and inheritance, both what hee had in present possession, and was to enioy by his Birth-right: onely to maintaine his excessiue drinking. *Cleops*, King of *Aegypt*, hauing laide out vnspeakable expences, for the building of a mightie huge *Pyramides*, was brought to such extreame necessity; that for his owne meere maintenance, he was enforced to expose his Daughters virginity to public sale, to make Money of her lasciuious and dishonest pleasures. *Marcus Tigellus* was so prodigall in expences, that all his Flatterers, Picke-thankes, Players, Pypers, and loose Companions, who deriued exceeding benefit daily from him: bemoand his death, & wept bitterly for him. Of him, *Horace* maketh mention, saying.

Societies

*Conuictum à
Cousuendo.*

*Epicharides
the Athenian.*

* A City of
Cyprus dedica-
ted to *Venus*.

Cleops, King of
Egypt, that
made sale of
his daughters
virginity.

Horace in Satir
2. Lib. 2. et in
Satyr. 3. Lib. 2.

Societies of Flatterers infinite,
That follow furnishd Tables day and night :
Sellers of Vngvents, sweets : And Mountebancks,
Lasciuious Women, vsing wanton Pranks.
All these Horse-leaches rufully complaine
Tigellus death, whose life was all their gaine.

Elianus in Lib.
4. Cap. 7.

The prodigality and voluptuous life
of *Pericles* ; of *Callias*, the Sonne of *Hipponicus* ;
and of *Nicias*, brought them to
extreame pouerty, and when Money
failed them : they all three, (each after
other) receiued Hemlock for their drink
at their last banquet, and so ended their
daies. Of *Callias*, *Atheneus* maketh men-
tion, and *Aristophanes*, in his Comedie
(of Preachers, and *Lysias* writeth, that his
Father *Hipponicus* was the very richest
man in all Greece. *Demades* the Oratour,
had gathered such a masse of Riches, as
himselfe confessed, that hee felt not the
want of any thing : neuerthelesse, in the
end (thorow his intemperance and dis-
solution) he so wasted and consumed al
his wealth, that he was banished from
the City, because he had beene seauen
times accused, for not payment of such
fines, wherein the men of Athens had
condemned him. And *Antipater* the Po-
oet of *Sidon* mocking him, said : He had
nothing but his toong and belly left him, for
he had wasted and offered vp all to his owne
sensuality, &c. * *Ctesippus*, Son to *Cha-
brias*, was so Prodigal, that after he had
laushly consumed all his goods: he sold
the very stones of his Fathers Tomb, in
the building whereof, the Athenians
disburssed a thousand *Drachmaes*, *Corne-
lius Lentulus*, fir-named *Sura*, a man of
Noble race, but of very bad govern-
ment, spent ouer-vainely, and foolishly
(beside his owne possessions) a great
sum of Mony belonging to the Com-
mon-wealth, when he was *Quaestor*.

Atheneus in
Lib. 4. Cap. 12.
Aristophanes in
Com. *Predic.*
Lysias

Volat. Anthrop.
Lib. 15.

* Who after
his Fathers
death was
brought vp
by *Phocion*.

G. Caesar * *Caligula* surpassed all Prodi-
gals, in inuentions of profuse expence
and dissolutions. He inuented a new
kind of Bath, and diuers sortes (neuer
before seene) of Viands and Banque-
tings: for hee would bathe himselfe in
curious sweet waters, and cause Pearles
of inestimable value to be dissolued with
Vineger, and set before them that hee
feasted, having his Breads and Meates
all guilded ouer. Moreover, he com-
manded light Gallies or Foists to bee
made (which were called *Liburnian*
Foists) of Cedar wood, hauing all their

* So called
of harnessse
bootes, called
calige, which
he was wont
to weate be-
ing a Child
*Dion in vit. G.
Caes. Calig.*

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poopes covered ouer with precious
stones. He had large and goodly stoues
or Hot-houses, with rare perfumed
chambers in them, where he would sit
and banquet in the night season : but in
the day time, hee had variety of costlie
Arbors, Bowers, and Vines, abounding
in the plenty of their fruits, wherein he
would sit with his Consorts of Musiti-
ons, sweetly singing among them. And
when he pleased to take the open ayre,
it was on the Sea-shoare of *Campania*,
which was reputed (though beeing in
Italy) to be the most pleasant and fertile
ground in the whole World. As for
his buildings and Houses of pleasure,
abroad in the spacious fields, in groues,
Woods, and other delightfull places :
they exceeded all compasse of reason,
for hee coueted nothing more, then to
effect such things as appeared to be im-
possible. In briefe, in lesse space then a
yeare, he consumed immense riches,
with the twenty seauen thousand times
* *H. S.* being an hundred thousand smal
Sestertiales, which *Tiberius* had left him,
amounting to threescore and seauen
Millions ; and fifty thousand Crownes,
allowing fortie fixe *Sols* for the crowne.
But when Money began to fayle him,
and he waxed needy : he then gaue his
mind to leuying of roubles, and excessive
tributes ; yea, hee exercised rapines by
diuers meanes, beside calumnies and
confiscations of his subiects goods.

Caligula ob-
serued no
measure in
his expences
and prodiga-
lity.

* A Coine a-
mong the Ro-
mains, wher-
of *Denarius*
containen
fourre, and
was marked
with *H. S.*
which signi-
fied 2. lib. et
dim. &c.

The Emperour *Nero*, his Nephew,
was not a iot inferiour to him in Prodi-
gality, for hee obserued no order or
measure in spending and giuing : ac-
counting them to be wretches and aua-
ritious villaines, that kept any written
Register of their expences. But contra-
riwise, he esteemed them to be honora-
ble and magnanimious, that could soo-
nest runne thorough their whole estate
in spending. He gaue to *Tyridates* (as a
daily allowance) eight hundred thou-
sand *Nummaes*, valuing twenty thou-
sand Crownes of our Coyne, a matter
almost incredible. He made a present
of two goodly Pallaces ; the one to
Menebrates, a Player on the Harpe ; and
the other to *Spectillus*, the *Mirmillon*
Fencer or Sword-Player. He would
neuer ride abroad, or on any journey,
without a thousand Chariots at the
least. His Mules were shodde with
V v v Silver,

*Sueton in Lib.
6. Cap. 50.*
The prodiga-
lity of the Em-
perour *Nero*. ¶

Excessive
pampe and
prodigality,
not to any
purpose.

* Famous for fine wool of crimson colour.

Ioseph in Lib. de bel. Iudae. 5. Cap. 13.

The Emperour *Vitellius* and his foure meales daily.

A Prodigall defined by *Vlpian* the Lawyer.

Laws in ancient times ordained against prodigall persons.

Such a law would now doe well, to curbe the Prodigals of these times.

Siluer, and all his Mulets Saddles and furnitures, were of Cloth of * *Canusium*, a Towne in *Apulia*. Moreouer, he neuer would weare any Garment twice.

Iosephus, in his History of the Iewes warres, maketh mention of the prodigallitie of the Emperour *Vitellius*; who helde the Empire no longer then eight months and five dayes. *If his life had bene of any longer continuance (saith Iosephus) I beleene, that the whole Empire could not haue sufficed his excesse and prodigallity.* This *Vitellius* was so dissolute and prodigall, that he would haue foure seueral meales each day allowed him; which he thus deuided, into Breake-fast, Dinner, Supper, and Collation. At such time as hee came to *Rome*, his Brother made him a Supper, whereat hee was serued with two thousand daintie and rare Fishes, and seauen thousand as delicate Fowles and Birdes. Which pompe he exceeded in another Feast, of more excessiue and sumptuous cost; which he made at the dedication of the ground-plot, that (for the admirable greatnesse thereof) hee called the *Shield of Minerva*.

A Prodigall (saith *Vlpian*, in the first law *ff. de cura. furio*) is he that hath no time or end of his spending: but scattereth and consumeth his goods beyond sence or reason, and is tearmed in Greeke *ἀσώτως*, because that hee looseth himselfe, and wasteth his patrimony. Our graue and worthy fore-fathers, did establish Lawes against spend-thriftes and prodigalles. *Solon*, the famous Grecian, ordained, that they should be made infamous. The *Arcopagites* and criminall Iudges of *Athens*, appealed prodigal persons in iudgment, and being proued and conuined for such offendours, were punished accordingly.

The Auncients, called the ten men, prohibited by their lawes, that prodigals should haue the government of their owne goods, but all such authoritie was taken from them: and a Guardian or Ouer-seer was appointed thē by the Iudge, as is to be seene in the law *Iulianus. ff. de cura. furio*. Therefore they could not sell or alienate (by any valuable meanes) their Lands or goods, neither make any transport of them: moreouer, they were disabled by the Law, of making any wils or Testaments, as appeareth plainly in the Law. *Is cui bonis. F. de verb. obliga.*

Whereupon, they were compared by the Iurisconsultes, to madde men; *scillet, quod furiosum exitum pariat prodigalitas.*

And as for the paine and punishment due to wast-full spend-thrifts, the Grecians had a law, whereby it was especially ordained, that whosoever consumed his patrimony lauishly; he might not be permitted Buriall in the Graue of his Father, but abroad, among such as were strangers and vnknowne. The Law of the twelue Tables, interdicted all prodigall persons, from any administration of their owne goods; and in the end, all the Lenders (by commaund of the Iudges) might let them haue no more monies, on pawnes or otherwise: but Suruayers or Comptroullers were set ouer them, according to the example and order for mad men or Lunaticks, and all manning of their owne affayres, was also prohibited them in this forme or manner.

Quando bonatua paterna anitaque nequitia disperdis, liberosque tuos ad egestatem perducis; ob eam rem tibi ea re commercioque interdico. In this very manner, *Q. Pompeius*, Pretor, perceiuing that *Q. Fabius*, (Sonne to *Q. Fabius* the Great, surnamed *Allobrogicus*, because he conquered the * *Allobroges*, and *Bituilus*, Captaine and Duke, or King (as some write) of the * *Aluernes*) was extraordinarily dissolute and prodigall in his expences: deprived him of his Fathers Lands and goods. For euery one pittied, and much lamented, to see so much Gold and Siluer wasted in lewdnesse and luxurie; which rather should haue supported the splendour and Nobilitie, of so glorious a race and Family, as were the *Fabij*.

Dion writeth, that the Emperour *Tiberius* did set a Tutour, ouer a certaine Senatour, who was void of all good gouernement; to order him, as if he had bene his pupill. *Iouianus Pontanus*, in his Booke of Bounty or Liberallity, maketh a question, to wit: which of the two, either the prodigall person, or the auaritious, is worst and most pernicious? Whereunto, himselfe maketh answer thus. *This doubt (saith he) is very easly discied. For first of all, the Prodigall person is beneficiall and profitable to many, on whom he bestoweth his goodes bountifullly: whereas the couetous Miser is not commodious to him-selfe, but maketh use*

Alexan. de Alexandrin. in Die. Genial. Lib. 6. Cap. 14.

The law of the twelue Tables against all prodigall spenders.

Valerius Maximus in Lib. 3. Cap. 5.

* People of Sauoy and Daulphiny. * People of France.

Dion in Lib. 57

Iouian Pontanus in Lib. de Liberalit.

The Niggard is not good to himselfe, or any other.

The nature of the covetous mans giftes.

Covetous wretches of more base quality then Prodigals.

use of his goodes, as if he had them not, at least-wise very sparingly. He will not cate halfe so much, as is needfull for the meere maintenance of his owne life: which makes him looke with a wanne, pale, and meager complection. In the second place, the Prodigall giueth liberally, and gustes passe from him with a free, generous, and good heart: especially, when he exceedeth not the bounds of reason, and his gifts are giuen to some honest and commendable purpose. But the covetous mans gifts are quite contrary, with a griple and pinching heart, and a villaines disposition. Moreover, as the greedy wretch encreaseth his store day by day; euen so doth the Prodigall change his naturall inclination and manner of life, as well by course of time, as age drawing on him: which at length letteth him know, that he must needs become poore, and fall into want. Whereby many times it comes to passe, that his manners grow to better reformation then before, and yeares diminishing his laishnesse; by little and little he recouereth health and strength againe. Whereas (on the contrary) Auarice is an everlasting and incurable disease. By which reasons it appeareth, that covetous and auaritious Misers, are of a more vile, base, and abiect condition; then those that be prodigall.

CHAP. XXI.

The Magnificent Triumphe of Antigonus Epiphanes, made in despite of the Consull Paulus Amylius his Triumphe, for his victory obtained against the Macedonians.



Antigonus, King of Syria, fir-named Epiphanes, that is to say, Famous or illustrious, hauing heard recitall deliuered of the magnificent Triumphe, made by the Consull Paulus Amylius, for the victory which he won against the Macedonians, when Persus their King was taken Prisoner: he conceined such enuy and disdain thereat, that in meere vanity and arrogancy, hee resolved to make another Triumphe, that should farre excell and goe beyond the Consuls. Vpon

this occasion, hee made it publiquelic knowne throughout his Kingdome, that on such a day, as he purposely appointed; he would be in person at Daphneia, a City of Asia, where wonderful sports and delights were to be performed. Which caused, that not onely the people of Greece, but infinite numbers also (from other Regions) repayed thither; and the order of the royall intended spectacie began in this manner.

First of all, as the formost leaders to the famous troups following, marched five thousand young men, supposed to be the very Gallantest Spirits in all Greece, they being armed according to the Romaine manner. After them followed as many of Mysia, armed as the Custome of their owne Countrey required: beeing pursued by three thousand Thracians, and five thousand Galatians, and they were seconded with many other, who, because they carried certaine Bucklers or Targets of Siluer, were fir-named *Argyraspides. Next vnto these, marched twenty five rankes of Gladiatores, Sworders, or Fencers; and subsequently a thousand knights, whose Horses were all barbed and caparasoned with Gold and Siluer, and each of them a Garland of Gold on his head. After them followed another thousand Knights, who were tearmed Fellowes, or Companions; and with them another company, that were called Friends to the King: who likewise had a thousand Noblemen following them, and a thousand other braue Knights, called the Kings Band. In the next place, marched fiftene hundred Knights, armed all guilt with Armor, ouer which Armor, each man did weare a military Roab or Mantle, embroydered all with Gold & Siluer, and enriched with many costlie Figures of Beastes. Then followed an hundred Chariots, each one drawne by sixe Horses, and forty other Chariots, each drawne by foure Horses.

One wonderfull sumptuous Chariot, drawn by ten Elephants, followed next, being pursued by sixe and thirty other Elephants; beside eight hundred gallant Youths, wearing Garlands or Crowns of Golde on their heads, embellished with many precious stones, and then followed a thousand fat Oxen, and 800.

The order & proceeding in this purposed royall triumph

* Some doe hold these Warriours to be of the Isle Tapharane.

Fellowes, companions, and Friends to the King.

The spare Chariot that was to serue the King when he pleased.

Polybius in the 26. Booke of his Histories, calleth him Epimanes, that is to say, mad, or vnreasonable.

Memory continued of worthy deeds, to example others in the like.

The Kings Pages & chief Ladies to beautifie the show.

* A place for all kindes of exercises, either of minde or bodie.

teeth of *Indian* Elephants, carryed by Men, purposely thereto appointed. After these, were borne aloft, an infinite number of Statues and Images, not onely of Gods, but of Dæmons likewise, and of many men, that had bene most excellent in any profession whatsoever, which Images were attired in rich Garments of Gold and Siluer, beside other costly deckings of vnualueable Stones and Jewels. And at each Statues feete, hung a little Tablet of Gold, wherein was engrauen the Name, Titles, and honourable actions, that had bene performed by the party whom the figure expressed, and for whose sake it was thus dignified. Other Images were carried also; as of Day, Night, Heauen, Morning and Noone, beside an infinite number of Vessels of Gold and Siluer, reputed to be of inestimable worth, al which were carried by Slaues and Bond-men.

Then followed sixe hundred Pages, attending on the King, all cloathed in Gold; next to whom, came two hundred Ladies, each bearing a golden Bottle in her hand, casting perfumes and sweet waters euery way about her: On them attended fifty Litters of Siluer, and as many more of Gold, wherein sat fourescore other Ladies, attyred in most sumptuous manner, exceeding al possibility of expression. This Triumph continued thirty daies, during which time, *Antigonus* caused diuers kindes of Playes and sports to be exercised, and al this while, it was lawfull for any, that were so minded or pleased, to enter into the publique * *Gymnasium*, and there to annoint himselfe with fiftene sortes of vnguents; as of Saffron, Spicknard, Cinamon, *Telin*, *Amazacin*, Lillies, &c. Beside, in sundry places, were prepared aboue a thousand and five hundred Tables, covered most royally, with all possible diuersity of precious dainties and delicates, where euery man might freely feede, without any exception.

CHAP. XXII.

That Gold and Siluer were not in any frequent vse, among our reuerent Auncestours: And at what time they began to be employed more largely. Also, what deuises were found out by *Timotheus* the Athenian, and *Condalus*, Captaine to *Mausolus*, for the gaining of Mony.



HE vse of those Mettals, called Golde and Siluer, which wer found in *Thrace*, neere to the Riuer * *Pangæus*; was very rare and strange among our fore-fathers. For the *Lacedemonians*, beeing desirous to guilde the Image or Statue of *Apollo* * *Amycleus*: made diligent search thorow all *Greece*, and yet could not finde any Gold: And therefore they were constrained, to send and buy some of *Croesus*, King of *Lydia*. *Hiero*, the Tyrant of *Syracusa*, hauing likewise vowed to dedicate a Table of Gold, to *Apollo De'phicus*, caused search to be made throughout *Greece* and *Italie*, without finding any: nor euer had done, but of * *Architelles* the *Corinthian*, who (by litte and litte) in a long space had got it together. The people of * *phocis*, hauing afterward sacked the Temple of *De'phos*, and *Alexander* carrying thence the prey or booty into *Asia*: the vse of Gold began so fast to encrease, that diuers Vesselles were made thereof, euen from such as they washed their handes in, to them that they vsed in the Kitchin. The first stamp that euer was beaten vpon Gold Coine, was at Rome, in the Temple of *Scipio* the *Affricane*.

The *Athenians* making long warres against the people of * *Olynthus*; Mony beganne to faile very greatly in the Armie; which the Souldiours perceiuing, and with what difficultie it was to bee expected from *Athens*: they entered into a mutinie or tumult, for appeasing whereof, *Timotheus*, there Captaine, bethought himselfe of a new and sudden deuised meanes. Hauing first covenanted and agreed with such Merchants,

* A Promontory of *Thrace*, whereof the Riuer receiued name.

* A Citty of *Laconia*, wher *Castor* and *Pollux* were borne.

* He is called (by some) *Archimedes*.

* A little country of *Greece*, by the Gulfe, *Criffæus*.

The first stamping.

* A Citty of *Thrace*, neere to the Country of *Athens*.

The deuise of *Timotheus* to pay his Souldiours.

chants, as were (in this case) to fit and furnish him, vpon this faithfull promise, of exchange and repaiment when time better serued: he caused Mony of Copper to be made, wherewith he paid his Souldiours. And within no long while after, when Mony of Siluer was sent from *Athens*; he not onely satisfied the Marchants & Victualers liberally: but also receiued in all the Copper Coyne againe, and gaue due restitution for it in Siluer.

Arist. in Polit. Lib. 7. Cap. 9.

Aristotle writeth in his *Politiques*, that *Condalus*, Captaine to *Mausolus*, King of *Caria*, being in *Lycia* (a Prouince of the Lesser *Asia*, situate betweene *Pamphylia* and *Caria*) with an Armie, and want of Mony growing greatlie among them: hee inuented a meanes, though some-what ridiculous, yet well answering to his owne expectation. He knew very perfectly, that the people of *Lycia* tooke delight (aboue all thinges else) to weare their lockes of Haire very long: Whereupon, he called diuers of the chiefeest persons of that Prouince to him, and saide vnto them, after this manner. That much against his mind, and to his no little greefe, he was constrained to acquaint them with a Commission, which hee had (that instant) receiued from his King, and which hee likewise knew, could not chuse but be greatly offensiue to them. For King *Mausolus* (youth hee) commaundeth, that all the *Lycians* must be presently shauen, and all their goodlie long Lockes be powled from their Heades, to be sent vnto him into *Caria*: because hee will haue a new and strange kinde of Apparrell made of them, in honour of the King of *Persia*.

Pretended pitty is oftentimes the greest preuayler, in matters of no meane moment.

Condalus continuing on his speech, pretending much compassion towards them in this case; further added: That if they would follow his counsell, he would finde out a meanes, whereby, not onely their faire Haire should be saued; but the Kinges intent should also be answered, without cutting them off in any such manner. Whereunto the *Lycians* answered, that they would gladly follow his direction in all things; provided, that their Lockes of Haire might be kept from defacing. *Condalus* then aduised them, to prepare Money

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among them (appointing a round and indifferent summe, which they might gather by the poule, eyther more or lesse, according as their Lockes were in fashion) and then to send that Money into *Greece*, where plenty of such haire he would easily help them to, and afterward send it to King *Mausolus*, and cause it to bee receiued, as if it were their owne. The *Lycians*, with all possible hast that might be vsed, leuyed such a Masse of Mony together; as (without any great dicultrie) would haue bought them goodly Perriwigs; yea, if they had beene all of Gold. Which summe of Money they deliuered to *Condalus*, who, feigning as if he sent it into *Greece*; discharged all his Souldiours wants there-with, and yet no way displeased the people.

Folly accounteth nothing deare, so it selfe be satisfied.

CHAP. XXIII.

What a cominendable thing it is, euermore to speake the truth; And what a detestable vice lying is, with many examples concerning each Argument.



Epimenides the Philosopher was asked by the *Rhodians*, what thing that Vertue was, which Men call Truth? where- to he answered.

Truth is that thing, whereof (more then al other) the Gods doe make profession; and the vertue thereof heateth the Heauens; illuminateth the Earth; maintaineth Iustice; gouerneth the Common-wealth, and cannot endure any wicked thing neer it, but maketh all doubtfull matters to bee cleare and apparant.

Epimenides his answer, concerning truth

The *Corinthians* also demaunded of *Chilo* the Philosopher, what this Truth was? And he replied. It is an assured Gage, which neuer diminisheth it selfe: A Buckler or Shielde, that neuer can bee pierced thorough: A time, which neuer is troubled in it selfe: An Armie, neuer daunted or dismaied: A Floure, that neuer fadeth

Chilo his answer of truth to the *Corinthians*.

Anaxarchus his
answer to the
Lacedemonians

Aeschines con-
cerning truth

The opinion
of a Romaine
Philosopher.

The Emperour
Octavius Augu-
stus triumph-
ing ouer
Mark Antonie
and Cleopatra.

Spartianus his
report of Pam-
philus the fa-
mous Lier of
Rome.

*fadeth or withereth: A Sea, that neuer fea-
reth Fortune: And a Hauē, wherein no
Man shall euer suffer perill. The Lacede-
monians likewise entreated Anaxarchus
the Philosopher, to resolue them what
Truth was, and he made answere. It is
a perpetuall health and welfare; A life with-
out ending; A Sirope that healeth all infir-
mities; A Sunne alwaies shining; A Moon
that neuer suffereth Eclipse; An Hearbe e-
uer growing; A Gate neuer shut against a-
ny; And a iourney, wherein no Man can
waxe weary. Aeschines also said of Truth.
It is a vertue, without which, all strength
is feeble and infirme; Iustice bloody; Hu-
mility a Traytresse; Patience counterfeit;
Chastity vaine; Liberty a Prisoner; and
Piety superfluous. And another Phi-
losopher, beeing demaunded by the
Romaines, what he thought Truth to
be; gaue them this answere. Truth is
the Center, whercin all thinges doe rest;
The Sea-mans Card, whereby all the Marri-
uers doe gouerne themselues; That Wise-
dome, which is the guide and directer to all
Men; A height, on the top whereof is all
fulnesse of repose; And a light, whereby the
whole world is illumined.*

The Emperour *Augustus*, in the Tri-
umphe which he made of *Marke Antho-
ny* and *Cleopatra*; brought with him to
Rome a Priest of *Ægypt*, aged three-
score yeares, who in all the daies of his
life, had neuer told any lye. In regard
whereof, the Senate presently ordained,
that he should be made free, and crea-
ted Great Priest: Also, that a Statue
should be erected for him, and placed a-
mong those of the most renowned mē
of all the Ancients. *Spartianus* relateth
an example much dissemblable from
this last, and saith. In the time of the
Emperour *Claudius*, there died a Man in
Rome, named *Pamphylus*, who (as it was
most euidently iustified) neuer told any
matter of truth in all his life time; but
euermore had his chiefe delight in ly-
ing, which caused the Emperour to
goue commaund, that no Graue should
be graunted to his body: but his goods
were confiscated, his House ruined, and
his Wife and Children banished out of
Rome; to the end, that no memorie
might remain in the Commonwealth,
of such a venomous Beast. At the time
when these two notable effects hapned,
the *Romaines* were Mortall enemies to

the *Ægyptians*, whereby may worthilie
be obserued, how wonderful the power
of truth is: in regard that the *Romaines*
would aduance a Statue, in the honour
of their enemy, onely because he was a
Man of truth, and depriue their Cittie-
born son of a Sepulcher, because he was
such a notorious Lier. It is no way to
be doubted, but that a true man may
freely walke, and practise in all places,
without feare of being accused by any
person. He may also (in safetie & dread-
lesse) reprehend any Lier, and speake
boldly in face of all the world, going al-
waies with an erected and dauntlesse
countenance. But the Lier is fled of all
Men, like to a noysome pestilence, and
so long as hee lineth; yea, after death
likewise, he is infamous to all Posterity.
His reward and wages, is, that if hee
chance to speake truth, no man wil be-
leeue him: For, by being so knowne a
Lier, truth (in his mouth) standeth al-
waies suspected.

CHAP. XXIII.

30 *What a benefit the Inuention of Letters was
vnto man: Who first found out and deu-
ised them. Of the Hebrue Charracters, &
what signification they haue of them-
selues, differing from all other Letters
else in any Nation.*

40 **I**F those men may iustly
& commendation, that
were the first deuisers of
liberall and mechanical
Arts, and they likewise,
that found out diuers Doctrines and
enstructions, not onely appertaining to
the rule and direction of the Soule, but
likewise for bodily vse and behauiour:
how much more great and especiall ho-
nor then is due to him, that was the first
Inuenter and deuifer of Letters? Those
50 incomparable Instruments, which haue
bin the certaine guards and conseruers,
of all other inuentions whatsoever: for
without them, not any deuise could
haue bene preserued, whereto we may
adde moreouer, that Letters haue
made Men halfe immortall.

Such

An excellent
obseruation
of the power
of Truth.

Difference
betweene the
true man and
Lier.

Diuersity of
merit, accor-
ding to the
nature and
qualitie of
things.

The power and prerogative of Letters, and what hath ensued (by their meanes) from times of Antiquity.

No memory had remained but by Letters, for else, all precedent accidents had bin vtterly lost.

Diuersity of opinions about the invention of Letters.

Pliny. in Lib. 7. Cap. 12.

Cadmus Captaine of the Phœnicians, brought Letters into Greece; being then but sixteene in number.

Such hath bin their power and prerogative, that matters of a thousand yeares past, are (by them) so familiarly presented vnto vs; as if there had beene no distance or deuision of time. By them are apprehended all kindes of Disciplines. They make knowne to men of this instant age, whatsoever our grane fore-goers learned and made vse off, or any famous actions by them perfourmed: And those things which these dayes affoord (as deseruing future knowledge) by them, are left as Legacies to vtmost posteritie. They shew and represent vnto the eye, matters once done, euen as if they were in continuall action, and as full of life in the instant, as in the precedent: which neuer could haue beene done, if Letters hadde neuer beene deuised. For neither *Plato*, *Aristotle*, nor a great number of other wise Philosophers, had carried such reputation with vs, as now they doe; but onely by their sacred meanes. For conclusion then, we may very well say; that the onely best and greatest thing (among all humaine inuentions) was that of Letters. Whosoever is doubtfull, or maketh any question in this case; let him but reade and consider what is left written to vs, whereby he shall well perceiue: that all those famous memories and antiquities, had beene vtterly lost, and no record remained of them, but onely by Letters.

Seeing then, that they are the cause of so great a happinesse; reason (in meere Iustice) requireth, that we should know, to whom wee are beholding for them. And yet I finde it to bee a matter of no meane difficultie, because opinions are so various and doubtfull in this case. The *Gentiles* doe much disagree heerein with our *Christians*, and *Christians* also haue not well concorded together. *Pliny* setteth downe many opinions, and then addeth his owne, which (in my iudgement) cometh much neerer to truth, then the other. First of all he saith, that Letters were found out by the *Assyrians* in *Assyria*: but others doe affirme, that *Mercury* founde them first in *Egypt*. Some (beside) are of the minde, that the *Pelagians* brought them into *Italy*; or else that they were carried into *Greece* by the *Phœnicians*, with *Cadmus*, who was their Captaine, who had no more of them then, but sixteene in number: but in the warre of *Troy*, *Palamedes* added foure more vnto

them. After *Plinies* report of all these, and some opinions beside, he concludeth according to his owne iudgement: That Letters were eternall, which is as much to say, that they had beene from the beginning of the world.

Now, concerning the bringing of Letters into *Greece* by the *Phœnicians*, *Herodotus* and diuers others doe affirme it. The *Egyptians* also doe make their vaunt, that the inuention of Artes and Letters came first from them. *Diodorus Siculus* is of the minde, that *Mercury* founde them out in *Egypt*. Howbeit, the same *Diodorus* saith in his 4. Booke, that some are of opinion, that the *Ethiopian*s had Letters first of all, and that the *Egyptians* receiued their first vse of Letters from them. Vpon this Argument, there are diuers other, as well *Iewes* as *Christians*, who doe plainly auouch, that *Moyse*s was the first finder out of Letters in the world: for he was much more ancient, then any letters or writings among the *Gentiles*, because the same *Cadmus* (of whom we haue formerly spoken, and that he should bring Letters into *Greece*) liued in the time of *Othoniell*, Duke and Captaine of *Israell*, and raigned forty seauen years, after that the written lawes were giuen to *Moyse*s, as is euidently proued.

They that are of this opinion (among whom were *Eupolemus* and *Artabanus*, *Ethnique* Historians) doe maintaine, that the *Egyptians* learned Letters of *Moyse*s, and that they gaue them first to the people of *Phœntia*, from whence (afterward) *Cadmus* transported them into *Greece*. The fore-named *Artabanus* iustificeth, that the man, named *Mercurius* or *Mercury* (whom also affirme to haue taught Letters in *Egypt*;) was *Moyse*s, but called *Mercurius* by the *Egyptians*. *Philo* the *Iew*, a man of great authority, maketh Letters to be more auncient: for he saith, that they were found out by *Abraham*. But the truth is, that they were inuented by *Adam*, or (at least) by his Sonnes, or Sonnes Sonnes, in the first age of the world, and before the Floud. Then were they conserued to *Noah* and his Successors, euen to the coming of *Abraham*, and so afterward to *Moyse*s: And this is the iudgement and opinion of *S. Augustine*. Moreouer, this is yet further verified, by the authoritie of *Iosephus*.

Herodotus, for the *Phœnicians*, bringing Letters into *Greece*.

Diod. Sic. in li. 4.

*Moyse*s said to be the first inuenter of Letters.

Othoniell, Duke and Captaine of *Israell*.

The *Egyptians* learned Letters of *Moyse*s.

*Moyse*s called *Mercurius* by the *Egyptians*.

Adam or his Children the first inuenter of Letters.

August. in Lib. 18. de Ciuit. Dei.

Ioseph. in Lib. 1. de Antiquit.

Iosephus, in saying; That the Nephewes of Adam, the Sonnes of Seth, made two Collobes, the one of Stone, and the other of Earth, whereon they wrote and insculpted all the Artes. He also affirmeth, that himselfe had seene one of those Pillers in Syria.

Preferuation of Letters frō Adam and his Sonnes to Noah.

We finde also, that Saint *Iude* the Apostle, alleadged in one of his Epistles, the Booke of *Enoch*, which was before the Flood. So then, it is not to be doubted, but that *Adam* and his Sonnes (who were all so wise, and had intelligence in so many thinges) were the onely first Inuenter of Letters. And that *Noah* also, who was both lettered and learned, preferued them with him in the Arke. Howbeit, that afterward, in the confusion of Tongues, which happened at the building of the Tower of *Babell*: it might come to passe, that the greater part of the World lost the knowledge of those Letters, which remained onely in the Family of *Heber*, of whom (afterward) the Hebrues descended, who, as we haue already said, lost not their first Language. Saint *Augustine* auoucheth as much, in his book before alleadged; the like doth *Eusebius* also, in his first Booke of the Euangelicall preparation, and the greater part of the learnedst men of our times.

The stock of Heber lost not their first language.

Eusebius in lib. 1. de Preparat. Euan.

Philo the Jew and diuers others deceiued in their opinion.

Wherefore *Philo*, and such beside him, as supposed, that *Moyse*s was the Inuenter of Letters; were greatly deceiued in their owne imaginations: because it is a matter most notorious, that the Bookes and Histories written by *Moyse*s, were not the first before all other, nor before the Philosophy and Wisedome of the Greekes, as Saint *Augustine* prooueth sufficiently in the saide Booke; and *Iosephus* also, against *Appion* the famous *Grammarians* of *Ægypt*: and likewise *Eusebius* and *Iustine Martire*. He and they should haue concluded then, that Letters were before the time of *Moyse*s; because we finde it written, that *Moyse*s learned in *Ægypt*, all the Arts and Sciences of the *Ægyptians*, which he could not haue doone, except there had beene Letters before. And yet we know moreouer, that there were Hieroglyphicall Figures, whereby (as we formerly prooued in the first

Iosephus cont. Appion. Gram.

*Moyse*s learned the Arts of the *Egyptians*

Booke) they had vnderstanding of one anothers mind.

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We will therefore set downe our resolue, that Letters were from the dayes of *Adam*, and afterward, that *Abraham* had knowledge of them in *Syria*: and thence it ensued, that *Plinie* varried in so many opinions before related. It shall be needlesse therefore, to make any further curious search, as touching the Originall and causes of Charracters and Letters: because they may be made according to any mans mind or will; euen as now-adaies wee see, that *Ciphers*, *Figures*, or what else, are formed, after the fancy of the *Writer* or *Deuiser*, and sometimes signes or shapes in stead of Letters.

The Authors conclusion concerning Letters.

Originall and causes of charracters and Letters.

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So saith Saint *Hierome*, in his Prologue before the Booke of the Lawes, and that when *Esdras*, the great *Scribe* and *Doctour* of the Law, re-writ and restored them againe: hee found new Charracters or formes of Letters, whereof the *Iewes* did make, vse to the time of Saint *Hierome*, euen as yet they doe to these dayes of ours. And those *Hebrue* Letters or Charracters, haue a secret propriety, not incident to the Letters of any other Nation: for the voyce, sound, or name of each one of them, yeildeth a signification of some thing else beside.

Hierom. in Prefat. Lib. de Leg.

Hebrew Letters haue a priuate propriety to themselves in signification.

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The first Letter, which is tearmed *Aleph*, doth signify Discipline. The second, named *Beth*, signifyeth a House. *Gymell*, which is another Letter, relateth replenishing, or aboundance. And *Daleth*, Tables or Bookes. All the rest of the Letters, doe interpret some one thing or other, which I forbear to speake of, to auoyd prolixitie. Such as are more curious Inquisitours into these occasions: let them read *Eusebius*, in his first Booke, De *Preparatione Euangelica*.

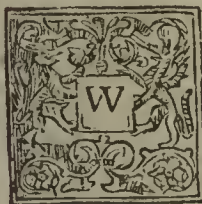
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CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

How our Auncients wrote, and whereon, before the invention of Paper, and with what Instrument. How Paper and Parchment were first found out, and by whom.



WE haue spoken briefly in the preccident Chapter, concerning the inuention of Letters: it now remaineth, that we should say somewhat, of the matter whereon our fore-fathers vsed to write. Now, albeit wee cannot exactly set downe, what it was that our first Fathers (in the first Age, and before the Flood) did write vpon, as being a case very doubtfull; to wit, whether then they had the vse of Letters, although we haue made prooffe thereof by the authority of *Iosephus*, assisted by some other reasons beside: yet it evidently appears (according to the generall iudgement of Writers) that such as wrote in those elder times, had not, neither knew what Paper was; but onely did write on Leaues of the Palme or Date Tree, from whence followed the common word (yet vsed) the Leaues or Leafes of Bookes. Afterward they wrote vpon other Leaues of Trees, but principally such as came easiest from each Tree: as the Birche, the Platane, the Ash, and the Elme. From these Trees they tooke the inner-most Rinde, which groweth betweene the Wood and the thicke blacke Barke, and these soft skinned being subtilly smoothed and plained: of them they formed the Leaues of their Bookes, ioyning them arteificially one within another, that they might the more firmly hold together. And because (in those reuerend daies) the Latines termed those inner-most Rindes of Trees, by the Name of *Libri*: it thence ensued, that they gaue the Title of *Liber* to one of their Bookes, though afterward they refused all further vse of those meanes. Within some while after, they found out another helpe for Writing, which

was vpon Plates of Lead, ingentoullie made thin and plyant: whereof, some Men (that were more curious and speculative) made likewise Collombes or Pillers, as well as Bookes, whereon they registred all publique actions. Those Ancient Fathers, found out yet another manner of Writing, which was on Linnen Cloath, smoothed and polished with a certain kind of colour. But heere we are to obserue; that they vsed not then to write with Pennes; but with a little Cane or Reede, which yet is called by vs (as then) in Latine *Calamus*, and wherewith some doe stili vse to write.

Afterward, another kinde of Paper was deuised to write vpon, which they made of diuers little Shrubs of Trees, cald by them *Papers*: by reason of another addition thereto, to wit; of a certaine kind of Rushes, growing ordinarily in the Moores and Marishes of *Nylus*, and the name of this Rush in Latine, is called * *Papyrus*. *Pliny* saith, that there is yet growing in *Syria*, neere to the River *Euphrates*, certaine Papers or Rushes, that haue sundry little Leaues, Rindes, or Skinned, growing naturally betweene the Pith and Barke: which being cunningly drawne out with the point of a needle, and intermedled with a kinde of Glue, made of Meale (verie finely searced or boulded) and tempered with boyling Water and Vineger; Paper is made thereof, apt and very good to write vpon. But that skinned which is neere to the Pith, maketh the best and smoothest Paper: whereby we may gather, that according to the sorts and differences; so are the Papers diuersly named. And in regard that this Reede, Rush, or little Shrub, was named *Papyrus*; the Name of Paper hath so continued, and was likewise imposed on those kinds of Paper, which were (since then) made of Shreds, rags, and smallest peeces of Linnen Cloath, past all kind of seruice, and fit for no other vse.

Marcus Varro saith, that the first Inuention of making Leaues of Paper, either of Shrubs, Rushes, or otherwise: was found out in the time of *Alexander the Great*, and at such time also, as the Cittie of *Alexandria* was first founded. Notwithstanding, *Pliny* prooueth it much

Plates of lead made apt to write vpon.

Linnen cloth polished with a colour, to write on.

No Pen. written with, but Reeds.

* *Papyrus* is a great Rush in Egypt, growing in Fenne, or Moorish groundes: whereof (in elder times) they made leasus to write on, & whereof the first paper was made and now it is vsed for printing Paper. *Plin. in lib. 13. Cap. 11. & 2.*

Marc. Varro. in Lib. 7.

Doubt of that whereon our first Fathers wrote before the flood.

First writing was on Palme Tree Leaues.

The first manner of writing Bookes.

Liber, the inward peece or rinde of a Tree.

Plin. in Lib. 13. Cap. 11.

Numa Pompilius his Tomb and Bookes.

Tit. Linius. dec. 4. Cap. 9.

Plin. in Lib. 13. Cap. 9.

* A famous city in Affrica enuironed almost with the Sea, and rebuilt by Queene Dido. Writing Tables vsed in elder dayes.

Parch-ment written on, before our kindes of Paper.

* That ouer-came Antiochus by Sardes.

Plin. in Lib. 12. Cap. 9. Iosephus. in Lib. 12. de Antiquit

much more auncient, by those Bookes which *Cneus Terentius* found, by digging in one of his Inheritances, which Books had formerly belonged to *Numa Pompilius*, King of Rome, and had beene hid- den in a Temple, where himselfe was bu- ried, and the leaues of those Bookes were made of the said Rushes or shrubbes. It is held for a certainty, that *Numa* liued long time before *Alexander*. And yet *Titus Linius* reporteth otherwise of this Tombe, affirming, that two such Tombs were found by *L. Patilius*. *Lactantius* and *Plutarch* doe heerein agree with *Titus Linius*: and yet notwithstanding, the intention of *Pliny* is most approued.

Now concerning the word *Carta*, or *Charta*, some doe holde, that this name came of a City, scituated neere to *Tyre*, which was called *Charta*, or *Cartha*; whence *Dido* (altring the name) called it afterward * *Carthage*. I read also, that those reuerend men of former times, did write on waxed Tablet-leaues. made thin smooth and slippery: they likewise formed their letters, with sharpe pointed Bodkins or Punchions, which they tear- med Table-Pinnes, but others called the Stiles, whereon, he that (by expertnesse) wrote most perfect, was said to haue a good stile in writing, deriuing the worde from the instrument, and not by the inte- gritie in Art or method.

Moreouer, it is to be noated, that be- fore such Paper (as we vse to write on) was inuented: an auncient custome was obserued, (without seeing any other help or meanes) to write onely vpon Parch- ment, which they made of Sheeps Skins, whereof *Herodotus* maketh relation. The inuention thereof is attributed (by *Marcus Varro*) to the people that inhabited the Country of *Pergamus*, or *Pergama*, who had (at that time) * *Eumenes* to be their King; where-vpon (in Latine) it bare the name of *Pergamenum*, which we do com- monly call Parchment. And whereas in Latine also, it was called *Membrana*: yet it appeareth to take name of the In- uenter. Notwithstanding, in my iudg- ment, such skinnes were written on long before the time assigned by *Varro*; men- tioned (after him) in like manner by *Pli- ny*: because *Iosephus* writeth, that the Books of the *Hebrewes* (which were long before the dayes of *Eumenes*) and many other Bookes beside, were written on

such Skinnes.

In like manner, when he declareth, that *Eleazer*, Prince of the Priestes, sent the Bookes of the sacred Scriptures to *Ptolemus Philadelphus*, with the seauen- ty two Interpreters, that they might bee translated out of the Hebrew tongue in- to Greeke, he saith; King *Ptolomy* was amazed, and wondred very much, at the ingenious coniunction of those Skinnes of Parchment. Whereby may be obser- ued, that the lines written on Parchment, were much more easily perfourmed, and of longer continuance; then on any other Skinnes or Leaues whatsoever, although they were of greater antiquity. In re- gard whereof, vse of Parchment neuer failed, neither euer will, especially for se- rious seruices: albeit, the Paper which is now in vse among vs, perhaps is easier and cheaper to be had, and may better fit the passage of infinite Letters, which ordinarily are entercoursed vpon all oc- casions, and necessitie of hast.

Having thus farre proceeded in dis- course, concerning the first inuention of Letters, Paper, Parchment and writing: me thinkes, I should very much forget my selfe, if the famous Art of Printing should passe vnspoken of, whereby so many Bookes are Imprinted, with no meane expedition, and which I doe in- geniously confesse, to be the best inuen- tion in the world. By one Authour, the deuiser therof is said to be an *Allemaigne* or *Germaine*, of the City of *Mentz*, na- med *John Faustus*, (although *Po'idore Vir- gill* doe call him *Peter*) yet others tearme him *John Cuthenberg*, confessing him al- so to be a *Germaine*, and a Knight, and that the first impression of any Booke, was in the yeare of our Lord, 1453.

About which time also, or soone after (as *Volateranus* affirmeth) this worthy Science was brought into *Italy* by two Brethren, named *Conrades*, printing first in *Rome*, and in the house of the *Maximes*: where, the first Booke that euer was prin- ted, was *S. Augustine de Ciuitate Dei*, & next, the diuine Institutions of *Lactantius Firmianus*. Exemplaries of them were not long since (and I thinke yet are) in the Library of the most reuerend Bishop of *Sarno*, the Lord *Luodouico Gomes*, a *Spaniard*, a man of singuler learning, be- ing Auditour of *Roua*, Regent of the Pe- netentiarie, and Referendarie of both the

Ptolemic Philadelphus, and the 72. Inter- preters.

Parchment of longer conti- nuance then Paper.

Concerning the incompa- rable Art of Printing.

At what time the inuention of Printing was found out, and by whom.

The first Bookes prin- ted in *Rome*, in the yeate 1465.

Signa-

Printing began in Venice in the year 1483.

Especially men excellent in Printing, in diuers Countries.

Printing was the onely meanes to make learned men euery wher famous.

Very great errors formerly committed in the writing of Bookes, which (by Printing) haue bene iudiciously corrected.

An obiection against the ouer-general vte of Printing, where by much hurt hath ensued

Signatures. After that, *Nicholas Gerson*, being a Frenchman, honoured *Venice* therewith, in the time of Duke *Augustine Barbarigo*. And, as an inuention of such merit could not be concealed; so succeeded it to many Countries, and by diuers worthy men, who beside their Art of Printing; were learned and iudicious Correcters of errors and falsifications, easily ouer-slipped by vnskillful worke-men. Among these men of noat, are especially commended, *Aldus Manutius* at *Venice*, who made a fresh restoring of the Latine tongue: *Francis Priscianez*, at *Rome*: *Baldus Colinetus*, *Frobenius* and *Oporinus*, at *Basle*: *Sebastian Gryphius* at *Lyons*: *Robert Stephanus* at *Paris* and *Anwerpe*; and *William Caxton* at *London* in *England*, besides many more, whose names I omit, for breuity.

By these famous helpes, and furtherers of Learning, a number of Bookes hidden, obscured and vtterly lost (as it were) receiued fresh life and light again; to the no meane enstruction and benefit of many men, whose learning hath made it selfe manifest (onely by the meanes of Printing) throughtout all *Christendome*, yea, and else-where: whereas, before so sacred an assistant was inuented, much greater paine and labour was employed; whereof the fruit could neuer be so generall, or any such perfection appeare in Learning. And, if we doe graunt, that this deuise was not the chiefe and principall cause: yet assuredly (I am of the mind) it was the very greatest and most absolute; because, with much lesse paine and labour, Bookes (full of imperfections) haue bene found to be corrected, and purged from those macculations, blots, and blemishes, which ordinarilie doe attend on writing. Againe, if written corrected Copies had past from some one or two: yet they were so rare to come by, and not to be perused by many earnest and desirous mindes; that it hindered much forward endeouour, which this vniuersality hath liberally friended. But, to speake truely, since immeasurable Licencc tooke hold of Imprinting Bookes, especially of Fables and fruitlesse labours; it hath bene iudged by some (yet none of meanest wisdome) that Printing might well haue bene spa-

red from so general knowledge, or neuer bene vsed at all; rather then such idle toys should passe the Presse, to the preuarication and impoysoning of diuers good minds, especially the younger sort, who rather affect such vaine deuises, then studies much more commendable, and fitting for them.

But leauing further speech of Printing; Hand-writing must not bee condemned, hauing (in these dayes) attayned to more intire perfection; then euer was knowne in former times. Whereof *Quintillian* hath giuen good rules, well deseruing obseruation; likewise the learned *Erasmus*, in his Booke of good and true pronounciation. And heerein *Erasmus* must be my directour, because he saith: *Blinde men haue bene instructed in good writing*. For they had Tables made of *Porphirie*, *Bone*, or of some *Metall*, wherein were insculpted the letters of *A. B. C. D. E. &c.* Then the blinde partie tooke some sharpe pointed Instrument in his hand (made apt and able to vse impression, yet with ease and facilitie) and his hand being guided by the enstructers: vse and practise framed a shape of each Letter in the blinde mans minde, according to the remembrance of true forme and fashion; wherof customarie acquaintaince (by heed and attention) gaue an Image, and of euery Letter really in his memory; which afterward he could (with ease) forme vpon the Table, or any thing else of respect, whereto his minde stood most affected. Wherin might appeare some defect or impediment; but yet it would be well made, and indifferently leageable. After which often experimented proof, he may write vpon Paper, in true order and Method: or any else, that (blind-folded) shal make vse thereof, concerning any matter that best fitteth his fantasie.

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Of writing, and the perfection thereof in these dayes.

Erasmus Rotterd. in Libde ver. pro.

Blinde men that could write very perfectly, and by what manner of practise.

Vse is the Mother of perfection.

CHAP

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the first Libraries in the world: As also, what Pictures and Portraitures of memorable men, were obsequiously preserved in them.



T is not to be doubted, but that the first Bookes and Libraries that euer were in the world, must needes bee among the Hebrue people.

For, as it is certaine, that Letters were by them first knowne, and vse made of them: so is it likewise to be presumed, that they were not neglect or carelesse in keeping them, or whatsoeuer they committed to writing. This is iustified by the authority of Iosephus, before alleadged, as also, by that which we reade in the holy Scriptures. Isidorus relateth, that after the Chadaans had burned the Library of the Hebrewes, with all the Bookes of the Lawes: the Hebrewes being gon backe againe to Ierusalem, the Prophet Esdras (being thereto lightened by the blessed Spirit) repaired that losse, by writing those Bookes ouer againe, reducing them into the number of two and twenty Bookes, according to the number of the Alphabet letters. Whereby may be gathered, that after Moyses had written: the Hebrewes had a Library, wherein they preserved the Books of the Law, as well those which we haue of the old Testament, as the rest, whereof wee haue already made mention. Among which, was the Booke of Enoch, alleadged by Saint Iude the Apostle in his Epistle, spoken of also before: And the Book of the warres of the Lord, whereof memory is made in the twenty one Chapter of Numbers: And the Booke of the iust seruants of the Lord, alleadged in the first Booke of the Kings: and the Booke of Samuel, recorded in the last Chapter of the first Booke of Paralipomenon: And the Booke of Nathan the Prophet, with

The first Libraries among the Hebrue people.

The Chaldeans burned all the Bookes of the Hebrues Librarie.

The Prophet Esdras re-writ the Bookes, according to the dumber of the Hebrue Alphabet.

Iude. Cap. 1. 4.

Numb. 2 1. 24.

2. Kings. 1. 18.

1. Chron. 29. 29

many other beside, which appeared to haue bin burned and lost. Therefore we may plainly perceiue, that the Iewes had Libraries, and that those which appertained to the Gentiles, were both after the other, and of later time.

All the Grecians doe declare, that hee who first made any publique Library, was named Pisistratus, a Tyrant ouer the Athenians: but afterward, it was greatly increased by those people. In following time, when Xerxes came to Athens, he carried thence all those Bookes, and transported them into Persia: but a long while after, the King Selucus (called Nicanor) bought them, and caused them to be carried backe to Athens againe. This affirmation proceedeth from Aulus Gellius and Isidorus; adding moreouer, that this Library was afterward very largely increased. Notwithstanding, that Library of Alexandria in Egypt, which the King Ptolomy Philadelphus made; was (in very truth) the most excellent of all other in the world beside: because therein was the old Testament, and all the sacred writings of the seauentie two Interpreters, and a great multitude of all other bookes whatsoeuer. Yet Piny auoucheth, that King Eumenes made another Library in the City of Pergama, in enuy of that which Ptolomie had founded. Aulus Gellius and Amianus Marcellinus doe say, that in the Library of Alexandria in Egypt, there were seauen hundred thousand Bookes. Seneca doth (in a manner) agree concerning the number, which although it seeme to be excessiue, yet notwithstanding, whosoever hath read of the expences and great cost, which the Kings of Egypt haue wasted, in the making of Obeliskes, Pyramides, Temples, Houses, Shippes, and other thinges of inestimable charge (some part of which matters are spoken of by Budens, in his Annotations on the Pandectes, and Lazarus de Baif, in his Art of Nauigation) this Library will not appeare impossible to their iudgement.

Bookes were brought to this Library from al the Nations of the whole world, and also in all Languages: and they that had the charge thereof, were all of them very learned men. One part was appointed for Bookes of Poetry, others also for Histories, and elsewhere for all the Sciences and faculties: but all this learning

The Iewes had Libraries long before the Gentiles.

Pisistratus of Athens, made the first publique Librarie.

Aulus Gellius. in L. b. 6. Isidor. in lib. 6.

The Library of Alexandria in Egypt.

Aulus Gellius. in Lib. 6. Amian. Marcel. in Lib. 7. Cap. 9.

Budens in Annot. de Pand. Lazarus de Baif. in Ars Naualis

Cæsars Souldiours burned this goodly Library.

Plutarc. in vit. Marc. Anton.

Strabo in lib. 7. Cap. 18.

Strabo contra- dicteth other Authors.

The first publike Library in Rome made by Asinius Pollio.

All the Libraries in Rome burned and spoyled.

Domitian the Emperor restored the Libraries losse.

Paulus Orosius in lib. 9.

learning thus brought together, was burned by the Soldiers of *Julius Cæsar*, when he pursued *Pompey* thither, and fought against the people of *Ptolomie*, who was brought vnto *Cleopatra*. As for that other Librarie, which was made by *Eumenes* in *Pergama*: *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Marke Anthonie*, that it consisted of two hundred thousand Bookes.

The Lybrarie which we read of in *Greece*, *Strabo* saith, that *Aristotle* was the first that made a Collection of Bookes together, and framed a Library of Bookes in the City of *Athens*. But therein he contradiceth the other Historians, who doe all maintaine, that it was *Pisistratus*, who liued long time before *Aristotle*. Therefore it is to be vnderstood, that *Straboes* meaning aymed at some one particular Man, who was neither King or Prince, as *Pisistratus* was: howbeit, it may be pregnantly coniectured, that *Aristotle* was therein much succoured and assisted by *Alexander*.

Later Libraries and Letters, wherein the Cittie of *Rome*, and the first that erected a publique Lybrarie there, was *Asinius Pollio*, of whom *Pliny* saith: That of the Spirits of Men he made a publique matter. The first man that brought thither any great quantitie of Bookes, was *Paulus Æmilius*, when he had vanquished *Perseus*: And next to him, *L. Lucullus*, from the bootie of *Pontus*. *Julius Cæsar* also augmented and enriched the Lybraries, which he committed to the charge and keeping of *Marcus Varro*: but all the Lybraries in *Rome*, were afterward burnt and brought to nothing, by the frequent Warres, and often spoyles made of the Cittie. And yet this great losse was repaired againe, by the Emperour *Domitian*, for he caused search to bee made thorough all Countries, for Bookes of any Nature whatsoever; yea, he sent into *Ægypt*, to haue the Lybrarie that remained there, to bee transported to *Rome*. Whereby it verie plainly appeareth, that all King *Ptolomies* Bookes were not destroyed (as formerly hath bene said) because a great part of them were afterward recovered. And *Paulus Orosius* doth heere perswade me, when

he saith; *Four hundred thousand of the Bookes were burned*: And by the confirmation of other Historians; we finde, that there were seauen hundred thousand in all, and three hundred thousand doe then appeare to be saued; howbeit, some would faine enforce, that they were all burned.

10 But returning to the Lybrarie of *Rome* againe, the same *Paulus Orosius* saith, that in the time of the Emperour *Commodus*, it was once more burned: neuertheless, *Gordianus* the Emperour regained a great number of Bookes, to the estimate of seauentie and two thousand Volumes. And that (which is much more notable) hee enjoyed them by the last Will and Testament of *Seranus Samonicus*, to whom they first appertained, according as *Julius Capitolinus* recordeth: There were many other great and goodlie Lybraries among those of elder times, as well priuate and meane persons, as Princes and great Lords. But the first Librarie among the Christians, was that (as *Isidorus* testifieth) of *Pamphilius* the Martire, whose life is registred by *Eusebius*, and that he had thirty thousand volums in his Library.

30 We read of a common Custome obserued among those graue Men, chiefly in their Lybraries: where they preserved the Pictures, Portraites, and Statues, of such men as had been most excellent in Learning. *Pliny* also saith, that *Marcus Varro* (even in his life time) so merited by his learning: that his Statue was kept in the Library of *Asinius Pollio*. *Cicero* wrote to *Fabianus* the *Gaule*; that he should buy him some Statues and Portraites, wherewith to grace and beautifie his Lybrarie. The younger *Pliny*, writing to *Julius Senerus*, saith; that *Herennius Senerus* (a very excellent learned man) placed in his Librarie (among other Pictures) those of *Cornelius* and *Titus Arius*; sufficient testimony haue we of all those things.

50 Now, concerning these recited Lybraries, and those of many other learned men, and of Princes also, in imitation of their example: they were all destroyed and ranaged by the *Gothes*, *Alaines*, and *Vandales*, vntill such time as
Xxx (by

Romes Library burned again in the time of the Emperour Commodus.

* This man was fetched from the Plough, and made Senator of Rome.

The first Lybrary among the Christians.

Pictures of famous learned men preserved in Libraries.

Plin. in lib. 9. Cap. 7.

Plin. secundus in lib. 4.

Who were
the notorious
destroyers of
Libraries and
Learning.

Our Bookes
not equalling
the tenth part
of our Anci-
ents.

(by the goodnesse of God) both in our daies, and those of our fore-fathers, many learned and studious men liued, whose paines and endeouirs created infinite others, from whom haue proceeded heapes of huge Volumes; albeit I thinke them not the tenth part, compared with those which their graue Auncients left in Writing. Beside, such as haue beene found, were so vncorrected, corrupted and badlie written: that had it not beene for the indulgent trauaile, of diuers great and worthy personages, they could hardly haue beene reduced to any order and perfection.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Interpretation of the Imperiall Titles, heretofore giuen by the Romaine Emperours, as they haue beene found registered in the Bookes De Iurisprudentia, abbreviated and re-collected by commandement of the Emperour Iustinian, to wit: Of the Gothes, Allemaignes, Germanes, Alanes, Vandals, Affricanes, Gætes, Girdides, &c. and of many other Nations, appertaining to the same kinde of Argument.

Vaine Titles
affixed by
the Romaine
Emperours.



HE Romaine Emperours, in their Imperiall Titles of honour and renowne, did not onely obserue and giue vnto themselves, the Names or Appellations of those Provinces wonne by them, and reduced vnder the yoake of their Empire: but likewise of such Nations and people, as left their own Countries (in abounding multitudes) and entred on the Landes and possession of others, thence to chase and expell the naturall Inhabitants, to plant there their owne abiding, by giuing them sundry battailes, and some way surmounting, though not wholly exterminating them. Vpon which reason, *Iustinian* would en-

title himselfe, of the *Goths*, *Allemaignes*, *Vandales*, and of others. Of which Nations, I purpose to speake in some measure, what people they were, and whence they came: because (at length) they ruined the great Romain Empire. Whereto I am the rather induced, to enstruct such as are little skilled in Histories (not onely Cosmographicall, but likewise Geographicall) how those people did not onely weaken and ruinate the saide Empire: but also did cast out the true and naturall Dwellers, of the verie greatest part of our Hemisphere.

Moreouer, they compelled the Emperours to graunt them places, wherein to liue (afterward) in peace and quietnesse: for these Nations were the cause, whereby many Countries changed both their manners, Language, and Religion, which matters are necessarie to be spoken off, as nerely appertaining to our argument.

We will begin then first with the *Goths*, because they were the first, that forsooke their owne Natiue Country: which was called *Gothia*, or *Gothland*, as signifying a good Land, it being a Northerne Prouince of *Germanie*. This Land abounded in Graine, Fruits, Cattle, Woodes, Riuers, Mettalles: but especiallie in Copper, and Skinnes seruing to make Fures. At all times, and as yet (to this instant daie) is to be discerned, the Kingdome of *Sweßia*, or *Sweuia*, hath beene comprized vnder the Dominion of the *Goths*. As the Countrey was fertile in Fruits of the Earth; euen so were the Weomen thereof likewise in Children: for, as they were strong, and of great stature, so had they vsually two Children at a birth, which was the cause then, and so it yet continueth, that they had more people, then could well liue together, the Countrey not being sufficient to yeilde sustenance for so many. In like manner, they were very great feeders, eating much more then they that liue in the Easterne or Meridionall parts.

These people of the *Goths*, perceiuing, and aduisedly pondering on the fore-specified reasons: leuyed the more part of the youngest and strongest men of their Countrey, to the number of three

Strange people and Nations that weakened and ruined the Romain Empire.

Of the *Goths*, their original Country, and nature.

More plenty of people, the Countrey was able to feed and nourish.

A leuy of three hundred thousand able men among the *Goths*.

three hundred thousand; and married such as were not, to ridde themselves of the charge of Daughters, as well as of Sonnes, for the Countrey ordinarily abounded in the Feminine, more then in the Masculine Sexe. So, being well provided of all necessaries for Warre, and leaving a chiefe Commander at home, of the Royall lineage: they wandered abroad thorow the Fieldes, to winne by power, or compasse by Loue, some new habitation wherein to liue.

The Gothes wander to seeke a new dwelling.

Trebellius.

Many Authours, and, among the rest, *Trebellius* saith, that the first rumour of this their straying, was vnder the raigne of the Emperour *Flauius Claudius*, about the yeare of our Lord Iesus Christ, two hundred seuentie two. And that they passed thorow *Germany*, *Hungaria*, *Thrace*, *Greece*, *Gaule*, and so farre as *Italie*. They lost many battailes, and wonne likewise as many, against the Romaines and other people, maintaining themselves so well: that they raigned in *Italie* (euen in despite of the *Italians* and Emperours) the space of seauentie and one yeares; as *Procopius* auoucheth, At length they went into *Spaine*, whence (afterward) they would not remooue: for the Catholique Kinges of *Spaine* that then raigned by succession, and raigne yet to this present, descended from the race and line of their Kinges, who were (indeed) very generous people.

Procopius, concerning the Gothes in Italy and Spain.

The reason of the Gothes maintenance and continuance.

Now, it is to be imagined, that in regard of such a mighty muster of men, the Countrey of *Gothia*, or *Goth-land*, or the Neighboring Borders, remained not without Inhabitants, or the rule of Kinges: For there were euen then left behind, so many as the Land was able to nourish, who had their Kinges in authority ouer them, and strength sufficient to withstand any inuasion of the Countrey. As for the conquering Armies abroad, they continued in honour for a verie long time; albeit, they lost great store of men in battailes, encounters, surprizals, and passages of Riuers: for these disadvantages were still supplied, by the daily birth of Children among them, because they had their Wiues in all places among them. And perhaps some Straungers

The conquering Armies abroad in trauaile.

mingled among them, who wearing their habites, and learning their Language; helpt still to encrease the trie of this people.

Such as haue beene named *Ostrogothes*, were a people of the same Countrey of *Gothia* or *Gotteland*, from a place which is called *Ostrogothia*, the principall Cities whereof, are *Scheing* and *Lincept*. This people made their warre apart by themselves, beeing separated from the Gothes, yet ranging abroad in the wide World, according as they did.

Of the Ostrogothes, & their Countrey.

The *Westrogothes* (in like manner) came out of a Countrey called *Westrogothia*, among whom, the chiefest Cities, yet to this present daie, are termed *Scaris* and *Veruen*. *Wisigots*, or *Bisigots*, came forth of a Countrey named *Visbi*, the very principall whereof, is yet stiled *Visbi*. I was the more willing to make this description, because I haue heard of diuers (who are but slenderly experienced in Cosmography) that they do term those *Ostrogothes*, to be *Gothes* Orientall, or of the East; and the *Westrogothes*, Occidentall *Gothes*, or dwelling in the West, and so contrariwise of the other. Albeit, they are all descended, and came out of the Kingdome of *Gothia*, or *Gotteland*, according as *Munster* hath very well obserued.

Of the Westrogothes.

Wisigots or Bisigots.

The error of some young Cosmographers.

Munster.

The *Vandals*, in the erroneous judgement of *Procopius*, a learned Grecke Authour, are saide for to be of the verie same Nation, and that all the severall people of the *Gothes*, *Vandalles*, *Alaines*, *Hunnes*, and diuers others, (whom I am heereafter to describe vnto you) were deriued out of one and the selfe-same Land, and are all comprehended vnder the name of *Sauromates*, or *Sarmates*, and haue no other difference, but onelie by the names of their Captaines or Kinges. But I must maintaine against him, that the Land of the *Vandales* is distant from *Gothland*, about the space of two hundred leagues, and therefore they cannot be one people with the *Gothes*. True it is, that this Nation is Septentrionall, or in the North, as the others are, and in a Maritime Countrey also, named yet to this day *Vandalia*, as I haue already

The error of Procopius concerning the Vandals.

Gothes and Vandals two severall people.

ready said, yet very far off the one from the other.

This people did (almost) as much hurt to the Romaine Empire, as the *Gothes* did, for, ioyning diuers other people with them (as the *Alaines*, *Sua- bes* and *Franconians*:) they trauerfed the *Rheine*, *Gauderichus* beeing then their King, and passing among the *Gaules*, wasted and spoyled them very greatlie. Then went they into *Spaine*, and (in de- spite of the *Gothes*) tooke possession of that part of the Countrey, which ioyneth to the Kingdome of *Granada*, and is (to this day) called *Vandalia*, or (by corrupting the Word) *Vandalusia*, albeit the *Spaniards* mince it more nice- ly, and nick-name it to be *Andalusia*. To be briefe, they were (after much wast and spoyle) expulsed foorth of *Spaine* wholly, in the yeare foure hundred thir- tie one, vnder another of their Kinges, named *Gensericus*, and passed thence in- to *Affrica*, where they raigned seauenty sixe yeares. From thence they were compelled to auoyde, in the seauenth yeare of the Emperour *Iustinian*, in *Anno. Domino. 528.* by the valour of one of his Captaines, named *Belisari- us*.

The *Hunnes* also departed out of their Countrey, for. the selfe-same cause as the *Goths* did, about the yeare one hundred sixtie eight, onely to seek some other Land, where they might liue after the *Scythians* Religion: first getting possession of *Pannonia*, where they alwaies so strongly kept and guar- ded it, that (according to their owne name) it became to be called *Hungaria*. This people came from that part of *Scythia*, which was tearmed * *Hunos*, no long distance from the River *Tanaïs*: but it is in a miserable estate at this day, and vnder subiection of the *Mosco- uite*. Having vsurped *Pannonia*, they kept it manfully against the *Romaines*, and two hundred yeares after, *Attila* their King, accompanied with some people of the *Allemaignes* or *Germaines*; as *Bohemians*, *Gepydes* or *Gyrpides*, *Sch'e- sites*, *Werlies*, *Thuringians*, *Gothes*, *Ostro- gothes*, and others, making (in all) a- bout the number of sixe hundred thou- sand Men: passed thorough *Allemaigne*, which they very much endammaged.

Then went he into *France*, where hee lost a battaile, in which perished a great number of his men. This battaile was giuen him by the *Romaines*, *Gaules*, and certaine *Gothes* allyed together, and he lost (as some Authours doe affirme) about two hundred thousand men. At length he iournyed into *Italie*, which he (wel-neere) vtterlie ruined, and reti- ring afterward home into his owne Countrey of *Hungaria*: he dyed within some few following moneths, and on the day of his Nuptials, which was in the yeare of Iesus Christ, foure hundred forty three.

The *Lombardes* were a Northerne people, issuing out of *Denmarke*, as *Eusebius* maintaineth, and no other reason had they to leaue their Natiue Countrey; but onely a desire to winne some other. There happened in the time of one *Seno*, or *Sweno* (yet some tearme him *Snio*) a very great dearth or scarcitie of victuals in the Land, and because the people endured it verie im- patientlie: it was concluded by the King and his Councell (to ease the Countrey of so many men as were ready to fa- mish) that all such persons as were vn- able, eyther for Warre, or labour of the Ground; should be slaine, whether they were old or young. But this se- uere Edict being reuoked, they then re- solved to make a leuy of all sortes of people, that (by the helpe of Armes) might trauaile to finde out some other dwelling, so to discharge the Countries heauy burthen.

This being put in Execution, they trauailed so farre, and carryed them- selues so couragiously in trauerfing di- uers Landes: that they came at last in- to *Italie*, and there conquered the Countrey, which was called *Istria*, making themselves absolute Maisters thereof. Now, because these people were long and taule of stature: the *Ita- lians* and *Istrians* tearmed them long *Barbarians*, which by corruption of the Word, and succession of times, made them to be called *Longbardes*, or *Lombardes*. Some are of opinion, that vnder the raigne of *Valentinian* the Emperour, they beganne to make themselves first knowne; which was about the yeare of our Sauour Iesus Christ,

The trauailes of the *Vandals* into diuers Countries.

They posses- sed *Spaine* & *Affrica*, which in the end wer delected by them.

The *Vandals* expulsed out of *Affrica* by *Belisarius*.

The *Hunnes* of *Scythia*, and their trauails.

* *Hunos* a part of *Scythia*, in- habited by the *Hunnes*.

Attila King of the *Hunnes*.

The great losse that *At- tila* sustained in *France*.

Of the *Lom- bardes*, and whence they descended.

A very seuer and cruell E- dict, but speedily recalled, and better meanes deuifed.

Istria in *Italy* conquered & new-named *Lombardie*.

Petrus Diaconus concerning them barbares.

Christ 385. and that they became Commaunders in *Istria*, in the yeare 570. Likewise, according to *Petrus Diaconus*, the Emperours made peace with them; in the yeare, seuen hundred and thirtie, and euer since they haue held that Countrey, which at this day is named *Lombardy*.

Daces or Dani-ans, peo^r of *Danemar*.

Let it heere be further noted, that where (in any Historie) mention is made of people tearmed *Daces*, or *Danians*; the Nation of *Danemarke*, is thereby vnderstood. Out of which Countrey, many great Armies haue trauailed at sundry times, and haue mightily troubled diuers Kingdomes: among which, they continued a long time in *England*, but were thence expelled, about the yeare eight hundred sixtie, as is generally granted.

The Norms issued from *Nordnegia*, & *Normania*.

The *Normanes* were people of *Nordnegia*, or otherwise called *Normania*, a Northerne Countrey, being much addicted to crueltie and inhumanitie, because they vsed many great Piracies on the Seas. An hundred and fifty thousand Men (of this Nation) bestowed themselues in Vessels on the Sea, and tooke possession of that part of *Gaulè*, or *France*, which was then named *Neustria*, now *Normandie*, and this was done in the yeare of Iesus Christ, sixe hundred; and others say, eight hundred eightie foure, and in the time of *Charles Le Gros*. But be it howsoeuer, they haue (since then) kept it against all encounters of the Emperours, Kings of *France* and *England*, preserving it still by the name of *Normandy*, and themselues reckoned to be people of vndaunted courage. There are diuers others, that doe fauour of this their first Originall, and doe yet proule vpon the Seas, committing many Thefts and Robberies.

Neustria now named *Normandy*, & hath so continued long time.

Suesses or *Zuitzers* came out of *Suenia*.

The Nation which we call *Suesses*, or *Sweues*, but more vulgarlie *Zuitzers*, and are (at this day) auxiliarie vnto the *French*: came out of *Suetia*, *Suenia*, or *Sweueland*, a Northerly Region like to the other: They likewise, by reason of the dearth of foode among them: departed forth of their owne Countrey, about the yeare of Grace, eight hundred, and went so farre as the *Rheine*, which they would haue passed;

but were hindred by the *Franconians*. Thence went they to the Land of the *Heluetians*, who despising the *Suesses*, (because they were poorely and wretchedly apparrelled, rude in their feeding, and not looking like Souldiours) suffered them to wander about their Countrey.

The *Suesses* despised by the *Heluetians*

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At length, perceiuing the kinde sufferance of the *Heluetians*: they fought to abide in a certaine Canton of their Land. Which when the *Heluetians* noted, they demaunded of them; to what end they thus wandered about the World? They answered, That they were poore people, and fought but to weare out their liues in trauaile, by deliuing or labouring in the Earth. And seeing that there was wast ground in those partes, vnlaboured, or any vse made of (it being Hilles and Vailyes, enuironed with diuers Lakes) they desired the *Heluetians*, to permit them to labour in those rough Fieldes, as yet not cultiue: and they should receiue the gaine and benefit thereof, onely allowing them but nourishment for their paines: This was all that they seemed to pretend, iustifying their requests with many sollemne Oaths and protestations. Their desire was granted, and not long after, the Countrey wherein they liued, was not onely called *Suessia*, in regard of the *Suessians* there dwelling: but likewise the Auncient Inhabitants had the same Name given them, and (in truth) the Country is very mountainie, and vnapt for riding.

Their pover-ty among the *Heluetians*, & their request to them.

The *Heluetians* did grant the *Suesses* requests.

Of the *Allemaignes* and whence they were deriued.

Iustinian, and other Emperours, (both before and after him) entitled themselues Lordes of the *Allemaignes*, by hauing receiued some victories against the *Allemaignes*. But this may not be saide (as some haue done heere-tofore) that those victories were obtained against the *Germanes*: for euen at this present daie, when that wee speake or Write of *Allemaigne*; therein is comprehended all the Nations, which are contained throughout *Germanie*, and that doe speake the language of the *Teutones*. But as concerning *Allemaigne* it selfe, and *Allemaignes*; the *Romaines* neuer vnderstood, or meant any other people, then those

The true *Allemaignes* were of *Suaba*.

of *Suaba*. And, to speake vprightly, they euer haue beene (and are) the true and Auncient *Allemaignes*; as *Cornelius Tacitus* plainly confirmeth. *Drusus Nero* was the first, that styled himselfe *Germanicus*: for hauing rather angered the *Germanes*, then foyled them; as diuers other Emperours afterward did. Moreouer, by *Germanie* is to be vnderstood nine and forty great Prouinces, as well of the lower part, as of the higher part of the said *Germanie*, comprizing the Countries of the *Switzers* and *Heluetians*.

Drusus Nero Germanicus.

Germany containeth 49. great Prouinces.

Of the *Alains*, and what people they were

ouer and beside the fore-named Titles, they vsed the word *Analicus*, which by translation, implyeth *Alaines*. Many haue supposed, that these were a people of *Germanie*, but therein they were and are deceiued: for *Ptolomy* knew them well; and placed them in a part of *Scythia*. *Capito inus* bestowes them in *Dacia*; *Marcellinus*, *Pliny*, & *Dionisius* the Poet, doe graunt them a being in *Sarmatia* of *Europe*.

Iosephus, in his last Book, affirmeth their aboad to be betweene the riuer *Tanais*, and the *Palus Maotides*: and saith moreouer, that (in his time) these *Alaines* or *Alanes*, accompanied with the *Hircanians*; both robbed and spoyled all the Region of the *Medes*. As for my selfe, by that which I haue gathered, from such as haue written on the actions of the *Gothes*: I am perswaded, that those *Alaines* were their Companions, and that oftentimes (in their Warres) for their owne aduantage, they sundred themselves from them, as one while they did with the *Vandales*. But questionlesse, their descent was from *Scythia*, according to the affirmation of *Ptolomy*.

The *Alaines* companions with the *Goths* in their wars.

Of the *Gepides*, *Gyrpides*, or *Iupides*.

If we shall speake of the *Gepides*, *Gyrpides*, or *Iupides*, and what people they were: there are opinions enow concerning them. Some say, that they were (at the first) of *Scythia*, and came thence (as the *Lombards* did) into *Italy*. But hauing made a more curious and diligent search; I find, that they were a people of *Germanie*, being then called *Gepudij*, or *Sepusij*, and (according to *Ptolomeus Mataueſtus*) now at this day, *Siebensburgs*; who followed the *Gothes*, the *Vandals* and the *Normanes* also, they being erring and vagabond people. Till

Gepudij or *Sepusij*.

at length they ventred on the Seas, and went to inhabite the Isles of the *Orchades*, whereof *Thille* is the latest inhabited, as *Volateranus* auoucheth, and now is subiect to the Kings of *Scotland*.

Of the *Getes*, a fanis warlike pple.

The *Getes* haue beene, and are yet a warlike people, instantly much mollested by the *Turkes*; but they found the *Romaines* work enough to doe, consisting of *Transiluanians*, *Wallachians*, *Moldauians*, and other Countries about the Riuer *Ister*, which falleth into the *Ponticke* Sea.

I may not be forgetful of the *Bourguignons*, because I my selfe descended of that Nation. *Orosius* holdeth, that they are deriued out of *Germany*; And *Volateranus* saith, that *Iouinianus* the Emperour vanquished such a people, which liued by the Riuer of *Rheine*. But there is nothing more certaine (according as I haue gathered by the *Germane* Histories) then that they issued from some remaines of the *Gothes*, *Vandales*, and *Hunnes*, who beeing altogether chased by the *Romaines*; threw themselves vpon that part of *Gaule*, which they stiled after their owne name, and there (perforce) enthroned themselves. For afterward, they could so well resist the *Romaines*, that they were constrained to yeild them tolleration, and let them liue in the saide Gountrey amongst the first Inhabitants. There they builded Fortes, Villages, and Townes, which they tearmed *Bourgs* or *Bouroughes* of *Gothes* and *Hunnes*. And then coucting (corruptly) to speake it in one Word: from *Bourg-Goth-Hunnes*, they came to be called *Bourguignons*, as much to say, as a warring people.

Of the *Bourguigns*, and whee they are iud.

Burgougne named after the *Bourguignons*.

Of their own first names.

Aetius, Lieutenant to the Emperour *Theodosius*, gaue them a battaile in the yeare of Christ, 435. and won the day: but it cost him so deare, that he would neuer after meddle any more with them. About the yeare 430. they receiued and embraced the Christian Faith. These people grew on in great ciuility, and became as much addicted to Learning, as to Armes: For they haue a goodly vniuersity, founded by one of the Dukes of *Bourgongne*, wherein many Lectures are read of all the Sciences, to Schollers of all Nations, at *Dola*, the capitall City of that part of *Bourgongne*, which is vnder command of the house

Aetius foyled the *Bourguignons*.

A faire vniuersity, builded by a duke of *Bourgongne*.

of

of *Austria*, and there they hold a Parliament also. As for the other part of *Bourgogne*, in obedience to the crown of *France*: *Digeon* is the Metropolitan City thereof, where likewise is held another Parliament. And these two *Bourgognes* are maintained in very good peace, albeit they are in obedience to diuers Princes.

The fore-named Emperours did also stile themselves by names of *Franques*, as hauing fought with and repulsed the *Franconians*, who were risen vp in arms, and departed out of their Countrey of *Germany*. But so slender were their impeachings, that they inuaded the *Gauls*, which then were Prouinces of the *Romaines*, notwithstanding, all the best meanes they could make. They were entituled *Affricanes* likewise, for hauing obtained some Conquests in *Affrica*: And *Parthians* also, for hauing wonne some victories ouer the *Parthians*. *Stephanus* ranketh them among the people of *Scythia*: but I neuer knew, or read, that the *Romaines* made the *Parthians* tributary, being their best Friendes, for they had more victories ouer the *Romans*, then euer the *Romans* had against them. They did not leaue their Countries, and sought after a new habitation, eyther for pouertie or necessitie: but rather to conquer Kingdomes and Prouinces; as *Media*, *Hircania*, *Armenia*, *Caramania*, and many other. The Riuer *Euphrates* was the limits between them and the *Romaines*: but those *Romaine* Emperours, vpon the declining of their Empire, were Princes full of follie and vain-glory, attributing Titles to themselves, without any matter of right or merit.

They gaue themselves also the Title of Happy and Prosperous, albeit they were (oftentimes) the most infortunate men al of other, as wel in their home affaires, as the Negotiations of the Empire. For (day by day) they lost their Prouinces, which precedent Auncient Captaines (endowed with many vertues) and worthy *Romaine* Consuls had won, by no meane expence of paines, and effusion of their blood.

Moreouer, the most part of the Emperours, beheld their Wiues, Children, and Friends, murdered and massacred; yea, and themselves subiect to no bet-

ter fortune in the end: as *Iustinian*, who was cast out of his Empire by *Florianus*. They would likewise be called *inclytes*, that is to say; Princes of glorious renowne, victorious, triumphing, and euermore *Augustus*, as much to say; as enlargers of the *Romaine* Empire: but, as I formerly said, these were but such Titles as Flatterers gaue them, for the greater number of those Emperours, after that these stiles of honour were imposed on them; could boast of no such happinesse, but rather came farre short of any such felicities.

Thus haue ye briefly seene the originall of all those people, which those Emperours made vaunt to haue foyled and vanquished: howbeit, though they were tearmed barbarous by them, yet (by little and little) they rent and tore their Empire in pieces. At this day they are all become ciuilized, and (well-neere all) Christians: onely the *Parthians* excepted, who are *Mahometists*, pertaking in the *Turkes* Religion.

But hauing spoken of so many Nations, who are al said to be deriued from the *Scythians*: wee may not omit to say some-what of the *Picts*, who (by the opinion of most Writers) do beare the name of a people of *Germanie*, that had their Originall out of *Scythia*, descending of the * *Agathyrsi* in *Sarmatia*, that vsed to paint and couler their faces, and thereupon were named *Picts*. Before they entred into *Brittaine*, they inhabited the Isle of *Orkney* for a long time together, ferrying ouer into *Cathnesse* daily, multiplying so in power and number: that (getting vp further into the Land) they possessed *Rosse*, *Murreyland*, *Merne* and *Angusse*, whence passing into *Fife* and *Louthian*, they droue thence the *Britaine* Inhabitants, who were onelie poore people, that liued by nourishing & breeding Cattle. This their enterance into *Albion* (for so was it then called) was in the yeare of the Worlds Creation 3633.

Cruthneus Camelonus is said to be the first King of the *Picts*, and that he builded a famous City on the banke of the Riuer cald *Caron*, appointing it to be the chiefe City of all the *Pictish* Kingdom. He builded also the Towne of *Agueda*, afterward called *Edenbrough*, of *Ethius*, King of the *Picts*, and the Castle, named

The

Digeon the Metropolitan City.

Of the Franks or Franconians

Affricanes and Parthians.

Stephanus.

Euphrates the boundes betweene the Parthians and Romaines.

Titles full of vanity and fond self-conceit.

The misery of most of the Romain Emperors.

The signification of Augustus.

Those Nations are all become Christians.

The originall of the Picts, & their coming into the Isle of Orkney

* A rich people bordering on the Scythians.

They were named Picts, of painting their faces.

Cruthneus Camelonus first King of the Picts.

The Castle of Maydens, because the *Pictish* Kinges kept their Daughter there, vnder strict custody, and in all good exercises, till their meete yeares for marriage.

Concerning the warres, strifes, and bloody contentions betweene the *Albion Scots* and *Pictes*, thorow all their Kings raigne, till their vtter ouerthrow, and quite dissolation of *Pictland*, by *Kenneth* the victorious King of *Scots*: I referre it to fitter time and place, onely letting ye know, that this subuersion & and vtter ruine of the *Pictes*, happened in the yeare of our redemption, 839. in the sixt yeare of King *Kenneths* glorious raigne, and 1168. yeares after their first Plantation in *Albion*.

Kenneth King of *Scots* quite desolated *Pictland*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

What benefit Musique bringeth to a Common-wealth; And how it hath bene naturally giuen to all Nations in the world, and (by the iudgement of some Historians) hath cured diuers infirmities and diseases of the mind.



Very certain it is, that some Law-makers, peeuish, troublesome, and ouer-hard in many matters, whereof *Lycurgus* was one: did expel Musick out of their Commonwealths, affirming, that it made people effeminate, negligent, and idle. But I am of a quite contrary minde, and dare maintaine, that such as will truely consider Musique, and what it is in it selfe: shall finde, that it can make men bold, hardy, modest, and chaste, especially being well and vertuously vsed. Vnder this kind of Musique, I comprehend not onely that which is sung by Art and mellodiously, as by the voyces of Men, Weomen, or Children: but also I presuppose (within the same compasse) all Instruments; as Flutes, Lutes, Viols, Drums, Trumpets, Organes, Virginals, Harpes, and others. And there is not any thing, that maketh men more ciuilly minded, or preserueth them in better concord and amitie, then Musique.

The folly of some ouer-curious Law-makers.

The Authors comprehension of Musick.

Polybius declareth, that the great Common-wealth of the * *Cynethenses* in *Arcadia*, falling from the delight they formerly had in Musique: grew soone after into seditious humors, & ciuil wars among themselues, wherein there wanted not any kind of crueltie. And when all their Neighbors round about them, were meerey confounded with admiration, as wondring how these people should become so harsh, barbarous, and rude, considering that all the other people of *Arabia*, had by them been reduced to curtesie and humane tractability: *Polybius* was the first that took notice thereof, and auouched, that it onely proceeded, by leauing the vse of Musique, which (from all Antiquity) had euermore bene prized and honoured in *Arcadia*, more then in any other place of the World. For it was especially ordained, by the customes and decrees of the Countrey, that euery one should make vse thereof for the space of thirty yeares; yea, vpon very great paines and penalties. And this was the reason (saith *Polybius*) that the first Law-makers among those people, ordained and appointed continuall vse thereof: onely to cause ciuility & humanity, in regard, that (of their owne naturall disposition) they were wilde, fierce, and barbarous, as all people inhabiting the *Mountaines*, and cold Countries are.

Perhaps the like iudgement might passe on the *Gaules* of former times, whom *Julian* the Emperour tearmed the barbarous people of his daies: which Nation (neuerthelesse) became afterward so courteous and tractable, as any other people whatsoever in *Europe*, whereat all Straungers wondred not a little. And yet it is generally knowne, that no people did more practise Musique, or sung more sweetely, then they: nay, and that which goeth farre beyond this, they could daunce any daunce in *France*, were it *Ionian* or *Lydian*, that is to say; consisting of five or seauen notes or strains. Which were expressly forbidden to Youth, by *Plato* and *Aristotle*, because they had a great power and preuailance, in softning and humbling the hearts of men. They would also exercise their Children to the * *Dorian* Musique, which was the first or chiefest note, to maintaine them in an harmonious sweetnesse, accom-

Polyb. in Lib. 4. Cap. 7.
* A Citty in *Arcadia*, nere *Leprum*.

A Common-wealth quite ouerthrowne by leauing Musicke.

Lawes and Customes for the vse of Musicke.

Of the *Gaules*

Jul. imp. in Epi. ad Antioch.

The *Gaules* were generally addicted to Musick.

Plato in Lib. de Leg. et Republ.

* A certaine kind of Musick representing grauity.

panied with grauitie, which was the *Dorian* proper effect.

Such prohibition might better haue beene vsed in the lesser *Asia*, where they had no other dances; but of five or seuen straines, especially in the Countreyes of *Ionian* and *Lydia*. But people inhabiting the Northern parts; cold, Mountainous, and Rocky, who are ordinarily more sauage, or lesse courteous then the Inhabitants of the South, or dwelling on Plaines, neuer can be better qualified or softened, then by vsing the *Ionian* & *Lydian* hermony, which was also forbidden in the Primitiue Church: and nothing was there permitted to bee sung, but of the first note, which is now most of all frequented in Churches. And like as men do disarm sauage Beasts of furie & violence, to make them of a more tractable Nature: euen so, the *Lydian* and *Ionian* Musicke or hermony, disarmeth the verie rudest and most barbarous Nations, of all their former, sauage, and cruell Natures, causing them to become milde, pliant, and affable. According as it fell out with the *Gaules*, who (it may be) could not haue beene tamed & made obedient vnto the ciuill Lawes and Ordinances of a Monarchy, if their former sterne Nature (which the Emperour *Iulian* said, was so high, and vn-sufferable of seruitude) had not bin mollified and sweetened by Musicke.

Musick, is one of the members of the Mathematickes, as beeing a Science attracted from numbers: because that by them; the proportion Hermonicall is found out. *Platoes* will was, that Children should learne to sing, for recreation of their owne spirites, and to prayse God by Hymnes. And in truth, there is nothing that more taketh away offensuennesse, or easeth matter of great and laborious tranaile (as woorking in the ground, Masonry, Carpentry, and exercising other Arts, painefull to the bodie) then singing doth.

In like manner, all Artezans, following any Trade or profession, doe vse to sing: as Hay-makers, Haruesters, Gardiners, Deluers, Children and Weomen weeding grounds, doe weare awaie the irkesomnesse of their labour by singing, either in heate or colde, Winds or Rain, it maketh paine the more supportable to them.

Soldiers, euen when they goe (manie times) to be slaine in a battell, will yet sing by the way: the beating of Drums, and sounding of Fifes and Trompets, giueth courage to the Soldier for his cariage in Warre, making him hardie, bold, and valiant. Nor is it to bee doubted, that Nature gaue Musicke and melodie to man, but onely for his good and benefit; as yong Children do apparantly manifest vnto vs: for, when their Nursses would haue them to sleepe, and keepe them in their Cradles: euen when they are most impatient and froward nothing sooner asswageth and preuayleth with them, then mellodie and singing. In so manie Barbarour Nations, as haue bin discovered in former Antiquitie, and in our dayes, in that part of the earth which is called the New-found World, Flutes haue beene found among them, Drums, Hoboyes, and other Instruments, and both priuately and publickely, as also in their Temples, singing of Psalmes hath beene obserued.

Many creatures, as diuers kindes of Birds, when they are in any chearfull disposition, will sing to solace and delight themselues: as the Nightingale, the Tarrine, the Thrush, Linnet, Blackbird, and others; among which Birds, many haue beene taught to sing by men, as daylie in most places is discerned. As concerning foure-footed Beasts, diuers of them doe take much pleasure in Musicke, as namely Camels: for if such as guide and Gouerne them, doe not ordinarily sing or whistle to them, they will not trauel with any spirit or chearfulnesse. All such as haue beene in the East Countreyes, and noted the Carauannes, which are troops of Camelles laden with Merchandizes, haue affirmed as much. Horses that are dressed by their Keepers, and daily sung vnto as they do it, are made verie manageable, gentle, and apt for the Saddle. Aboue all other Beasts, the Hart or Stag how wilde soeuer he bee, if hee heare a man play on a Violl, or on a Lute, he wil (by stealths) draw neerer and neerer, yea and suffer himselfe to bee touched, as I my selfe haue seene by experience.

Musicke hath mighty power and Authority ouer the spirits and affections of men: and amongst many examples, the first may be of *Timotheus*, who by pleasing sounds and chaunges of his Instrument,

Dances vsed in the Lesser Asia.

Songes of the first note or sound, not vsed in the primitiue church

The stern nature of the Gaules, softened by Musicke.

Musick a member of the Mathematicks

Musicke maketh all labor seeme light and easie.

Nature gaue Musicke vnto man for his benefit.

Musicke in Countries of the New-found world.

Birdes that take delight in Musicke.

Camelles are pleased with singing.

The Hart or Stag, a great affecter of Musicke.

The reason
why *Alexan-*
der went from
a Banquet.

Agamemnon &
his Wife *Cly-*
temnestra.

K. David deli-
ghted highlie
in his *Pfalteri-*
on.

Moyfes apoin-
ted Musick in
the Temple
of God.

Musick obser-
ued amongest
the *Grecians*

Of the first
Inuenters of
Musicke and
Instruments.

Gen. 41, 21.

ment, constrained *Alexander* (as ouer-
ioyed with pleasure) for to depart from a
banquet. Next, we may speake of *Agamemnon*, who was loath to part from his
Countrey, and go to the sledge of *Troy*,
because he was doubtfull of the modesty
of his wife *Clytemnestra*; and therefore,
he left a Musition on the Harp with her;
the sound whereof, should incite her to
bashfulness and continence, so that *Æ-*
gistus could not abuse her, without kil-
ling the Musition. But in speaking of this
Harper, it maketh me to remember the
Royall Psalmist *David*, who of himselfe,
was a man verie strong and seuer, yet
much guided and detained by his Psalterion.
Nor are we to thinke, that the her-
monie of this Instrument, was common
or vulgar, whereof the sacred Scripture
maketh mention so many times, and
which was iudged only (among al other)
meete to celebrate the praises of God. It
is composed of seauentie two stringes, in
forme trilaterall, and the consonance
thereof, is incomparable.

It was ordained by *Moyfes*, that God
should be praised in his Temple, with
voices and Instruments; and Christians
(afterward) made continuance thereof
by singing Psalmes, both with voices and
Organs, which greatly incited Deuotion
in the verie dullest minds. It was an ef-
peciall note of ciuilitie among the *Greci-*
ans, euen as it is to this day after any feast
or Banquet, to play vpon some Musical
Instrument, or to sing anie *Ode* melodi-
ously. Which obseruation, reached
into *Italy, Germany, Spaine, and France*,
where much more account is made of a
cunning Musition that can ſing wel, play
on Musical Instruments, Dance, vse lof-
tie trickes, yet keepe both tune and time,
that the cadence of his feete may fit with
the Instrument, then of any ydle, neglect
or ignorant fellow.

Manie haue attributed the inuention
of Musicke, and playing on the Lyre or
Harpe, to *Orpheus*; others, to *Amphion*;
the *Grecians* to *Dionysius* or *Bacchus*; but
others, to the people of *Arcadia*, because
the men of that Countrey, were natural-
ly addicted thereto. The Hebrewes, as
Moyfes and *Iosephus*, doe say; that *Inball*
the Sonne of *Lamech* (who liued in the
yeare of the worlde, 1040. manie Ages
before *Amphion*, and al other Musitions,
was the Father of all that play vpon the

Harpe and Organs; and that he did first
finde out the concords of Musicke; nay
more, that hee carefully addicted him-
selfe, and played both on the Psalterion,
and on the Harpe. As concerning my
selfe, I will not deny, that all the fore-
named men were good Musitions, but that
any one man of them should bee the sole
inuenter, I can verie hardly therein bee
perswaded.

Rather I am of the minde, that euerie
singuler man, according vnto the Ages
wherein they liued, made addition of
their skill and knowledge; and so brought
it to the perfection wherein we now find
it to bee. And in these verie dayes of
ours, there haue liued men so excellent
and skilfull, as haue added diuers Rules,
which neuer were knowne before; and
brought the name of Musick to admired
perfection, some inuenters whereof are
knowne, but other vncertaine.

Before the Conclusion of this Chap-
ter, I am desirous to set downe two seue-
rall experiences, concerning the efficacy
and might of Musick: which my self saw
practised vpon two Gentlewomen; one
of them being *de la March*, neer to *Garet*,
young, vertuous, and passable for beau-
tie. This Gentlewoman fell into such a
furie (by reason of a reporte made vnto
her, of her husbandes inclination, to
change and nouell affection) that at eue-
ry sudden moment of time, shee woulde
throw her selfe headlong into the fire, or
out at a Window, or into a Fish-ponde
neere to her house; out of which, she had
beene rescued two seuerall times; and
therefore committed to more dilligent
keeping.

Physitions could returne no good by
their paines and endeouours, but a religi-
ous *Capucine* passing that way, and cra-
uing his *Passade* or *Almes*, at the doore
of this Gentlewomans house; and hea-
ring the strange accident befall her, gaue
them aduise, that some skilfull man, well
experienced in playing vpon the Lute,
should vse his cunning by her, and not to
part from her in some prettie length of
time, because it would proue verie help-
full to her. Further hee added, that in
the night time, some pleasing Ditties
might well consort with the Musicke,
which accordingly was performed; and
within lesse then three months space, the
violent passion forsooke her; and she re-
maineth

That no one
man could be
the onelic In-
uenter of Mu-
sicke.

Musicke
brought vnto
perfection in
our dayes.

Two experi-
ments made
of the power
of Musicke.

A Gentlewo-
man distract-
ed with iea-
lously cured,
and how.

The aduise of
a *Capucine* fri-
er.

The Historie
of another
Gentlewoman
of Honor.

maineth at this time sound both in mind
and bodie.

I likewise knew another Gentlewo-
man of honor at *Rohen*, whose name may
best be knowne by *du Parreau*, that al her
life time, did neuer vse the helpe of anie
Physicke, how great or grieuous soeuer
her infirmities were. But in all hir disea-
ses, griefes, hurts, Childe-weakenesses,
and lameness, shee neuer desired anie
better Physitian, then one that could ar-
tificially play on the Taber and Pipe, and
him shee would entitle her true Physiti-
on.

Griefes and
great infirmi-
ties cured by
Musicke.

This Gentlewoman being well entred
into Age, it happened, that an extreame
paine seized on her knee, immagined to
proceede from some taste of the Gowte.
Whereupon, she would haue her Taborer
instantly, to play her a pleasaunt and
liuely Carranto. The Taborer being
verie willing to please his Mistris, made
such hast to touch his Taber, and sounde
his Pipe in the best manner: that striuing
to excede himselfe in Art and dexteritie,
both in readinesse of his winde, and
agility of hand, he fell down in a swoond
vpon the Floore. Hee being disabled
from playing any longer, and all there
present wondering not a little, to see him
lye in such straunge estate, without anie
recouery of strength or knowledge, for
the space almost, of three quarters of an
houre: the Gentlewoman her selfe, euen
then complained, that her paine and af-
fliction was neuer so extraordinarie on
her, as in the time of the Musicks so sud-
daine cessation.

A strange ac-
cident vnto a
Taborer.

The Taborer hauing recouered strength
and iudgement againe, and indifferentlie
refreshed with a sprightly Cup of Wine,
fell afresh to his former skilfull Muscical
playing, and the Gentlewoman felte her
paine immediately to leaue her. I my
selfe was in the Chamber when these ac-
cidents happened; and do auouch vpon
my credit, that the Gentlewoman thus
liued an hundred and six yeares.

The Authour
auoucheth
the truth of
this Historie.

The Authors
conclusion.

In briefe, in all well pollicied and or-
dered Commonweales, men should en-
struēt their Sons and Daughters in Mu-
sicke, because it mollifieth angrie hearts,
asswageth sadnesse, preferueth people in
kinde concord and amitie, healeth many
melancholy diseases, and is no mean ex-
citer of the minde to deuotion. *Plato*
was of the minde, that the Heauens (in

their motion and stirring) doth make so
great and melodious an hermonie, that
if man could be able to vnderstand it, he
would neuer be wearied with abiding in
this world.

Musicke and
melody in the
heauens mo-
tion.

CHAP. XXIX.

*Of Gold, the properties & excellency there-
of: Where it is found: How it is extra-
cted, purified: and what paine is besto-
wed in getting it.*



He thinkes, I shoulde offer
great wrong to Nature, if
hauing written on so ma-
nie sundry things, I shold
not say somewhat concer-
ning Gold, it beeing the most excellent
of all other mettals; yea (in a maner) sur-
passing all things created in this neather
world. For, it is saide to be immortall;
exempted from all rust and corruption;
infomuch, that lying hidden in the earth,
in the Water, or in the most putrified
heape of filth, for so manie yeares as any
one pleaseth, yet it wil neuer receyue or
tast of any imperfection; or let it be con-
tinually kept in the fire, yet it neuer dimi-
nisheth, neither receiueh any change or
alteration.

Gold reputed
to be imortal
and free from
filth or putri-
faction.

His colour carrieth resemblance with
the beames of the Sunne, which reioy-
ceth or cheareth melancholy people. It
hath no euil fauour or tast, neither soileth
their hands that meddle with it, as all o-
ther Mettals else do; which likewise float
aloft aboue Quick-siluer, but Gold only
goes to the bottome. If it be receiued
into the bodie, it neuer offendeth the sto-
macke, be it either in powder, or solidly
in Mornelles: but contrarywise, giueth
chearefulnesse to the heart, and comfor-
teth the vital spirits, whereto other Met-
tals are often offensiuē.

The colour,
properties, &
perfections of
Gold.

Therefore, let no man enter into anie
meruaile, if the World doth make such
estimation thereof, and prize it aboue all
other thinges. For, as concerning the
matter whereof it consisteth, a Lear-
ned Authour sayeth: *That it is composed*
of

The matter wherof Gold is composed, being two Elementarie substances.

Elementarie conuerted Metally bodies.

All actions & endeouours tend vnto nothing more, then to the getting of Gold.

of two Elementarie substances, iustlie and equally proportioned. These substances then so mingled, being equall and vnited in proprietic, can endure nothing else, but this amiable and concordiall Commixtion, which perfecteth it selfe in the fermentation and knitting together, making such an interligation, and absolute vnion of the one with the other; that it appeareth meerly impossible to dissolue or seperate them. So that, bee it that this ensueth by the influence of the Celestiall bodies, or by the diurnity and power of time, or by the admirable operation of Nature; or else, that all these are therein assisting: yet notwithstanding, these Elementarie substances do conuert themselues into a Mettally bodie, which is tearmed Golde. The temperature whereof, with the Colligation and Vnion, maketh it so firme and solide, that not only it begetteth a common and vulgar permanencie: but receiueth likewise an incorruptible temperature, as it were, hauing (I know not how) some-what in him, that enricheth and honoureth him, with al the forenamed excellent properties.

Merchants saile by Sea, trauell on the Land, with infinite cares, dangers, and paines, only to get this Gold. The maine intent of Soldiers, that expose themselues euerie moment into the pawes of death, or danger of her perpetuall thraldome, is only to winne Golde. For be it, that they surprize a Cittie by assault, or winne the day by triall of battaile: they wil seeke after no other Luggage or Moouables, but Gold onely: and if prisoners labor to redeeme their liues, the ransome must be Gold only. Schollers, and men experienced in all Arts, their studie & practise is to no other end, but to gaine Golde. If a payment be made to any great person, it must be in faire Gold. If gifts to Princes, none fitter then Golde. If but betweene Friend and Friend, the courtesie doth best expresse it selfe in Gold.

Kinges, Emperours, and Princes, by

the meanes of Golde, haue made themselues redoubted and dreadfull, and conquered manie potent Prouinces. Let Phillip King of Macedon remaine as a testimonie; who causing a re-search to bee made in the Mines of Gold which were in his Countreyes (that formerly had bin thoroughly digged, and quite giuen ouer) found yet so much remaining, as yeilded him the whole Conquest of Greece, and Alexander his Sonne afterward, of all the East. And many times, by the meanes of this excellling Mettall, the same King Phillip, caused impregnable places to bee surrendered to him, which he neuer could haue surprized by power.

To approue the truth heerof, Plutarke reporteth of the same Phillip, that he hauing besiedged a place, by Nature so inexpugnable, that his owne followers aduised him to withdraw from thence: he demaunded of him that had best experience of the saide place, if there were no meanes, to let an Ass (laden with Gold) but goe about it. Whereto aunswere was made, yes doubtlesse. Then Phillip assured himselfe of taking the place, for he that was the Commauder in it, comming to parlie, and touching the Gold, submitted himselfe to King Phillip, & the place also.

The Indies, which be so farre off, are sought for with danger of death, and vspeakable trauails of so manie thousands of men, which the Kings of Spaine haue continually sent thither: onely for the Mines of Golde, and rich sands so frequently found in the Riuer. Which neuer would be so fiercely followed, if I were able to recount, how manie men and women grow negligent of their own honor and good fame, onely by the base affection of Gold. But let vs now see, where this Golde is found; and in what manner it is come by: which I will relate in a Chapter by it selfe, least this should be offensive to the Reader by length.

Kingdomes & great Prouinces wonne by Gold.

Impregnable places made passable by Gold.

The reason why the Indies are so much trau. y. led & sought after.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

How Mines of Gold are known where they are: And in what manner the Golde is taken forth & washed.



I would require too long a labour to relate all those Regions where Golde is found; for I am perswaded, that if men did bestow their paines in seeking, Mines wold be found (almost in euerie Country: yet more in some one, then in other; and of greater ease to be obtained. In manie parts of Germany, Gold is found, as in Bohemia, Transyluana, Lauris, Sibebourg, and many other Countreyes. In England in some few places. In Macedonia in a place called Syderocapsa. In diuers parts of Affrica, as in Ethiopia, and beyond the rest, in the New worlde, which we improperly tearme India, where Gold is had with much lesse labour, then amongst vs.

Yet howsoeuer it be, nothing can be obtained without labour; and wee must not thinke, that when men are in the Indias, they finde Ingots readie made to their hands, and gather vp Golde, as we do stones vppon the High-ways. Surely it cannot be so, for we finde by the Spanish Histories, that the more part of the Naturall Indians, do meereley dye with labouring in the Mines of Golde, as being ouer-enforced and constrained vnto hard toyles, and verie badly vsed by the Spaniards.

Now adayes, no such plentie of Gold is brought thence, as formerly hath bin, for that which was sent hither, and in so great quantities, had long time before bene gathered by the Indians. And so much the rather, because the greater part of their Idolles, were made of massy Gold; the verie soles of their Shooes, Vessels, and wearing Garments. Their Temples and Royall Pallaces, were all

covered quite ouer with Golde, as ours are with Lead, and manie other moouables, which were too long and tedious to relate.

Next; the great and admirable ransomes of manie of their Kinges, I passe ouer in silence, as being at large discoursed in diuers other Bookes. But nowe at this present, a new kind of search must bee made for Golde, with much difficult labour, and great expence of time, especially, to recouer anie such quantitie. Therefore, let vs examine the places where it is to be had, and what proceeding is vsed therein.

Mettally matters haue their propper seating in Mountaines, in the same manner, as Trees haue their roots, Trunkes Braunches, and Leaues. And those hilles, whose toppes tend towardes the South, and their feete stretch towardes the North, dooth giue a demonstration to haue Mettall in them, because Mettalles doe engender themselues of a verie thicke and grosse humour, which may bee knowne by the colour and sa- uour; for, it yeeldeth a Blacke coloured earth, in regard of the Golde and Siluer, and such is the fauour also.

If yee breake two stones, of one and the same hill, if any Mettall be beneath in the bowelles thereof, yee shall apparently perceiue, that the Stones will fauour exceedingly of Sulphure. Whereby is to bee vnderstoode, that the first creation or composure of Golde, is in the verie top and highest part of Mountaines, or other loftie places, becaule the Sunne there purifieth that, which is ouermuch earthy. But when Raynes and Torrents, doe (by little and little) distill vppon the hilles, they beare the Golde along downe with them vnto the lower partes of those hilles: whence likewise ensaeth, that the earth rifting by the Raine, Golde therein encloseth it selfe.

Hauiug declared sufficiently (as I thinke) the true Originall of Golde, and of his Mines, I come now to relate, how it is come by, as wel in Germany, as in Calicut, Fern, and other Prouinces, be they in the East, West, North, or South, in which places there are diuers diuersities of Mines. Because they must either fish for Graines of Golde in the Riuers, or

Matters of Mettals, are in Mountains and discerned by colour and smell of the earth.

Gold is created in Mountains or high Hills, and in what manner

Howe manie diuersities of Mines of gold there are, & how they are severally termed.

Y y delue

All Countries supposed to haue Mines of Golde, but not alike in quantity.

Men find not Ingots of gold ready made to their hands.

No such store of Gold now as in former times.

The Newe World emptied of her Gold.

delue and digge in the Rockes & Mountaines, according vnto the places where such Mines are discovered. For knowledge whereof, it is to bee vnderstoode, that there be Mines, which are tearmed pendant or hanging Mines; others called lying or settled; others, oblique, or winding diuers waies: and others beside, that are streaming or gliding gently along in the earth or water.

Of Pendant Mines.

Of lying or settled Mines.

Of oblique or winding Mines.

Of riuersthat haue pure & fine graines of Golde, and how they wer discerned.

Ceremonies obserued by Idolaters in getting Gold out of the earth.

Diuellish Visions and Deceptions.

The pendant Mines, be those which are found in the sommitie or superficies of hilles or Mountaines, and haue (from thence) earth vnderneath them. Those that bee called lying or settled, are such as are beneath in the bottome, or playne firme ground, being carried downe (either by Torrents and outragious Raines. And the other which are sayde to be oblique or Circkling, haue their courses thwarting or trauersing, eyther in those which hang, or in the Lying Mines. And all of these, doo disperse and spred themselves (by the meanes of little Pearling Gullets of Warer) into the neereft neighbouring Riuer: from whence ensueth, that there are Riuer, generallie thoroughout the World, wherein is Sande and Grauell, appearing as if it were Azure and Golden in Colour, and therein are pure and fine graines of good Gold.

But returning to the pendant or hanging Mine, it behooueth heere to know, after what maner the *Indians* (and diuers other Nations, where such matter is in vse and practise) do gouerne and carrie themselves, in getting or deriuing this Mettall out of the earths entrails.

Before we enter vpon the worke, it is necessarie to knowe, that in the Easterne Countreyes, where the people are Idolaters, such men as intend to goe and digge for Gold, and neuer were before at any Mines opening: doe abstaine from their Wiues, & all other pleasures of the body, vsing verie soleinne Fastes and abstinences, adoring the Sun with earnest prayers. And this they doe, not onely because they hold a firme opinion, that Gold must needs be a sacred thing: but also to arme and settle themselves against Diabolicall Visions and illusions, which they are often subiect to in solitarie places, where they raise vp and finde so precious a Mettall, as they that haue beene in *Peru*, and the other Neighbouring Countreyes, confessed to haue seen,

during the time of their there present abiding.

Gold there is found in the earth, and in Rockie places, bee they the plaines or hilly grounds, where there is no verdure, but all naked and bare. In such partes as are without Water, as the experimented and skilful in the Veyns of Mines (knowing for a certainty what can be in such an earth) do first wash the place very cleane where they purpose to digge; which being done, they delue about eight or ten foote in depth; and as much in length and largenesse; then, in a certaine vessell made of purpose, they still doe wash the earth, as it is digged vp. If thus by washing, they finde any Golde, they continue on the labour: but if they find none, they will not yet giue ouer, vntill by digging deeper; they finde out the Rocke, which they breake and pierce thorough with their Instruments, vaulting it daylie as they goe on, with Engines and strong defences of Woodde, that the earth or stones may not fall downe vpon them. Concerning such Mines as are sought for in plaine grounds, they beginne digging (so neere as possibly they may) vnto some Brooke, Riuer, Current, or Lake: because thereby (in washing the earth) they may the sooner perceiue the Gold; or when any cometh to them, for otherwise, the labour would be too insupportable. And this is the reason, that the richest men in the *Indias*, haue store of Slaues, whom they onely employ in digging and deluing, beside other laborers, that bring or draw vpe the earth in Baskets, and others that carrie it to the Water in Panniers or Doffers. In the Water, bee it Riuer, Lake, Brooke, or Spring, there are diuers other slaues, that stand vp aboute the Knees, washing the saide earth (as it is brought vnto them) in Siues or Searces, making vse of no more water then is needfull. and so dexteriously seperating the Golde from the Earth, that as the earth (by little and little) glydeth away, so the Golde remaineth behinde in the Siue or Searce, then afterward, making (as it were) a second kinde of seperation, it is put into a Vessell by it selfe, and more earth brought to washing in like maner, and vsed accordingly. Heer is to be remembred, that they which wash the Mettall in these Siues or Searces, are most commonly Women, who haue

The first manner of digging for gold, in groundes haue no Water.

Of digging til they come to the Rocke, and what is done after.

Of Mines in plaingrounds

Rich men in *India*, haue store of slaues and how they are employed

Of washing the earth in Siues or Searces.

two men, standing ready to fill their sines; two others, which bring the Earth or Oare to them; two more for lading, and two for fetching, drawing it vp from the Diggers. So much shall suffice for the first manner of bringing Golde from the Mine.

There are other meanes, and in another manner; as also the place where the Golde is founde, is altogether different. Considering, that there are riuers, where in both sande and Graines of Golde are found; which for the more ease in recovering, if the Riuer bee small and little, the *Indians* labour to emptie and draw it drie. Then taking the sande and Earth in the bottome, they wash it in such sort as hath been declared.

But if the Riuer or Spring bee such, as it cannot bee made drie: they change and turne the course some other waie, quite from his Naturall Bedde or Current. Which beeing done, they go to seeke for Gold in the very middest of the Channell, amongst the Pebbles and Flintes: and more profite returneth by this kinde of Fishing, then by washing the digged Earth, as I haue truely found by obseruation.

But howsoever the Metall of Golde is thus found out in Riuers, or in the Plaine Fieldes: yet it is helde for most certaine and infallible, that it was first bredde in the Sommetie and toppes of Hilles or Mountaines; and the vehement showres and falles of Raine (when this Earth was baked and conuerted into Golde, by the radiant and splendant beames of the Sunne) by softe and slow slydings, carried it downe into neere adjoining Riuers and Brookes, which lye apt and readie to receyue whatsoever is sent downe by Torrents from the Mountaines; as also, into the vnder-eeuen grounds.

Therefore, there is no further question to be vrged, but that Golde hath his Originall in the superficies of the Earth, and breedeth in the most secret partes thereof. So that Mines are oftentimes made like vnto Cavernes and Grottes; whereof, and likewise of Mines in the Mountaines, wee doe now purpose to speake.

The *Indians*, doe vse another kinde of meanes for the finding of Golde, which is much more dangerous; and is also

obserued in those Countreyes; falselie called the *West Indies*: yea, it is likewise vsed in the Northerne Regions, towards the higher *Suessia*, *Gothia*, and partes of the *Varines*, all ioyning to the kingdome of *Norway*.

This manner of emptying Mines, is obserued in those that are pendant, to wit; Mines of the Mountaines. In which labour, diuers Engines are employed, and vaulted Tables vsed, to hinder the daunger hourelly to bee feared, because great perilles dooth ordinarily happen. For, some haue bene noted, in working to vndermine the Rocke, to be on the suddaine murdered, with the fall of great Stones, breaking out of the hollowe riftes. Others, that climbe and grapple along the sharpe steeple Rockes, with Doffers and Baskets fastened vnto their backes, seeking for the Oare of the Mines, to carrie it vnto the VVater, by beeing altogether vnable to holde their owne waight any longer, fall downe and are destroyed.

But, that this businesse might be put in execution, with much lesse daunger, some haue inuented a verie great wheele, guided and directed (in some places) by Horsses: but for lacke of such help, men do therein employ their strength and industrie. By the meanes of this wheele, they let downe and mount vppe againe, the Deluers and Diggers in the Mine; and those also that carrie the Oare to washing. This VVheele serueth likewise, to conuey away the VVater which the Diggers happen to light on, verie deepe in the Earth. Another great daunger which I do obserue in this search, is the noysome exhalations yssuing out of the Mines, whereby many people haue been stifled, not being able to endure so grosse an Ayre. Many times also, rauines and inuadations of water happeneth, suddenly breaking forth, by some ouerture of the source or Spring, and ouertaketh or rather surmounteth them sooner, then they can haue respite for giuing warning to them alofte, for drawing of them vppe. And therefore, those as bee employed in this laborious paines & trauaile, commonly are such as haue deferred the Halter: or else, they ovne Slaues, whose Liues are of lesse esteeme vnto them, then are some of their best Beasts.

How Gold is gotten out of pendant Mines which properly are called Mines of the Mountaines.

Great danger in the pendant or Mountaine Mines.

A commodious Wheele for ease of Workmen in the Golden Mines.

The noysome fauors & exhalations in Mines.

The qualitie of such as vndergoe the greatest daunger.

Other means and waies for the finding out of Gold.

Of Golde found within Brooks or Riuers.

Fishing for Gold, is better then washing the earth

The powerfull beames of the Sunne, createth gold

Gold hath his Originall in the superficies of the earth.

Wee are further to knowe, that the Golde which is found in the *Indiaes*, is not so much charged with Mettalles, as that which is hadde in *Europe*, *Asia*, or *Affrica*: because it is farre more pure, and yeldeth not so much labour to the Purifier. For that Golde of the *Indiaes*, is fined or purified only by fire: but that elsewhere (ouer and beside the fire) is beaten and re-beaten with the strokes of hammers; and then in the end, refined with strong Water. Also, rarely or sildome do they find any pure Gold in the Mine: but it is intermedled with Siluer, or some other Mettals.

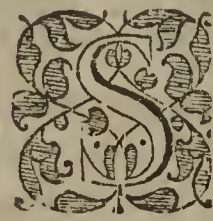
As for the Golde in Graines, which is found in Riuers and perling Brookes, they vsed (in some parts) to gather it with the helpe of Sheepes skinnes, that hadde the Wool on them: but because it appeared to bee ouer-laborious, the vse of Quicke-siluer was deuised; whereby it is easily knowne among the sand. From which maner of trying or finding Gold, the Fable of the Golden Fleece was inuented, which *Iason* and his *Argonantes*, sayled for to *Pontus*. And hauing attained so farre as the Riuer *Phasis*, where the Countrey people found out and gathered their Golde, with such Wool skinnes: they deriued thence, many good Golden Arguments, and could tel store of Tales, at their returning home. But bee it how soeuer *Iason* and his followers Fleeced, and got all the Golde from the *Colchians*, which they had gathered for manie yeares together, with their sheep-skinnes: And then gaue it out in a mockery, that they had conquered and woonne the Fleece of Gold.

Gold in grainnes beeing founde in Riuers.

The Interpretation of the Fable of the Goldē-fleece

CHAP. XXXI.

Whence the diuersitie of Golde proceedeth: His Medicinable Vertues. Of visions and illusions that are mette withall in Mines. And of the deceite that is committed in the composition, which is called Aurum potable.



Some do hold, that in the whole vniuersall Worlde, there is but one kinde of Gold only; and that (generally) wheresoeuer it is found, or whence soeuer it commeth: if it be well refined and purified without any commixtion, it is continuallie good Gold. Also, that that which is drawne out of the verie coldest Regions in the world, is as good as that of the verie hottest parts. And that of the East is no more excellent, then the other of the West. But when Finers, Gold-smiths, and Monnoyers, do attribute diuersitie of Names thereto, esteeming one kinde to bee of much greater price and value then another (as we may note for example; one is tearmed Ducate Golde, another Crown Gold, another Maille Golde, or *Or de Maille*, another Pistolet Gold, valewing xxi. Carrats, another eighteene, and so of others; some more, some lesse:) Questionlesse, these Names and dignities, did receiue their birth and Original in diuers Countries, where Gold had bene adulterated and sophisticated, by the vnfaithfulness of Workemen, and multiplied with other minglings of Metals, of much lesser value, and farre inferiour in puritie to the other. Which multiplication, hath bene inuented, according vnto their will and humour, that laboured to augment our moderne Moneyes. As for Ducates, Crownes, * *Philippus*, * *Angelots*, and * *Portugaloises*, they were diuersly forged of pure and impure Gold, and the inuention hath not bene Moderne.

For wee finde, that from the time of the Romaines Greatnesse, the Commonwealth

Opinion conceived of one kind of Gold only.

Original of the diuers kinds of gold, and of their feveral terms by valewatio.

Multiplication began in Moderne monies.

* A Golden Coine worth iii. s. Sterling.

* Our English Argell.

* The Portegue, worth iii. li. x. s. Sterling.

mon-wealth being not able to supply the expences of their warres; did sometimes diminish the prices of their moneyes, for an ouer-plus gaine and aduantage. Likewise, they sophisticated their purest Siluer, enter-mingling it with an eyght part of Copper, onely because they wold encrease it.

Some (neuerthelesse) contrarie to the opinion of Antiquitie, and of many, verie skillfull in matter of Mettals, doe say the contrary, to wit; That the Easterne Golde is much better then the Northerne; and better in one Country then in another. Bvt as for my selfe, I holde the first Opinion, as being perswaded, that Nature neuer tooke delight, in making one Elementarie substance of gold, more fine or perfect then another. For, hee is so much the neater and purer in his qualitie, as the Elements are simple, whereof hee is framed or composed.

It is no shame then to vs, if we hold Golde in such excellent estimation, farr above all other Riches, and valew it in our iudgement, to bee more precious then all other Mettalles whatsoever. For, Nature consulting with her selfe, to compose it of an equall quantitie, truely correspondent to the Symmetric and iust proportion of the Elementes, yeeldeth it readilie purified from the verie Originall, according as the selfesame Elements were truely simple. And by Coniunction of those Elements, being in Vertue equall together, was engendered such a Delicate and perfect mixtion of indissoluble Vnion, composing the Connexion so intirely and faithfully: that it formed an incorruptible Paste or substance, which is permanent vnto all Eternitie both in goodnesse and excellencie.

And this is the cause, why it cannot bee Conquered by the iniuries of Antiquity, and that it will not containe in it selfe, neyther endure anie excrescence and superfluity of fowle commixtion. For, although it remaineth as buried in the Water, or in the Fire, for some long space of time: yet notwithstanding, it is neuer blemished, neyther receyueth anie other qualitie or defect, as I haue formerly sayde. This is the priuiledge, which is alone perticuler vnto Golde onely, above all other Mettalles what-

soener. Now, albeit the Gracians haue spoken nothing of his properties and Medicinable vertues: yet the Arabians were not therein forgetfull, because they appointed it in prepared Medicaments, to euacuate fullen and Melancholie Humors.

Item, to make an actuall Caustic, especially in his Soueraigne qualitie, it must onelie be done with Golde: for the Wound which it maketh and Vlcerates, is much more the sooner healed. Golde held within the mouth, maketh the breath good and sweete. The Filidust of Golde, pounded or beaten smallest on a Marble stone, is verie good in such Medicines, as are giuen for the re growing of Haire againe, after it hath been formerly lost: or for Ring wormes and Tettors, when it is so small beaten, as it may bee scarce discerned vnder the Thumbe Naile: then putting it into the eyes, it is very soueraigne for clearing of the sight. It is drunke also, for a preseruatue against the accidents and dauntings of the heart.

Water, wherein an Ingot of Golde (made red hotte in the Fire) hath beene some few times quenched: or, wanting an Ingot, a Ducate, Portugue, or some such other thick and great piece of gold: that Water, mingled with wine, helpeth the Quartaine Feauer, purgeth the Melancholy humor, diminisheth the puffed vp Spleene or Milte, and is also a singulare remedy against the Dropsie.

Nor are those reports to be reputed as Fables, concerning euill Spirites or Demons, which haue bin seene and heard in Mines: for this is the most irkesom and dangerous thing, that hurteth and offendeth the poore Mettally Pioners. And manie times, they behold the rowling of great stones from the maine Rocke, their Engines suddenly broken all to peeces; their Ladders ouerthrowne, and the Cords (whereby they holde) broken in sunder; so that the parties fall beyond all recovery.

Others haue bin rapt and transported suddenly away, and neuer after eyther seen or heard of. These hurtful spiritis, are thought also to do them infinit small seruices, as to them that draw vp the Mine; and cleaue the great stones of the Rock, (which is thought sometimes impossible

The Medicinable properties & vertues of Gold.

Causticizing with Golde.

Gold maketh sweet breath.

Gold restoreth lost haire

Gold preseruethe eyesight, & conforteth the heart.

Gold quenched in Water, helpeth the Quartaine Ague & Dropsie

Spiritis haunting Mines, are verie dangerous to the poor Pioners.

Spiritis seruiceable for a while, and hurtful afterward.

Opinion contrary to Antiquity & men of skil in Mettals.

There is onely but one kind of Gold, and the reason to aproue it.

The purity of Golde from the first Originall therof.

Gold cannot endure an excrescence of fowle Commixtion.

to be done, without such strange help) & counterfeiting a thousand voices, with as manie Apish and fantasticke trickes, for the pastime and pleasure of such poore people in their labour. But verie soon after, except they be aduised and careful of themselves, a peece of the Rocke falls on their heades, and then this ioy is conuerted into teares and sad complaintes. And this happeneth more in the *Indiæ*, and amongst those Idolaterous people, then where any Christians are, or frequent.

More among the idolatrous Indians, then any wher els.

Belonius his Historie of a metallie spirit.

Belonius reporteth, that when he was in *Greece*, at the Mountaine of *Syderocapsa*, where the Mines are, that appertaine to the Turke: himselfe went to peepe in, at one of the spiracles or breathing holes of a Mine, which had formerlie beene, (but not for a long while) of great reuennue to his Maister, who was a Iew; but as then hee was constrained to forsake it, because it was haunted with a Mettallie Spirit. And because he had very often shewne himselfe, in the forme and likeness of a Goate, with faire and goodlie Hornes of Golde, they called that hole or Spiracle, *Huaris Cabron*, which was at the top of a Village, named *Pianits*, in the same Mountaine, and neer to the Brook, tearmed *Rotas*. But this was such a discontented Deuil, as none might be suffered to labour there, neither in company, nor alone.

An angry discontented spirit.

He affirmeth also, that in other Mines, there were diuers other metallie Spirits, that would doe no harme to anie of the Workemen, but helpe them many waies in their labours. *Munster*, who had visited sundry Mines in *Germanie*, records the verie same. To yeelde a reason for these matters, I cannot: but referre it to such as are better seene in such thinges, then I am my selfe: yet Saint *Augustine* speaketh verie amply thereof, in his book of the Cittie of God.

Aug. in lib. 9. de Ciuit. Dei.

But before I end this Chapter, I wold aduertise the well minded Reader, to beware of certaine gadding Emperickes or Mountebankes, making profession of Physicke, who giue vnto sickely people a kinde of powder, or a certaine liquor to drinke, which enforceth the bodie for to purge so violently both vppward & downward, that verie many haue died thereby. Concerning mine owne iudgment herein, I take it to be *Antimonie*, though they

Deceite committed by Quacksaluers & Empericks.

please to tearme it, *Aurum Potabile*. For, if it were Gold, it could not do any harm: for whatsoever proceedeth of Gold, cannot but be good, and free from hurt. But vnder the shadow of his Sacred vertue, such Conseruers haue taken occasion, to commit thereby verie great abuses. As there are some also, that Nursing young Children after their owne manner, doo let them champe double Ducats in their mouths: and then their slauer or spettle is to be preserved: affirming it to be verie helpful to diuers diseases.

Aurum Potabile.

Yong Children driuell or slauer.

But because these are euident and apparant tromperies; I am of the minde, that it wil not passe any long time unpunished.

Thus you see, what I haue Collected out of manie good Authôrs, both Ancient and Moderne; as also the iudgement of approoued good Metallers, concerning the true History of this so excellent & much affected Mettal: which althogh it looke sometimes verie pale, it only proceedeth thorough the enuie and desire, that euerie man (Naturally) beareth vnto it.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Interpretation of those three severall Titles, Democratia, Aristocratia, & Monarchia, which are three diuers kindes of Gouvernement in a Commonwealt, to vnderstand which of them, is the best and most expedient.



Did purposely insert this Chapter, to declare the great error of manie in these our dayes, who beholding seditious troubles to offend the authoritie of Soueraign Princes (without any cause or subiect) in too manie countries and parts of Christendome; would haue Commonweales formed, according to their perticular affections, some being *Democratiques*, others, *Aristocratiques*, and are all vtter Enemies vnto absolute Monarchy. Nowe, because these three

The Authors reason for this Chapters inserting.

These three words not easily vnderstood by euery man.

The definition of Democracia.

Of Aristocratia

When this kind of gouernment is allowed.

Of Monarchia

The Soueraigne authority of Royalty.

Many things seeme good, that are not so indeed.

Their reasons that defend the way of Popularity.

three wordes are not easily vnderstood, except it be by such men as haue knowledge in the Greeke tongue; the courteous Reader shall finde my honest furtherance therein; albeit *Monsieur du Verdier*, Lord of *Vauprinaz*, hath written and related somewhat thereof, yet very succinctly. But I will alleadge the reasons both of the one and other, to the end it may be knowne, which of these kindes of Common-wealth is the best, and likeliest to be of longest continuance.

Democratia, or popular estate and preheminance, is a Common-weale, where the free and poorest (beeing the greatest number) do ouer-rule and command all the rest. *Aristocratia*, is that which we may interpret in our language, to be the power of the most vertuous, and in Latine, *Optimarum Principatus*: in regard, that they are reputed to be very good and vertuous, as commonly wee hold our best Gentlemen to be. This forme of gouernment taketh place, when as few Noblemen are approoued vertuous, either in learning or good manners; to sway the Soueraignete of the whole body, and minister Lawes to the rest of the people, as well in general, as in perticular. *Monarchia*, is that awefull authority, when one alone hath the sole power ouer all the people, both Nobles and others, commanding absolutely.

This forme of gouernment in any Common-weale, is called Royaltie. And me-thinkes, now that I haue giuen yee the signification of these three Titles: it would not much vary from our purpose, to set downe which of them is the most profitable to the people, tolerable, and of longest continuance. For many reasons and Arguments may be produced on either side, some whereof will seeme to be receivable: which neuerthelesse are not, and therefore I hold it fittest, to let them bee tried by open euidence.

First then, such as approue the estate of *Democratia*, or popularitie, will alleage vnto vs: that there haue been *Democraties*, of the very worthiest men in Armes, and that by the Lawes of the very greatest Iurisconsults, Oratours, and Artezans, there should not be any other Common-weales, where the faction of a few Lords among them, or

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the ieaousie of one sole Monarch, should hinder the subiects in any great attempts. And, which is more, it appeareth, that the true note of a Common-wealth, should consist in a popular estate onely: for then, all the people enjoy the publike good, each man per-taking in common good fortunes, spoyles, wages, and conquests. Whereas a few Lords in *Aristocratia*, and one alone in Monarchy; conuert the publike benefit to perticular interest. In briefe, if there be nothing more to be desired, then that Magistrates should be obedient to the Lawes, and subiects to Magistrates: it appeareth also, that these may be best obserued in a popular estate, where there is nothing else but Law, who is the Lady and Mistresse of all. These are the principall points that can be alleaged, to vphold popular authority, which carrieth a goodly luster in apparence: but indeed, all these reasons are nothing else in effect, but meer Spiders webs, soft, gentle and cunningly wouen, yet of no validity or strength at all.

To refute that which hath been said, of a popular estate, or Common-wealth, we will begin with the first Allegation: that therein hath been found more Law-makers, Orators, good captaines, and Handy-crafts men, then in any other. It is very certaine, that the cause of so many Law-makers in this estate, proceeded from the contrarietie of Lawes, one repugnant to another, which Magistrates suffered to liue in suspence, during the time as they exercised their Offices; neuer caring or respecting, whether they were beneficial or hurtfull, but onely that some memory might remaine of them, after the expiration of their authority. This was an ordinary custome in *Rome*, as may be noted, when the Consull *Cassius* proclaimed by the sound of a Trumpet; that all the *Latines* and *Hernians*, which had no Houses in *Rome*, should auoide and get them gone. *Virginus*, his companion in rule, caused the contrary also to be published, to make the people capable of such a Law as he would promulgate, and to flesh the Inhabitants (in the hart of the City) against the Strangers. By reason of these two contrarie Lawes, some were found, that studied

Generall benefit of the people.

Law the Lady and Mistresse of all.

A restation of the reasons formerly alleaged.

The cause why there were so many Law-makers.

Example of the Consull *Cassius*, and *Virginus* his associate.

The cause of such store of Captaines.

War is more beneficial for Souldiours, then Citizens

Of Oratours, and eloquent Speakers.

Ignorant people affect praises.

Confusion is among multitude of people.

Titus Livius in Lib. 7. et 8.

studied how to glose and accord these differences, and they that medled most busily therein, were termed great Law-makers. If (in this condition) such great Captains haue bin found; it grew by no other occasion, but that in such popular estates, ciuill Warres were orderlie very frequent. Heereof let Rome be a Witnesse, where oftentimes the people were beheld in a heape on the one side, and the Nobility on another side, sometimes in three deuisions. Or, if they had peace among themselues; then they were at Warre with their Neighbours. And indeed, through this continuall exercise of Armes, there were many good Captaines and Souldiours made; but with the dear expence of the Citizens blood and liues.

For Oratours, because any people that commonly are without Letters or learning, or any store of indgement, doe affect such as praise them; he that can best please by those meanes, tickling the eare with finery wordes: shall be sure to be esteemed among such people, and eloquence is very dangerous, except it be well vsed. For the attaining of which degree, Oratours haue ordinarily no other obiekt, but contend in the Art of Rhetoricke, who shall speake smoothest. And it is no matter of meruaile, if excellent Orators bee found in popular estates: for there was a Demosthenes in Athens, and a Cicero in Rome. Moreouer, to aske counsell of the people, as anciently it was don in popular Comonweales: were nothing else, but to request Wisedome from furious mad men, and it hath long past as a well knowne Prouerbe; Wise Men propound, and Fooles giue resolution. Moreouer, we know very well, that in an assembly of people, nothing can be kept secret, which is a most pernicious thing. The difficulties ensuing, by conuentickling a multitude of people in one place, the disorder among croudes and throngs, the variety of voyces, and inconstancy of men of many minds; all these I passe ouer.

The people, of their owne Nature (saith Titus Livius) are insolent and excessive in all liberty and licence, when matters goe well with them; and as dejected or downe-pressed are they, vpon the least losse: for vicious, and impu-

dent men, are aduanced among them, but the honest and vertuous are thrust out by the eares. As for in-Iustice, the people say, let no care be had thereof: provided, that profit may bee deriued from iudgements, and sold to the fairest offerer: that good meanes may bee had, to ruinate, Rich, Noble, and honest men, hurrying them without any cause, but meere capitall hatred to such good mindes, contrary to the many-headed humour and Nature. For this cause, the popular estate or Common-weale, is the sourse and refuge of all turbulent spirits, mutiners, seditions, and exiles: who giue counsell, comfort and resistance to the sillier sort, to make hauocke and spoile of the greater.

But yet there is a more capitall plague, attending vpon those popular Common-weales, to wit: impunity of wicked persons, provided, that they bee Citizens, that is to say, petty Kinges. For in a popular estate of the Romaines, it was prohibited to all the Magistrates, on paine of death: to condemne a Cittizen to naturall or ciuill death, or to deprive him of his libertie or Bourgeship, or to whip him with Rods, were his offence neuer so foule. Yet we read, that Verres was accused, attainted, and conuined, to haue robbed, stolne, and committed an hundred thousand concussions, or publike extortions, and false iudgements: neuertheless, by parting out of Rome, & leauing a good moiety of those thefts behind him; he was quitted. And yet Rutillius, Metellus, Corio'anus, the two Scipioes, and Cicero, they could haue no better fauour then banishment. Ephesus also could banish the vertuous* Hermodorus: Athens expulsed iust Aristides: Themistocles died in exile; Miltiades in Pilsen; Socrates was put to death; and* Phocion, the most intire and vertuous man of his age, after he had bin chosen five and forty times chiefe Captain and Commaunder, neuer receiving any blame or taxation; yet notwithstanding without admittance of any answer, he was condemned to death, with forty other famous men, onely because they were his friends. States & degrees were there sold also, euen as they did at Rome: for Marius durst boldly bring Sumpters laden with Money, to buy the voyces of the people; and Pompey did the like.

Bad men aduanced, and good men no way regarded

A popular estate is the Nurse of infinite mischiefs

Titus Livius in Lib. 7. et 8.

Vices which doe ordinarily accompany popular Common-weales.

Offenders spared, and Innocents banished.

* He caused the twelue Tables to be made.

* He was Scholler to Plato and Xenocrates, and of wonderfull constancy & grauity.

Degrees and Offices bought with Money.

The

The concussions beside were an incredible matter, made in the face of judgement, and before the eyes of all beholders.

Much conformable to this, was that of *Statocles*, and *Democrides*, *Athenians*, who when they took possession of their Offices. *Come on* (quoth they) *let us now goe to the Harvest of Gold*. If then such estates, degrees, and Justice it selfe were so unworthily sold, in two such great Common-weales, enriched with the spoyle of other people: what then may men iudge of the popular preheminece, where the poore are alwaies needy, wretched and indigent? Wee haue an example of the *Megarences*, who hauing expulsed their Prince *Theagines*, established such an irregular populare government, that it was lawfull for the poore to liue in rich mens Houses, as *Plato* hath very well recorded.

Now we are to know, that if the Common-weales of the *Romaines*, *Athenians*, or others, hadde some time of flourishing: it was onely occasioned, by hauing (in those tempestuous daies) a Senate, full of men of honour, as also of worthy and vertuous Captaines, that kept the people from disordering themselves, and serued (indeed) as a bridle to them; As in *Rome* there a *Mennius Agrippa*, a *Camillus*, a *Papyrius Cursor*, a *Fabius Maximus*, a *Scipio*, a *Cato*, a *Scaurus*, and a *Pompey*. In *Athens*, there was a Senate of the *Ariopagitas*, And a *Pericle* (saith *Thucidides*) who was the true Monarch thereof, though in appearance it was meerly populare. In brieffe, the popular estate can haue no long subsisting; if there be not some especiall Wise-men, that haue an eye to the government.

But some will obiekt vnto me, and say: doe we not see the Lordes of Leagues and Confederacies, that they haue built vp a goodly popular estate, and continued in the government thereof, more then three hundred and fiftie yeares? Are they not also (by these meanes) warranted not onely from tyranny, but likewise haue ginen chase to Tyrants, insulting on their Neighbors? To a double demaund, we must needes returne a double answer. First, the Country it selfe, and naturall disposition of the people, is very conuenable

for a popular estate. In the second place, they that are most quarrellous & mutinous, doe goe to the seruice of other strange Princes: the rest of the milder people, apt and easie to be ordered, they haue no great care how the State stands.

Moreouer, all the Lords of Leagues, and popular Common-weales, do enter into confederation offensive and defensive, and are vnitd strictly together: Not much vnlike to such as walke in darke nights, or goe ouer slipperie places, where is danger of downe-falls, they hold one another fast by the hand; and in this manner they maintaine themselves, against the power of Monarchies, as the *Athenians* and *Thebans* did in those elder daies. Yet one thing more may not bee forgotten, the foundation of their popular estate: was builded and cimented with the blood of Nobility, and of those that were the very richest.

Our auncient Predecessours, for the better assurance of their estates, did striue to equalize all their Cittizens in Goods, Honours, Power, and recompences, and if there were some one, more iust, more vertuous, and more wise then the rest: if he were not banished, he was vsed as badly, for al things possible was taken from him, euen as it was a common practise in the Common-weale of *Athens*. It is an act of great in-Justice, to take away the goods of a rich man (which he hath obtained by his care and industry) and make them equall to another, of no merit or worthy qualitie. It is also contrary to the Law of God, who hath expressely commaunded, that the proprietie of mens goods, should be kept to themselves. It behooueth not then to say, that nature made al things in common: for the law of the Mother, can no way be contrary to the commaundement of the Father.

And as for the power of commaunding, wherin popular men would equal one another: there is much lesse appearance then in goods: for wisdom and providence is not giuen by an equall distribution, and therefore (on meere necessity) election must bee made in a popular estate, of the most sufficient Magistrates, for the better commaund and

Extortion & in-Justice committed in the iudgment place.

Example of the *Megarences* to their Prince.

Plato in lib. de Leg.

The reason why any popular estate hath some time of continuance.

Thucidides in Lib. 4.

Lords of Leagues and Confederacies, in their gouerning.

The reason why the common wealth of the *Switzers* hath continued so long.

A very apt comparison.

Equality is alwaies most respected in a popular Commonwealth.

Gods law for the propriety of mens goods.

Danger of electing Magistrates and Officers in a popular estate.

Equalitie of
Authority in
all men.

A remedy for
the mainte-
nance of po-
pular estate.

Where lawes
and ordinan-
ces are not
feuerely kept,
the state can
hardly indure

and delivery of Iustice. But who is he then, that perceiueth not at first sight, that among men there are some, who haue lesse iudgement then brute beasts: yet others againe, who haue the diuine Character so clearly, that they appear rather to bee Angels, then Men? All which notwithstanding, they that seeke after equality; would haue authoritie giuen to furious, ignorant, and insensible Men, as well as to the wise, and best vnderstanding. For the voyce of such assemblies is not poyzed by weight, and euermore the number of Fooles, wicked and ignorants, is a thousand times greater then people of respect: therefore *Salomon* said truely, *Hardly ye shall finde one among a thousand.*

For conclusion, seeing it is not in the power of good Cittizens and wise politiques, to change the populer estate into Monarchie; the principall foundation of popular sway, consisteth in the strict obseruation of Edicts and Ordinances. For in as much as the popular estate is established, contrarie to the course and order of Nature, which bestoweth commaund and preheminance on the verie wisest: this appeareth incompatible to the vulgar people, who will not receiue any commaund in a collectiue name, neither set good lawes and ordinances before their eyes, as bright Torches for their better direction; therefore such an estate must needs be quickly ouerthrowne. And this is the reason, why those Lordes of Leagues doe so strictly keepe Edicts and Ordinances: otherwise, their estate had long since beene sunke. Now, in regard that this Chapter seemeth ample enough, and (I hope) not wearysome to the Reader: the matter of *Aristocratia* and *Monarchia*, shall be handled (by themselves) in the following Chapter.

CHAP. XXXIII.

That Monarchia ought most especially to be preferred, before Democratia or Aristocratia.



Y naturall reason, that Seignurie or Dominion is cald *Aristocraticall*, where there be many Cittizens, and the lesser part of them

doe hold the estate: or more properly, where the best and woorthiest people are onely receiued and aduanced. And yet it may be saide, that soueraignetic ought to be giuen to the richest persons only, as to them that haue therein the greatest interest: considering also, that they beare much heauier charge then the poorer sort, who hauing nothing to loose, meere neede maketh them to forgoe authority. It appeareth then, that *Aristocratia* should be preferred before the popular estate, but not before *Monarchia*. And yet doubtlesse, they that doe well consider what *Aristocratia* is; will finde it full of maine incommodities. That it must needs be so, make some obseruation. In a great Common-wealth, ye shall haue many Lords that wil command, and the more Lords there be, the greater store of factions: among whom, deliberations being difficult to resolue on, they rather vanish away like smoake, then are seriously considered. For this cause is it, that *Aristocraticall* authorities haue bin much longer durable and assured, wher there haue bin the fewer Lords: As the *Lacedemonians* with thirty Lordes, and the *Pharsalians* with one and twentie, did long time maintaine their rule, but others not halfe the while.

It may be obiected vnto me, that they which gouerne the *Aristocratical* estate; must be prouident, valiant, wise, and rich. I answer, that it is very hard to finde such men there, but at length they will be touched with ambition: and if there happen any to be conscientious, or religiously affected; as commonlie they are the fewest in number, so shall they

The meaning
of the Aristoc-
raticall go-
uernment.

The reasons
of them that
maintaine
Aristocratia.

The fewer
Lords, the
firmer go-
uernment in
Aristocratia.

An obiection
and answer
thereto.

they be sure to haue the lesse respect & partakers. In which regard, wicked and ambitious men gaining eminency; their conclusions passe for autenticall, and they may the easter tyrannize ouer the people.

But to be briefe, it is daily seene, that the more heads there are in gouerning, the more disputes there will be, and the lesse resolution. For this cause, and to shun the inconueniences before alleadged; the Seigneury of *Venice*, doe refer the managing of their State affaires to a dozen persons, but more often to seauen: especially, for the detaining of matters in secrecy, wherein lieth the soule and safety of any Estare.

Let vs put the case, that the private Council in *Aristocrasia* should be so secret, that nothing could touch the ayre or wind: yet it will bee a very difficult thing, for so few Lordes, to maintaine their estate against all the people, that haue no part at all in their honourable qualitie, considering, that euen the Lordes themselues doe continually despise popularitie, and the poorer sort also cary as cōtemptible hatred against great men. So that, thorough the meanest sedition of Lordes among them, (which is ineuitable, if they bee people of martiall stomacke and disposition) the most ambitious and troublesome, will fall into the peoples mercy, and then comes the downefall and ruine of *Aristocrasia*. And this was the onely occasion that ouerthrew many Seigneuries and Common-weales; as of *Gennes*, *Sienna*, *Florence*, *Coloyne*, *Zuricke*, *Strafbourg*, *Lindaw*: And the ancient * *Phocenses*, * *Samians*, * *Cnydians*, * *Mytilenians*, and many other.

If an *Aristocraticall* Common-weale haue warre against a Stranger, and doe come to the losse of a battel: the estate stands in danger, and as little assurance haue the Stangers also, fearing to bee foyled by the other. To which dangers the popular estate is not so much subiect, each man hauing a part & interest in the State. *Aristocraticall* gouernment then, is not onely in danger of Straungers as enemies: but also of the people, who must be contented, or restrained by power. To content them, without giuing them part in the estate is verie difficult: and impossible also to accept

them in honorable charges and offices, without changing the estate of *Aristocrasia*, into popular rule. To restraints them by might, is no matter of certainty, or easie when to be performed: because it were an open entrance into feare and distrust of them, that rather are to be won by benefits and courtesie. For otherwise, the least warre of Strangers against the Seigneury, or of Lordes among them; will make the people vnder take Armes, onely to throw off the yoake.

For this reason, the *Venetians* (to maintaine their *Aristocraticall* estate) do bestow some small Offices on part of the people; contracting loue and alliance with them, & vse borrowings of them; to binde them the better for the States maintenance; yet wholly disarming them. And to the end, that they may be the more milde and plyable: they grant them freedome, and all kindes of pleasures, yeilding sometimes the right of Bourgeships, to the richest Cittizens. Also, if they haue War against a Stranger; they haue appointment therein, at what rate soeuer it be. But aboue all thinges else, they labour to quench partialities and hatreds among their Gentlemen, which procureth: that the rich beeing drunke with pleasures, and the poorer sort hauing meanes to Traffick, and exercise theselues in all Mechanical Arts, with commodity of the Maritimie partes, and naturall strength; they can haue no great occasion, but much lesse the power of rebellishing among themselues.

These are the onely meanes, which (next vnto God) hath principally maintained their estate: and not the Nature of *Aristocrasia*, as many haue imagined. And yet notwithstanding, within these foure hundred yeares, or there-about, they haue hardly out-stood many ciuill Warres and seditions, of the *Bocchouians*, *Falerians*, *Tepolians*, *Baiamontanes*, and cruell factions of the *Iustinians*, *Scuolares*, *Selians*, *Bastianes*; the murders of eightene Dukes, and a great number of Senators, as may be read in their own Histories.

If the worthy men that gouerned this Common-wealth, were generous and martiall minded: they seized the State, as *Cæsar* did at *Rome*, and as *Sylla* before him.

The inconueniences happening in the estate *Aristocraticall*.

The Seigneury of *Venice*.

An allegation concerning council.

The ruine & ouerthrow of an *Aristocraticall* estate.

* A little country of Greece, by the gulfe *Criffens*.

* An Isle before *Ionia*, ouer against *Fphesus*.

* A City of *Cavia*.

* A Cittie in *Lebos*.

People very hard to be ordered and kept in quiet.

The wisdom and discretion of the *Venetians* among themselues.

Partialities and hatreds qualified among Gentlemen.

Troubles happening within four hundred yeares.

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Dauger of Martial Com-
maunders in
an Aristocrati-
call estate.

The princi-
pall foundati-
on of *Aristo-
cratia.*

The long con-
tinuance of
some *Aristo-
craticall* Com-
mon-weales.

Care of new
election is an
especiall mat-
ter.

The discom-
modities en-
suing by *Mo-
narchia.*

him. Or as *Hanniball* at *Carthage*, who
mooued Warre against the *Komaines*,
whereby he became the cause of ruina-
ting the estate of his Countrey: in re-
gard of the *Barchian* faction, which was
quity contrary to him, and hindred,
that men and succour should bee sent
vnto him in *Italy*. We may perceiue
then, that the principall foundation of
Aristocratia, consisteth in the mutu-
all amity of Lords: for if they agree and
consent together, they will maintaine
and gouerne much better then the peo-
ple. But if there be any faction among
them, there is no estate more difficult
to be kept, for the reasons before speci-
fied; and namely if the Lords be Mar-
tiall, for men of war doe brooke nothing
so badly, as peace.

It is no maruaile then, if the *Aristocra-
tia* of the *Venetians*, *Ragusians*, and *Lu-
canes* haue continued some ages: confi-
dering, that they doe not addict them-
selues to armes, neither hold any thing
in more recommendation, the Traffick,
and vse of Mony. And, to speake all in
one word, there is not any forme of *Ari-
stocratia* more lightly or assured, then
that which maketh choise of Lordes of
reputation and vertue, or (at least) that
are not infamous: especially when due
care is had, of substituting another ho-
nest man, in the place of him that dieth,
and by true election, as continuallie is
done in *Venice*. Thus you see the com-
modities and discommodities of the *A-
ristocraticall* estate: Let vs now speake
somewhat concerning Monarchy, which
all the best and chiefeft men haue com-
mended before al other commonweals.

It may be objected vnto me, by such
as approoue *Aristocratia* or *Democratia*,
that in *Monarchia*, when the death of the
Monarch happeneth: new desseignes
doe thereon ensue, new Lawes, new
Officers, new Friends, new Enemies,
new Habits, and new forme of life. For
Princes delight to please themselves,
by changing and remouing (well-nere)
all things, to make speech of their own
nouelties: which oftentimes causeth
great discommodities, not onely to the
Subiects in perticular, but likewise to
the whole bodie of the Common-
wealth, holding the forme of Monar-
chy.

If things do not fall out in this man-

ner, but that the Prince is the wisest
that can be wished: yet the alliances &
loues made with the Predecessor, do v-
sually end in him. And such fauours and
respects beeing finished, Princes doe
thereon betake themselves to Armes;
and then the strongest assayleth the
weakest, or (at the least) will giue him
Law. Which cannot so fall out in E-
states Popular and *Aristocratical*, where
perpetuall alliances are made, confide-
ring that the people dye not. This oc-
casioneth, that those other Princes, and
particulars, do continually affect rather
to contract with a Seignoury, then with
one Prince, for the assurance of Trea-
ties and Obligations, whereto the
Successours of Princes stand not obli-
ged.

Moreover, Monarchies that make
their Kings by election, do oftentimes
fall into ciuill Warres, by diuisions a-
mong such as aspire to the Crowne,
which draw after them the ruine of the
whole Estate many times: considering
that even in the right of succession,
there is no meane perill, if there be di-
uers in the same degree, who some-
times do murder one another, or make
diuision among the Subiects, whereof
too many examples are extant to our
eyes; yea, it often falleth out, that the
lawfull Successour is expulsed, by him
that hath no right at all. But admit we
the case, that there is not any contenti-
on in *Monarchia*, yet if the Monarch be
a Child: there will be deuision for his
gouernment, betweene his Mother
and the Princes, or else among the
Princes themselves. And if the Child
haue a Tutour or Guardian, by ordi-
nance of the Predecessour, or else by
Custom: there is then some daunger,
least this Guardian should make him-
selfe Sole Commaunder, which is the
most to be feared, if he marry with the
Mother of his Pupill. And although
(to auoyde this daunger) the govern-
ment be giuen to the neerest, and the
Childes Nurfing to his Moier: yet
notwithstanding, there haue some Mo-
thers beene found to be Murderers, and
haue not onely made sale of the estate,
but also of their Childrens liues. And
sometimes the Tutour continueth in
the gouernment, and leaueth nothing
vnto the King but the bare Titic: as
the

Fauours of
one Prince,
sildome suc-
ceede in ano-
ther.

The affection
of Princes &
particulars.

Of wars and
their sources
in *Monarchia.*

If the King
be a Childe,
what dangers
are depen-
ding thereon.

Danger in the
Mother of the
Prince.

The danger
in Tutours and
Guardians.

Vices whereunto Monarchies are oftentimes subiect.

Of a Martiall minded Prince.

A wife & well ordred Prince

Contrariety in the natures of Princes, & their severall dangers.

Tyranny filldome dreameth on maiesty.

Seditious, ciuill wars, and partialities for Offices, in Democracia & Aristocracia.

The right of Soueraignty is, onely in Monarchia.

the Duke of *Northumberland* did to the K. of *England*, *Edw. 6.* And as *Apelles* did to yong *Phillip* King of *Macedon*, who could not enioy his owne estate, till hee had slaine his Tutor. I know likewise, some one will tell mee, that many times it commeth to passe, when a yong prince attaineth to the Crown, he wil not allow the gouernment of Maisters, that are placed neere him for instruction, but bee ruled by his owne fansy, being addicted to Playes, Masques, and such like. In brief many times his Court shews like a meer *Burdellae*, falling into a thousand Vices, and the people following their Prince in imitation. If the Prince be a Soldier, he may expose his person and kingdome to many hazards. Admit that none of these afore said things doe happen, yet it hath bin obserued, that Princes being wise & well mannered, when they arise to the Monarchie, Soueraignty hath had this hard fortune, that the very wisest haue proued fooles, the most valiant turned coward, and the very best to be most bad.

If the Prince be subtle and wicked, he will establish tyranny; If cruell, he makes a butchery of the Commonwealth; If couetous, he will haue both the haire & the hide of his subiects; If Prodigall, he will suck both the blood and Marrow, to glut some dozen of Horse-leaches that attend about him. And if he be ignorant and sottish, then is tyranny so much the more to be feared, when as he hath neither Maister nor Companion that dare make head against him. These are the dangers that attend on Monarchies.

But yet there is much more perrill in the Estate *Aristocraticall*, and a great deale more too, in the popular condition: for these daungers which wee haue proposed, ceaseth for the most part, when the Monarchy is deuolued by successiue right. But seditious, partialities, and ciuill wars are ordinary, and continually (as it were) arising in greatnesse, for the vnder-handing of Offices in the commonweale Seignourall and Populary, then in the estate of Monarchy, which will endure no sedition for Offices, or for anie Estate, except after the Princes death, and but seldome then too. But the principall point of a Commonwelth, which is the right of Soueraignty, cannot bee, neither subsist (to speake properlie) but only in Monarchy: for none can be So-

ueraigne in a Commonweale, but one only. If there be two, three, or more, the one is no Soueraigne, because one can neither giue, or yet receiue lawe of his companion. And although we may imagine a body of many Lords, or of a people, to hold Soueraignty: yet it is most certaine, that there is not any true subiect, or any support, if there bee not one head with Soueraigne power, to vnite one with another, which one simple Magistrate neuer can do, without Soueraigne Preheminance and authority.

The difficulties are daily noted, which continually haue accompanied popular Commonweales and Seignouries, when both the one and other do hold contrary parts, and by diuers Magistrates: Some calling for peace, others war; One will haue this law, another a quite contrary; One wil haue this man to be chiefe, another aimeth at his friend and pertaker, and the like in diuers other matters.

Moreover, in a Seignourall and Popular estate, the greater part are continually made to beleue things, howbeit, the wise and vertuous are alwaies the lesser number: by which means (diuers times) the more sound and better sort of people, are constrained to stoope vnder the greater, to please the appetite of som seditious fellow, or effronted Oration-maker: But the Soueraigne Monarch, hee can alwayes ioyne with the more healthfull spirited and meener part, making choise of wise men, and such as vnderstand the State affaires: whereas quite contrary, necessity compelleth the popular and *Aristocraticall* estates, to entertain and embrace both fooles and Wisemen together.

When the Commonwealt of the Romaines was in perrill; they made a Soueraigne Magistrate; according to which dignitie, hee had no Appellation, but commanded soueraignely, and they teamed him Dictator. The *Venetians* created a *Prouidadore*; the *Lacedemonians* an *Harmoste*, & each of them did so, considering *Monarchia* to bee the most assured estate. Me thinkes, that these reasons, and manie other, which might bee drawne in perticularly, are sufficient to shew, that amongst the three kindes of lawfull Commonwealt, the right of Monarchie is most excellent; and among them of Ryot and Disorder; the

Imaginations are alwayes irrigular and offensive.

Contrary opinions in popular Commonweales, very hard to be reconciled.

Wise men constrained to stoope to Parasites.

Monarchia alwayes alloweth the best counsell.

Comparison by diuers commonweales.

Monarchia is more durable then all other kinds of Common-wealth.

Comparifon of both kinds.

Monarchia is figured and represented in the Stars, and in other Creatures.

Read the History of the Turkes, and there this example is at large related.

popular estate is the most vicious. Lawfull borne Monarchie, as a strong and potent bodie, may easilie maintaine it selfe: but populare qualitie, and Dominion of a few people (as being very weak and feeble) are subiect vnto many diseases, and must of necessity bee governed by dyet and prescriptions. Neuer were *Aristocratiaes* and *Democratiaes* seene to continue so long as *Monarchiaes*, which we finde (by writing) to haue endured a thousand or twelue hundered yeares, as those of the *Persians*; *Assyrians*, *Medes*, and others: but the Populary or *Aristocraticall*, three or foure hundered yeares onely.

Therefore, it shall be needelesse to insist any longer, in approving *Monarchia* to be the most assured estate: considering, that a Family (which is the true Image of a Common-wealth) can indure to haue but one head only, as wee haue approoued. And all the Lawes of Nature are our guides to Monarchy; be it, that wee respect the little Worlde Man, who hath but one bodye, and but one Head, as chiefe of all the other Members: on whom, dependeth the wil, motion, and vnderstanding. Or bee it, that we looke vppon the great world, which hath but one Soueraigne God. If we eleuate our eyes to Heauen, wee shall see there but one Sunne. If we descend to sociable Creatures, we may plainly perceiue, that they cannot suffer many kinges, or many Lordes, how good soeuer they be.

This is the very same example, which *Solyman*, King of the Turkes, vsed in *Anno Dom. 1552.* hauing heard the lowd acclamations and shouts of ioy, which the whole Armie made for the *Sultane Mustapha* his Son, at his returning from *Persia*. Commanding him to bee strangled in his Chamber of presence. When he was dead, he threw his bodie foorth before the whole army, and cried out aloud, *There is no more but one God in heauen, and one Sultan on Earth.* Two dayes after, he did put to death *Sultan Gobeus*, because hee wept for his Brother, and *Sultane Mehemet* the third, because hee fled away for feare, and would leaue no more but one only, to shun the inconueniences ensuing by many Lordes and Commanders. Euen so we haue beheld all the people vpon Earth, from the fur-

thest date of Antiquity, and when they were guided by one light onely: to like nor allow of any other forme of Commonwealth, but absolute Monarchy.

An example deriued from Antiquity.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Vertues & secret properties of the Nut-megge: That it was vnkowne to our ancient predecessors, with diuers obseruations, worthy due regarding.



HERE are manie things, which being ordinarily worn or carried about a man, do impaire & grow vnto lesse estimation: as som precious stones, which though they are of a hard and solide matter: yet notwithstanding they waxe old, and loose much of their valew.

There are very few things but they grow aged by vse, and lose their vertue.

Cinnamon, Cloues, and Pepper, borne about vs, do drie of themselues; and loose their sweet saour. Contrarywise, the Nut megge (on whose behalfe I haue written this Chapter, termed by the Latines, *Nux mixistica*) being worne or carried about a man, doth encrease it selfe, and becommeth much the better. I found this rare effect of Nature, in the lower *Germanie*, where the Inhabitants of those Countreyes, doth vsuallie hang Nutmegs about their Childrens necks; and being so worne five or sixe yeares together: they were then much more Oily and moyst, then they were the first yeare. After I had considered on diuers reasons inducing to this purpose, I could finde but one especially which I will declare: submitting my selfe neuerthelesse, to any other, that can alleadge a better, and more profitable.

Where the Author made his first obseruation of the Nutmegge.

Nutmegges (doubtlesse) beeing long time kepte in Spiceries, bee it in places dry or moist, and well packt vp together, do yet drie of themselues, become fustie, full of holes, and of bad tast, euen like to worme-eaten and rotten wood. Neuerthelesse, a young man bearing a nutmeg about

How Nutmegs looses their Vertue and saour.

about him, & exposed to the open aire; dooth encrease and make it much the better thereby.

Now, to comprehend whence this proceedeth, we must vnderstande, that this is not proper to all Nutmegs, worne by all men indifferently: but it is to bee considered, of such as is about an infant or elder Childe, a youth, or anie other young man, not hauing attained to the age of fortie yeares, as commonlie the *Belgians* are, and those of the nether *Germany*, beeing of verie good habitude, euen as vulgarly they are. This is easilie knowne, by the goodlie proportion of their bodies, the chearefull countenance and complexion of their faces, and firm fleshinesse of their limbes, by their Ordinarie appetite to feeding, strong digestion, and beeing liuely disposed in all their ioynts and members; alwayes trauiailing couragiously, rarelie troubled with sicknesse or diseases, shunning and auoyding the riotous excesse, and lauish desire of gourmandizing, whereof they are verie carefull, mingling wholesome Spices continually amongst their meats; and scarcely anie one of them, but wearing some about them, especiallie Nutmegges.

The yonger sort do weare them about their Neckes, because they hold opinion: that they make stay of the Rheume which falleth downe on the stomacke, and is a grieue ensuing by ouermuch eating and drinking; suffocating thereby, the Naturall heate. And because such Nutmegs as are worne about the necke, for the space of foure, fise, or six yeares, (some more, some lesse) do neither wast or consume, but appeare to bee more weighty and Oily: it seemeth to proceed by this commendable temperance, from whence it exhaleth a vapour somewhat delicate and humecting, wherewith the Nut-megges (which they weare) are plenteously stored, which causeth that their Oily nature, cannot by no meanes becom dry, but rather is much the more encreased.

Nor is this to bee accounted any way straunge, because wee finde in Learned mens writings, that from the bodies of diuers personnes, haue yssued very sweet and odoriferous sweats. Among whom we read of *Alexander* the Great, whose Garments receyued a wonderful sweet-

nesse (as one recordeth) from his verie bodie, and so continued in them most pleasingly, without any other Arté or cunning. I my selfe sawe an *Indian* at *Nantes*, who though he was stark naked, and his bodie seeming of a wilde Oliue colour: yet, when mens handes were streaked thereon, they brought thence a sweete sauour, very answerable vnto Ciuit.

As for Maides and young Women, such matter is not acknowledged of them: and therefore I thinke, that the hinderance proceedeth from this, that Naturall heate is more imbecille, and of lesse power in them, then it is men; and their exhalation is nothing so temperat; and in regard also, that they are fuller of Excrements, as hath beene declared in the precedent Chapter. But if wee shall speake of aged people, they do resemble trees ouer-spent with yeares, full of Putrifactionous humors: which maketh them white-headed, wrinkled, and full of defects, hauing no more strength to grow or encrease, whereby to produce matter of anie worth. Otherwise, they are so drie, that no exhalation at all commeth from their bodies; for age is nothing els but a meere exsiccation of the Radicall humour, and an extinction of the Naturall heate. Whereby may appeare, that they can no way better a Nutmeg by their exhalation. The Reader may content himselfe (if he please) with this reason, which many learned men haue approoued, as well as my selfe. It shall now not be much amis, to discourse a little further of the Nut-megge, concerning the manner of his growth, in what Countreyes; and likewise of the faculties thereof.

That Nutmegges were vnknowne to our reuerend Auncients, is verie easie to be comprehended: because, neyther *Theophrastus*, *Dioscorides*, nor *Galen*, did euer make any mention of them. And it serueth to no purpose, to alledge, that they haue spoken of *Maces*: for, I say, that the **Macer* of the Greekes, was not the *Maces* of the *Arabes*, which is a hide or skinned dooth cover the Nutmegge. And it is verie likelie, that if they had hadde anie knowledge of the *Maces*, questionlesse they would haue leste something Written thereof. Neyther could wee attaine vnto anie

A a a a know-

The reason how a Nutmegge is bettered by wearing, about a Child & yong man.

The ordinary disposition of the *Belgians*.

The reason why Nutmegges are worne about the necke.

The Sweates of some mens bodies are very sweete and pleasant.

A naked Indian at *Nantes*.

Concerning Maids and young Women.

Aged men or women haue lost their temperature.

A definition of Age.

Nut-megges and Maces vterly vnknowne vnto our Auncients.

* Not Maces, but a reddish Aromaticall and attringent Rinde of a certaine Indian roote.

knowledge in this case, till after that the *Arabes* had gotten vnto some authority, who taught manie medicines, vtterly vnkowne to the *Grecians*, because they were much neerer vnto the *Indiaes* then they.

A description of the Nutmegge and Mace Tree.

The outward Rinde of the Nut-megge.

The first appearing of the Maces, & alteration of their coullour afterward.

In what places the Nutmegge Trees doe vsually most grow.

The choyce of Nut-megs.

The Tree which beareth these Nutmegges, and the Maces is as great as a Peare tree, hauing the like Leaues, but shorter and rounder. It carryeth his Nutlike fruite, couered with a very hard rinde: which (when the ripening season is come) cleaueth or openeth of it selfe; and sheweth the filme or skinne, that encloseth the Nut-megge, like a seale or shell; and that is it which wee call the Maces or Mace. I meane not the exteriour or outward rinde, albeit (in diuers parts) they vse to Confect it with Suger, and is much commended in the Countrey where it groweth, that the smell & taste thereof, is verie wholesome against the paine of the Collicke, and the disease of the Reines.

The fruite being ripe, and the sayde rinde exteriour opening (like to the shell or scale that encloseth the Chestnuts of *Lymosine*;) the Mace appeareth as red as Scarlet, wonderfull goodly to beholde, especially, when the Trees are wel charged and laden, and beare more then is their vsuall custome. The Nutmeg drying, the Mace still keepeth close and fast about it, till loosing his red colour, hee begetteth another, which is like a Golden Complexion: And these Maces are solde at three times dearer rate, then the Nutmegges.

This Tree that beareth these Nuttes, groweth in one of the Islands of the *Molucques*, which is called *Bandano*. It is found also in diuers other places, as in *Banda*, *Bandornica*, *Herma*, *Tharod*, *Machedad*, *Lyzamath*, *Cares*, and in *Zeylan*, which are the most fruitfull Landes, and better then anie other. The people of the Countrey do vse to gather them, some more in one place, then in another, according as they can get them: for, in the most parts of all the Islands, all things are in common, without any priuate claime. This is affirmed by *Garcias d'Horta*, who trauided himself into those parts.

They that be fresh, and not drie, withered or worme-eaten, are the best nutmegs; likewise, they that were waightie,

masie, oyle, & abounding in moisture: so that by pricking them with a pinne or Needle, they send forth a sweete fauour. Nutmegges (according to the *Arabians* opinion) are hot and drie, in the second degree compleat: they are astringent, & (by champing in the mouth) doe make the breath sweet: they take awaie spottes and blemishes out of the face, sharpen the sight, and strengthen the Liuer and stomacke: they diminish the Spleene or Milt, prouoke Vrine, stay the course and Flux of the Belly, expelling all Windnesse, and helpe greatly against the Disease of the Mother, proceeding of Frigiditie. In briefe, they haue the very same Vertues and properties, as the Cloaues haue. Nutmegs do yeilde a licquor or iuice, being freshly pounded, heated in a pan, and presently pressed: which iuice being let stand til it be cold, becommeth like virgin wax, and senteth very sweetly. This vnguent is very soueraigne for cold Gowts, and to make a man gracious in the fauor of Ladies. Thus much haue I gathered concerning the Nut-meg.

Naturall properties of the Nut-megge.

A soueraigne Oyntment made of Nutmegges.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Paradox purposely written in the defence of Warre, approving and maintaining it to be much more famous, honorable, & meritorious of commendation, then Peace.



Ecause many sufficient men haue (heeretofore) verie plentifully discoursed, on the praises of peace among which, wee haue *Erasmus Roterodamus*, *Romulus Amaseus*, *Claudius Ptolomeus*, and *Adriano Bentiuoli*; all of them (with others of no lesse elegancy) hauing spoken soundlie, and to the purpose, as being Orators of no lesse learning, then fluent and eloquent in the tongues: the two first in *Latine*, and the other in the *Tuscan* language, all hauing discretely employed their paines: yet notwithstanding, al their defences bestowed on the behalfe of Peace, I cannot forbear to maintaine the contrarie, and

Such Authors as haue written in the defence of Peace.

Opposition made against the former defences.

and will approue with resolu'd corage, that they haue done mightie iniurie vnto themselves, in making such description of commendations, by multiplicite of ydle arguments, which now I will not trouble my selfe withall, either to improoue or confute. But so many onely will I produce and aduertise yec of, as shall happen to my memorie, in fauour of honourable combustion & war, and appeare to the manifest discredite of Peace.

The apparant harmes and iniuries ensuing by Peace.

For the first of my reasons, I say, that in the time of Peace, Militarie Discipline is lost, and commeth to nothing: which (neuerthelesse) hath beene at all times in reckoning, and allowed as a matter most necessarie, for Conquest, enlarging and conseruing of Empires, Prouinces, and the verie greatest and ciuilest Iurisdiccions thoroughout the world.

* A Field ten miles distant from Athens, where Thebes slew a terrible Bull.

Witnesses heereof, are * *Marathon Salamina*, * *Thermopye*, * *Platee*, * *Leuce*, and many other places, not meanelly renowned by the Heroycall Actions of Armes. By the meanes of warre, *Horatius Cocles* was made immortall; and the three *Decij* helde for three Demie Goddes. Hence arose the great & infinite praises (so sweetly sung and Celebrated by Poets, and our ancient Historians of both the *Scipios* and honourable *Marcellus*. To whome, I would gladlie see who can be iustly compared, vnder Correction of whatsoeuer hath beene said by fore-named Authours, in honour of their Gowne-men, the onelic especiall louers and faouers of peace.

* A long Mountaine passing from Leucadia, through the midst of Greece

* A Towne of Beotia by Cytheron neere to Thebes.

* A Towne in the borders of Ionia, and an Isle called Achillea in Pontus.

We see also by experience, that (welneere) all auncient Statues or Figures, both were and are formed in military habits. And it was not lawfull (by the customes of all elder and noble Nations) for a Citizen to weare any other Garment, then a party coloured coate: vntill hee had slaine, or (at least) vanquish't two of his Countreyes enemies. In this case, the *Carthagenians* had a most notable obseruation; for, looke how manie times a Soldier had beene seene in the face of the enemy so many Plumes, helmets, or Horsses, should bee bestowed vpon each seuerall man: but contrarywise, as often as they were absent from the field, so manie Larbes and Capons wer sent them, as remembrances of their

Auncient customes for the habits of Citizens.

Worthy encouragement for Soldiers: and as great disgrace to Cowards.

cravenly cowardise. Li' ewise by publick agreement, it was not lawfull for any ma to marry, except hee had first seru'd in sundry foughten battailes, or performed some one or other honourable exploite, in the defence of his Country.

Law for marriage.

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Let vs consider the great honor which Warre maintaineth euen to this verie instant, to such as either haue or do bear Armes for safety and defence of our holy Christian faith. In memorie whereof, Noble and famous Orders of Knight-hood were aunciently established. As Knights of *Ierusalem*, of *hodes*, of *Malta*, of *Saint Iames*, of *Holie Lazarus*, of *Iesus Christ* in *Portugall*, of the Round Table, and of the Garter in England, with diuers other Dignities for Religious warfare, onely for the performance of meruailous and excellent Actions. Whereas contrarywise, the mindes that were thus fired to haughty atchieuements, in the sloathfull times of peace, would too easily (euen of themselves) be conuerted to proud and insolent attempts.

Honour perpetuated by deedes of Armes.

Orders of Knight-hood to eternize the memory of Armes.

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To prooue this true, that they which in the times of Warre, doo accomplish deeds of Vertue; and in the dull daies of peace) fall into quite contrary behaviours, we may perceiue by great *Marius*, the Conqueror of the *Cymbrians*. When warre did set an edge vpon his true temper, he had not his equall for valour and prowesse: but, in the trifling times of peace, he was the most wicked and dangerous man in all the Countrey. In like manner, wee shall finde it for most certaine, that Peace quenchereth whatsoeuer is good in anie man; and quickneth or giueth life vnto all such thinges, as are in him most hurtfull and dammageable.

Examination of the several times of War and peace.

Peace the quencher of all goodnesse in men.

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Let mee moue a question (in meere Courtesie) vnto such as are the greatest blamers and depraers of warre. What can they call Hatreds, Quarrelles, and Seditions, but the onelic true and perfect Instruments, whereby Nature oftentimes helpeth to perfourme manie verie lawdable actions? Ye may imagine, that it was not without very great reason, that VVarre (by the Latines) was called *Bella*, Fayre, Pleasaunt, and Commodious: for such indeede is the true Nature thereof, albeit our new vstart gaine-sayers dooth affirme, that

Concerning Hatreds, Quarrels and Seditions.

The name giuen to warre by the Latines

it is meant in a contrarie sence. But if it were lawfull, to compare the losses in peace, with them that ensue onely by warre: the report would be pittifull, and the remembrance verie Tragicall.

How many goodly Armies haue bin broken, defeated and destroyed, by the meanes (I will not say of peace) of truce onely? Which, though it bee Warres neereft Kinsman, yet it is sworne enemy vnto all Vertue and Valor. The strength and powers of Truce, ministers the meanes (euen as Peace doth) to lessen and impaire Citties, Townes, and whole Prouinces, by straunge Lawes and Ordinances: beside, it engendereth infinit secret hatreds, and vpholdeth Princes in roughnesse and seueritie against their Subiects. In time of peace, the dispositions of men, which (but for it) would be highly exalted with enflamed desire to expresse their brauerie and roialty, do become sleepe, drowsie, pensue, slothfull, lasciuious, and effeminate.

But to prooue that Warre hath bin faouered and esteemed by our Lorde God himselfe, tell mee (I pray yee) was he not called by the Children of *Israell*, *The Great God of Battailles*, *The Lorde of Hostes and Armies*? Looke in the Olde Testament, how manie mightie ouerthrowes and slaughters were executed in his Name, vpon them that were the Aduersaries of his people? Howe manie were slaine by *Moyse*, *Iosuah*, *Gedon*, *Sampson*, and diuers other? Howe manie slew *Abraham*, *Dauid*, *Indas Machabeus*, and they that wer in those times? What shall wee say of Saint *Michaell* the Arch-Angell; who (euen in Heauen it selfe) made such a sharpe Conflict against the Draggon? And, to continue on this discourse, euen to the New Law, if GOD had beene displeas'd with Warre, would hee haue commaunded his Apostles to sel their cloaks, and buy each of them a Sword? If Saint *Iohn Baptist*, had hated Soldiers, or Militarie Discipline, would he haue appointed them this Law and Ordinance (when they demaunded of him, what way they should take, whereby to attaine to the saluation of their soules) *That they should content themselves with their Wages, and not rob or pille from the poore people*. Hee would then rather haue commaunded them, to leaue that estate, and betake

them vnto some Hermitage; or else, to deale in some affayres of Merchandize, or in some such like employments. No, content your selues (quoth hee) in your Garrisons with your ordinarie pay, and offer no shame, violence, or extortion, to any one. For your calling (which is the Art Militarie) will not let or hinder ye from your saluation: because manie of your profession, haue thereby wonne their safest security.

This in briefe, and in my conceipt, is that which blessed Saint *Iohns* words intended, if I bee no bad Paraphrast or Interpreter. If hee had beene willing to discommend Warre, yet he wold haue forborne it: perceyuing what pride and insolence was crept into rich mens mindes, during the pampring daies of peace and no way so soone to be cured or corrected, as by the worthy discipline obserued in warre.

How many haue beene obserued, of great Gentlemen, Merchants, Countrey-men, and other of all conditions, who were woont to bee most proud and arrogant: suddenly to become kind and tractable, onely by meanes of the bridle of Warre? This is it, which deliuereth vs from a number of mishaps by theeuers ydle Vagabonds, Gamesters, Pipers, Players, young Rogues, Cozeners, Ruffians, and High-way watchers. It serues to whet and waken the spirites of Men, making their bodies to become more strong, light, nimble, patient; yea, and emboldened against all hard and sinister fortunes.

Consider the sweetnesse and delight which the *Cymbrians* founde in VVarre, vsing it as the Conseruation of theyr Countrey: and when they went to fight, they would sing as chearefullie, as if they had beene going vnto a wedding. Imagine what pleasure was taken therein by furious *Hanniball*, Valiaunt *Marcellus*, Vertuous *Scipio*, Couragious *Camillus*, and that Victorious *Alexander*.

I say moreouer, whosoever is ignorant in taking good order for publique affayres, there is no place or Schoole, wherein hee may more easily attaine thereto; then by noting the preparation and conducting of an Armie. Besides, whosoever knoweth not the deceptes, sleights, and trickes of ingenious prudence,

Famous Armies destroyed by the meanes of truce.

Princes made rough and stearne to their people, by peace.

Warre, faouered and allowed by god himselfe, and what names were giuen him.

Examples alleaged out of sacred Scripture in the old Testament.

Examples out of the new Testament.

The implication of S. *Iohns* words to the Souldiers, according to the authors interpretation.

Warre is the only bridle to many notorious insolencies and abuses

The *Cimbrians* had a great felicity in Warre.

Warre the Schoole for publique affaires, and ingenious prouidence.

dence, or how to stand vpon his garde, to know what he should auoyd, and what he ought principally to followe: let him but liue in war a month or two for pleasure; and in that time he shallern more then all the Bookes of Peace shall euer be able to teach him.

Furthermore, hee that couets to vnderstand the true Nature of inuiolable obedience, strict diligence, incomparable vigilance, vnspeakeable promptitude of heart, and inestimable strength of the bodie: let him but vouchsafe so much leysure, as (for a while) to follow a field well manned and prepared, there to obserue carefully, what hee may behold for his owne benefit. If hee finde not himselfe well satisfied; yea, & more then contented in verie few dayes, I will yeeld, and loose my credite in this cause. Which therefore shall serue me to conclude withall, maintaining still that war is to be preferred before peace, as deerly beloued, and with choicest praïses commended. Beside, our Prayers should continually bee made to God; to create such chearfull hearts in our Princes, that wee may not any long time, remaine in want, of such a precious and vnualueable Jewell.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Indian Beare: And of those Beares in our owne Native Countreyes, howe different they are in their severall Natures.



Nature hath verie many times expressed hir care and prouidence (as a dutifull handmaid attending on God) whē there are any store of hurtfull creatures in some country, that may impeach the inhabiting of men, or Liues of other beasts and animals, to engender some other of contrary kinds, to destroy the ouer-abounding of such harmefull things. As we may obserue in Serpents, which do deuoure vp Toads & Lizards: Serpents also themselves, are eaten by Storks, and many times they themselves

do feede one vpon another. Cats also do deuoure Rats. and so in diuers more beside. I speake this the rather, because we finde recorded in the generall historie of the *Indiæes*, that in *Quiloa*, a certaine Countrey of the New-world, there are such extraordinarie swarmes of Antes, that they consume the seeds and rootes of all Trees and plants. So that, if there were no Beares; which Nature in especial fauour hath there appointed, and in great plentie) ther could not be any possibilitie of dwelling there, because they would make the Countrey to bee quite barren.

The Beare of this Region, liueth only (without anie other foode or Pastorage) by eating those Antes, whose beddes and Nests hee easily findeth, and so with his tongue (which is verie broade and large) hee is so quicke and readie in licking of them vp, that hee is onely nourished by them. There are also great store of those Bears, but they are not fierce, wild and harmefull, as those in other partes: for they will not set vpon men; neyther mount vppe vpon Trees, to deuoure the young sprouts and fruites, but are verie easily made tame and tractable by the *Indians*.

There is no need of plucking out their eyes, or boaring their lippes, to thruste Rings of Iron thorough them, onely to tame them. For euen of themselves, they are (well-neere) Domesticall: and, if it were not for these Beares, neither men, and great store of other creatures, could not liue there: but they encrease in those parts so abundantly, that they suffice to destroy the plentie of Antes; in which respect, the Countrey may well account it selfe to be most happy.

I haue not well bene informed, whether it bee the Nature of the Beares in this Countrey; that (according as hath bene reported) the shee-Bear yeildeth or whelpeth a Male of Flesh, without anie forme or apparance of life: and that the Damme, onely by the Vertue of licking, giueth it true shape.

Of this opinion, were manie Learned and graue men, as *Aristotle*, *Plutarke*, *Plinie*, *Elianus*, and *Du Bartas*: but it is a manifestt error, as experience hath plainly declared vnto vs, because in manie enclosed places of *Germanie*, and of *Francoe* also, Beares of both sexes

A a a 3 are

Quiloa a Region in the New-found World.

The Indian Beare feedeth on *Antes* only.

The Indian Beare is gentle and tractable.

The error of *Aristotle* and many other learned men beside.

Lessons to be learned in a Field of Battale, for any mans benefit during life.

The conclusio

All kinds of Creatures haue their contraries appointed, to appease their hurtfulness.

A strait obseruation by Nature.

are kept, which haue engendered young ones, verie well formed in all their members. For, it is an order, obserued by nature verie strictly in our terrestriall Animals, that in theyr passage out of the Matrixe, they are fully compleated in all their parts, without any need of further forming, encreasing verie well in those three dimensions, length, largeness, & depth.

Concerning teeth in yong Infants, that they are not bred after their birth.

It serueth to no purpose, to alledge, that Childrens teeth are engendered or formed after their birth. For I answer, that they bring then with them from the Mothers wombe: as I haue seene in the dissection of many young infants, newly borne and dead, whose gummes being opened in the pit'es and hollowes of the Iawes, the Teeth haue bene plainly found.

A view of young whelps in the Dams belly.

But indeede, no outward appearance is made of them, vntill certaine moneths determined by Nature; in which time, they grow greater and stronger, & pierce their passage through the gummes. For mine owne part, in the Mountaines of *Saint Claude*, in *La franche Comte de Bourgogne*, I haue seene a shee-Bear flaine: whose Belly being presently opened, three young Whelpes were there found, fully formed and hairy, and (as I thinke) verie soone to haue bene whelped, and that which is affirmed by eye-testimony, I hope hath no neede of further probation. *Scaliger*, a great Physition and Phylosopher, also affirmeth; That he being once at the taking and killing of a Shee-Bear on the Alpes, the young Whelpes in her belly were found to be wholly formed, as I haue formerly iustified by mine owne sight.

The testimonie of *Scaliger*

How long time the Shee-Bear goeth with her yong and manner of her whelps.

Plinie saith, that the thirtieth day after her conception, the shee-Bear deliuereth her young ones: but *Elianus* sayeth, within three moneths after, which is the more likely and credible, because all great creatures, do beare their burthens longer, then such as are small and little. When they are broght into the world, they are about the bignesse of Weezels: and there is good apparance, that they can be no bigger, because they are carried no longer time, as Kine doo theyr Calues, Mares theyr Foales; and other great Beasts their young ones; and these Shee-Bears hath commonlie three or fve.

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So soone as shee hath conceiued, she commeth no more into the males fight. VVhen desire of coupling with the male is kindled in her, shee is so greatly ashamed thereof: that she hideth her selfe in the remotest obscure places, and the male neuer seeketh after her. At length, being pressed by Nature, and desire of generation, shee commeth to finde the male, and tumbling and playing before him, lyeth directly vpon her backe; and so hee coupleth with her, euen as men and women vse to doe. And this is the reason, why it should not bee accounted so straunge, that Beares haue had actual dealing with VVoimen, wandering thorow the Forrests and Mountaynes, and conceyued by them, as I shall declare more at large in the next following Chapter.

They helpe themselues with their Pawes and Feete, euen as men do with their handes and feete; for, they can goe vpright along while together, and hurle or throwe stones with theyr foremost Pawes, smite with a Staffe, and whatsoeuer else themselues will doo, as well as we.

They are almost continuallie troubled with paine and Ache in the head, and in such violent manner, that oftentimes (as madded therwith) they throw themselues downe from very high rocks their heads going forwardes, covering their eyes with their pawes, because their sight is verie feeble, and by covering their eyes, they seeme to find some ease.

They espie out such places, where Bees doe make their Honie and VVax, onely to make them angrie, and to the end, they may bee pricked and pierced by the Bees stinges, both in their heade, and about their eyes: wherby their sight is amended, and their head greefe much asswaged. They feede indifferently on all kindes of Foode, be it Flesh, Fruites, Hearbes, sprouts of Trees, and Honey. They will assaile and kill (if they can) all wild and sauage Beasts; as Harts, Hinds, Boares; yea, and VVilde Bulles manie times.

The Shee-Bear feeling her selfe to be bagde, or conceyued with yong (which most commonly is in the winter rime) with-draweth her selfe into her Caue, which shee prepareth in a strong defended

How the Shee-Bear coupleth with the Male.

Beares haue dealt carnally with womē.

Actions performed by Beares.

Beares troubled with head-ach.

Beares haue bad eye sight, and how they helpe it.

The feeding and hunting of Beares.

When the Female is bagde with yong.

How long
time the She-
Beare fasteth,
and of her
comming
forth of her
Cave.

fenced place, far from common resort,
and well covered with earth, boughes,
and braunches; entring thereinto al-
waies backward, because it should not
be knowne, or found by Huntsmen.
There she remaineth forty daies toge-
ther, without any food or sustentation;
doing nothing else, but licke her right
paw, whereby she liueth all that while.
Afterward, she commeth forth againe,
and then eateth all the Antes she can
come by: yet not for any nourishment
(like to to the Indian Beare) but onely
to prouoke her to vomit, to the ende
that she may feed the better. Which
when she hath done, she then seeketh
after food, and because she hath conti-
nued the space of forty dayes, and eaten
nothing: her intestines are fast clinged
together; so that, no meate can haue
entrance, but is instantly cast vp againe,
and therefore she eates the Hearb called
* *Aron*, which gineth dilatation and o-
pen spreading to her bowels againe.

As for her Whelpes or young ones,
they do not teate or sucke, like to other
Creatures, because *Munster* reporteth
(but I know not from whom) that one
Demetrius a *Moscouite*, who was sent
thence as an Ambassadour to *Rome*, de-
clared for a certainty to some perticuler
Men of credit: that in his Countrey of
Mosconia, there were great store of
Beares, big in stature of body, and very
fierce, that after their birth (for the space
of foureteene daies) liued without ea-
ting any thing, continuing in so pro-
found a sleepe, that nothing could wa-
ken them, no, though they were prickt
and pierced very deeply. After that
time is passed ouer, they do then awake,
and fal to licking of their formost paws,
and lue (onely by this licking) till the
Spring time, when they begin to come
abroad with their Dammes, and nibble
on tender Hearbs, as they see them do.
Now, to speake vprightly, I can hardly
be induced to beleue this, because Na-
ture hath giuen Breasts, or Dugges to
She-Beares, as I my selfe haue seene,
and then they should haue their Milke
in vaine.

Moreover, that if they be pursued
by Hunters, hauing their young ones
in their company, and they vnable to
escape, in regard of their weaknesse:
the Damme carryeth some on her back,

and one in her mouth, and so climbeth
vp vpon a high Tree, to preferue her
selte and them in this manner. This
maketh me to remember, that which is
recited by *Ælianus*, of a She-Beare and
two Lyons.

He saith, that he heard it reported by
one *Eudemus*, that a She-Beare of * *Pan-
gæus*, a Mountaine in *Thrace*, chanced
to finde a Denne; wherein were young
Lyon-whelpes, and neither the Sire or
Damme there present, to defend them
from this She-Beare, therefore she kil-
led them, & afterward departed thence.
Within a short while after, the Lyon
and his *Lyonnesse* returned to their
den, bringing preyes to nourish their
young Whelpes withall: but finding
them dead, and gathering (by their
sente) how they were murdered; they
instantly pursued the She-Beares foo-
ting by the smell, and discerning her a
farre off, drew neerer and neerer still,
deuising their best meanes, how to en-
trap her. Which the She-Beare also
perceiuing, and knowing her strength
farre in-sufficient, to deliuer her from
these displeased Lyons: forthwith shee
began to climbe a Tree, and got vp to
the very top thereof. These enraged
Beasts seeing they could compasse no a-
mends from the murtheresse; tormented
themselues exceedingly, and the *Lyon-
nesse* lying downe at the foote of the
Tree, kept it as besiedged, to be reuen-
ged on her Enemy. But the Sire or male
Lyon, he ran vp and downe from Hill
to Dale, making the Mountaines to
tremble with his loud out-cryes, and all
the other Beasts to be very fearefull. At
length, hee lighted on a man a *Wood-
feller*, who was hewing downe a Tree
in the Forrest, and perceiuing the Lyon
to make towards him; with extrean-
ity of dismay, the Axe fell out of his hands,
and faine he would haue fled for his
owne safety. The Lyon approaching
neere vnto him, made signes of humble
and gentle fawning on him, and in such
pleasing manner, as we see Dogges to
do: licking his hands and garments, of-
tentimes prostrating himselfe at his
feete, euen as if he implored his help in
some vrgent occasion.

At length, he took him by the cloaths
with his teeth, as if hee would bee his
guide and conduct to some place, often
patting

*Ælianus in lib.
3. cap. 30.*

* A Promon-
tory of *Thrace*

A strange Hi-
story of a She-
Beare and a
Lyonnesse.

Beasts disco-
uer the killers
of their young
ones, by their
sente or smell
that did the
deed.

The *Lionnesse*
lyeth downe
to beleager
her enemy.

Admirable
humanity in
Lyons, to doe
themselues
good.

* Call's foot,
Ram Starch
wort or
Cuce-pint.

Fab repor-
ted *Demetri-
us Mosco-
uia* ambassa-
dour to *Rome*.

ture hath
en breasts
dugges to
e Beares.

hen a She-
are & her
ung ones
e pursued.

The Lyon giueth directions to the mā, to goe along with him.

As expressing what losse in nature he had sustained, by so euident a testimony.

The She-Bear dismembred in many pieces.

The Beare useth to eate the flesh of no beasts, but such as he himselfe killeth.

Munster. ex Demetri.

A pretty History, and no way vnlkely, of a mans life saued by a Beare.

patting his paw vpon the Axe, that the Wood-feller should take it vp againe : which the fearefull man being not able to comprehend (though the beast still vrged it by diuers perswasive signs) the Lyon took it vp with his teeth, and carried it himselfe. So, winding his taile about one of the mans legs, he conducted him, first to the place where the young whelps lay murdred, which was not far from the Tree whereon the she-Bear was mounted. Thither also he brought him, and the Lyonnesse seeing them comming, she arose (with chearful disposition) to meete them, equalling, or rather exceeding the Male Lyons affability to the Man. In brieft, both the beasts made such apparant signes to the Carpenter, that hee not onely saw the She-Bear aloft on the Tree; but gathered also by their moanes, that shee had killed their young Whelpes, and therefore they would haue him to cut downe the Tree; because, by no means else, they could be auenged on her. The man did quickly cut downe the Tree, & as it fell, so did the She-Bear: which was so sooner on the ground, but instantly they rent her in infinite peeces, returning many gratefull signes to the poore Carpenter, and conducting him safely to his former working place againe.

But returne we now againe, to the naturall disposition of the Beare. He will neuer eate the Flesh of any Beast, which he findeth dead, or readily killed for him. It is saide also, that if a man counterfeit himselfe to be dead, and retaineth his breath while he smelleth to him; hee will not doe him any harme. He driueth all Rats out of his Denne, and will not abide therein, if there bee but one left in it. He will neuer eate any Hony out of the Hine, where he findes the Bees to be dead.

Munster declareth (by direction from the fore-named Demetrius) that a Beare saued the life of Man, in the very remotest and vastest Forrest of all Moscouia, in the yeare, one thousand five hundred and thirty, and after this manner. A man inhabiting in a neighbouring Village, went into the Forrest to gather Waxe and Hony: because in those Countries, the Bees vse to make their Hony in hollow Trees in the For-

rests, whereof there are no meane number, and hee thereby maketh his best benefit, that is most diligent in searck, and getteth the greatest quantity.

The poore Countrey-man, standing with his Legges extended abroad in a hollow Tree, for his better gathering of his Hony-Combs: the slender hold (which supported his feete) chanced to breake, and downe he fell further into the hollow of the Tree, till hee was vp to the Chin in Waxe and Hony; destitute of all strength for helping himselfe, or hope of any succour, because no Passengers frequented that way (at least-wise, very sildome) that might heare his wofull complaints, so that he continued there for the space of two daies.

Now, it fortun'd, or rather, the especiall Grace of God so directing, that a Beare came by the Tree, and smelling the Hony, climbed vp the Tree, and descended downe to the place where the poore man was. The Beare being fearefull when he beheld the man, turned to get vp againe out of the Tree: but the poore man caught hold on one of his hinmost feet, and held so strongly with both his hands, that the Beare brought vp himselfe and the man out of the Tree, and both fell downe together on the out-side of the Tree, somewhat astonied with the fall, but no way hurt, the Beare returning into the Woodes, and the man to his home. Thus the Beare saued the poore Countrey-mans life, without declaring any signe of hurting or offending him.

Bachiles Anchisus saith, that in the Northerly Countries, there are white Beares, that liue both in Waters, and on the Land: beside, that either with hurling stones, or branches of Trees, or with their clawes, they will break open the Ices in Riuiers, and in the Sea, only to catch Fishes to feed on. Moreover, that they are not so malicious or harmful, as other Beares are, neither are lustfull, or seeking after women: As one, whereof I am now to speake, and whereby a Lady conceived, after the maner of women, witnessed for truth, by Ioannes Saxonius, in his large History, and Ioannes Magnus, Arch-bishop of Upsalia in Swetia; & lastly, by Arch-bishop Olaus, his

The poore Countv man in grea distresse i a hollow tre.

Whethe hope is weest, heau is the front.

A verreat and morable derace

Bachil'chiso, or Aus, concey white bs.

Ioannes nius. Ioannes Episc. V Olaus E. Vspal. his

his Successour, who in his Writings a- uoucheth the very same, according as I haue selected it from them in this ensu- ing Chapter.

CHAP. XL.

Of a Lady of Swetia, that was conceiued with child by a Beare, and afterward what ensued thereon.



N a part of the King- dome of Swetia or Swe- uia, there stood some- time a goodly Castle, builded neere vnto a Mountaine, by a weal- thy Lord, and one of great authoritie. This Lord had a very faire Daughter, who walked abroad in an euening, ac- companied with some other Gentle- women, to take the open ayre in the Fields. As they walked together, plea- santly talking and discoursing; a Beare (by chance) had strayed abroad from the thickets on the Mountaine, of verie huge stature, fierce and terrible, making directly towards this faire troupe, who (in great feare) when they espyed the Beare, fled, some one way, and the rest another, for their best deliuerance. The Beare laying hold on the chiefest Ladie of all the rest, lifting her forcibly vpon his backe: ran (so fast as he could) into the thickest of the Forrest, not meeting any resistance by the way, because the fore-saide Ladies came soorth alone of themseluee, not hauing any man in their company.

Now, albeit the Beare had thus wan- dered abroad, in search of some prey, for appeasing his hunger: yet (referring the maine point heerein, to Gods mer- cifull and omnipotent preservation) the Beare, moued by some instinct of na- ture (farre differing from that in Beasts of the same kind) would not kill her for his foode, but carried her to his Caue, which was in a very darke and deep val- ly. There his wonted, rough and sterne nature, became conuerted into loue- like embracings and careffes, which

were so extremely pursued and conti- nued: that the Lady apprehended his lustfull intention, which, though it was monstrous and vnnaturall, yet it qualli- fied some part of her former feare. And, as she durst not (in this extremitie) re- sist the fury and power of the Beare, dreading each houre the losse of her life: so (questionlesse) much against her will or liking, shee was enforced to con- sent, and endure such companying with him, as you may better imagine, then I expresse.

The Beare would daily issue forth of his den, hunt and kill all kinds of Beasts, and bring them home as food for him- selfe and the Lady: who (in this vrging necessity) was glad to eat raw flesh, wilde Fruits, and some other foodes familiar to men; as Cheese, Bread, and such like victuals, which he would get from the that kept Cattle in the fieldes, or such as trauailed to Faires and Markets. Her daily drinke, was Water of a cleare running Brooke at the Caues entrance, shaddowed with a louely thicket of young Trees: and thus shee liued, in hope that (one day) God would deliuer her. Many times (while the Beare was abroad at his prey and purchase) shee purposed to make an escape thence: yet durst not attempt it, least hee should a- gaine recouer her, and then kill her; be- side, she feared the rauinous fury of o- ther sauage Beastes, whereof no meane store frequented the Mountaine.

As thus she spent some moneths in this haplesse manner, it fortunod, that certaine Huntsmen (pursuing their de- lightfull sporting ouer the Mountaine) with their Grey-hounds and Beagles, followed this Beare so mainly; that he being falne into their snares, they there slew him. And although this was vn- known to the Lady, yet when she heard the voyces of men, and they appearing to be neere the Caue: she came soorth vnto them, to their no little dread and admiration. Yet looking more adui- sedly on her, they perfectly knew her, and had heard of her losse; with gene- rall supposition of her death: whereup- on they conducted her home to her Fa- ther and Mother, who scarcely knew her, her complexion had been so great- ly altered. In this time, Nature (who sometimes worketh wonderfull things,

What kind of nourishment the Lady had in the Beares Denne.

The Ladies diuers deter- minations to escape from the Beare.

The happy manner of the wofull Ladies deli- uerance from the Beare.

The Lady was brought home to her Father and Mother.

* Swetia bor- dereth on Ba- uaria, Hallsatia, the Riuer Rhene and the Alpes.

The lady sur- prized by the Beare, and carried away to his Denne, notwithstanding all her vttermolt re- sistance.

Behaiour of the Beare to the Lady whē she was in his Den.

The Lady was deliuered of a goodly Sonne, and he was named Beare.

Beare slew all them that killed the Beare his begetter.

The descent of Beare, according to the reporte in Chronicles.

The Kings of *Dacia* and *Sveuia* descended of a Beare.

The Authors affirmation out of his own knowledge.

and contrary to common order) had disposed so of the Beasts seed in her bodie; that she being growne great, and generally expected to be deliuered of a monster: it prooued to bee a goodly Male Childe, not any way pertaking in the Sires bestiall forme or appearance, saying that his body was much more hairy all ouer, then is seene in other Children. He was carefully nursed, and the name of *Beare* imposed on him: but when he grew to mans estate, hee became so strong and powerfull, that euery one stood in great feare of him. The Huntsmen that killed the Beare, his begetter, would often boast in his company, after what manner they had deliuered his Mother: but hee was the Deathsmán of them all, saying; *Albeit, he had receiued such a fauour by them, yet notwithstanding, he stood bound in nature, to reuenge the death of his Father.*

This Man begat *Trugillus Sprachaleg*, who was a very valiant Souldiour and Captaine; and he begat *Vlfen*, a man of high deseruing: of whom, the Chronicles of the Countries of *Dannemarch*, *Sveuia*, and *Gothia*, doe make most large mention, for he was the Father of *Suegus*, who was King of *Dacia*; whereupon, all Histories doe affirme, that at the Kings of *Dacia*, and of *Sveuia*, proceeded from this race, and all the fore recited Authours (who are of the same Countries) doe maintaine as much. Concerning my selfe, I haue seene many tame and domesticke Beares, amorous of Women, and She-Bears to be the like of Men, although their eyes

have beene pluckt out, and very few are ignorant of the truth in this case: therefore this history sufficiently approueth, that these beastes doe couple after the manner of men.

Now, let vs admit the Beare to bee cruell and vile in all his actions; yet notwithstanding, Nature hath bestowed diuers medicinable properties, on some peculiar parts of his body. His head is held venomous, to such as eat thereof, and to procure raging madnesse: in which regard, the Inhabitants of these Northerly Countries, doe vse to burne those heads, and the Ashes of them are exceeding good, for them that haue the Foule-cuill, or Falling-sicknesse, by often washing the diseased parties head, with Lye, made of the saide Ashes or Cinders. If they be mingled also among Hony, it will cause Haire to grow againe, where it hath long time wanted: euen as the Fat or Grease of the Beare doth the like, when men haue lost their Haire; helping likewise the paines of the Sciatica, and other Gouts. Also his Flesh is wholesome to bee eaten, and hath no euill taste. The *Scythians*, *Getes*, and other Northerne Countries do fasten Beares heads on the Gates of their Citties and Townes, perswading themselves; that they doe preserue them, from being hurt by their enemies. Thus you see, what I collected out of good, ancient, and approoued Authours, concerning the Nature of the *Indian* Beare, and those of other Countries, better knowne to vs.

Sundry medicinable properties belonging to certaine partes of the Beare.

For the foule cuill or falling sicknesse.

For restoring lost haire, & helping the Sciatica and Goutes.

The *Scythians*, *Getes* and Northerne Nations.

The End of the Eight Booke.



The Ninth Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Great Turkes Court, more commonly cald (in these daies) the Court of the Gret Signior: His Pompe, State, Officers, and Attendants; As also their daily Wages and Allowances, according to their degrees, and places of Service, &c.



WE have alreadie spoken sufficiently (though briefly) concerning the Originall of the Turkish Empire, and in what manner they attained to such height and greatness: Our purpose therefore, in this present Chapter, is, to discourse onely of the Government, and Order observed in the Court, vsually rearm'd by themselves, the *Porta* or Court of the *Grand Signior*; whereto I am the more willingly induced, because the Pompe, Might, and Maiesty thereof, may bee publikely discerned.

The Cittie of *Constantinople*, wherein the *Great Signior Turke* (with his Court Royal) maketh his most residing; was in former times called *Bizantium*, and new *Rome*, containing now in circuit, about eighteene Miles. It hath seauen small Hills, not of any great height, and it is rounded with old ruined wals,

being full of Houses, though none of the best, yet composed of Clay, wood, and some few of stones. There are many Groves or Thickets of Trees in the City, vn-inhabited, consisting of Cipresse Trees, and diuers others there growing in like maner. In *Constantinople* is the *Serraglio* of the *Signior Turke*, which is a singuler thing, & very great, as we shall relate hereafter. There is the *Serraglio* of Weomen, for the *Great Signior*; The *Serraglio* of *Ianissaries*; The *Patriarkes* Pallace; The Pallace of *Constantine* the Emperor, which is partly ruinated; The Church of *Saint Sophia*, which was builded by the Emperor *Iustinian*, of admirable fine stone, and curious Marble, as yet (though very ancient and excellent) is to be scene, part whereof, the *Great Signior* imployeth as a Stable for his Horses. There is also the *Moschea* of the *Sultane Mehemet*, which hath an *Amarato* (that is as an Hospitall or Almes-house) ioyned vnto it, wherein is enterrained and lodged men of all Nations and Religions, that will enter into it, and there they are allowed three dayes acceptance and food, as Hony, Rice, Bread, Water, and a Chamber to rest in. There is belonging to this Hospitall, goodly Bathes, and rare Fountaines or Springs of Water, very delightfull to behold. There are also the *Moscheas* of *Sultane*, *Biazeth*, of *Sultane Selim*; and of diuers other Lords, which are very beautifull and and costly builded: whereby it appeareth, that when they pleased, they knew how to make houses, and Pallaces most magni-

Il Serraglio del Signor Turco.

The Pallaces in Constantinople.

The goodly Church of *S. Sophia*.

An Hospitall for people of all Nations, and three dayes entertainment.

Diuers *Moscheas* in the City.

In the 25. Chapter of the first Book.

The great Signior maketh his most abiding in Constantinople, with some briete description thereof.

* A courting
or running
place for Hor-
ses.

The curious
Needle in the
Hippodromo.

The three
headed Ser-
pent of Brasse

The great Co-
lossus.

Antiquities in
passage thro-
row the city.

Gardens and
goodly Hou-
ses.
Private Mos-
chees.

The hills of A-
sia, now cal-
led *Natolia*.

Castles *Scu-
tari*.
Chalcedonia in
the *Hellepont*.

The site or
seate of *Con-
stantinople* ex-
ceeding de-
scription.

magnificent and sumptuous.
There is likewise the * *Hippodromo*, which is a place, where anciently they vsed to breake and run their Horses, in the forme of a Theater or circle in the midst of which *Hippodromo*, there standeth a sharp Spire or Pinnacle, being an ingenious Piller, made in the fashion of a Needle, very faire, well wrought, and without any Lime or Morter: yet made of fine Stone, and framed in such manner, that it riseth aboue fifty fadome in height, obseruing still the true shape of a Needle, and resting vpon foure round Bals of Marble. There is also a Piller of Brasse, in forme of a Serpent with three heads: and a *Hercules* of Brasse, brought thither from *Hungaria*; and in the midst of all these, standeth a frame or deuise, made like a *Colossus*, of diuers kindes of beautifull Marble, whereon is curiously engrauen, the Histories of all the fore-named thinges; and others, that were wont to be in the Theater or *Hippodromo*. Thorow the City, there are diuers tracts or pathies of Antiquity, Arches, Colloms of Porphiry, Springes tercht from *Danubie*, & other neere neighbouring Riuers: many Gardens with goodly Houses in them; many *Moscheas* belonging to priuate Lordes, and great store of Bathes, annexed to the *Moscheas* of publike Magistrates, and other priuate persons.
On the other side of the Sea, and at the head of the *Serraglio*, are the hills of *Asia*, containing the iourney of two miles, little more or lesse: which *Asia*, vnder one name only is now cald *Natolia*, and there (on the shoaring banckes) are diuers little Castles, termed *Scutari*. Next, there is that which they call *Chalcedonia*, seated in a corner of the *Hellepont*; where diuers notes of Antiquitie are to be obserued, and (in many places) the foundation of auncient Churches many be seene, as well of Christians, as of the Gentiles, being now goodly places, and abounding in Fruits. The site or scituation of *Constantinople* is such, as not only it exceedeth all description, equal to the due merit thereof: but also can as hardly be conceived in thought, in regard of the beauty and delicate composure therof, so that (vndoubtedly) it may rather be reputed diuine, then otherwise, and whatsoever hee be that

shall behold it, will iudge it worthy to be preferred, before all other fitted Citities in the world.

In the City, beside *Turkes*, there are *Jewes*, being * *Marrani*, fled, or repulsd out of *Spaine*; and these are they that haue taught, and do yet teach, all kinds of Trades to the *Turkes*, and the most part of all the Shoppes and Boothes for Trades, are kept and exercised by those *Marrani*. There is a place named *Bisestano*, where is bought and sold all kinde of Cloathes, and Turkish Commodities, Silkes, wollen and Linnen Cloath, Siluer and Gold wrought into all formes, Bowes, Slaues, Horses, and all kinds of thinges else to be had in *Constantinople*, which continually are brought to this Market, and which is euery day kept open in full sale, except Friday onely. *Constantinople* is in *Thrace*, and the terminations thereof are in this manner. On the East, is the *Propontis*, and mouth of the great Sea, from the streights of *Hellepont*, to *Bosphorus Thracius*. On the West, is part of *Bu'geria*, and part of *Macedonia*. On the North, *Bassina*; And on the South, *Aegæem Mare*, with part of *Macedonia*, which turneth towards the Riuer *Nessana*, anciently called * *Nessus Fluiuius*. This most Noble City is inhabited with *Turks*, who (by the writings of diuers approoued Authours, for confirmation, and many of the *Turkes* themselues also) had their Original from *Scythia*, which now is part of *Tartaria*, a Nottherly Region, and deuided into two parts by the Riuer * *Tana-is*; one part whereof is in *Europe*, & the other in *Asia*. That part of *Europe* is confined (on the one side) with *Pontus*, and on the other side, with the *Riphean* Mountaines, being backed also with *Asia* it selfe, and with the Riuer *Thaspiis*. By *Ptolomie*, these two *Scythiaes* are named, the one, *Intra * Iannum montem*, and the other, *Extra Iannum*, as is more at large else where to be seene.
This people, being parted from *Scythia*, as formerly hath been said, and beginning (in their own confines) to make commodities and irruptions, proceeding on still further: in short time they ouer-ruled a great part of *Asia*; but in regard they knew not how to maintain themselues vnder one Head or Commaunder, they could not make any firme

* A Nick-
name for Infidell
Renegado Spaniards.

The *Eisestano*
or chief Mar-
ket-place in
Constantinople.

In what man-
ner *Constanti-
nople* is bound-
ed or limit-
ted on all
sides.

* Where stood
a City of
Thrace, built
by *Constantine*.

* A Riuer of
Scythia, par-
ting *Asia* from
Europe

* In the lesser
of the Isles
called *Ba'cares*.

The *Turkes*
issuing forth
of their owne
confines.

Ottoman, a man of bold and sprightly courage.

Ottoman discovered his secret purpose.

Very liberall and large promises.

The conditions accepted and prosecuted.

The Marcalogi descended Michaele Greco

The Malcozoli, of Malco Greco.

The Euracastli, of Aurami.

Succession that ensued after Ottoman.

Orchanes. Amurath. 1.

Baiazeth. 1. Calapine.

Mahomet. 1.

firme or settled foundation. Which being well perceived and considered by one, who was named *Ottoman* (a man of more condition then common baseness, being of high spright and valiant minded) he consulted with his owne thoughts, that if he could compasse the arme and furtherance of some ingenious man that had authority: hee might easily have the people and whol Country vnder obedience, and encrease the same as occasion still serued. Hereupon, he discovered his priuate intention to three men, whom he thought more apt and conuenient for this businesse, then any of the rest: promising them, that if he could compasse the hope he ayimed at; both they and their of-spring should be continued and maintained in such high state and dignity, answerable to so great a benefit as he receiued by them. Moreover, that not any one of their posterity, should be vnder-handed, or left to the mercy of Law, except they offended very grieuouly. The conditions were accepted by these men, and they conspired together against the chiefest Soueraignty: in which progression, what by art, craft, threatnings, & much expence of blood, all was obtained to their full desire. These three men, one of them was named *Michaele Greco*, made a *Turke*: of whom are descended the *Marcalogi*, & one of them (is at this instant) *Saniack of Bofsina*. The second was called *Malco Greco*, a Renegado: of whom also came the *Malcozoli*, and there is but one onely left of them, who is *Saniack in Grecia*. The third was *Aurami*, a Natiue Turke, the descendants of whom were tearmed *Euracastli*, and it is not knowne, whether any of them bee left, or no. When the Race and Family of *Ottoman* failed, these other pretended right to the principalitie, and therefore they were very highly respected. This *Ottoman* came to the Government, in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, or there-about, and liued in the regiment, twenty eight yeares. After whom succeeded *Orchanes*, who liued twenty two yeares in the dominion. Next, *Amurath* raigning twenty three yeares. After him *Baiazeth*; Then *Cyrisclebes*, or (as others will haue it) *Calapine*, who liued fixe yeares. Next him was *Mahomet*, who raigned foureteeen yeares. Then

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Amurath the second, who ruled one and thirty yeares. Then *Mahomet* the second, who raigned two and thirty yeares, and was called the first Emperour of the *Turkes in Constantinople*. Next, *Baiazeth* the second, who raigned one and thirty yeares. Then *Selim*, eight yeares; To whom succeeded *Sultan Soliman*, who raigned forty seauen yeares: And after him, *Selim* the second, raigning eyght yeares. Then *Amurath* the third, who raigned one and twenty yeares. Next to him, *Mahomet* the third, ruling nine yeares: And lastly *Achmeth*, or *Achmet*, who came to the Empire, being but seuenteeen yeares old, and raigneth yet at this present.

1 THE Great Signior hath a *Serraglio* in a part of *Constantinople*, at the two Seas deuision, which containeth (in circuit) about three miles: and therein is his chiefe Seat and Court, which is called the *Porta*. This *Serraglio*, because it was begun to be builded by the *Sultane Mahomet*: when hee dyed, hee would haue it leuelled with his *Moschea*, and that a thousand *Aspers* should be dailie paid towards the charges, which *Aspers* doe amount to twenty *Ducates*; and this payment is as yet obserued. In the said *Serraglio* are very many goodly Chambers, but one (aboue all the rest) appointed for the Great Signior, and wherein he sleepeth, where doe attend fixe Youthes (supposed by some to be Weomen) who onely doe awaite on his person. Of these fixe, two are appointed daily for seruice in the Chamber, and of the Signior, and by them at night time, the Office of Guard is performed, one standing at his head, and the other at his feete (continually vigilant) with two lighted Torches in their hands.

These two doe helpe in the morning, to put on the Signiors Garments, the vppermost whereof being called *Castanno*; hath two Pockets: into one whereof, the Pages do put a thousand *Aspers*, and into the other, twenty *Ducates* of Gold euery morning, which Mony, if (in the day time) it bee not giuen away by the Signior; it remaineth to them that maketh him vnreadie at night,

Amurath. 2. Mahomet. 2.

Baiazeth. 2.

Selim. 1.

Sultan Soliman

Selim. 2.

Amurath. 3.

Mahomet. 3.

Achmeth or Achmet, the Turke or great Signior now raigning. 1613.

Of the Porta or Court, wherein is the great Signiors chiefe State.

Six youths that wait on the great Signior in his Chamber, & order of their seruice.

The guarding and watching of him in his sleeping in the night time.

What Money he daily carrieth about him, being put into his pockets by his Pages.

The *Casnadar-Bashae*, the Signiors chiefe Treasurer.

The six yong Pages, and what belongeth to their severall Offices, and their wadges.

Capagassi Eunuch.

Casnadar-Bashae, Eunuch.

Chilergi-Bashae Eunuch.

Saraidar-Bashae, Eunuch.

Twelve Eunuchs.

Five hundred young Weomen, who are Concubines to the great Signior, and kept in an especiall *Serraglio*.

for he neuer putteth on those garments againe, neither weareth any twice, as is credibly affirmed. When he rideth abroad on pleasure, either to hunt, or any other sportfull exercise, beside the forenamed Money which he carryeth about him; the *Casnadar-Bashae*, who is his chiefe Treasurer, rideth next behind him, who carrieth great sums of Money, which the Signior commaundeth to be giuen away. The Offices of the forenamed sixe young Pages, are alred according to the Signiors will and pleasure. One of them is called the *Chiuchter*, that is he which carrieth the Pantofles of the Signior; The second, *Seilichtar*, who beareth his Bow and Arrowes; The third, *Chiocadar*, who carrieth his cloak or Mantle; The fourth, *Saraptar*, who carrieth his Vial of water; The fift, *Schemeligli*, who beareth his stoole or seat; And the last is *Oda-Bashae*, who is chiefe of the Chamber. These Pages haue firm and setled allowance of Wages; some fifteen, and others twenty, but the *Oda-Bashae* thirty Aspers daily.

The *Capagassi* Eunuch, that is he which is chiefe of the *Porta* or Court, hath threescore Aspers daily.

The *Casnadar-Bashae* Eunuch, chiefe of all the other Treasurers, hath threescore and ten Aspers daily.

The *Chilergi-Bashae* Eunuch, chiefe of all the other Dispensers or Stewards, hath forty Aspers daily.

The *Saraidar-Bashae*, Eunuch of the *Serraglio*, when the Signior is in Prograce, hath fifty Aspers daily.

Twelve Eunuches, subiect, or at commaund of these fore-named, haue some ten, and some fifteen Aspers each man daily.

In the next place, we are to speake of five hundred young Women, from the age of eight, to the yeares of twentie, who are kept in a *Serraglio*, and are the choise delights of the *Grand Signior*. They haue ten and twelue Aspers daily each one of them, and are enstructed in diuers Arts, according to their ablest apprehension: but most especially in Reading, Writing, and Doctrine of their Law or Religion, and in riding. Their Maisters or Tutours, are ancient *Talifmani*, called *Cozza*, that is to say, Doctours of the Law.

These young Women, at the time of

Bairono, which is (among vs) the Feast of Easter, are all allowed Garments by the Great Signior, which are of Silke and of Cloath, without any forme of Liucry. Their Head Attires are all of Gold, and they haue Semitarics and Bowes, like *Amazones*: but they neuer go forth of the said *Serraglio*, till they attaine to such yeares, as the Signior thinketh them apt for some Office, and then they are made eyther *Spacoglani*, or *Seilichtari*, or of some greater degree, according to their carriage, or grace that they haue won with the Signior. Euery tenne of these Women are kept by an Eunuch, called *Capoglano*, that is to say, chiefe of the younger Women, and euery one of them hath a night-Slaue, and toucheth not him that lyeth neereft him. They lodge in goodlie Roomes, like great and spacious Halls, verie full of lights, and their Eunuches doe sleepe in the middest of those Roomes. There is a Garden belonging to the *Serraglio*, containing in compasse more then a mile, whereto appertaineth five and thirtie Gardiners, called *Bostangi*, who are decayed and aged *Ianissaries*: and these *Bostangi* haue (from three to five Aspers) each man dailie, and euery one hath a Liucry of Turkish Cloath, and a Shirt yearelie allowed him. When they depart out of the *Serraglio*, they remaine *Ianissaries*, or *Solachchi*, or *Capigi*, or otherwise, according to their qualitie.

The *Bostangi-Bashae*, who is chiefe of the Gardiners, hath fifty Aspers daylie allowed him, and many other royall fauours beside.

The *Protogero*, who is as Lieutenant to the Gardiners, hath twentie Aspers daily, and euery ten hath a chiefe, called *Boluch-Bashae*. Out of this Garden, which is very great, well laboured, and full of excellent Fruits of all sortes, there is yearely gathered such plentie: that the benefit made onely thereby, sufficeth for the Signiors expences in dyet, beside a good ouer-plus remaining for other vses. Neere to the Garden, doe two Foystes or small Barks continually attend, which are rowed by the Gardiners, when the Signior pleaseth to follace himselfe on the Water, and the *Boluch-Bashae* gouerneth the Helme.

There

Talifmani. Cozza, Doctour of the Lawes, Schoole-Maisters to the Concubines.

Offices bestowed on Concubines when the Signior pleaseth.

Eunuchs and Night-Slaues that attend on the Concubines in their Lodgings.

Bostangi, Gardiners belonging to the Weomens *Serraglio*, and their daily allowance.

Bostangi-Bashae chiefe Gardiner.

Protogero, Lieutenant to the Gardiners.

Boluch-Bashae.

Foysts for the Signiors recreation on the Water.

Aji-Bashae,
chiefe of the
Cooke.

There is one called *Aji-Bashae*, who is chiefe of the Cooks, with fifty Cooks vnder him, that haue each man fiftie Aspers by the day, vnder Cookes four, who haue fixe Aspers; and fixe others, eight Aspers each man.

Cawalgi-Bashae
Maister of the
Confectionarie.

Cawalgi-Bashae, is chiefe of the Confectionarie, hauing forty Aspers daylie allowed him: and he hath thirty other Companions, who haue some fixe, others fixe Aspers each man.

Casnagir-Bashae,
the chief
Butler.

The *Casnagir-Bashae*, who is Maister of the Butlers, or chiefe Butler to the Great Signior, hath forty Aspers daily. Morning and Eueing hee bringeth in his hand, the Cuppe which the Signior drinketh in, and hath an hundred *Casnegeri* vnder him, who haue from thirtie, to sixtie Aspers each man daylie.

Mutpachemin,
the chiefe
Steward.

The *Mutpachemin*, who is the chiefe Steward, hath fortie Aspers daily, and keepeth a Clarke vnder him, that hath twenty Aspers daily.

Janissarie-
Wood carti-
ers.

An hundred decayed *Janissaries*, which with Carts doe carry Wood to the *Serraglio*, they haue from three, to fixe Aspers a man daily, and are cloathed also.

Sacca, water-
bearers.

Ten *Sacca*, which carry Water on Horses in Bouges, haue each man from three, to fixe Aspers daily.

The Signiors
daily expen-
ces for his
weomen, &c.

The expences which is graunted by the Grand Signiors allowance, to his women and their Eunuches, with other persons, to the number of a thousand, or thereabout, amounteth to fixe thousand Aspers every day.

His Stable of
Horses in the
Serraglio.

There is a Stable in the *Serraglio*, with two hundred Horses for the Signiors person, and two hundred men to manage and keepe them, who haue from fixe, to eight Aspers each man daily.

Capigi-Bashaes,
Captaines of
the Gates,
who comānd
ouer the *Ca-
pigi*.

Three *Capigi-Bashaes*, who are Captaines of the Portes or Gates, that haue an hundred Aspers by the day, and are cloathed yearely. Vnder them they commaund two hundred and fifty *Capigi*, that haue each man from fixe, to seauen Aspers daylie. Each *Capigi-Bashae*, standeth obliged (with a third nūber of the *Capigi*) to keepe a Guard at the Gate of the Grand Signior, beeing changed still day by day. And when Ambassadors, or others doe come to kisse the Grand Signiors hand: all of them are presented with Garments, or else Mo-

ny, according to the degree of him that is brought to that honor.

A *Capigichechessi*, who is as *Protogero* of the *Capigi*, and hath forty Aspers daily.

Capigichechessi,
Protogero to
the *Capigi*.

10 Four *Bashaes*, called *Visirs*, that is, chiefe Councillers to the Signior. He that is greatest in authority, hath foure and twenty thousand Ducates by the yeare, and the other of them, haue fixe-
teene and eighteene thousand yearely each man. They hold (beside) so much Land of him, as yeildeth three times more benefit, then is their allowance and prouision of Money: wheretō are added the rich garments giuen them by the Signior; the great presents of Suits, and others; beside the royalties held by their Offices, which are infinite.

Bashaes Visirs,
chiefe Coun-
cellers and
States men
to the great
Signior.

20 These *Bashaes* liue and goe cloathed very pompously, hauing Slaues, both Men and Women, to whom they giue Wages, Horses, Garments, Head-attires of Gold, Girdies of Siluer, according to such Office and degree, as they hold about them: and by these (with his owne prouision) is each *Bashae* serued, euen as the Signior is serued by his attendants. They haue fixe and twenty, or
30 thirty Secretaries granted them by the Signior, who are men of good esteem, and haue fixe and twenty or thirty Aspers ech man daily, beside Slaues, some more, som lesse, according to ech mans quality and estate. These *Bashaes* doe go in and out to the Signior, about matters and occasions of State, & are they (in brieft) that gouerne and manage all things after their owne liking.

Secretaries
allowed by
the Signior,
to attend on
his
four *Bashaes*
Visirs.

40 Next, there is the *Mophy*, who is the Interpreter and chiefe of the Law or Religion: And he is not troubled with any other matters, but in cases belonging to Religion, and concerning their Faith. His Office and Dignity is, as presenting the person of the chiefe Priest or Bishop.

Mophy, the
chiefe Priest
or Bishop.

50 Two *Cadi Leschieri Talismani*, who are Doctors of the Law for the Armie, one of *Greece*, the other of *Nato'ia*, and they hold very worthy Offices. They sit at the Court gate, and do proceed or go before the *Bashaes Visirs*, albeit the other are more esteemed. They are Executors of the Lawes, and with consent of the *Bashaes*. They place and displace the *Cadi*, who are as Potestates and chiefe

Cadi Leschieri
Talisanani, Do-
ctours of Law
for the Army.

Cadi, Maiors
or Poteftates
through the
Land.

*Mochtur-Ba-
shacs*, as Mai-
fters of the
Hortle.

Difterdari, Mai-
fters of the
Rents & Re-
uenues.

The great
Signiors Vicar
and Lieute-
nant in Con-
ftantinople.

Cafiz, the
Treafure be-
longing to the
Signior.

Rofunamegi,
Maifters, or
Clarke-
Comptrollers

Defnadar,
weighers of
Money.

Saraffieri, ban-
kers or Mo-
ney-Chan-
gers.

Magift rates thorow the Countries. They hold in Lands (each man) about feauen thousand ducates yearely, and do keep two hundred or three hundred Slaues feuerally: being alfo allowed by the Signior, ten Secretaries, and two *Mochtur-Bafhaes*, who performe the Office of Cauallery, and liue on the royalties, whereof they haue good ftore.

There are two *Difterdari*, or rather, (as we vfe to tearme them) Gouvernors of the rents and reuenues. One of them hath the collection, & keeping of thofe accounts, which come from one third part of *Greece*: to wit, thofe parts which are towardes *Danubie*; and next, from *Asia*, *Soria*, and *Aegypt*, with Landes of ten thousand Ducates yearely, albeit, (with their royalties) hee raifeth three times as much. The other hath charge of the other two third partes of *Grecia*, but when the great Signior goeth forth into the Field: he remaineth as his Vicar and Lientenant in *Constantinople*, and hath fixe thousand ducates in lands, whereof he maketh three times the value, and their feuerally Offices are of great dignitie. They keepe vnder them fifty Clarke, with many coadiutores, who haue care of the *Cafiz* accounts, that is, of the Signiors Treafure: and thefe Clarke are allowed wages by the Signior, from fifteene, to fifty *Aspers* each man daily. Alfo thefe *Difterdari*, each one of them hath 1000. Slaues, & the other five hundred: Likewise, the Clarke, they haue from two, to twenty Slaues, each man allowed him.

Two *Rofunamegi*, Maifters of the Clarke, that receiue the Monies, and make difburfement thereof again when need requireth, who haue xxv. affiftants betweene them. Thefe two men are allowed forty *Aspers* apiece; and the five and twenty haue from eight, to ten *Aspers* each man daily.

Defnadar, whereof there are two, whose office is to weigh the *Aspers* and Ducates, with five and twenty *Aspers* allowance daily for the one, and thirtie for the other.

Sixe *Saraffieri*, as Bankers or Lombards, who know the true estimate of Gold and Siluer, and haue from ten to fifteene *Aspers*, each man daily.

Then there is a *Neffangi-Bafhae*, who figneth the Commaunds, and publique

Writings, with the Signe or Marke of the Signior. His Office is, as Great or chiefe Chancellour, and he is a man of much reputation. He fitteth in the *Porta*, next to the *Beglerbey*, and hath eight thousand ducates of annuall Lands, befide very honorable places, with aboue three hundred Slaues.

There is a *Cafnadar-Bafhae* abroad, or at large, as common Treafurer, with ten *Cafnadri* vnder him: himfelfe hath fifty *Aspers* daily, and the ten other fifteene each man.

The *Determin*, who is as Surueyer of the Lands, and keepeth a Register of them all. He hath forty *Aspers* dailie, and vnder him are ten Clarke, rewarded from ten, to fifteene *Aspers* dailie each man.

Then there are fourefcore *Mutafcrache*, who are as Demy-Lances or light Horfemen to the Signior, carying their Launces alwaies, whenfoeuer he rideth abroad, and acknowledging no other Head or Commaunder, but the Grand Signior himfelfe onely. Afterward, when either by art or desert, any one of them can attaine fo farre into his fauor; he is made *Aga*, that is a Captain. The meanest of them haue ten, and the better fort, fourefcore *Aspers* a man daily.

There is a *Chiaus-Bafhae*, who is chiefe of the Sergeants for the Army, and holdeth fuch credit with euey man: that when he is fent by command from the Signior, to any *Bafhae*, *Saniack*, or *Cadi*, with order, to caufe the head of any one to be fmitten off: he is obeyed, without receipt of any Letter by him, or commaundment in writing, and euen no otherwife, then as if the Signior himfelfe were there in perfon, and commaunded it to be done. This man hath an hundred *Aspers* by the day, and keepeth an hundred Slaues vnder him, for whom he is allowed from five & twenty, to forty *Aspers* for each man daily.

The *Mechter-Bafhae*, is Maifter of them, that doe difplay or fpread abroad the Tents or Pauillions, and the Tapeftry that covers the Floores in the Court, with fuch like bufinesses there-to belonging. He hath forty *Aspers* dailie; one *Protogero*, and five and twenty *Aspers* allowance: threescore *Mechters*, waged from five, to eyght *Aspers*

*Neffangi-Ba-
shae*, the Lord
high Chan-
cellor.

*Cafnadar-Ba-
shae*, Treafu-
rer at large.

Determin, Sur-
uayer of the
Lands.

Mutafcrache,
Demie-Laun-
ces or Light-
Horfe-men.

Chiaus-Bafhae,
as Sergeant
Maior.

A very great
and especiall
preheminece.

*Mechter-Ba-
shae*, Maifter
of the Tents
and Tapeftry.

Aspers each man, and their yearelie Liueries from the Signior.

The *Aga*, that is, Captaine of the *Ianissaries*, who hath a thousand Aspers and more daily, and sixe thousand Ducats in Lands yearely. This *Aga*, when Court is kept, which is commonly twice or thrice euery weeke, standeth obliged, to feede the *Ianissaries*, with Bread, Rice, Mutton, Hony, and Water. He hath a *Checaya* vnder him; or rather a *Protogero* of the *Ianissaries*, who is as his Vice-gerent, and hath two hundred Aspers daily in ready Mony, and thirty thousand in Lands yearely. He also hath a Clarke of the *Ianissaries*, called *Ianissariaſis*, waged with an hundred Aspers daily.

The *Sechmem-Basha*, is Maister of the Hounds for Hunting: he hath an hundred Aspers daily, and to the number of almost two thousand *Ianissaries* vnder him.

The *Zagarzi-Basha*, is Maister of the Beagle-Hounds, beeing allowed fiftie Aspers daily, and hath about seauen hundred *Ianissaries* vnder him.

There are to the number of twelue thousand *Ianissaries*, that haue from three, to eight Aspers wages, each man daily allowed them. Euery ten haue their *Oda-Basha*, and euery hundred haue their *Boluch-Basha*: but these chief Men of the tens and hundreds, do ride on Horsebacke, the *Oda-Bashas* beeing allowed forty Aspers each man dailie, and the *Boluch-Bashas* sixtie, the rest of the *Ianissaries* doe goe on foote, beeing cloathed once a yeare by the Signior, in coorse Azure cloath.

Their dwelling is in two partes of *Constantinople*, freely giuen them by the Signior, wherein dwell they that haue no W iues; but such as be married, do inhabite diuers places of the Citty. For their liuing together in friendly manner, euery Man layeth downe his perticular proportion; And they haue a Steward, and a Cooke, who make preparation of their dyet: but such as come short in stipend to the rest, are bound by obligation to attend on the other, and take their leauings. Euery hundred of them, when they go to the Field, do carry their Tent or Pauillion with them, being all Foot-men: and part of them Shot, other Halbardiers, and

some that vse the Semitary onely, euery three Men having a Horse, for carriage of their necessaries. When they grow into yeares, or (in some other respects) their seruice seemeth not pleasing to the Signior: they are cashiered out of the *Ianissaries* Booke, and are tearmed *Assareri*, that is to say; Guards for Castles, & then they haue Commanders appointed them for that purpose, who are called *Castillians*, with equall allowance to the wages which formerly they had, so that no one of them falleth into distresse:

Some of them there be who speede so successfullie in the Warres: that they come to be made *Vauoides*, and exalted to great Dignitie. They begin the exercise of Armes when they be but young Lads, and are entrusted by the most expert: beeing chosen of healthfull disposition, strongly limbde, yet quick and agile, but (about all) courageous, and much rather to bee cruell, then any way pittiful. In these men consisteth the strength and full firmenesse of all the Turkish Armies: who because they are continually exercised thereto, and (altogether) become one sole body as it were, are (indeede) to bee feared and doubted.

Of *Ianissaries* there are elected an hundred and fiftie *Solacchi*, who are as Foot-men to the Signior, with allowance from fiteene, to twentie Aspers each man daily: and they go euermore about his person, at all times when hee rideth abroad.

Two *Solach-Bashes*, are chiefe of the *Solacchi*, and ride on horsebacke; being allowed thirty Aspers daily each man, and the *Solacchi* are vnder obedience to the *Aga* of the *Ianissaries*.

The *Aga* of the *Spaccoglani*, a very honourable Office, hath in Lands and day Wages, ten Duckets continually, and great store of Slaues, with a *Checaya* vnder him, or else a *Protogero*; who hath (betweene Lands and Wages) an hundred Aspers daily, beside a *Ianzgi*, that is, a Clarke, having thirty Aspers, and sufficient regalities.

There be of the *Spaccoglani*, who are young lustie men on horsebacke (for so meaneth the Word *Spaccoglano*) three thousand, beeing waged from twentie, to fortie aspers each man daily, & euery

Assareri, keepers of Castles.

Vauoides are subordinate Rulers or Lords, advanced by their merits in seruice.

Solacchi Foot-men to the Signior.

Solach-Bashes, Maisters of the *Solacchi*.

Aga of the *Spaccoglani*.

Ianzgi, an attendant Clarke.

Spaccoglani, young Gallants on Horsebacke, and their seruice.

Aga, Captain of the *Ianissaries*.

Checaya, Vice-gerent of the *Ianissaries*.

Sechmem-Basha, Maister of the hunting Hounds.

Zagarzi-Basha for the Beagles.

The number of the *Ianissaries*, and their allowances & Commanders

The *Ianissaries* dietting together.

How they go to the Field by hundreds.

Education of
the *Spaccogla-
ni* from their
Child-hood.

twenty hath a *Boluch-Basbae*. These do
serue on Horse-backe, with five or
fixe Slaues, and as many Horses for
each man; giuing their attendance al-
waies (and lodging likewise) on the
right hand of the *Signior*. They are men
of sufficiency, ouer whom the *Signior*
appointeth no head or Controller, but
onely himselfe. They are first brought
vp or educated, in the *Serraglio* of yong
Boyes, and as they grow in yeares and
goodnesse, choyse is made of them, and
so they do attaine to this degree, which
serueth as a Ladder for them, whereby
to mount to much greater grace, fauor,
and preferment.

Aga of the *Silichtari*.

The *Aga* of the *Silichtari*, who hath
thirty Aspers by the day, and vnder him
a *Protogero*, a Clarke, and a *Checaia*, that
are allowed thirty Aspers each man dai-
ly, and more.

The differēce
betweene the
Silichtari and
the *Spaccogla-
ni*.

Of these *Silichtari*, there are three
thousand, who ride on horsebacke like-
wise, and lodge on the left hand of the
Signior, hauing from twenty, to five
and twenty Aspers each man daily: with
four or five Slaues, and as many Hor-
ses, beside Lands for their better main-
tenance. These men are educated in the
same manner, as the *Spacchi* or *Spacco-
glani*, and there is no other difference
betweene them: but that the *Spacchi* at-
tend on the right hand, and these on the
left, of the *Signior*.

*Olofagi-Ba-
shawes*, Com-
maunders o-
uer the Soul-
diers.

Two *Olofagi-Basbaes*, who are chiefe
of the Souldiours, with two thousand
Olofagi, that serue on the right and left
hand of the *Signior*. The two chiefe
Commaunders, haue an hundred and
twenty Aspers each man daily, and the
other, from eight, to sixteen each man.
Moreouer, the two haue vnder them, a
Checaia, a Clarke and a *Protogero*, with
Slaues and Horses, the one more, the o-
ther lesse.

Agaes of the
Caripoglani,
poore young
men.

Two *Agaes*, Maisters or Rulers of the
Caripoglani (who are poore young men)
with fourscore Aspers of allowance for
each man. Their *Protogeri* haue thirtie
Aspers, their Clearks five and twentie:
And they haue vnder them, about two
thousand *Caripoglani* (who are waged
from seauen to foureteene Aspers each
man) and they haue Slaues and Horses
beside.

Bracor-Basbaes
chiefe Groo-
mes of the
Stable.

Two *Bracor-Basbaes*, who are Maisters
or chiefe Quiries of the Stable, one a-

boue the other in Office. The better
hath five hundred Aspers by the day, &
the other two hundred; beside *Protoge-
ri* and *Checaiaes*, and others that are wa-
ged from thirty, to forty Aspers dailie
each man.

10

Then there are to the number of six-
teene thousand; some tearmed *Saracchi*,
who make Bridles and Saddles; others
Ceissi, Seruants or Grooms of the Sta-
ble; others *Carmandari*, that attend on
the Mules; others *Denegi*, that waite
on the Camels; and *Cauriligi*, that feed
the Heards of Horses in diuers places,
who are waged from two, to twentic
Aspers each man daily.

Seracchi, as
Sadlers.

Ceissi, Grooms
of the Stable.
Carmandari,
Muleters.
Denegi, Cam-
mellers.
Caurigili,
Herds for
Horses.

20

Next there is betweene thirty and
forty *Peichi*, Foote-Poasts, or Lackyes,
who were brought vp (from their youn-
ger yeares) in knowledge of the miles,
& dispatch much ground in short while,
and with wonderfull swiftnesse. When
the Grand *Signior*, is to ride abroad,
they are continually ready, because
they are imployed still in many busines-
ses.

Peichi, Foote-
Poasts or Lac-
kies.

30

Of elected and choise Horses, there
are about foure thousand, for the per-
son of the *Signior*: which are ridden by
the youthes of the *Serraglio*, and by the
Eunuches, as a daily practise and exer-
cise.

Foure thou-
sand choise
Horses for the
Signior.

40

There is a *Zachergi-Basbae*, Maister of
the yong Hauks, and another *Zachergi-
Basbae*, Commaunder of all the Faul-
coners. The first hath an hundred and
fiftie Aspers daily, and the other but
fourescore; with their *Checaiaes*, *Proto-
geri*, and others, that are waged each
Man daily, from ten, to five and twen-
ty Aspers. Vnder these, are about two
hundred *Zaniglieri*, one hundred wher-
of, haue onely tenne Aspers each man
daily: but the rest hold Landes, or else
exemption from taxations, and follow
the fields as pleaserh the *Signior*.

*Zachergi-Ba-
shaes*, chiefe
Faulconers.

Zaniglieri, at-
endants on
the chiefe
Faulconers.

50

The *Gebegi-Basbae*, is Maister of the
Armour, hauing threescore Aspers
daily, a *Protogero*, and Clarke, with
twenty Aspers each Man dailie. Vnder
him are a thousand and five hundred
Gebegi, waged from seauen to foure-
teene Aspers dailie each man, and they
all goe on foot with the *Signior* to the
Field.

Gebegi-Basbae,
Maister of the
Armour.

The *Topci-Basbae*, is M. of the Musket-
tiers, hauing threescore Aspers dailie;

Topci-Basbae,
Maister of the
Musketiers.

a *Protogero*, and a *Clarke*, with twenty *Aspers*, each man daily. And vnder him are two thousand *Topci*, waged from six, to ten *Aspers*, each man dayly going on foote.

The *Arabagi-Bashae*, is Maister of the Carts, Waggon, and Carriages, hauing fortie *Aspers* daily, a *Protogero* and *Clarke*, at twentie *Aspers* allowaunce, each man daily: & vnder him, are 3000. *Arabagi*, waged from three, to six *Aspers* each man daily.

A *Mechter Bashae*, is Maister of the Trompets and Drummes, hauing thirtie *Aspers* daily allowance, a *Protogero* and *Clarke*, at twelue *Aspers* a man daily. Vnder him, are a thousand and two hundred *Mechters*, partly on foote, and partly on horsebacke, from three to five *Aspers*, each man daily.

Imerelem-Aga, who carrieth the grand Signiors Standard, hauing two hundred *Aspers* daily, and he is (beside) Captaine ouer all the *Mechters*.

The *Arpaemin*, hee is Purueyer for Corne, hauing a *Protogero*, and a *Chancellor*: himselfe hath sixtie *Aspers*, the *Protogero* thirtie, and the *Chancellor* twenty daily. This *Arpaemin* hath xx. persons vnder him, who are allowed dayly amongst them, eight hundred *Aspers*.

The *Saraemin*, is Purueyer or prouider in common: for hee looketh to the streets of *Constantinople*, and al the waies whereby the Signior passeth forth to Warre. He hath charge also of publick Buildings; of Springs, Wells, and Water-conduct. He is allowed fifty *Aspers* daily, and hath foure hundred men vnder him: among whom, is giuen a thousand *Aspers*: hauing a *Protogero*, and a *Clarke* also, with 38. *Aspers*, allowed each man daily.

The *Baratemin*, who is appointed to deliuer the Signiors commands in writing, and to receiue his house moneyes: hauing fortie *Aspers* daily, and attended with two *Clarke*s, and two *Ouer-seers*, with twenty *Aspers* daily each man.

The *Dragoman*, who is Interpreter of all Languages, which Office is as highly reputed, as is the Vertue and Wisedom of him that exerciseth it. He hath five hundred *Ducates* in firme Prouision euerie yeare, besides, his enioyning as much in Landes, and aboue foure times

as much in extraordinarie fauours, being alwayes verie especiallie respected of them.

The Womens Serraglio, differing from the other.

2. **O**Ver and beside all the forenamed matters, there is another *Serraglio* of the Signiors Women, containing in circuite more then a mile and a halfe: being richly furnished with diuers goodly Chambers, and other retirements, wherein the Signiors Children are kept, seperately one from another, with their Mothers, and a great number of Eunuchs allowed for their keeping & seruice. There is also the *Sultana*, that is to say, the chiefe Mother, or the Signiors Wife, by whom he is said to haue his first Child.

In this place also, are three hundred young *Damosels*, brought thither Virgins, and deliuered to the gouernement of many Matrons: which Virgines, are entrusted in al kinds of curious imbroidery and workes: and euery one is allowed from ten to twentie *Aspers* daylie, as wages, and euery yeare, at the two *Bairranoes*, they haue costly Garments of silke giuen them. Among these, hee maketh choise (to his owne liking) of such as hee will admit to his priuate companie: and when he hath lien with any of them, hee giueth her a rich head attire of Golde, & ten thousand *Aspers*, placing hir then in another lodging, seperate from the other Virgins, encreasing still hir ordinarie wages.

To this *Serraglio* belongeth an *Aga* of the Eunuches, who hath an hundred score *Aspers* for him & his: three *Capigi-Bashaes*, and a hundred *Aspers* amongst their *Capigi-Ianissaries* at the Gates: among whom are daily giuen six hundred *Aspers*. The *Saccaes*, that bringeth in Water, who haue in al forty *aspers* daily. These *Damosels* are thus serued and entrusted, till they be five and twentie yeares of age, the Matrons beeing their Mistresses, and the seruants are the verie yongest of them. When they are five and twenty yeares olde, if the Signiour please to make no more vse of them, they are then married to the *Spaccoglani*, and som other of the Slaues about the court, according to the qualitie and degree on eyther

Arabagi-Bashae
Maister of the
Carriages.

Mechter Bashae, Maister
of the Drums
& Trumpets.

Imerelem-Aga,
the Signiors
Standard-
Bearer.

Arpaemin, Pur-
ueyer of grain
and Corne.

Saraemin, Pro-
vider in ge-
nerall.

Baratemin,
Steward of
the Signiors
commands.

Dragoman, the
Interpreter of
Languages,
or Maister of
the Ceremo-
nies.

The great
Signior his se-
cond *Serraglio*
of weomen &
for his Chil-
dren.

The *Sultana*
or the Signiors
wife.

Three hun-
dred Virgins
for the Signi-
ors vse.

His reward to
each virgin
after her com-
pany.

Attendants
on the *Serrag-
lio*, and their
wages daily.

How long the
Damosels con-
tinue for the
Signiors vse,
and what be-
cometh of
them after-
ward.

either part, and insted of the ones losse, another is admitted.

The Serraglio of Children.

There is another *Serraglio* neere to *Pera*, consisting of about foure hundred Children, who are waged each one from sixe, to ten *Aspers* daily, and are cloathed with Silke twice euerie yeare. These Children haue an *Aga* and Euniches, euen as the great *Serraglio* hath, with *Capagi*, young *Ianissaries*, and an hundred Maisters of diuers Artes and profesions: amongst whom, are giuen eight hundred *Aspers* daily. They are not so Nobly borne, neyther of so seemelie presence or ingenuity, as these that bee with the Signior: and yet neuerthelesse, many of them do attaine to greatnesse: and choise is made amongst them of many, that are admitted to the great *Serraglio*. Especialy, in *Adrianople*, called by some *Andrianople*, there is a *Serraglio* of three hundred Children with Wages, *Aga*, *Eunuchs*, *Capigi*, *Ianissaries*, & two hundred Maisters, that haue amongst them, two thousand and eight hundred *Aspers* daily.

These children are of a third or more inferiour quality; and therefore, are the more respectiue enstructed and restrained, euen as all the rest (in ciuill manner) are of them, according vnto their spirit and behaiour, choise is also made for their further aduancement. There is likewise in the same Countrey, another *Serraglio*, newly made with a goodly great Garden belonging to it, and seated on the Riuer *Mariza*: wherein ther is about three hundred yong *Ianissaries*, who dispend each man yearely, a thousand and two hundred *Aspers*. They haue an *Aga*, allowed fortie *Aspers*, a *Protogero*, and a *Clarke*, each thitty *Aspers* daylie. In diuers other places of *Adrianople*, there are Gardens, continually belonging (euen as in *Deposito*) to a thousande and five hundred young *Ianissaries*, selected out of these youths, as they grow to yeares and qualitie: hauing *Agaes*, and *Clarckes* on whom are bestowed six thousand *Aspers* euerie yeare, or very little lesse.

There is then an *Aga* of the *Azamoglani*, called young vntutord or vnciuill *Ianissaries*, that abide in *Constantinople*,

and haue threescore *Aspers* dayly: there being vnder his commaund, about five thousand of these wilde-headed *Ianissaries*, who are cloathed twice euerie year, and haue Maisters for their instruction; among whom, is spent tenne thousande *Aspers* yearely. These do attend about the Ship-wrights, bringing them wood to supply their building, and diuers other affayres beside. Some practise *Cookerie*, and so become seruants to the *Ianissaries*, whereby (at length) they attain to bee *Ianissaries* themselues. Euerie fourth yeare, the Signiour sendeth into *Grecia* and *Natolia*, to take and surprize Children from the Christians, and then ten or twelue thousand of these men are sent out at a time, that doth bring verie many christian children back with them: who are then conueyed vppe further into *Natolia*, towards *Bursia*, now called *Mysia*, or into *Caramania*, where they are brought vp in digging the Ground, because they may bee invred to labour, and also to learn the Turkish Language. These Children are thus kept three or foure yeares; and then sent out to allure other in like manner: being then giuen to the gouernment and Discipline of the *Aga Azamoglani*. No wages or allowance is granted to these by the Signieur, so long as they abide in *Natolia*, because they are both fedde and cloathed at their cost, in whose seruice, they delue the grounds, or doo any other labours for them.

I thought good to make mention (in this place) of all the *Serraglio*s, because they are as appendixes on that belonging to the Signior, and reckoned in the whole expences, returned into the books of charge, belonging to the great *Serraglio* of the Signior. Into which accounts are also called the Moneyes laid out for cloathing (twice yearely) the *Bashaes*, the *Cadilescheri*, the *Difterdari*, the *Beglerbeyes*, and the *Nessangi-Bashaes*: which expences, allowed to them that be in extraordinary, do amount to, and exceed the summe of a Million of *aspers* yearely.

Of the Arsenale, or Store-house of Munition.

3. There is also an *Arsenale* on that part of *Pera*, not of anie bigge

* Galatea or Galatia in Gallogrecia, in Asia the lesse, ioyning to Phrygia and Lydia.

Maisters for enstructing the youths in the *Serraglio*.

* A City of Thrace, built vpon the Riuer Hebrus. The *Serraglio* of *Adrianople*.

* In Thrace, rising out of Rhodope by *Adrianople*, into which Riuer the head of *Orpheus* was cast.

Gardens belonging to young *Ianissaries*.

Azamoglani, are young *Ianissaries*, that be (as yet) rude and vntutourd.

Attendants on the Ship-wrights.

Ianissaries imployed by the Signior for the stealeth of Christians Children.

* A Country in Asia by *Hellepont*, bordering on *Troas*. * Now called *Narsinga*, in *Asia minor*, betweene *Persia* and *India*.

Aga Azamoglani.

All the *Serraglio*s are limbs or branches of the Signiors great *Serraglio*.

Charges allowed extraordinarily.

The *Arsenale* in *Pera*.

Workemen in the *Arsenale* and their wages in their severall degrees and places.

bigge or large circuite, which hath on the Sea-shore, to the number of ninetic two Arches, and containeth so little ground within: as not onely the Gallies, but also their other appurtenances, and Timber for worke, can hardly bee there placed. In this *Arsenale*, do about two hundred men labour ordinarily euerie day; who, with their Maisters and Ouerseers, haue daily two thousand *Aspers* among them. There are a thousande *Asapi*, who haue foure thousand *Aspers* among them.

Proti, or Workemaisters, to the number of fiftie, who when they are idle and labour not, haue sixe *Aspers* dayly, but when they work, twelue *Aspers* each man.

The *Emino* hath fortie *Aspers*, the Clarke five and twenty, with ten clarks more vnder him, that haue an hundred *Aspers* daily. All these, when neede requireth, do performe their severall Offices. But if they intend badly vnto their Trades, or labour not effectually in the building of Gallies, whereby no such benefit ensueth on their paines, or like expedition as is vsed among vs: if the fault be found by any Christian, he is well recompenced, and the other verie seuerely punished.

Care for furtherance of labour.

Of the Beglerbey.

4. AS Commander ouer the *Arsenale*, and all the rest, there is one that is called the *Beglerbey* of the Sea, as much to say, as Lord of Lords, an Office newly created: for, in times past, he was alwaies woont to bee called Captaine of the Sea. He that was *Saniack* of *Callipolis*, and is now the first that had the degree of *Cairedinbei*, was called *Barbarossa*, and afterward created the 4. *Bashae*. To him is giuen the gouernment of all the Nauie, and he hath in prouision euerie yeare (both in Lands and Ducates) fourteene thousand, collected on *Rhodes*, *Negropont*, and *Mystelene*, albeit he gathereth a double aduantage. There is not any other especiall man, appertaining to matters of the State, and charge of the Sea, that deserueth Annotation, and therefore comming to land affaires, I will proceed in this manner.

Beglerbey of the Sea is chiefe Commander in the *Arsenale*.

His authority and yearely allowance.

There is one called the *Beglerbey* of

Gracia, wherein is comprehended all the Countreyes which the Great Signiour enioyeth in Europe. This *Beglerbey*, is the greatest of all the rest, hauing in Lands sixteene thousand ducates yearly, but his benefite amounteth to twice as much more.

10 Hee sitteth in the *Porta*, behinde the chiefe *Bashae*, and is of great reputation with euerie one. He hath beside his slaues (which are aboue a thousand) a *Desterdaro*, Landed at three thousand Ducates yearely: An hundred Clearks, that keep the Bookes and accounts of the Landes, assigned to the *Sub-Bashaes*, *Cadi*, *Spacchi*, and others; among whom, is yearely giuen ten thousand Ducats. Thirtie seauen *Saniacks*, who are al vnder his obedience: and haue each man from five to twelue thousand Ducats yearly.

Concerning the *Beglerbey* of *Grecia*, and his authority.

His dignity in the Court, & his attendants *A Desterdaro*.

Sub-Bashaes, *Cadi*, *Spacchi*, &c.

Saniacks.

The Office of the *Saniack*.

Exercise of the *Spacchi*, and their imployment.

20 These men, are distributed into the Prouinces, where they remaine so long as pleaseth the Signior; and are thence translated or changed (as hee thinketh good) into some other Prouinces. Their Office, is to gouerne the *Spacchi*, to see them well exercised in Armes, and to be kept in due obedience. Foure hundred *Sub-Bashaes*, who haue in landes among them, foure hundred thousand Ducates. Thirtie thousand *Spacchi*, who are Souldiers on Horsebacke, diuided for best order of seruice: partly of the *Beglerbeis* of *Grecia*, and partly of all the *Saniacks* of *Grecia*. They haue (one by another) in Lands, two hundred Ducats, and each one of them, for euerie hundred of Ducates, is bounde to keepe a man armed on Horsebacke, with his Launce: and beside the saide armed man, they haue, some two, some foure, and others five Seruants and Horses. These *Spacchi*, are all slaues to the Signior, and the sonnes of slaues, and of *Spacchi*.

The *Beglerbeys* and *Saniacks* of *Grecia*.

30 Next, there are twentie thousand *Timariotti*, who haue from tenne to fortie Ducates in Lands, each man yearly: but because their compensation ariseth not to an hundred Ducates each man, they are not called *Spacchi*. These haue a horse and two or three seruants for each man, seruing distributively to all the *Saniacks* of *Grecia*. That which they call *Timari*, is the assignation or appointment of landes, the Rents, Fees, or Reuenues of which assignations are deriued, partly from the Fee-farme, letting, or deuising: but the greater

Timariotti, are such as liue vpon timarros, holding Land in Knight-seruice vnder the Signior.

Timari, assignation of Landes, Liuinges, Farmes or states, lately conquered by the Signior's Forces.

greater part, is from the tenths of all the reuennues granted from the Turkes as well as Christians, and from the leauies which are five and twenty Aspers (*Per poule*, as we vse to say) of the Christians onely, and from the impositions on cattell, Trees, and other things, which taxes are ouer and aboue those, that are paid ordinarily to the Signiour. Sixteene thousand *Archengi*, those are aduenterers on horsebacke, set downe thorough the Countrey of *Grecia*, and bounde to follow the warres without any pay; and therefore are exempted from all taxation: the Citties and Townes are tied to find their prouision of victuals onely, from place to place where they serue.

There are in *Grecia*, that is, throughout the whole Countrey thereof in towns, Villages, and other places, as well of Turkes and Christians, enioyned to seruice, about the number of threescore & eight thousand.

Next, there are six *Beglerbeyes* in *Asia*, and one by himselfe in *Egypt*. The first, is called the *Beglerbey* of *Nato'ia*. which (in elder times) was *Asia minor*: he hath fourteene thousand Ducates in Landes annually, but hee maketh much greater benefit thereof. This man hath vnder him, and in his gouernment, *Pontus*, *Bythmia*, all *Asia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, and *Lycia*; all which Prouinces (vnder one Name only) is at this day cald *Natolia*. His place in the *Borta*, is next to the *Beglerbey* of *Grecia*, and he hath (beside his own proper Slaues) aboue a thousand more vnder him; and twelue *Saniacks* landed from foure to six thousand Ducats each man; *Spacchi*, ten thousand; from five to ten Aspers, each man dayly, besides much more in Landes, and those serue vnder him, according vnto euerie ones degree.

The *Beglerbey* of *Caramania*, which aunciently was *Celicia* and *Pamphilia*, with tenne thousand Ducats in Landes. Hee hath vnder him seauen *Saniacks*, from foure to sixe thousande Ducates, each man in Landes. And five thousande *Spacchi*, from five to tenne Aspers, each man daily beside their lands.

The *Beglerbey* of *Amasia* and *Toccatto* which was *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*, with eight thousand Ducates in Landes. Of *Saniacks* he hath eight from six, to eight thousand Ducates each man in Landes:

Spacchi, foure thousand, from fyue to ten Aspers daily each man, and lands.

The *Beglerbey* of *Aladula*, which is a place betweene *Soria*, *Caramania*, and *Toccatto*, aunciently called *Paphlagonia*, & is the one halfe of the lesser *Armenia*. He hath ten thousand ducates in landes, and *Saniacks* seuen (sometimes four, & sometimes six) from foure to six thousand ducates in lands: *Spacchi* six thousand, from 5. to ten Aspers daily each man & lands. In this Prouince of *Aladula*, it is sayde, that when the Signior was there, beside the stipendarie men; thirtie thousand other personnes were obliged to ride on with him, at the charges of two villages onely.

The *Beglerbey* of *Mesopotamia*, vnder whom is the rest of *Armenia Minor*, and part of the greater, the other appertayning to the *Sophie*, and the *Cordi*, which confyneth with *Bagadeth*, or *Baldacoo*, aunciently called *Babylon*. His Landes amount to aboue thirtie thousande Ducates: and beside his owne slaues, hee hath more then two thousand. Vnder him are twelue *Saniacks*, landed from foure to sixe thousand Ducates yearelie each man: *Spacchi*, ten thousande, from ten to fyfteene Aspers each man daylie, and verie well landed, because they liue on the *Sophies* Confynes, with whome they haue continually bickerings.

The *Beglerbey* of *Damasco*, *Soria*, and *Iudea*, Landed foure and twentie thousand Ducates. Hee hath aboue two thousand slaues, and twelue *Saniacks* vnder him, Landed from fyue vnto seauen thousand Ducates: *Spacchi*, twentie thousande, with Aspers from tenne, to fyfteene each man daylie, and good Lands.

The *Beglerbey* of *Cairo*, whose iurisdiction extendeth so farre as *Amech*, that is in *Aralia*, and the *Arabiaes* are possessed by the Signiour, in the same manner as hee is possessed of *Albania*, where hee challengeth no such obedience, as all other States and Countries doo yeelde vnto him of his owne: yet, *Arabia Felix* is nowe in farre more subiection to him, then the other. He hath thirtie thousand Ducates in Landes, and Slaues aboue foure thousand. Sixteene *Saniacks*; Landed from sixe vnto eight thousand Ducates each one of them; and sixteene thousande *Spacchi*, from fyfteene

Archengi, are aduenterous seruitours on Horse-backe.

What number serue the Signior thotow *Grecia*.

1 The *Beglerbey* of *Natolia*, and the places vnder his command.

His place in the Court.

2 The *Beglerbey* of *Caramania* and his command.

3 The *Beglerbey* of *Amasia* and *Toccatto*.

4 The *Beglerbey* of *Aladula*, and his command.

The Signiors being in *Aladula*.

5 The *Beglerbey* of *Mesopotamia*, and his command.

6 The *Beglerbey* of *Damasco*, *Soria*, and *Iudea*, and his command.

7 The *Beglerbey* of *Cairo*, & his large extenture.

fifteene, to twentie Aspers daylie each man.

Betweene *Amech*, and the Countrey of the *Sophie*, there are some *Arabian* Lords, that owe no obedience to anie bodie. The rest of the *Sophies* land, confineth on *Mesopotamia*, wherein is *Maldacco*, passing *Mesopotamia*, the *Sophye* also confineth the plaine of *Nasinam*; then toucheth *Esdum* and *Ersun*, which are principall places in *Armenia Maior*, and confine with the **Hyberi* and **Georgiani*. In these *Armeniaes*, both the great and lesser, are many of the **Cordi*, people liuing in the Mountaines, yet warlick and Martiall: those of the greater *Armenia* being in obedience, partly to the Signior, and partly to the *Sophie*, but those of the lesser, not to any one. **Trabisonde* confineth with the *Georgiani* and *Mengrelli*, and part of the *Hyberi*, which people were anciently called *Colehians*. **Azemia*, which in elder times was *Assyria*, belongeth to the *Sophie*, and hee is the absolute Lord thereof.

In this *Natolia*, I mean in the whole Country which the *Signio* possesseth in *Asia*, Citties, Townes, and Villages belonging both to Turkes and Christians, are seauenty two thousand, besides them in *Egypt*, whereof there are great store.

Of the Saniacks.

5. THE *Saniacks* assuredlie (as I haue already saide) haue gouernment in the Prouinces, committed vnto them by the *Beglerbeys*, and are men of much reputation and great esteeme, especially in warlike occasions, whom I will also set downe, by the names of those places, which are giuen and assigned vnder their regiments.

First, the *Beglerbey* of *Grecia*, appointeth his *Saniackats* to these places: first toward *Solonichi*, & then follow the other of *Cassa*, and of *Silistria*, *Nicopolis*, *Vidin*, *Samandria*, *Serua* and *Belgrada*, *Sournich Boffina*, and *Ersech*, which is *Serua*, and called a *Dukedome*; *Scutari*, *Valona*, *Iauina*, *Carlali*, *Lepanto*, *Morea*, *Negropont*, *Tricala*, *Callipolis*, *Chrichelissa*, that is, forty Churches, *Visa*, *Cirmē*, *Chiostandill*, *Vo. citrin*, *Prisdren*, *Oeria*, *Alazaassar*, *Elbassan*, *Voinug*, *Cinghene*, and *Taiazza*. These are thirty, which were wont to be fve and thirty; but the fve are vnited to

the propinquent places, as *Philippolis*, *Sophia*, *Dyrrachium* or *Durace*, *Albania*, and *Scopia*.

Natolia, that is *Asia Minor*, hath *Pontus*, *thinia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, and *Lycia*: The *Saniackats* of this *Beglerbey*, are in *Chiothachia*, and the rest in *Chiogacli*, as *Boli*, *Castamoni*, *Anguri*, *Cangri*, *Therchieli*, *Mateffeli*, *Aidineli*, *Hallaice*, *Buga* and *Magnesia*, which appertained to the *Sultane Mustafa*, the Signiors first borne son, and which place is half hemd in with the sea.

Amasia and *Tocatto*, that is *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*. The *Saniackat* of the *Beglerbey*, is in *Amasia*, and the rest in *Chiorma*, *Gianich*, *Charaiffer*, *Sasum*, and *Trabisonde*.

Caramania, that is *Cilicia* by the midst of *Cyprus* and *Pamphilia*. The *Saniackat* of the *Beglerbey* is in *Giogna*, and the other stretch into *Naranda*, *Axar*, *Eschissar*, *Versageli* and *Siurassar*.

Aladula, that is *Armenia Minor*. The *Saniackat* of the *Beglerbey* is in *Maras*, & those of the other, in *Sarmussacli*, *Albi-Stancrassi*, *Adana* & *Tersis*.

Dierbech, which is *Mesopotamia*, and part of *Armenia Maior*, for the rest belongeth to the *Sophy*, and to the *Cordi*. The *Saniackat* of the *Beglerbey*, is in *Dierbech*: and the rest haue their abiding in *Charaenit*, *Argui*, *Tolgich*, *Cassanchief*, *Meridin*, *Charput*, *Mussul*, *Efrum*, *Payburt*, *Eythlis* and *Maxiuancuassi*.

Soria and *Iudea*. The *Saniackat* is in *Damasco*, and the other in *Melathia*, *Diuitchi*, *Antep*, *Antiochia*, *Aleppo*, *Tripoli*, *Chama* or *Aman*, *Camps*, *Scepheto*, *Ierusalem*, and *Gazara*.

Egypt, with part of *Desert Arabia*, to *Alziden l'Almach*, with all *Arabia felix*, where are many *Arabian* Lords, which are partly at the deuotion of the *Grand Signior*, and partly to no bodie. The *Saniackat* of the *Beglerbey* is in *Cayro*, & some other places.

All the fore-recited *Saniacks*, *Beglerbeyes*, *Bashaes*, and other Officers, haue Lands and Wages (as hath beene saide) firmly in ordinarie pay: and get much more extraordinarily, liuing chiefly by the benefit of their slaves, whome they must of necessity cloath, and allow some Wages to keepe them from stealing. What the Rents and Reuennews of this Signior is, may bee considered by the mighty

The Saniackats belonging to the Beglerbey of Natolia.

Saniackats of the Beglerbey of Amasia.

Saniackats of the Beglerbey of Caramania.

Saniackats of the Beglerbey of Aladula.

Saniackats of the Beglerbey of Dierbech.

Saniackats of the Beglerbey of Soria and Iudea.

Egypt and the Saniackats of her Beglerbey.

A briefe Summary of all the forenamed Officers and Offices.

Lords vnder no controule.

* A Region in Asia, enuironed with the Hill Caucasus. * People of Scythia in Asia. * Mountaine people of both the Armeniaes. * In the edge of Macedonia by the Euxine Sea. * Assyria.

The whole Country of Natolia.

The Saniacks are warlike men and of great account

The Saniackats of the Beglerbey for Grecia, according to their names and places.

Yearly Re-
uenues com-
ming into the
the Grand
Signior.

mightie expences he is at daily, the whi-
che reuennues is collected of the *Caraz-*
zo or impositions, proceeding frō those
subiectes that are not Turkes, yeelding
yearely a Million and a halfe of ducates .
The Customes or towle for cattell, yeel-
deth eight hundered thousand Ducates ;
and the Mettall Mines affoord sixe hun-
dred thousand Ducates.

There are infinite other Customes
and payments, imposed on Salte, Com-
mands, dead folkes goods, gifts, the re-
uennues of Egypt, beside other Mo-
neyes, Rents, and Tributes, which are
so much, as not only do supplie the ex-
pences ouer and aboue the Landes and
readie Moneyes, and bringing daily in-
to the great *Casnar* or Treasurie, aboue
twelue thousand Ducates, besides other
great aduantages, and ouerplus summes
of Moneyes. And it is supposed, that
the least reckoning of the ordinary reue-
nues, may be about fyteene thousande
Millions of Gold: Fiue whereof onelic
enter into the *Casnar*, but the other ten
remaine for the Ministers of the warres
employments.

An inestimable
of the whole
in generall.

CHAP. II.

*Of the lawfull meanes, whereby to compasse
the esteeme and reputation, of being
trnely and excellentlie Couragious &
valiant.*

A demaund
made to *Aug-*
ustus, and his
worthy an-
swere.



AT was demaunded of
Augustus, in what hee
could best obserue the
valour of a man of war .
Thus (quoth he) *when*
his effort and endeuour,
hath relish (in common) *with that of his*
Fellowes, but that some perticuler matter
appeareth in his attempt, which is no way
due to the Armies general victory, where-
in himselfe fighteth under the Captaynes
charge, yet as if himselfe were no chiefe in
respect. Such a man among the *Albani-*
ans, was *George Castriot*, who hadde to
deale with two of the verie greatest, and
most dreaded Princes of the East, against
whose Iniustice he opposed himselfe on-

George Castriot,
surnamed
Scanderbeg.

ly, and manie times wonne verie goodly
victory ouer them : yea, and compelling
them sometimes to require peace, yet
without anie other aide, then his owne
perfect valour, accompanied with Dis-
cretion and Equity. Which yet (neuer-
thelesse) at length hee lost, both to his
owne ruine and all *Albania*, by the enter-
mises and medlings of the Pope, and of
the Byshop of *Durace*, who constrayned
him (iniuriously) to breake his faith pro-
mised vnto Mahomet the second, being
at that time in Warre against the Vene-
tians.

He could freely auouch, that (as na-
ked and all alone) hee vndertooke warre
against the Great Signior, and that hee
did it onely by the bright beautie of his
courage: which could no way gather ap-
prehension of surmounting, fighting in
so iust a cause as the Christians generall
quarrell against the Turk. And he might
also as freely confesse, that the losse of
his estates, and of his sonnes (which hee
had not till after his death) was onlie con-
ceiued in the wombe of a Popes and By-
shoppes rashnesse, who more enflamed
with spleene, then strengthened with men
of armes, ouer bare the modestie of this
poore Lord, who died in a weake estate,
yet not wholly troden downe; but in lea-
uing nothing to his heires, whereby to
make a fresh reply vpon Mahomet. Hee
ruined Christianity in *Greece*, thorough
the insolencie of these two men of the
Church, who were more apte to com-
mand a sedition, then anie way to apease
it, and had more Cowardise in giuing
bad counsell to their friends, then corage
to helpe them out of the losses bredde by
them, euen as in a fourse of infallible and
vndrainable misfortunes. Whereinto
also they threwe *Hungary* headlong, ha-
uing counselled a young King vnadui-
sedly to violate peace with the Great
Turke : who (thorough this error onely)
is at this day victorious, and remayneth
possessor of the *Hungars* whole estate; &
afterward fell vpon *Austria*, where hee
hath (almost) as great a share as the Em-
perour. And he, though endued with
perfect valiancie, hath had much payne
and care to repaire those wide gaps and
breaches, which these rash & presumpt-
uous men made, without any necessitie
or ouuert profitable consideration vnto
Christendome, but well-nere to the vt-
ter

The Pope &
Bishop of *Du-*
race medled
in Warre
matters.

The freedom
of confession
imputed to
George Castriot,

Christianity
ouerthrowne
in *Greece*, by
two Church
mens meanes.

Further
harmes that
ensued by
them, in *Hun-*
garia, and else
where.

ter subuersion of the Easterne people in those parts.

Leonides also is one of them, to whom iustly may be attributed the glorie and perfection of intire man-hood, considering, that without any curious inquisition for himselfe, eyther of good or euill, and carelesse of any intention for prayse or misprision: he vnderooke to oppose himself (at the Thermopylae) against great king Xerxes, the astonisher of the world, who had filled all Greece with horroure and affrightments, both of Soldiers and horses, hauing no lesse prouision (beside this equipage) of power & fighting men on the Sea, which they did nothing else, but meere ly smite and beate with their Oares, euen as if hee would haue compelled the insensible Elements, to the vnderstanding and fauouring of his enterprises.

All which notwithstanding, the worthy Leonides, accompanied onelie with foure thousand men, fought against him with such sprightly resolution and Vertue: that he left vs more matter and subiect of amazement, then capacity of imitation. I must send ye amongst the Greekes, there to admire the whole History, which is the most remarkable in all Antiquity.

Brasidas must not be forgotten, who trauerfed the Campe of the enemy, at the siege of * Methone, and by a necessary endeauor, accomplished and woon immortall Fame and Renowne, which serueth yet (to this day) for a common Prouerbe, by the wonderfull perfection of his courage, whose picture is plentifull among the Greekes; only with this Motto.

Be as valiant as Brasidas.

Hysparmenes, Captaine to Darius, is woorthy to holde ranke amongst them, that not onely had a beame, but an entire Starre of true valiancy. For, his Master, and the fortune of all Asia, bowing vnder the yoake of Great Alexander, he would not yeeld himselfe vnto the Conquerour, though his Castle was no longer holdable, the Cittie of Susa beeing brought in subiection to the Macedonians, to whom he made this answer. I do not resist against Great Alexander with any hope to overcome him: but only to Con-

quer mine owne misfortune, which may well suffer me to dye, yet not at the discretion of any other, thin of my selfe, who would force the fortune of your Master, if hope were answerable to my dutie. Yet, all that I can hope, is now not lawfu', because the royal Darius is dead.

Hyrtius Mela, purchased most signale glorie, in perfection of courage, when seeing the Cittie wherein he dwelt, called * Præneste, wholly destroyed from the toppe to the bottome, and by his Guest Sylla, who (in the right of Hospitality) graunted him both grace and life: hee valiantly made refusall with this exclamation against the Tyrant. Is it possible, O thou most barbarous and cruel of all men, that thou wouldst be so bloody to thine Hoste, as to let him liue, after so many cruelties which thy rage hath exercised on an innocent people? Thou art not pittifull to me, but onely to afflict me more, & wouldst bestow life on me once, to make me thereby dye a Million of times. Hast thou slaine my Companions, Fellow Cittizeus, Kindered and Friends, and wou'dst thou now compel mee to liue? Speaking these words, hee stabbed with a Poniard, Mutius Listrio, the principall Instrument and Organ of Syllaes cruelties; yea, the only Authour and motiue of Prænestes ruine. To whose Ashes, this good and Famous Cittizen, sacrificed his owne life, by the death of the dearest Friend vnto the Tyrant, who instantly commaunded, that hee should be massacred & throwe into the common Sinke, or Lay-fall of the Cittie.

Quintus Curtius, that Honourable Romaine Knight, did a deede of absolute and respectiue manhoode. For, when he had Learned from the Oracle, that the wide gaping Gulfe in the midst of Rome, which infected the Cittie with pestilence and most noysom aires, could no way be closed againe, but by the Voluntarie leaping of a man into that infernall and darke downefall, he gladly threw himselfe thereinto, for to end the Romaines miserie, and sauing the liues of infinite people of all degrees. The Inscription on his Brasen Statue was thus.

Cccc This

Leonides, King of Lacedaemon slaine at Thermopylae fighting against Xerxes.

Leonides vnder-taketh the fight with 4000. men.

A valiant Captaine of Lacedaemon. * The Cittie Methone by the Sea side in Peloponnesus.

Darius conquered by great Alexander.

* A noble Cittie betwene Persia and Babylon, where was the sumptuous Pallace of Cyrus.

* The Cittie Præneste of Latium in Italy.

The courageous wordes of Hyrtius Mela to Sylla.

Hyrtius Mela slew Mutius Listrio, the causer of his Citties overthrow.

The memorable act of Quintus Curtius, for the deliuerance of his Country.

His Statue of
Brasse yet
standing in
Rome;

*This was the acceptable Sacrifice to
the Goddess, and the Saviour of his
Country. This was the Heire to the
vertues of the chiefeſt Romaines,
and the ſcandal of al cowardly men.
This was he that could not die, but
by being profitable to the liues of his
Fellow-Cittizens.*

Domitius reſ-
cued from a
dangerous
Elephant.

A Noble na-
ture in a true
hearted Soul-
diour.

Fulvius Naſſus
an honoura-
ble Romaine.
* A Lake in
Hetruria.

The liues of
many prefer-
red before a-
ny care for
his owne.

Mutius Scauo-
la, a perpetu-
all mirrour to
all poſterity.

Cneius Cepio, made his manly corage to appeare, in a matter worthy to be obserued. For, when hee beheld a huge mighty Elephant, stouping and make offer to seize on *Domitius* his Captaine: he preuented him quickly, by throwing himselfe vnderneath his bellie, which he stabd with so many stroakes of his Poniard, that the Elephant being faynt with paine, violence of his wounds, and losse of blood, fell downe dead, and with his fal, crushed him also to death, who made no spare of his owne life, to speede his Generals with safety.

Fulvius Naſſus, was carefull to winne himselfe faire reputation in Arms, when the Romaines his Companions and war-fellowes) being vanquished by *Hannibal* at the Lake of *Thrasymena*, and flying away like Cowards, hee stept betweene their pursuite and attaint, allowing them time for running, by making a wall, as it were, of himselfe and his horse in a narrow passage, where the flight of the one side, and following of the other, was meerey logd vp. The death of his horse was frightfull and terrible to the Horses of his enemies, and a safegarde also for himselfe, that he could not suddenlie bee surprized by many *Numidians*. So that, thorough his long resistance, euen vnto death, he saued the remainder of the Romaines liues, that fled from foorth their owne field of battell.

The valour of *Mutius Scauola* cannot be conflicted by eternity of ages. For he (all alone) amazed a victorious Prince, ready to possess himself of Rome, which must needs haue yeilded in verie fewe dayes, or be compelled to render or ruin it selfe, by falling into the *Tarquins* handes, and the people of *Hetruria*, verie desperate enemies.

This braue and Couragious *Scauola*, (without any communication of his

desseigne) threw himselfe into his Enemies Army, not as a friend, but as an open enemy. He sought for King *Porſenna* in all places of the field, he found his Royall Pauillion, and slew the intendant on his affayres, as guesing by the riches of his habite, and the honour generallie done vnto him, that it had beene the King himselfe. Heereuppon, hee was apprehended, and brought before the King *Porſenna*, who suddenly conuerting rage into admiration, and admyration into pardon, sent backe Noble *Scauola* to Rome. And which is much more, he raised his siedege, as beeing fearefull, that some other courage, more fortunat then that of *Mutius*) should make a second attempt, and so prooue to bee his death indeede. But what gratitude did *Scauola* returne for this high fauor? that you shall perceiue by his owne wordes, which are these: *Sir, for the kinnesse I haue receyued from your Maieſty, I purpose neuer to rest vnthankfull. Let me then tell ye, that there are yet in Rome, foure hundred gallant young men, who haue proiected how to kil you, or else to loose themselues in the aduerture.*

Androcides the *Samian*, made the most aduantageable essay in Courage and perfection of valour, that anie of vs can desire to accomplish. For, being prisoner vnto *Eupolemus* the great Pyrate, who (vnaduisedly) had tolde him, that the verie next Night, hee purposed to surprise the Cittie of *Samos* (as doubtlesse the enterprife would haue beene infallible, because all the ableſt fighting *Sami-ans* were restrained in *Peloponnesus*) hee preuented him halfe a day before, by giuing him so strong a blowe with a Candlesticke vnder the eare, that so dyed the losse of his Countrey, and he together that had intended it. A matter questionlesse exceeding beleefe, that a man to saue a Cittie, and the Inhabitanes, would run into such a certainty of death, whereto hee meerey prostituted his life, because hee would not behold the place of his birth and Natiuitie, in the mercie of such an infamous and outragious Pirate.

It is in such actions (you my braue masters, & dainty sweet perfumed Courtiers, that true courage makes it selfe to be best seen: and not in committing effronteries and impudencies in our publicke streets,

He slew the
Secretary to
King *Porſenna*,
as taking him
to bee the
King.

The gratula-
tion of *Mutius*
Scauola to K.
Porſenna.

Eupolemus the
proud Pirate,
that intended
the subuerſion
of *Samos*.

To such as
are rather
dishonour to
Princes
Courts, then
any credit at
all.

streets, in bawdy-houses, yea, and in the frequent company of our best friendes. We are like to Lyons, that make no acknowledgement of their fostering nurses, Gouvernors or Guardians, if the colour and fashion of their garments be neuer so little changed. If all their humors that keepe vs company, do not iumpe and correspond with ours; immediately one is an Ass, another a Nouice; this fellow hath no complement, that neuer came where courage was; either hee is too sad, or too merrie, or else he hath no taste of our Court ayre: these are our most familiar discourings; yea, and (many times) all that we can say. Make a little better search into your selues henceforward, for som such faire occasions to appeare in, and that our outward shewe may not be by starts and passions, but on well formed and compleat desseigns. Regard aduisedly, wherein we may be profitable to our Prince and Countrie; and thereon immediately resolute, to effect some such one thing or other, as may be worthy each of the other. Let it appeare (then) that we are Captaines indeed, lest we be not reckoned worse then silly Soldiers: and let it be seene, that we are necessary helps then, when men would iudge vs vtterly vnprofitable. Let it be noted, that we haue courage then, euen when it faileth in our fellowes: and yet without accusing them of any cowardise but onely by attempting and executing more then they. Let vs then (in good earnest) performe the *Rodomontade* of *Scipio Africanus*, who was wont to say: *I seeke not to be known to man by man, but I wou'd only make my selfe known to al the world.*

Seleucus hearing and perceiuing, that euery man boasted and flattred him, that he was worthy to inherit the fortune and vertue of *Alexander*; returned this answer, *You should bid me satisfie the credulity, which you haue conceived of my valor, and then you would quickly emptie mee of courage in aspyring, when you but make me to remember Alexander, who perfourmed more then a man can thinke, or anie way is able to do.* He also said; *Asia is yet the same field of battaile, where his Captains disputed about his heritage: but no man was to be found, that could answer his deseruings.* Let vs striue to imitate the valiancy, and necessarie courage of *Bertrand du Guesclin*, who conquerd the fortune, enuy, ha-

zards of war, and furie of the victorious. Let vs read the histories of such as (heeretofores) opposed themselues, against the good successe and vertue of the English men. Let vs not make esteeme only, but forme in example and singuler study, the valor of those ancient knights, that made this State of ours inuincible, and drew it out of decayed ruines, yea, out of a bottomlesse gulfe, wherein it appeared to be sunk, and (welneere) wholly swallowed. In dooing so, it is not to bee feared, that although we were no more then perticuler men, or Gentlemen, or Captaines, or Soldiers, yet we should attaine to worke woonders, and to arriue before the eyes of Commonweals, of Empires, Monarchies, and of their Princes, by whom (at length we should be admired, sought for, acknowledged; and recompenced, according to our owne wishes, and contrarie to the mediocrity of a wel gouerned hope. Aboue all, our courage declares it selfe, not checkable by a weake man, or one that is not so valiant as our selues; provided, that it be stil vnder our own charge, and can commaund in some such case, where it may well come off with dutie discharged. Otherwise, it will happen to vs, as *Sophocles* said:

Who lets his furious tongue walke liberally,
In checking some disordered quality:
And hath no reason but his owne bare braine,
Must looke himselfe to finde the like againe.

I haue seene some to misprize their own companions so mainly, that they offered much iniurie to Armes, and to the whol companie, whereof themselues were but poore dependants, seeming more in outward shew, then inward substance. For, a Vertuous Souldier, or he that is a man indeed, should alwayes bee consorted with iudgement, to supply the defects of such as are lesse then himselfe, and say; that although they bee not qualified in some one kinde, yet in some other, they owe nothing to him. One may bee a worthy Seruitor on Horseback, another on foote, euerie way equall to him, and so likewise in the other degrees of Manhood.

The eie is the most excellent part of the countenance, yea of the whol body: and yet notwithstanding, if a man were composed of eies only, he would rather be a monster, then any piece of perfection &

Bertrand du Guesclin a famous Souldier of France.

Practise and example are the best noats of good men, and to renowne their names to endlesse posterity.

Courage cannot be reproued by weaknesse.

Sophocles in *Tragedy* of *Antiphon*.

Of a vertuous Souldier and man indeed, how he maketh his best appearance.

A very excellent comparison.

A noated humour in ouer-many idle Gallants.

A deuise how to be beneficiall both to Prince and Country by care, forwardnesse & manly behauiour.

The vsuall brauadoe of *Scipio Africanus*.

The worthy answeres of *Seleucus* to his Parasites and Flatterers.

What kind of men are most to be contemned.

When Ignorance is not to be reckoned as a vice.

Of taking offence or displeasure.

Homer in Lib. 1 de Odys.

The picture of a constant wise man.

The words of noble Brasidas.

excellencie. Let vs neuet note then, whether a man be inferiour to vs in anie one vertue: but rather consider, that manie other Vertues are needfull for vs, which we bestow no paines to purchase. Let vs expresse contempt of vile and detestable men, that serue as spurs to whoring, Sodomy, Flatterie, and softnesse, which (among vices) are not onely enemies to true and perfect valour, but to the generall society of men, and Authours of scandall to all Nations. Ignorance is not to be counted as a Vice, when it is accompanied with simplicitie and naturall care for the auoyding of euill. But misprision of Vertue, and disdayne to compasse it, is not onely an odious brutality amongst true men: but (which is much more) a crime punishable by fyre and sword, and all other inflictions Customarily due, to the perseuerance of foule and guilty offenders or euil doers.

There is no necessity, that a valiaunt man should be apt to spleene or offence, through the riots of a Court Minion, of a Buffone, or of some young Sir, that hath not as yet learned how to be silent, or when to speake to purpose. A Gentleman of couragious perfection indeed, should bee of the humour of inuincible *Hercules*, of whom *Homer* deliuereth testimony in the first Booke of *Odissaes*.

He made no more account of frowards words,
Then of the Fle, that silly harme affords.
He differed (in all) from common kinde:
And Fortunes frownes with him were as the wind.

Hee ought likewise, in all his other actions, to correspond with these precepts.

The constant wise, is euer like himselfe,
And neare shrinkes courage at the losse of pelfe:
The death of Children cannot make him dye,
But, when help fails, Hope doth the place supply.

He should not conceite, that he is to deale with some small enemy, but rather to crie out with couragious *Brasidas*, of whom wee haue already spoken. *O God, there is not anie thing of so weake power; but, if it durst defend it selfe: it could finde meanes whereby co preserve it owne life.* Hee vsed these words, in regarde of a Mousse that bit him by the Finger, as he thrust his hande into a Fraile of drye Figges.

Demetrius beeing at *Thebes*, advisedly noted a man that was Lame of all his

Members; and of whom, a Court Musk-Minion, made a subiect of scornefull Laughter, saying: *This is not he, that hath (til this day) tardied our victorie, for Nature hath made him a Cripple. it is true (answered Demetrius) but how doost thou know, whether reuenge and disdain haue any other weapons then hands onely, considering that mine haue done no seruice at al for the surprizing of this Cittie?*

CHAP. III.

Of those meanes which Princes ought to obserue, for beeing well attended with Gentlemen and valiaunt Captaines of true perfection.



Princes that seeke the Conseruation of their subiects, and to leaue peaceable estates and dominions vnto theyr Children, ought Religiously to ordaine (next to the establishment of Iustice) that lawes should be allowed to perticuler families, wherby children may bee educated euen from theyr infancy, as destenied to the inclination of such Artes, as (by manifest experience) their nature is subiected vnto, by the secret power of the more or lesse great blessings of God, and as it pleaseth him to extend or shut vppe his graces in one more then tn another. Yet notwithstanding, as accommodating the diuers inclinations of men, to perfect that great hermony which maintaineth the world, and combineth humain societie with so strict a bond, that (as it often commeth to passe) the very greatest haue neede of the meanest mens help, & al sciences, yea, euen the silliest, do tend to one selfesame end, by diuers precepts & contrary manners, yet all for the seruice of nature. For otherwise it would fal out, that common weales would conuert into deserts: and men (being apt but to one exercise only, how excellent soeuer) should haue no commerce togither, but only in words & vse of the Elements, which being wholly contrary (as it seemeth) in that common concord,

That the meanest or silliest creature is not to be despised

Lawes for the education of Children, euen frō their Infancy.

The blessings of God not limited to any bounds or measure.

No one exercise, how excellent soeuer, is fit for all men.

concord, for fortifying and maintaining this great building; and the lesser also, which boasts his owne mirror and liuely figure: doth teach vs, that wee ought to haue a generall vertue of profiting: and yet neuertheles, that it is necessary therein to make vse of different effects and proprieties. This was well knowne to *Hesiodus*, when he said:

*The very darkest sullen night,
Helpes Nature with as deere delight,
As the brightest Sun-shine day,
That the Gods most honor may.
They both most necessary be,
Healthfull alike in each degree.*

Let me then tell ye, that neuer (throughout all the ancient Monarchies) was the like inuented, for the institutiō of youth; as the Discipline vsed by the Great Signior, towards the *Amasoglants*, and children of the tribes. The only euill (which is great, in regard of God, yet litle according to his estate & maner of gouerning) is, in that Christians are compeld to renounce their Religion, to imbrace that of *Mahomet*, which (at this day) is the verie greatest, and most respected in all the East. Take off this defect, and then there is not any thing (I say) in the worlde, neither did all former ages euer afford the like. For you may behold in *Constantinople*, a *Carauani* or numberlesse troope of yong Boies, that are carefully tended by Maisters of all estates in al such things as they are most apt vnto, without any constraint of Nature, and for the space of a yeare, they are permitted all kinds of exercises; to the end, that becomming indiges of themselues, each one may afterward pursue his owne instinct, and best inclination. Some are found to be fit for warre, and they are as quickly recommended to Maisters meete for such instruction: yet with so great an obseruation, that time shall rather bee wanting, then care of their employment. Such as are noted to please themselues, in the composing of ships or gallies, with paper sailes, and pack thred tacklings, or anie other stufte, more assiduate to their yong fancies, then other; they are forthwith bestowed in the *Sea Arsenale*, & instructed in al affaires fit for the sea. These docible and debonaire spirits are differently employd: some to Phisick, others to priesthood, & some beside to iudiciary seruices. Finally, such as are of so grosse temper, that

no faire apprehension shineth in them, are imployed in Gardening, a middle sort in Architecture, Painting, & Horology. They that seeme wholly disgraced by nature, are instructed in Carpentry, Taylory, and twisting of Cables, making of sailes and many other mean offices: which are by their aptnesse (in them) very gracious in the great Signiors respect, & begeteth them both lands & perpetual pensions.

It is necessary in a Christian Oeconomy, to make the like practise, as we plainly behold in the fabrick of man. If we look vpon our bodies, or those of beasts, wee may perceiue many members to haue their distinct operations; without the intrusion of any others office, or that the enuy of inferiors discontent themselues at the dignity of their superiors, or any of them (either through discord or partiality) do refuse to lend one another their assistance. It behooueth I say, that in well ordered Commonweales, but especially among Christians, the same course should bee kept and maintained one with another: and although our charges and estates are different, yet that wee should euermore continue vnited in our spirits; and with a iust desire, to supply the defects of our associates, and also to assift them. For it is very requisit, that we should be all like to traualers, wandering by diuers wayes, yet all to arriue at one hauē in the end.

But aboue all, a King ought to constrain his Nobility, to cause young Gentlemen to be instructed in good Letters, for Capacity of administring the great and soveraign Magistracies of his kingdom: for thereby must needs ensue, that dignity will be more venerable, iustice in better respect, and iudgements more legitimate. We may see (to our shame) that at this day the greater part of Magistrates in all our Parliaments of *France*, receiue their originall from plaine *Plebeians* and *Yeomen*, who neuer could haue honour so liuely imprinted in their brows and souls; as they that naturally are heires, to I know not what admirable and holy vertue, which (with no meane aduantage) appeareth rather in young spirits of Nobilitie, then in them of the thirde ranke, who alwayes haue but feeble Conceptions, and neuer eleuate or rayse their thoughts, except it bee to euill, as either to sedition, or infamous and dishonest againe.

Hesiodus his verses, thus translated out of Greeke.

The institution obserued by the great Signior for youth.

How young Boyes are tended by diligent Maisters.

The pursuite of severall inclinations.

For Warre.

For making of Ships and Gallies.

Phisick, Religion, & Law.

Gardening, Painting, and Clocke-making.

Our Christian rule or disposition, compared to the body of man, or of Beastes.

Gouernment in Christian Commonweales.

The stronger are to support the weaker.

The especiall Office and duty of a King.

The disgrace of *France* at this present day.

Owles are no way to bee compared with young Eagles.

The worth of
Sunne bright
Nobility.

Of presidents
and Councel-
lors in the
Courtes of
Kings.

Base gripple
Slavery, is
alwayes ene-
my to Gentil-
lity.

A great error
in the Gentry
of these daies.

Many are
made capable
of warre, a-
gainst their
naturall incli-
nation.

What spirits
are reputed
fit for Warre,
by pertaking
in the degrees
of heate.

again. Whereunto wee may ad also, that their courages are cowardly, standing amazed and confounded at the smallest accidents; neyther are they so apt to outstand tumults and ciuill inconueniences, as Sun-bright Nobility, which euen of it selfe is engirt with some celestiaall flame, that causeth the vulgar people to apprehende more in their opposition against them, then in thousands of poore spirits that are of their owne quality, whose fathers at the best, were but Farmers, keepers of Granges and Dairies, which they helde at a certaine price, and annuall Rent.

Nobilitie then doth shame to it selfe, by not seeking to appeare in the venerable authority of the Senate: considring, that Presidents and Counsellors in Courtes Soueraigne, seeme to be voluntarie Tutors to the Prince, and as Noble Guards to his inuiolable Greatnesse. By this meanes they would free them from the gripes of a huge heape of wretched Officers, and they should neuer be subiected to the mercenary iudgment of their subiects, who mistake themselues verie suddenly, and dispose both of the liues and goods of Gentlemen drawn into action: euen like to their Shop-keeping fathers, in their esteeme of paltry wares. In this manner, the King should haue a more sound, sure, and strong election of men meete for warre, which now adayes hee cannot haue: because Gentlemen doo (indifferently) imploy all their sonnes to such trades, as is impossible in conueniency for them, considering the dissimilitude of their natures, repugnancy of their humors, and contrariety of their spirits, which is more, or which is lesse apt vnto one office then to another. I doubt not, but at length thorough the great scarcety to be found of martiall minded men: all sorts of Gentlemen will not know howe to appeare in the diuersitie of warre hazards, whither they be ciuill or straunge. Yet I may verie well say, that there are many carried thereto, contrarie to the first conception of their *Genius*, who (neuerthelesse) being apt to diuers thinges: can accommodate their spirits therto, albeit it is much lesse natural to them, then somthing els. This is the reason why *Aristotle* saide, that lukewarme water was cold, in regard of that which is boiling, and yet esteemd hot, in consideration of

that which is ycie. This is asmuch to say, as that the moderat spirits of gentlemen, pertaking in the thirde or fourth degree of heat, may serue for warre. If so, much better then should they be apt and profytable for the affayres of State and policy. Such also, as encline to the fourth or fift degree, do pertake of an influence more strong and pregnant for war, then anie other exercise else. This is to bee discerned in the Nature or case of our infancie, which telleth vs by our yongest carriage, what will be the inclination of our most solide age, and inciteth, nay, meerey exalteth vs (with a certaine violence) to acknowledge that which shall (one day) be either necessary or profitable at the least. According to the saying of *Hesiodus*.

All Infant Pleasures, Playes, and Ioyes,
All youthfull Apish trickes and toyes,
Our Cradle-power, which breaks no bands:
Our first essayes in riper houres,
Our weaknesse, strength, or what else ours,
As in a painted Table stands:
For following yeares therein to see,
What good or bad successe will bee.

Hesiodus, concerning our yeares of infancie, expressing thereby, what our stronger age will be.

Princes and great Lordes ought to enstruct their Pages in such exercises, as do best answere vnto the condition of true Gentlemen, and should make no vse of their seruice, in seruile, base, or abiect occasions: as in these daies they do, without any care of gouernment, or prescribing them some honest forme of conduction. I protest, as I see the carriage of these ill taught times, I had much rather place my son or Kinsman, with a Spittle Maister, or Hospitall Keeper, then with a Prince: considering how badly Pages are entertained, and so slenderlie enstructed in anie vertuous actions, as wee cannot distinguish them from common Lackeyes, but by the outward appellati- on, beeing else employed for all vses; euen all one, with the verie foulest condition Varlet of the house. One while they are Gourmands, by some Groome of the Chamber; another while beaten by a Scullion of the Kitchen: and beaten they bee at euerie moment, but not to any good purpose; and more for Ceremonie, then with any vertuous intent of their Correction. They are baselie reputed, and badly nourished, whereby they constraime them, yea, and of themselves are meerey constrained to forget and

How Princes and Lords should educate their Pages.

Pages very hardly distinguished from common Lackies.

The little care and respect that Gentlemen haue of their Pages.

The Page is heere put to the Lackies Office.

These are tearmed our gracelesse Gallants.

The maine & chiefeft inconuenience about all other.

Of Gentlemen, still in the Princes sight.

and decline, from their owne first faire and naturall disposition, to sharke and get by vnlawfull meanes, such things as are most needfull for them: Some teach them how to be dissolute at their Table, for a Trencher can be no sooner offered: but it is presently swept ouer with the Nailes and Fingers; yea, with the whole hand, and tongue too sometimes. Afterward, perhaps Nature being scarce halfe contented: poore Youthes, they trot after their Galloping Maisters, who rid a great deale of ground in a very short while, whē their Pages follow not so fast with their feet; as with frequent and disordred passions. By which meanes, Youth neither do or can learne any thing among them, but forgetfulnesse of vertue and good manners, by the example of indiscretion & folly in their Maisters.

Moreouer, we may see our streetes crowded with a heap of young Gentlemen, who haue much adoe to maintain themselves: and yet they must haue attending Pages, to trudge with Tokens or Loue-scripts, to Madame or Mistris *Many-better*. And then come they poasting after, euen through the chiefeft parts of the Citty, not shaming to let the world see their gracelesse insolence. Now; the very great hurt of all, consisteth in this, that the whole multitude of Pages (as well those about Princes, as them that follow great Lords and lesser Gentlemen, being themselves ill bred, and worse disciplinde:) are compelled to bastardise their naturall splendour, by putting on a new habite, of disordred, shamelesse, and monstrous behauiour; that (afterward) they looke rather like wilde and barbarous *Albani-ans*, then any true borne Gentlemen of blood. By which meanes, Commonweales are afflicted, Kinges lewdly serued, Magistrates scarcely obeyed, the Lawes dispised, and confusion embraced.

Beside, a Gentleman brought vp out of the Princes eye, beginneth to grow disdainfull of him, when hee once apprehendeth (and maliciously enough) that he is not in any obligation to him: he waxeth proud, and such a man soone forgetteth al proportion and measure. The very highest degree of such a mans seruice, is to domineere and rule, to

mount into the Seat of his Maister, Lord, or Prince: for, whatsoeuer hee seeth beneath, or on either side, is nothing to him, and the World (all this while) honoureth none more; then such a man.

Howbeit, the Paganes did euermore acknowledge, that Generositie is more familiar with good, then vicious men, and, that valour is more domestick and naturall to a man that is temperate, peaceable, and milde, then the proud and ambitious, who is of the condition of a weake stomacke, which coueteth more meat, then it can resolute and digest. Princes ought to be respectiue, of such a rich and sanctified enstruction, and not admit such ouerture to the desseignes of Gentlemen; ouer greedie and couetous, in aspiring daily to some nouell degree, yet no one of them seeing the way, by the eye of his owne power, or Iustice of his merit. Thus all runs wrong, for God blesseth no Mans actions, but his that doth well, & withdraweth his eye from wicked inclinations: who wil haue no other King, then the State, or any Law, but such as may bring him in some benefite. Vertue is the *Primum mobile* of courage, that seemeth (by his owne power) to attract all things to it selfe, that is required in the perfection of valour: which is onely borne to be entrusted, and entrusted to serue, and (by seruice) to yeild it selfe not onely beneficiall, but necessarie also.

Princes in these daies, are faultie of too little care, that Nobility should be more forward in the exercise of vertue: and themselves also doe lend most imployment, to such as are more commended to them, then fit for vse. Vertue giueth no more hire to the intercessions of a Courtier, made honorable and rich altogether; then to one of her owne breeding and bringing vp. Hence should arise all the Officers of a Crowne, and hence are aborted all the Creatures of a King, that leaneth wholly to passion, & nothing to vertue. He ought then to hold the list in his owne hand, to foresee each man in his profession and degree, and hence he will deriue: that his Financiers or Cherker-men, shal bee without fraud; his Councillours free from partialitie, and his Governours voyde

The nature of an ambitious man.

The Pagans opinion concerning Generosity.

An especiall duty imposed on Princes.

What endeauors are blessed of God.

Vertue the onely first mouer of Courage.

The ouer-much neglect of Princes in these dayes.

The check-roule should be held in the Kings owne hand, for the election of his followers.

voyde of faction. All their ayme and scope, will be to iustifie by their effects, the good choyse and lawfull election, which the Prince hath made of such persons. And although they should come somewhat short of merit, yet would they stretch their endeouour; to deserue the voyces of the honestest Men, and the grace of their second Creator.

Honor aduanced, is the peoples best contentment.

What ensueth by the advancement of bad and vnworthy men.

The feare of God is to be preferred before all things else whatsoever.

The opinion of some wicked *Machiuelists*.

Instructions giuen out of Gods Booke, for the seruice of Kings.

When a Man of Honor is aduanced, the people doe looke on it with a pleasing eye, and discerne (therein) the wisdom of their Prince: who instantly is exalted to admiration; from admiration, to intire loue of his Subiects; and from thence to the blessing of GOD, who plausibly entertaineth the suffrages of the Common-weals suppliants, for the health and preservation of their Prince. Contrariwise, all is in disorder, when bad men hold the best places of credit: then the people mutiny; the Princes iudgement is scandalized; common affection cooleth; the curse of God embraceth, and bringeth the latest cauter that cleaueth to this euill. Aboue all, I wish that he, of whose seruice a Prince shall make vse, should haue the feare of God before his eyes; without which: all Wisedome will easily be conuerted into craft; valour into violence; Iustice into Crueltie; Pollicy into Monopolies; and without which (I say) all those things which heauen hath best bestowed on vs for the best, will only be Instruments of the worst. Without this, our very affections, are as so many violent torments, and cruell Hels both to the Soule and Body, and our reason is nothing else, but meere trumpery and deceipt. O what inflictions could I wish to some *Machiuelists*, who maintaine, that such as bee bound to Conscience, reason, and Lawes, are no meete Seruants to attend on Princes: but that flattery is to be preferred, both aboue Lawes and Nature.

If it be so, that those blessed Quires of Gods Booke, do beare witnessse, that *No Man can serue two Maisters*. Commanding vs also else-where; *To feare God, and honor the King*: it is then a matter very euident, that the most part of all other Seruants, doe yeilde nothing else but eye-seruice onely. And this is the reason, that Kinges are euill serued

farre off, and betrayed in secret. They that being Seruants to their King, will also do seruice to God; they euermore walke after one manner. They serue to content their Conscience, and not they eye of their Maister. They propose God before their eyes, as both the Beholder of their actions, and searcher of their harts. They waite for his grace and Wages: being assured of recompence and reward on his part, when they doe their dutie, although it bee to vnthankfull Maisters. This is the Seed from whence Kinges should gather all hope, of being maintained, strengthened, and wel serued. From hence ought they alwaies to chuse their Councillors of State, and al the, to whom they will communicate their power and authoritie.

The Prince that desireth to accomplish all these things, both for the quiet of his owne Conscience, and happy administration of his Estate: must be sure to haue no Flatterers about him, vnprofitable persons, Loue-Brokers, voluptuous and Epicurian Courtiers, that make the publike Purse, serue for the expences of their perticular Luxurie, gormandize and pomp, while (in the meantime) the vertuous, and such as haue deserued much better of the State: remaine far enough off, slenderly known, without Grace, and without Honour, (I meane no other, then that of their owne proper merit) who neuertheless are (ostentimes) inestimable, and more worthy of administration; then of the blind and briske (let mee not say faint-hearted) fauours, which the Princes of these times vse towardes some young Gallants, that smell more of Ciuet, then the Cannons Powder, and much more of the Woman, then Man: yet vnworthy of eyther Sexe, their depraued Natures are so highly subiected to infamous Vices, which sunder them fro those common proprieties, that do let vs know a Man, to be truly a Man, and a Woman, truly a Woman. I am perswaded, that it was of them, which that Great Man spake, on the *Grecian* Theater, saying:

You Swinish men, that haue no other care,
But onely for such food, as you prepare
To gorge your foule polluted trunkes withall:
Meere Swine you ate, and such your actions all.
Like

Such as serue God and their Prince.

The Seede that yieldeth Kings the best encrease.

Especially observations for a Prince, that would be serued with good men indeed.

These are Carpet Squiers, not Knights fit for a Field.

A Mirrour for many, that dare not behold it.

Like them you run, such is your leaden pace ;
Nor Soule, nor reason shineth in your face.
Stabled you are within the Courts of Kings,
Not fit for Councell, Armour, or such things
As to your Natures are contrary quite.
Ea'sly you can faire Ornaments disgrace,
Therefore you fit not such a royall place:
Kings loose them elues, that doe in you delight.

Great men will not willingly looke vpon serious and weighty considerations.

But why do I seeke to instruct Gentlemen, seeing they strive (as much as possible that they may) not to behold any lawfull action: because their Soules should bring no iudgement against themselves for the excesses which they haue committed? It is enough for them, to make some essay of that which is written in Saint *John*, to wit: *That if all Testimonies of Scripture, and lawfull imitations doe faile vs: yet notwithstanding our Conscience, and Nature it selfe doth sufficiently shew, what is our dutie.* Looking thorow all Windowes of Equity, Iustice, and Reason; Pagane Authours tooke knowledge, yea, and did set down in Writing: that there were Furies, who inflicted reuenge on the iniuries, as also on the sinnes of Men, which is nothing else, but the torments of vile and wicked Consciences.

The Window of Equity, Iustice, and Reason, acknowledged by the Pagans.

This is the worme whereof the Prophet *Esay* speaketh; it is the Worme (I say) that neuer dyeth, but byteth and teareth without intermission. These are the Tapers and Torches, which terrifie and burne our harts: This is that which is called, the remembrance of our wicked and abhominable liues. *Epicurus* himselfe, being an enemy to the Deitie, could yet confesse, that the very great paine of such as sinned, was, that they had sinned: for the punishment of wickednesse, is wickednesse it selfe. The Man that is attainted with this great scruple in his Soule, is of no worth, neither can be valiant, or come any thing neere to that happy quality. For he that is a perfect knight indeed, ought not onely to win the Conquest of his Enemies: but must also triumphe over the Passions of his owne Soule, which must be cleane, and exempt from all vnlawfull desires, or absurde and base villainies. That which was presented to the Emperour *Theodosius*, is well worthy to be followed by him, in whom I would decypher perfect valiancie, as thus.

The confession of *Epicurus* concerning Sinners.

The Anatomy of a true and perfect Knight indeed

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Though in rich *India*, or a further Land,
Thou art adorde, and dost o're men commaund,
Although the *Medes* and *Arabes* stoupe to thee:
Yet, if not iust, valiant thou canst not be.
Thou art no Man, if terror sway thy Soule,
Nor can be valiant, if weake thoughts contoule.
Such follies leaue thee to thy selfe alone,
In torment, sadnesse, and despairing mone.
But when thou dost o're maister fond desires:
Then thy faire Soule to her true pitch aspires,
And makes thee meet for Kingdomes, or all Nations;
Hauiug once conquerd thine owne priuate passions.
Vertue doth neuer fight, but for successe.
If then base thoughts the Soule of Man possesse,
And be not trod downe, at their first arise:
In suffering them, the greatest peril lies.
Then boldly check thy inward dull conceaits,
Shun those deepe blames that on neglect awaites,
Let not the Lawes reprocue thy care and heed:
So shalt thou be a Man, in name and deed.

This other of *Clandian*, is very little different.

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If th' action, which is tearmed valiance,
Be not in vertue: then tis impudence.

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Knights of greatest courtesie, Captaines most remarkable, and Kinges of highest fame, did euermore accompany their Armes, and strengthen them by a gentle and liberall knowledge in Vertue: whereby they could best decipher such about them; as were most or least apt for Warre seruices, making distinction of their valour; according to the circumstances and ordinary manner of Souldiours; were it in apparrelling themselves for fight, or in firming the breaches happening in their Field, or in exercising and applying themselves to some other seruice, conuenient to the time, place, and commaundement giuen them. By this meanes, Men of merit addressed themselves vnto the Prince, who made profession to be careful and respectiue, of every perticular wise and hardy mans courage, and vpon good note thereof: to render double recompence, that is to say, by benefis, and by iust commendations. For hee must neuer hope to see vertuous Men flourish, or their actions in true apparance: if they be not recompenced, and some way satisfied.

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The Prince that desireth to finde valiancy in his men of Warre, ought to imitate the discipline of *Alexander Seuerus*, the *Romaine* Emperour: who would haue his Souldiours to be well armed, well instructed, and continually to haue some Mony in their Purfes, but (by no meanes) of that humour, as *Sphicrates* the

The present, giuen to the Emperour *Theodosius*.

Vertue hath alwayes bin the best ground to bulde all actions on.

The eye of the Prince to be fixed vpon each mans due worth and merit.

The Warre-discipline of *Alexander Seuerus*, Emperour of *Rome*.

Iphicrates of contrary mind to Alexander Scuerus.

Julius Caesar concerning his Souldiers.

The saying of Thucidides.

The Great Turkes ordering of his Souldiers now adayes.

Tartarians continually in pay with the Turke.

The only encouragement of Souldiers, when they are well payed and respected.

the Captaine wished his Warre-followers to be, to wit; avaritious, amorous, and full of voluptuousnesse. For he was wont to say, that as they were persecuted by those three violent passions; euen so would they prostitute themselves, and forsake all perill, to satisfie their own desseignes, and the free compassing of their base desires.

True it is, that *Caesar* wished his Souldiers, to haue faire and rich Armes, because they might haue the more occasion to be knowne, for auoyding the shame of flight; & not to fight so much for the worth of their Armes, as for their liues. But he was deceiued, considering as *Thucidides* saith. *The valiant Man is alwaies himselfe, and his vertue appeareth much more, when he is disadvantaged and afflicted: then when he strengtheneth himselfe with some apparance, if it be not necessary.*

The Great *Turke*, who continueth (euen at this day) the Military Arte of the *Romaines*, and causeth it to be much more obserued, then the *Spaniards* doe, (who are in very deede, but Apes of the *Turkes* conduct) hath so admirable an obseruation: that a troupe of an hundred thousand men, do resemble rather a peaceable Congregation of people, assembled together to heare a Sermon; then an Army to fight against the World. The Great *Turke* (I say) is euermore accompanied with an incredible multitude of valorous men, which he winneth out of *Tartaria*, and a great his Wages and endlesse pay; like as the *Switzers* are in *France*. He helpeth himselfe also with the Souldiers of *Mysia*; of *Europe*; of the *Albanians*, sometimes called *Epirottes*; of the *Thessalians*, now called *Fullaires*; and of the *Arabes*, that tearme themselves *Alarbes*. All these glorious Nations (for their Armes) are so cherished by the *Othomans*, that there is no day ouer-passeth them: but they doe receiue some honourable and notable reward and respect, from the Generals of the *Turkish* Armies, who employ them at euery moment, in verie great and perilous enterprises, wherein (neuertheless) all these Men do carrie themselves, with such prudence and iudgement, as is not to be a little wondered at.

New and fresh Armes is provided

them, vpon the quickest and suddainest returne, and albeit their successe hath not answered to the premeditated desseigne: yet, in the very least performance of well doing, they are not left vnacknowledged, but vsed, as if the attempt had beene happily ended. Hence ensued those great Stratagems at *Modon*, *Chely*, *Siget*, *Schaffarin* in the *Georgie*, and at *Traneils*. In all which places, they surmounted the valour and fortune of the *Romaines*, the hardinesse of the *Parthians*, and the cunning and industry of the *Christians*; whose troupes resembled Carauans of Goates, that make motion with their mouths on all thinges indifferently, how profitable or hurtfull soeuer they be.

The *Persians*, who seeme to be more ciuillized then the *Turkes*, and yet (notwithstanding) are lesse prouident and capable of great matters, doe shut vp their Children of good Birth, in certain places of the Field-Country, which they call *Spitaf Kier Belti*, that is to say; *The entrance into the Signeury of vertue*, where they haue Maisters to enstruct them, according to their inclinations: but at the charges of their Parents, vntill such time as it may be known, whether the Youthis wil afterward be beneficiall to the *Sophy*, or no. For thenceforward, they are taken and maintained at his expences, to the number of two thousand, and are then called, *Spiers Kiram Sophy*, that is to say; *Children of the Signior Sophy*.

These people, whom we tearme barbarous, and their Kings, called Tyrants by vs; I feare shall find (at the latter day) more grace in the grace of the Soueraigne Iudge: then the Princes and people of *Europe*, who make no account, or verie little (at the most) of the Youth that is vnder their Empire, or the order and discipline Oeconominall of the State, which is much lesse obserued with them, I will not I say then among the common people of *Asia*; but euen among the *Toupinanbous* & Magistrats, who doe enstruct their Children in the Historie of their Ancestours, the Father telling to his Sonne; what fights they haue had against their Neighbors; what victories were obtained; and the routes which they endured. All these thinges are deliuered with fatherly exhortations,

Good will wanteth not though successe oftentimes faileth.

Comparison of the *Persians* with the *Turkes*, and the education of their Children.

Children of the Signior *Sophy*.

Christendom hath lesse care of youth, then Heathen Nations haue.

Instructions of Pagan Fathers to their Sonnes.

hortations, to continue them in well doing, for publike benefit, and to shew themselves ieaious imitatets of their fore-goers, who (they tell them) are in Heauen, full of Glory and Triumphe: because they continually maintained the cause of their Countrey, and defended their poore Cottages, from the inuasions of their ordinarie Enemies.

The care of the Parthians for their yong Nobility in former times.

In former times, the *Parthians* had such diligent care, for husbanding the Spirits of their young Nobility, that the more part of their Lawes discourfied on nothing else. By which meanes they were inuincible, and euermore equall to the Romaine Empire, yet there was more Soueraignty, and lesse Barbarisme, in the commaundes of the *Arfacides*, their Kinges: then in the Empire of the *Cesars*, who were (almost all of them) so abhominable, as all the Vices of the World, did beget their most monstrous qualities, from the imperfections of those Tyrants of *Europe*.

Comparison of the Parthian *Arfacides* with the Romaine *Cesars*.

Finallie, they lost Europe at length, yeilding it to the transport of the *Mahometanes*, who keepe it (at this day) more stronglie, then we doe therest. And, if we obserue no better discipline, then that which now wee doe: it is to bee feared, that before many yeares passe ouer our heades, the *Rheine* will scarcely serue for Frontiers to the *Othomans* Monarchie, who extend the Threds of their ambitious couetousnesse, not onely vpon *Germanie*, which can hardlie defend it selfe; but on the rest of Christendomes happinesse; yea, ouer all that is further off from the East, then the East is from their felicitie, and the West from ours. Because it is impossible, yea, almost vniust, that the hand of God should bee succourable to such, as obserue no Equity; but contemne his Lawes, despise Soueraigne Magistracy, making themselves in all, and by al, vterly vnworthy of his diuine blessings, which must be sought for with humble and lowly harts. The Paganes themselves do confesse.

The couetous ambition of the *Othomans*, for enlarging their Dominion.

The writing and confession of the Pagans.

The Goddess, by prayers are satisfied, When some iust Soules are applied, To satisfie their Deities: For generall iniquities.

Ouer and beside all, the onely meanes to haue men valiant, is, to make no ac-

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count of Cowards, and such as are but prating companions, nor to admit them (in any manner whatsoever) to any Offices and dignities of War: though (in these daies) the quite contrary is practised: for Regiments are giuen to simple Clerks, that surrender them againe the very same day; Treasurers places are bestowed on impudent persons, and the Princes lodging is kept by such, as scarcely are any sound well-willers. All degrees are valued by Mony, buying & selling are openly allowed, so that there is no recompence or respect made of true valor; onely hee that hath wherewithall, may bee a Governour in some place, which he may likewise sel again, to the most-giuer. In all the Empire of the *Turk*, which is more (by halfe) then the *Romans* had: there are but 216. Forts or Holds, which also are seated on the Frontiers, as well of the Sea, as of the firme Land. At euery three yeares end, the Governours are changed, or receiue new power to bee longer continued. They can receiue no other dead-payes, then the Soldiers of the old bands, who being ouer-spent in war, or laden with wounds, or crazed by age: are to be receiued into the *Grand Signiors* fortresses, where an honorable pension is bestowed on them, which they tearme *Timar*. Hereby ensueth, that all men are made vse of in this bright Monarchy, for such as are aged people, gouty, or lame, do keep the walles, while the younger doe fortifie the Prince and his Lieutenants in the Field, hoping (one day) to haue entertainment in those Fortes. By this means, Souldiers are neuer in miserable quality in the great *Turks* iurisdctions, which maketh them the more hardy & valiant: knowing, that (in their retreat from seruice) they shall neuer want, by any discommodity (whatsoever) happening to them.

The onely meanes to be assured of such as are valiant men.

All degrees and Offices passe currant for mony by buying and selling.

The *Turkes* Fortresses, and Governours of the.

All men are made vse of in the *Turkes* dominions, that no one may be seene in any miserable condition, for the discouraging of others.

Five Mosques in *Natolia*, for young and old, that none may be seene in pouerty.

For, beside those Fortresses on the Confines of *Asia*, and *Europe*, there are five Mosques in *Natolia*, some whereof were builded by the *Mahometane* Emperors, and others by their *Bashaes*, and the least reuenues belonging to any one of them, is forty thousand Ducats of annual Rents. There is a publike Schoole, where the poore are instructed, and beside, there is a verie goodly House, well fitted with most exquisite Bathes, where,

where, all that are billeted by the *Aga*, Colonell of the Infantry; are nourished, maintained, and well tended, being sickly, weake, or aged, and all things are so well ordered, as no one can bee wearie, or dislike of their entertainment, or iudge it other then it ought to be.

The bestowing of honourable charges for the wars.

All honourable charges of men for the Warres, are imparted to such, as have best reputation among the Souldiours. If at any time some offence be committed, vnworthy of the former opinion conceiued of mans valour, he is dismissed from his authority: yet without any infamous note, or desperate hope of being againe reintegrated, by course of time, which moderateth all things, and changeth the counsels and humours of Princes, who appeare (by an indifferent chastisement) to haue satisfied both the Law and their owne lenity, in one selfe same subiect.

Abra-Bashae, repealed from his place, and *Sinan-Bashae* advanced thereto.

Thence came it, that *Bashae-Abra*, hauing disordred himselfe in the *Georgie*, was repealed and disgraced, and *Sinan-Bashae* placed in his stead, who succeeding in the room, of a Man ill handled for his faults: stood bound (by all these considerations) to behaue himselfe so well; that the Great Signior could receiue no mislike in his carriage, for hee regained what his Predecessour had lost, beating and chasing the *Persians* with so large an vsury of vengeance; that his Military seruices performed in the vpper *Asia*, were little indebted to the of *Alexander* the Great, although he was of no such temper. Longtime after, returning home with triumph and victory, in the Cittie of *Constantinople*: he was slaine by a Foole, that begd an Almes of him, and which *Sinan* made himselfe ready also to giue him. Wherein may bee obserued, that this great and fortunate Mirrour dyed, in doing the Office of a Christian, and not of a Turke, that is to say; in giuing an Almes, and rendring Justice to the *Porta*. After his death, the other was admitted to his charge againe; and then he redeemed the iniuries formerly receiued, by such worthy actions of seruice, as surruied the obliuion of his first defects.

Sinan-Bashae coming with triumph and victory to *Constantinople* was slaine by a Foole.

Sinan-Bashae being dead, *Abra-Bashae* was readuanced.

I referre now to your owne iudgements, if these people (which we call

barbarous) may not iustly (and in good earnest) make vs blush, considering, that the greater part of them, which hold great charges among vs in these daies: doe declare themf lues vtterly vnworthy of them, and because there is no punishment for them, men are as little regarded, as a Varlet of the Chamber. Hence ensueth it, that the Prince is miserable, and confusion is so great among his Followers, that were it not for the huge throng and multitude of Noblemen, which ardently accost and company him, to couer this imperfection: within short while we should be buried in the State ruines, which in the end must needes fall out, if no better order be prescribed for Souldiours, and some endeour vsed, for maintaining daily a sufficient number, that may serue as a bound or banke, against the tempestuous billowes of Strangers, who doubtlesse will triumph ouer vs continuallie, vtill we haue provided for this important necessity, wherof (notwithstanding) no account at all is made.

Though it bee most true, that the Romaine Empire began to loose it selfe, from the day, when Military policy was violated, for, afterward, they that durst not so much as dreame of *Italye*: made no doubt at all to assault it, yea, and to force it, to the shame and confusion of them, that contemned the order religiously obserued by their Predecessours. The infamous corruption in State Councillours of Princes, was the only cause thereof: yet some others are perswaded, that the vniuersall generous ruine, ensued perticularly to them; when they sold their Country to their enemies, as *Aeneas* and *Antenor* did, of whom (I think) they are descended. For all was set to sale for Money, both the offices of Magistrats, and seats of Iudges.

And euen so is it in these daies, honours of Warre cannot be had, without such manner of commerce, so that (at length) publike commodity will be brought into a monstrous Caos, the first Sepulcher of the Elements. Armes will be made subiect to Mony, euen as they were among the Romaines, whose *Prætorian* troupes sold the Empire for good ready Mony, as bringing it to the common Out-cry, fairest offerer, and latest

Barbarous Nations may iustly make vs Christians to blush at our behauiour.

Danger of Buriall in the ruines of the State.

By what means the Romaine Empire began to confound it selfe.

The infamous corruption in Councillours of Estate to Princes.

Warre honours are bartered, bought and sold, euen as they were among the Romaines.

The saying of an Affricane Prince, concerning Rome.

Bad men thrust better deseruers out of all fauour and respect.

The Authors Conclusion and wish, to the Nobilitie of France.

The vertues of other Princes, ought to be a spurre to ours in these dayes.

latest Purchaser. So that, it may be said of France, as a Prince of Affrica was wont to do of Rome: *Oh goodly City to be sold, if any man had Money enough to buy it.* And very certaine it is, that if the King of Spain had neuer so little intelligence in this Kingdome, as hee hath had too much: he should not neede to desire it. He can forme Creatures enow heere, to be buyers for him, and (it may bee) that haue long since bought the Pillers of the State, with Monies meete for so glorious an exploit. We are all carried thither, the Market beginneth to open, the Traffiques hope is not a little, neyther is there any danger in the desseign, for impunity raigneth generally. The wicked doe thrust good men out of all fauour, accounting them vnprofitable Members, and desertfull of no Name, among such a number of strange *Cabalists*, who thinke France to be no better then a Mart or Staple: where gaine is preferred before Honor; Mony before Merit; an Enemy before a Friend; a Seruant before the Son of the Family; and a Seruant, before a Domesticke borne.

Behold what may be said, on the behalfe of perfect valour, and the sold or necessary meanes, for the gaining of worthy men: to make Kinges triumph, perpetuate their estates, and leane eternity to their Monarchies. My hearty wish and desire is, that some benefit may ensue by my poore trauaile (as infallibly will) to our French Nobility, if this may be communicated (how little soeuer) to the eyes of their souls, which hauing heretofore been eluuated to the honest search of vertue, and especiallie that which shold be most familiar with them: will render them absolute in the perfection of this discourse, whereof I couer more to be the God-Father, then the true Fatlier indeed. Because all the wonders of honor, grace, and valiancy therein alleaged, haue beene selected from the Oracles and Miracles of the onely renowned Princes in the World, of whom I haue figured the very fairest conditions. To the end, that ours of this Age, may commendably emy such glory, and go as far beyond theirs, as they did all other whatsoeuer.

CHAP. IIII.

Of Wisedome, Prudence, and Pollicy; and what difference is betweene them. Also, a consideration of the difficulties & dangers, incident to matters of State.

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Because our present intended discourse, may stand cleare from obloquy and detection: we wil first declare what Wisedome is, and wherein it consisteth. For Pollicie being but (as it were) a branch thereof; it shall therefore be convenient, first to consider the nature of the root or Tree, that thereby we may know the property of the braunch. And to this end, it is to be considered, first whence wisedom is, and afterwards, what it is: whereby it will appeare, that true wisedom, and (consequently) true Pollicy, can no way stand with wickednesse.

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For the first, it is euident, by the doctrine as wel of the best Philosophers, as of our holy Scriptures; that wisedom is the especiall giust of God, which Plato taught, not onely concerning absolute wisedom (consisting in the speculation and knowledge of diuine things) but also of ciuill or politicall Wisedome and Prudence: which he saith. *Is neither giuen to man by nature, nor taught by Philosophy, nor got by industry or experience.* And therefore in his Book of Politicall Lawes, he craueth it of Almighty God as his especiall giust, acknowledging: *That no humain wit can (without his particular inspiration and assistance) ordaine sufficient lawes for the government of a Commonwealth;* as partly hath beene elsewhere approued.

This also our Scriptures doe abundantly teach, deriuing al wisedom from Almighty God, as from the Fountaine thereof, saying. *Omnis sapientia à Domino Deo est, All Wisedome commeth of the Lord. Et à Deo profecta est sapientia, &c. Wisedome came from GOD, and it shall abound in the mouth of the faithfull man, and the gouernor or Lord of all will giue it thee.* And againe, *Fons sapientie verbum Dei in excelsis. The Fountaine of wisedom*

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Pollicy is but a Branch of wisedom.

Wisedom the especiall gift of God, according to Plato.

Plato in Lib. 4. de Legib. et in Minoe. Wisedome nor giuen by Nature, nor taught by Philosophy, nor got by industry.

Eccles. 1. 1. 6. God the only Authour and giuer of wisedom, according to the Scriptures. Eccles. 15. 3.

James. 2, 5.
1 King. 3, 9.

Salomon and
Iesus the sonne
of Sirach ob-
tained wifedome
of God
by Prayer.
Eccles. 5, 13.
17.

Plato in The-
age. et in Epist.
ad Syracusan.
What wifedome
is, ac-
cording to
Plato.

A soule defi-
led with sinne
not capable of
wifedome.
Wisd. 1. 4.
Eccles. 43, 33.

What wifedome
is, and
wherein it
consisteth, ac-
cording to
our sacred
Scriptures.
Iob. 28, 12, 13,
et 28.

Eccles. 19, 20.

True wifedome
consisteth in
the feare of God,
and the execu-
tion of his
Law.

is the word of God on high. That is to say, the Son of God, who is therefore called *Sapientia Patris, The Wisedome of God the Father.* For this cause S. James aduiseeth vs. *Si quis uestrum* (saith he) *indiget sapientia, postulet à Deo, & dabitur ei.* If any of you lacke wifedome, let him aske it of God, and it shall be giuen him. And Salomon craued it of Almighty God, and obtained it. And Iesus the Son of Sirach saith of himselfe. *Cum adhuc iunior sum, &c. When I was yet yong, or euer I went abroad, I desired wifedome openly in my prayer. And I profited by her, therefore will I ascribe the glory vnto him that giueth me wifedome.*

Seeing then true wifedome is (according to the opinion both of Philosophers and Diuines) and especiall gift of Almighty God: it must needs follow, that it haue no communication with sin and wickednesse, or with any thing offensive to God. And therefore Plato (with all his followers) doe teach, that forasmuch as true wifedome is nothing else, but (as it were) *The light of the chiefe and true good* (that is to say, of Almighty God) reflected vpon the soules of Men: no Soule defiled with sinne, is any whit more capable of this light of true Wifedome, then the ayre (beeing ouer-cast with Clouds) is capable of the Sunne. And this Doctrine of Plato agreeth notably with our holy Scriptures, which teach, that *In maculam animam, &c. Wifedome wil not enter into a wicked soule, nor dwell in the body that is subiect to sin.* And therefore it is said, *That God giueth wifedome to such as feare him.*

This will be more eident, by the consideration of what Wifedome is, and wherem it principally consisteth. Therefore, first to speak of the Doctrin of our holy Scriptures; and after, of the opinion of Philosophers: Iob hauing asked, *Where is Wifedome found, and where is the place of vnderstanding?* Answereth himselfe, saying; *Ecce timor Domini, ipsa est sapientia, & recedere à malo intelligentia. Behold, the feare of God is wifedome it selfe, and to forsake euil is vnderstanding.* Thus saith Iob; which the Preacher confirmeth, saying. *Omnis sapientia timor Dei, et in omni sapientia dispositio legis. The feare of God is all Wifedome, and the performing of the Law is perfect wifedome.* That is to say (as we read in the Greeke Text) *Factio et operatio legis, The doing & working*

of the Law, signifying: That all wifedome consisteth in the feare of God, and in the execution of his Law; which is as much to saie, as in the keeping of his Commaundements, whereof three reasons may well be giuen.

The first, because hee which feareth God, & fulfilleth his commaundements; hath the ground and principall part of wifedome, for in all his actions he principally respecteth two things: the one, the glory of God (for which, Man and all other creatures were chiefly ordained) and the other, the eternall good of his owne soule; which most importeth him. For, as our Sauour saith; *What shall it profit a Man, though he should winne the whole world, if he loose his own soule.* Therefore the Preacher saith well, *Sapiens est anima sua sapiens: He which is wise, is wise for his Soule.* The second reason is, for that he which feareth God, and keepeth his commaundements, doth therein work wisely, not onely for his eternall good, but also for his temporall and worldlie good: Seeing thereby hee consecrateth himselfe, in the protection and fauor of him, who is the Authour and Giuer as well of the one as other, and hath an especial care of such as feare and serue him. For, as the Psalmist saith; *Oculi Domini super metuentes eum; The eyes of the Lord are vpon them that feare him. Et aures eius in preces eorum, And his eares are open to their prayers.* Such also is his loue towards them, and the regard he hath of them, that, as our Sauour saith; *Hee numbrellh the very haire's of their beads. Et custodit* (saith the Psalmist) *omnia ossa eorum; He keepeth all their bones, to the end, that there shall not any one of them perish.*

Therefore, as no man is, or can be counted wise or happy, who (by contempt of Almighty God, and breach of his Commaundements) exposeth himselfe to his indignation, whereby both he and his may vtterly perish: so he likewise, that by the feare of God, and obseruation of his law, obtained his continuall fauor and protection, is not only truly wise, but also truly happy. Which Aristotle himselfe acknowledged, who teaching, that true wifedome and felicity, doe chiefly consist, in the contemplation of God and heavenly things: affirmeth the wisest man to be the happiest of al other, because he is most grate-
full

The principal part of wifedome, to respect in all things the glory of God, and our eternall good.

Mat. 16, 26.

Wisd. 37, 18.

He which truly feareth God, is wise, for his temporall good, and why.

Psalme 33, 17.
Psalme. 34, 14

Math. 10, 30.
Psalme. 34, 19.

No man is wise in exposing himselfe to Gods indignation.

Arist. in lib. Ethic. 10. Cap. 7.
Idé Ibid. cap. 8.

The law of God, is the rule of all prudent actions.

The difference betwixt wisdome and Prudence.

The object of wisdome.

The definition of wisdome.

Cicero. in Lib. 2. de Offic. August. in lib. 14. de Trinit. Cap. 5.

The Office of Prudence.

Basil. in princip. Prouer.

Arist. Moral. Nicom. Lib. 7. Cap. 5. & Ethic. Lib. 6.

Tho. Aquin. 22. q. 27. 2.

Cicero de nat. Deor. Lib. 3.

August. Lib. 83. quest. 31.

The definition of Prudence.

Arist. in Lib. 6. Ethic. Cap. 4.

The end of euery action truly prudent, must needs bee good.

The meanes of euery prudent action, to be good and iust.

Arist. in Ethic. Idem. li. 6. ca. 12.

full to God, best beloued of him, and protected by him continually.

The third reason, why the fear of God, & the keeping of his commandements, is true wisdome, is: because the Law of God is the true rule, whereby al prudent actions are to bee measured, for it comprehendeth in it selfe, and teacheth all true vertue and goodnesse, without the which, there can be no true Prudence, as shall appeare by the circumstances due and requisite thereto, according to the Doctrine of Philosophers: Wherein is to bee noted, that though Wisdome and Prudence (in common speech) are commonly confounded: yet there is betwixt them this difference, that Wisdome hath for her object, not only humane, but also Diuine things. And therefore is defined, both by Philosophers and Diuines, to be *Scientia diuinarum humanarumque rerum, et eorumque illarum rerum sunt causa*. The knowledge of things diuine and humane, and of their other causes. Whereas the office of Prudence, is duely to consider, and wel to direct humane affaires, and is called by Thomas Aquinas, *Sapientia in humanis rebus*, Wisdome in humane things: consisting, as Cicero and S. Augustine teach, in the knowledge of Things good, bad, & indifferent, and is defined, *Rerum expectandarum, fugiendarumque scientia*, The knowledge of things to be desired or fled. Or as S. Basile saith, *Eorum que agenda et non agenda sunt cognitio*; The knowledge of those things which are to be done, or not to be done: whereto three circumstances are principally required.

The first is, that the end of euery action bee truly good, which Aristotle teacheth, to be the first & principal circumstance requisite to Prudence. And he affirmeth, that whosoever applieth his wit to worke for an euill end: although he haue neuer so good successe therein, yet he cannot bee called truelie wise or prudent, but crafty and subtile.

The second circumstance is, not onlie that the end of euery action bee good; but also, that the meanes to attaine to that end, be correspondent therto, that is to say, that they be all good and iust, yea, wel and iustly done. To which purpose, Aristotle prescribeth circumstances, of due time, place, and manner, to be considered in euery Prudent action.

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Teaching withall, that whosoever sayeth in any one of the circumstances: is not vertuous, nor (by consequent) prudent, because Vertue & Prudence are so ioyned, that the one cannot possibly be without the other. Macrobius assigning (out of Plato) six parts of Prudence; accounteth circumspection for one, which (he saith) consisteth in consideration of the circumstances of euery action, that the same be most lawful, good, and iust. Whereupon Saint Basile saith. *Quisquis prudentiam recte fecit atus fuerit, &c. Whosoever followeth the rule of Prudence truly; he shall neuer swerue from vertue, nor fall into vice*. The third circumstance to be considered in euery prudent action, is, that whereas there are certaine degrees of goodnes in things, some being good, others better, and one the best of all, (wherto all other things are to be referred, which is called by the Philosophers *Summū bonū*, The chiefe good; And also, *Finis bonorum*, The end of al good things) it is (I say) especially required in Prudence: to make a true estimate of the worth of euery thing, & not only to reiect things absolutely euil, or of euils, to chuse the least (as the Lacedemonians said, he had done, that married a very little wife) but also of good things to chuse the best: preferring those things which are absolutely good, before all other goods whatsoever, and making the chiefe good, the scope & end of al his actions.

Now then, seeing these three circumstances are requisite to true Prudence, to wit; to chuse a good end; to practise good & vertuous means; and to esteem euery good thing in the degree that it deserueth: it is euident, that he who feareth God, and keepeth his Commandements, performes all these three things, not only in euery perticular action, but also throughout the whole course of his life, tending in al things to goodnes and vertue, vsing al iust & vertuous means, and esteeming euery thing according to the true worth thereof. For, he preferreth the Soule before the body; eternal things before temporall; the goods of the body, before the goods of Fortune; and the goods of the mind before them both. Finally, he referreth and directeth all his actions, and the whole course of his life, to the seruice and glory of God, whom both diuines and Phi-

Vertue and Prudence so ioyned, that they cannot be seperated.

Macrobius in Somno Scip. Lib. 1.

Basil. in princip. Prouerb.

Cicero de finibus. Lib. 1. 2. 3. 4. & 5. Et Offic. Lib. 3.

Prudence preferreth the greater good before the lesse; and the chiefe good before all other.

Plutarch. de amore Fratris. Arist. Ethic. Lib. 6. Thom. Aquin. 2. 2. q. 27. ar. 2.

How he that feareth God, practiseth the three chiefe pointes of Prudence.

Apoc. 1. 8.
Arist. Metaph.
Lib. 1.
Trismegist. in-
peman. Cap. 3.

A difficulty
propofed con-
cerning other
parts of Pru-
dence.
Arist. Ethic. lib.
8. Cap 9, et 10.

The fatisfac-
tion of the diffi-
culty propo-
fed.

No man is fo
wife, that he
alwayes kno-
eth what is
conuenient
for himfelfe.

The light of
Gods grace
necessary for
the perfection
of Prudence.

Ecclef. 11, 16.

Prouer. 4, 18,
19.
The wifef
worldly men
are as it were
blind-fold.

Pfalme. 19, 8.

lofophers do teach; *To bee the beginning and end of all Creatures*, as partly hath bin before declared.

But here (perhaps) some will say, that there are necessarily required to Prudence, certain other parts, which I haue not yet mentioned: As sagacity of wit, a good memory, and a sound iudgment, whereby wise men do prudently consider, iudge, counsell, ordaine, and execute, and that these partes (as *Aristotle* teacheth) proceede partly of a naturall hability, and partly of long experience. In which respect, he most approoueth the iudgement and counsel of old men. Whereupon it followeth, that it sufficeth not to Prudence, to feare God, and keepe his Commaundements: except a Man haue (withall) the other partes aboue mentioned, which many good & holy men want, either in respect of som naturall defect of Wit, Memory, and Iudgement, or for lacke of experience.

For the better satisfaction hereof, one thing is to be considered, to wit, the naturall imbecility of mans wit, which is such in the wisest worldly man that liueth; that he knoweth not what is conuenient for himselfe, and much lesse for others, whereby he seeketh (many times) that which turneth to his owne ruine. Therefore, the most necessary part, for consummation & perfection of humain Prudence, is some supernaturall and diuine light, to illuminate the vnderstanding of men, to moue and encline their wils to make choice of that, which may be most conuenient for the and others. Without which light, the wisest worldly men (I mean such as haue most excellent talents and parts of nature, and are wicked withall) are but like to blinde men, and go (as it were) groping in the dark. Wherefore the Preacher saith, *Error and darknesst are appointed for Sinners*: that is to say, ignorance and blindnesse are connaturall to wicked men. And againe. *The way of the wicked is as the darknesse, and they know not where they shal fal.* Whereas on the contrary side, *The way of the righteous* (that is to say, of those that feare God, and keep his commaundments) *shineth as the light, that shineth more and more vnto the perfit day.* And for this cause, the Psalmist saith of the Law of God; *That it is cleare and bright, and shineth light to the eies.* That is to say, the

light of grace, whereby the naturall good abilities of Gods Seruants are encreased and perfit: doth also prosper their actions, so farre forth, as God Almighty thinketh it necessary for their good, his glory, and the execution of his will. Whereunto I adde, that also the defects of nature may be, and many times are, supplied by the light of Grace; in such sort, that Gods Seruants do many times, attaine to performe all the parts of Prudence, though they haue no naturall ability for the same, such being the effectes of Grace, that it perfecteth humane nature: which although it aspire and tend to perfection, yet it cannot possibly attaine thereto, without some supernaturall help. And for the better prooffe of the matter in hand, I will lay downe some examples of Gods seruants, who, notwithstanding either their naturall defects & imperfections, or their want of experience: haue (by the conduct of Gods grace) most wisely behaued themselues, in most important matters. Who seemed more vnfit to vnder- take the iudgement of great causes, then *Daniel*, whiles he was a child of 12. yeares old (as *Theodore* testifieth) or, as other ancient Fathers affirm, not much older, and therefore no lesse vnripe in experience, then in yeares? And yet neuerthelesse, being assisted by the spirit of God, he confounded the adulterous Iudges in the cause of *Susanna*, which he most prudently determined. Besides, the Scripture witnesseth, that God gaue such profound knowledge and wisdom, not only to him, but also to *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*, while they were all Children: that they far surpassed all the wise and learned *Chaldeans*.

And was there euer any glorious enterprise, more wisely continued, more couragiously attempted, or more heroically performed, then the ouerthrow of *Holofernes*: slaine by a holy Woman, no lesse timerous of nature, then weake of iudgement, and void of experience, through the infirmity of her Sexe?

Again, what sufficiency was there in *Moyse*, for the performance of so great a charge, as Almighty God laid on him; first, in his ambassage to *Pharao*, and afterward in the government and conduct of his people, thorow so manie kind of daungers and difficulties? This

The good abilities of nature are encreased and perfected by Grace.

The defects of Nature may be, and often are supplied by the light of grace.

Examples of diuers, in who grace supplied naturall defects.

Daniel being but a Child of twelue yeares olde, iudged the cause of *Susanna*. Dan. 13. *Theod.* in Cap. 1. *Ezech.* *Ignat. Mari.* in *Epist. ad Magnes.* *Sulpicius Scuerus* in Lib. 2. *Sacre Histor.* *August.* in Ser. 242. Dan. Cap. 1. *Ananias, Misael* and *Azarias*.

Judith heroically and wisely perfourmed a glorious enterprise *Judith*. Cap. 7, 8, 9, &c.

Exod. 3, 10, 11. *Moes* acknowledged his insufficiency for the conduct of Gods people.

was

was acknowledged by *Moyſes* himſelfe, who confeſſeth his owne inſufficiencie and weaknes, ſaying to Almighty God; *Quis ſum ego; &c. Who am I a Lord? That is to ſay, what is there in mee? That I ſhould goe unto Pharaoh, and that I ſhould conduct the Children of Iſraell out of Egypt?* And againe afterwarde; being vtterly discouraged, with the conſideration of his want of eloqueſſe and utterance, & of his other infirmities; he deſired to be excuſed, ſaying. *Obſecro Domine, mitte quę miſſurus es; I beſeech thee, o Lord, ſend eſſe whom it pleaſe thee.* Whereupon God did not only promiſe him his owne continuall aſſiſtance: but alſo appointed *Aaron* to help him, and to ſpeak for him to the people in all occaſions, promiſing withall, to be the mouths of them both. Beſides, *Jethro*, Father in Law to *Moyſes*; did alſo afterwarde (by Gods great providence) teach him a notable point of pollicy, for government of the people. Wherein may be noted by the way, how ſweetely Almighty God guideth his Seruants concurring with them, and moouing them ſometimes immediatly by ſecret inſpiration, and ſometimes by the help and meanes of others. Whereby, *Moyſes* being (as it ſeemeth) altogether vnſkillfull, and vnexpert in matters of State: did (neuertheleſſe) many years moſt prudently and happily gouern the people of God, as well in warlike, as in other ciuill affaires.

In like manner, if we conſider either the yeares of the education of *Dauid*, when (being very young) he was called from the Sheep-coat to the Court, and ſhortly after annointed King. If we weigh withall, his wiſe, victorious and glorious gouernment for forty yeares together: we muſt needs confeſſe, that the ſame proceeded of Gods aſſiſtance, and not of his own ſufficiencie, whereof Almighty God admoniſhed him by *Nathan* the Prophet, ſaying. *Ego tuiſte, &c. I tooke thee from the Paſtures, when thou followeſt thy flockes, and made thee King of my people of Iſrael. And I was with thee, and aſſiſted thee in all things whereſoeuer thou didſt go. I kild all thine enemies before thy face, and haue magnified thy Name among the great ones of the earth.* Thus ſpake the Prophet *Nathan* in the perſon of Almighty God: and this *Dauid* himſelfe, (who beſt knew himſelfe, & the fauors

which God had done him) gratefully acknowledged: calling almighty God *His Protector, his ſtay, his refuge, his buckler or ſhield, his ſtrength, his hope, his glory*; and humbly beſeeching him in all his occaſions; *to illuminate him, to protect. and defend him, to direct his courſe, & to guide his ſteps.* To omit diuers other examples for breuities ſake, ſeeing by theſe it ſufficiently appeareth, how true that is which the *Plalmiſt* ſaith *Lex Domini ſapientiam præſtat paruulis, The Law of GOD giueth wiſedome to Children.* That is to ſay, to ſimple and ignorant men, & the reaſon is, for that the Law of God containeth the precepts of all true Wiſedome and Prudence: teaching vs, what is our duty to God, to our Neighbour, to our Superiors, Inferiors, & equals: how to command, how to obey; to what end to direct our intents and our actions; how to liue, how to die; and laſtly, how to arriue (after the ſtorms and tempeſts of this life) at the ſecure port of eternall felicity, whereto true wiſedome directeth and addreſſeth her whole courſe.

And this is not only to be vnderſtood of the written Law of God, that is to ſay, the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament (in the which as *Saint Chryſoſtome* ſaith, *Non eſt ſilaba vel apiculus, &c. There is not a ſillable, nor ſo much as a tittle, wherein there is not hidden ſome great treaſure*) but much more it is to be vnderſtood, of the Law of God vnwritten, inſufed into the hearts of Gods Seruants. Whereof Almighty God ſaid by the Prophet: *Dabo legē meam, &c. I will giue them my law in their bowels, and I will write it in their hearts.* Which vnwritten Law, is (as *S. Auguſtine* ſaith) nothing elſe, but *Ipsa præſentia Spiritus Sancti, &c. The very preſence of the Holy Ghoſt, &c. by whom Charity is ſpread and printed in our hearts, which charity is the conſummation of the Law, and end of the Commaundement.*

Thus ſaith *S. Auguſtine* of the inſufed law of God, which doth not only teach men true wiſedome (as doth the written Law) but doth alſo giue it them: making them the temples of God, and habitacles of the Holy Ghoſt. By whoſe Grace, the good Talents of many Seruants of God are encreaſed and perfected, their defects ſupplied, their infirmities cured, the eies of their vnderſtanding illuminated, and their iudgements

Pſalme. 17, c. 143.

Pſalme. 17, 16, 15, 24, 133.

Pſalme. 10, 3. How the law of God giueth wiſedome.

The written law of God full of all wiſedome. *Chryſoſt. in Pſal. 14.*

The inſufed law of God. *Ierem. 13, 12.*

Auguſt. in Lib. de ſpir. et litera. Cap. 21.

The inſufed Law both teacheth and giueth true wiſedome.

Gloſſa interlin.
How God ſupplied the defects of *Moyſes*.

Exod. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. &c.

God concur-
reth with his ſeruants ſome times immediatly, and ſometimes by meanes of others.

1. Sam. 16, 11, 22.

2. Sam. 2, 4. *Dauid* directed and guided in all his Gouernment by Almighty God.

2. Sam. 7, 8, 9.

Dauid gratefully acknowledged Gods aſſiſtance.

The parts of true Prudence.

directed. By meanes whereof, they are replenished with heavenly Wisedome, and enabled to performe all the parts of true Prudence, to wit; to deliberate maturely; to iudge soundly; to counsel securely; to ordaine and commaund exactly, and execute effectually. And so they work in al things, no lesse prudently then happily, being mooued and led by the onely Author of wisedome and happinesse: in whose hand are the harts of all men, and vpon whose wil, dependeth the successe of all actions whatsoever.

The first conclusion.

Eccles. 1. 15. 20.

The feare of God is the beginning & perfection of Wisedome, and why,

All humane wisedome is of it selfe lame and vnperfect.

The wisest worldly man is a foole in that which most imports him.

How the seruants of God are wise.

Why the simplest seruant of God is wiser then the wisest wicked man.

Therefore I will inferre heereupon certaine conclusions. The first, that, as the Preacher saith, the feare of God is not onely *Initium & radix*; *The beginning and roote*; but also *Plenitudo sapientia*; *The consummation and perfection of Wisedome*. For those that sincerely feare God, haue (consequently) the light and helpe of his grace, whereby they may, and many times do arriue to the perfection of Wisedome and Prudence: whereas otherwise, there is no possibilitie of attaining thereto, all humane wisedome being (of it selfe) lame and imperfect, vncertaine, and subiect to infinite errors. So that, wicked men, though they haue neuer so good partes of wit and iudgement naturally, and may by the force and meanes thereof, doe many things prudently and wisely: yet, forasmuch as they alwaies play the Fooles notably, in that which importeth them most, to wit; in thinges pertaining to their eternall good or euill, and do also erre very blindly and absurdly (many times) in temporall affaires; they neuer haue any perfection of wisedome, nor can be counted truly wise.

Whereas on the other side, the Seruants of God, who haue alwayes good naturall parts, and the light and helpe of grace withall, do not onely worke most prudently alwaies, in matters that concerne their eternall good or euill: but also deale in all things whatsoever, with farre more light, certaintie and securitie, then wicked Men, of like good partes and Talents naturall. And although the Seruants of God haue (sometimes) some naturall defects of wit and iudgement; yet forasmuch, as such also doe alwayes discharge the partes of true Prudence, in matters which import the

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most, and may haue also, and many times haue (with the help of grace) such a supplement of their naturall imperfections, that all of them may, and many of them doe, performe the Office of prudent and Wise men in all affaires, which wicked men neither do, nor possibly can doe: I will therefore conclude, that the perfection of humane Wisedome, consisteth in Gods grace, and that the very simplest Seruant of God, may more truly be accounted Wise, then the wisest, I meane the subtlest and craftiest wicked Man whatsoever.

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b This the Royall Prophet acknowledged in himselfe, comparing the Wisedome and Prudence which God had giuen him, by the obseruation of his commandements; with the Wisedome and Prudence of his Enemies, and of the wisest Worldlings, saying. *Super inimicos meos, &c. Thou hast made me (O Lord) wiser then mine enemies, through thy Commandement or Law, and I haue understood more, then all they which taught me. I am wiser then the aged, because I haue sought to keepe thy Commandements.*

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The second Conclusion is, that (as the Booke of Ecclesiasticus signifieth.) *Non est sapientia nequitia discipina, & non est cogitatus peccatorum prudentia. The knowledge of wickednesse is not wisedome, neither is there prudence whereas the counsell of Sinners is.* For, seeing true Wisedome consisteth in the feare of God, & in the obseruation of his Commandements: nothing that is offensive to God, or contrary to his Law, can stand with true Wisedome. And againe, seeing Prudence and Morall Vertue are so conioyned, that they cannot be separated; yea, and that not onely the end of euery prudent action, but also the meanes must necessarily bee good and vertuous: it must needs follow, that whatsoever is vicious, impious, or wicked, is excluded from true Prudence. In which respect, Prudence is called in the

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Scriptures, *Scientia Sanctorum*. And therefore Salomon saith. *Principium sapientia timor Domini, & scientia sanctorum prudentia. The feare of God is the beginning of Wisedome, and the knowledge of holy things is Prudence* Hereupon also follow two other Conclusions, concerning policy. The one that no true pollicy can

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admit

The perfection of humane wisedome consisteth in Gods grace.

Dauids acknowledgement in himselfe.

Psalme. 119. 2. 3.

The second conclusion.

Eccles. 19. 22. Nothing that is offensive to God, can stand with true wisedome or Prudence.

Prouer. 9. 10. Prudence called in Scripture the knowledge of holy things.

The third Conclusion.

No true Policy admitteth any impiety.

Policy a part of Prudence. Prudence divided into three parts. Personal Prudence. Oeconomical Prudence. Politicall Prudence.

Pollicie cannot disagree from Prudence.

The fourth Conclusion.

All humane pollicie is vnperfect and defectuous, without the light of grace.

The imprudence of those that presume to meddle in matters of State, without any regard of Gods assistance.

admit any impiety, wickednesse, or offence of God. The other, that all policy humaine (without the light and help of Gods grace) is vncertaine and defectuous. And for the better vnderstanding heereof, it is to bee considered, that as Prudence is a part of wisedome: so Policy is a part of Prudence, and that Prudence also is diuided into three partes. The first, Personall; the second, Oeconomical; and the third, Politicall. Personall Prudence, consisteth in the speculation and practise of such things, as belong onely to perticuler men. Oeconomical prudence, respecteth all things belonging to houtholde affayres. And Politicall prudence is that, which considereth matters appertaining vnto commonwealth, and this kind of Prudence is properly called Policy.

Therefore, as Prudence (being a branch of Wisedome) cannot disagree from the Nature thereof, no more then the braunch from the Nature of the tree; so also, Pollicie being a part of Prudence, must needs bee conforme and agreeable together; in which respect, euerie Politicall Art must needs bee prudent, and euerie prudent act (concerning Commonwealth) must needs bee Politicall. Whereuppon it followeth, that seeing true Prudence excludeth all wickednesse and impiety, true Pollicie also dooth exclude the same.

And againe, seeing true Wisedome and Prudence are the especiall guiftes of God (as I haue shewed) and that without the light and helpe of Gods grace, all humaine wisedome is full of imperfection, obscurity, vncertainty, and error, it followeth also by the like consequence, that the like iudgement is to be giuen of all humaine policy, to wit: that it is (of it selfe) imperfect, vncertaine, obscure, and erroneous; and to be perfected, assured, rectified, and guided by the light of grace, which is the point that I haue especially laboured to proue throughout this whole discourse.

Therefore, to conclude this Chapter, I cannot but lament and wonder at the imprudence of two sorts of men. The one is of those, who make no doubt to deale in matters of Policy & State, without any care or regard of Gods help and assistance; yea, and with offence of god. Whereby they expose not only the mat-

ters (which they mannage) to dangerous errors, yea, and to all euill successe: but also, the Princes whom they Councell, and the Common-wealthes where they gouerne, to Gods indignation, and consequently to vtter ruine, as hath bene formerly proued.

The other sort of impudent men (in my fancy) are those, who are so far transported, eyther with conceit of their own wit and sufficiency, or with a desire to deale in great matters, that they aspire to nothing more, then to meddle in matters of State, yea, and boldly embarke themselves in the very greatest that doe occurre, before they haue any experience or practise thereof in the world, or haue so much as reflected vpon the Naturall imbecility of mans wit; and the weaknesse of humaine pollicie, or of the insuperable difficulties and dangers incident to matters of State, which are such, as do many times, ouerthrow & disgrace the most wise and expertest Negotiators.

And therefore it happeneth verie often to those, who so greedily and vnadvisedly seeke such employments, as it doth to man, that (in faire weather) putteth himselfe to Sea, in a little Boate or Frigot for his recreation; and vpon the sudden there ariseth a storme which carrieth him into the miane Sea, and so tosseth him too and fro: that he not onelie looseth all the pleasure which he expected, but also escapeth verie hardlye with life. And therefore, with many a sighe and heauy grone, he looketh back to the Land from whence he came; but neuertheles is forced to go whither the winds and tempest carry him, and perhaps perisheth in the ende, by violence of the storme. Euen so I say, it fareth manie times, with those that embarke themselves vnadvisedly in matters of State: for, within a while, they find themselves so perplexed, that they desire to returne to their former repose and quietnes. But yet they are forced to goe, whither the course, streame and current of theyr affaires doth carry them; yea, and sometimes perish amidst the manifolde dangers, which commonly doe accompany State-matters, the practise whereof may well be compared to the practise of Physicke. For, although some Physitions exercise their Science, with more iudgement

The imprudence of those that presume to meddle in the greatest matters of State, without experience.

What happeneth to those which vnadvisedly seeke great employments.

Expectation of pleasure endeth often times in paine

The danger of dealing in matters of State.

The practise of matters of State like the practise of Physicke.

Young Statists marre many matters before they make one.

He is the wisest that erreth the least, but he the happiest, that meeleth least in matters of State.

Dangerous for very yong men, to deale in matters of State.

Plutarch in his Treatise, whether an old man should deale in matters of State.

ment and better successe then others: yet none is so skilfull and fortunate, that he can alwayes warrant the cure of his patient; and young beginners many times kill three, before they saue one. Euen so, young Statists, how expert soeuer they be, can neuer warrant the good successe of their plots and designments: but (for the most part) at the first do marre many matters, before they make one. Inso-much, that I account him no lesse happy then wise, who can be the wiser not only by other mens errors, but also by his owne. And, as I hold him for the Wisest man, which erreth the least: so I take him for the happiest & best at ease, who meddleth the least, or not at all in matters of State, seeing there was neuer any that dealt in many, but he erred in some. And sometimes we see, that the least error worketh both his ouerthrowe who committed it: and also, the ruine of whole Kingdomes and Commonweals. Wherefore, I conclude with the Spanish Prouerbe, *Aquel Rey, que nunca vio Rey, Hee is a King that neuer sawe King.* That is to say, hee is a happy man, who neuer had to deale with the affayres of Princes, or State-matters.

I speake not this, to dehort or diswade all men from the dealing with matters of State, which is a thing so necessary for the seruice of God and Princes, and for the good of a Commonwealth, that it is both honourable, yea, and highly deseruing, when it is done with circumstance conuenient and requisit thereto. But my meaning is to signifye with what great consideration and circumspection all men ought to vndertake such Negotiations especially young men, who haue not had any experience or practise thereof, and therefore cannot haue the mature and ripe iudgement, which is necessary thereto. For which cause, the Athenians did ordaine, that no man (vnder fifty yeares of age) should bee called to giue aduise in the affaires of their Commonwealth. And although a man may be (as verie manie are no doubt) sooner ripe and able, to mannage anie matter whatsoeuer: yet reason and experience teach, that the yonger a man is, and the lesse practise he hath, the more he is like to erre. Wherefore I craue thy patience (gentle Reader) while I set downe heere a few general Rules for yong beginners,

as well for their enstruction: as also, for the discouery of the difficulties, which occurre in the gouernement of a Commonwealth.

CHAP. V.

Certaine general Rules or Aduises, no lesse pious then Politicall, for the instruction of such as desire to manage matters of State, and haue no experience thereof, to the end, that they may deal therein with lesse danger and diffculty.



First, hee that meaneth to apply himselfe to matters of State, must see that his intention be clear & pure, that is to say: that hee bee not moued thereto by vainglory, ambition, couetousnesse, or any vicious or vnlawfull desire, because they are ouerweake foundations to vpholde waightie affayres, being accompanied not onelie with the offence of God; but also, with passion; whereby mans iudgement is blinded, and many times drawn to error. And therefore, the chiefe and principall intention of a Statist ought to bee, the seruice of God and his Prince, and the publicke good of his Country, whereto euery man ought principally to direct & leuell all his actions, which otherwise, cannot be truly vertuous and wise, nor yet haue the assistance and blessing of Almighty God, which for the good successe of all mens affaires, is most exquisite. For, as the Royall Prophet sayeth: *Nisi Dominus edificauerit domum in vanum laborauerunt qui edificant eam. Except the Lord do build the house, they labor in vaine which build the same.*

This foundation being laide, any Negotiation, be it neuer so waighty and important, may be built thereon, for foure reasons. First, for that a mans reason and iudgement being free from passion and selfe loue, he shall the more clearlie and soundly both deliberate and worke in all occasions. Secondly, for that it is most likely, that Almighty God (seeing his good

A pure and good intention most necessary for a Statist.

What the intention of a Statist ought to be.

Psalm. 127, 1.

The commodities of a good intention in vnder-taking matters of State. Foure especiall Reasons.

good and holy intention) will concur & co-operate with him in all his Negotiations.

Thirdly, though it would not please Almighty God (for his secret iudgements) to blesse and prosper his actions: yet vndoubtedly, his good intentions shall not faile of their due recompence and reward.

Lastly, for that in case hee fall into the great difficulties and dangers, which are incident vnto dealing in matters of State, yet he shall haue the comfort and consolation of a good and cleare Conscience, which as the Poet could say, is *Murus ahaneus*, *A Brazen Wall*, and the most assured Anchor in all the stormes and tempests of this life. *Quæ etiam obruta delectat*, saith *Seneca*, which euen when it is oppressed or ouerwhelmed, dooth then delight. Thus much concerning the first rule.

Secondly, it shall be conuenient for a young Statist, well to weigh and foresee the difficulties and daungers, which he may (by all likelyhood) incur by dealing in matters of State, either thorough the nature and condition of the matters which he is to handle, or thorough the treachery and perfidiousnesse of those, with whom he is to deale; or thorough the malice and emulations (either publicke or priuate) which in Courts neuer want; or thorough the ieaalousy of Princes, who (as *Comineus* well noteth) *Do easily suspect and distrust their best Seruants, in matters concerning their State*. Or lastly, thorow the vncertaintie of the successe of businesse, which is in no mans hand to warrant, as hath bin sufficiently proued. By all which meanes, we see (many times) most important matters miscarry, to the great grief, disgrace, yea and vtter ouerthrow of the Negotiators, especially if they haue not foreseen the same. Whereas, by consideration and foresight, they might perhaps haue prevented inconuenience; or, at the least, haue bin better armed, to beare their misfortune with patience.

Therefore, *Plutarch* worthily compareth improuident and vnadvised Negotiators, to one that shoulde fall (before he were aware) into a Coal-pit or Mine; where, though perhaps hee escape with life: yet commonly hee receyueth some hurt, or (at the least) is wonderfully asto-

nished and amazed, not onely with the fall, but also with the obscurity and horror of the place, which, to those that go in of purpose, and with resolution to indure it, is nothing so offensive or noysome.

Thirdly, he ought alwayes to obserue three things. The first, is the imbecility and weaknesse of mans wit: the second, the vncertainty of the successe of all mens actions. The thirde, the prouidence of God, in the disposition of all humane affaires. These three things I say, euerie Statist should haue continuallie before his eyes, to the end, that seeing his own infirmity, and vncertainty of the successe of all his designments, hee may consider his danger, as well of error in his determinations, as of euill hap in his actions; and consequently, haue recourse to the remedies ordained for the same, by the prouidence and mercy of God. According to the aduise which old *Tobias* gaue to his son, for the direction of his whole course of life, to whom (amongst manie other notable precepts) hee gaue this. *Aske Counsel alwayes of the wise, and despyse not any counsel that is profitable. Blesse thy Lord God alwayes, & desire of him that thy wayes may bee made strait, and that all thy purposes & counsels may prosper*. Thus said *Tobias*, or rather the Holy-Ghost by his mouth, aduising notably two things, necessary to be practised of all men, for the remedy of their naturall imbecilitie, to wit; to aske counsell of wise men, and to craue the assistance of God. Because we are neither so absolute of our selues, but that we neede (in all thinges) Gods helpe and assistance; neither yet so gouerned and guided by Almighty God, that we ought to contemne the helpe of man, such being the course of his diuine prouidence in humane affaires, that hee doth his will not only in men, but also by them, and with their co-operations. In which respect, *Saint Paul* did not stick to call himselfe, and the other Apostles, *Adiutores Dei, The helpers of God*, in the conuersion of the Gentiles.

Therefore, as it were great folly, pride, and presumption in man, so to trust in himselfe, or in humane Wisedome or power, as to neglect the prouidence and assistance of God: so wer it on the other side, extreame negligence, yea, and a tempting of God, so to relie vpon him,

Three things to be considered of Statists.

The counsell of *Tobias* to his Sonne. 1. *ob. 4. 18. 19.*

Two things to be practised of all Statists.

1. *Cor. 4. 9.*

Extreame folly in man, to trust wholly in humane wisedome & power. A tempting of God, to contenten in humane helpe and counsell.

Horat. in Lib. 1. Epist. ad Mæcenat.
A cleare conscience is a Brazen wall. *Seneca. in lib. 4. de Benefic. Cap. 21.*

The difficulties and dangers to be considered in matters of State.

Phil. Com. Cron. Lodouic. 11. Cap. 26.

The benefit of fore-sight and prouidence in Statists.

Plutarch in his Treatise of instruction for Statists.

as to contemne all humaine helpe and councell. Which we may learne by the example of *Moyſes*, who though he was enſtricted, inſpired, and conducted by almighty God himſelfe: yet refuſed not the good councell of *Iethro*, for the manner of his Gouvernement, which almighty God alſo allowed in him.

1. Reg. 20.
2. Reg. 19, et 16.
1. Reg. 21, 22.
22.

On the other ſide alſo, King *David*, although hee tooke the councell of his Friends, Councillers, and Seruants, as of *Jonathan*, *Achitophel*, *Ioab*, and others; and vſed alſo his owne prudence, as well in the deliberations, as in the execution of his affaires: yet hee neuer omitted to conſult with almighty God by his Prophets and Priests, when he might conueniently do it, yea, and as I haue ſignified elſewhere, continually craued the aſſiſtance, illumination, and direction of almighty God in all his actions whatſo- euer.

Concurrence of humane diligence with diuine helpe neceſſarie.
Iudg. 7, 18, 20.

And this concurrence of Diuine help with humane diligence, is notable expreſſed in the Scriptures, where it is ſignified, that *Gedeon* gaue order vnto his Soldiers, to crie in their conſlict with the *Madianites*, *Domino & Gedeoni*, For the Lord, and for Gedeon. And *Gladius Domini*, & *Gedeonis*, The ſword of God & of Gedeon. And againe, in the relation of the great victorie, which *Aſa* K. of *Iuda* had againſt the *Ethyopians*, the Scripture ſaith: *Cadente Domino contriti ſunt, et exercitus illius proliante*, They were utterly ouerthrowne, the Lord God ſmiting them, and the Army of *Aſa* fighting, which is as much to ſay, as man doing his endeour, and God giuing the ſucceſſe. This alſo the very Paynims knew, and obſerued ſo well, that *Plutarch* noteth it ſeriouſlie, in the battaile betwixt *Perſeus* King of *Macedon*, and *Paulus Æmilius* the Romaine.

Paralip. 14, 12, 13.

Plutarch in vit. Paul. Æmil.

Prefumption is no way permitted by God.

For, whereas *Perſeus* when hee ſhould haue fought, withdrew himſelfe from the ſielde, vnder colour of Sacrificing to *Hercules*, he ſaith; That God doth not fauour ſuch ydle fellowes, as preſume on his helpe, and wil do nothing themſelues. For God (ſaith hee) hath ſo ordained, that he which wil hit the marke, muſt ſhoote, & hee which wil winne the Goale, muſt run, and hee which wil haue the victorie, muſt fight. And therefore, God fauoured and helped *Paulus Æmilius*, who craued force & victory with his weapons in his hands:

Gods aſſiſtance bleſſing mans endeauour.

A Dios rogando (as the *Spaniſh* Prouerbe ſaith) *y con la maça dando*, Praying to God, and laying on load with his Club.

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But to ſay ſomewhat heere perticulerlie of an eſpeciall meanes to winne the helpe and aſſiſtance of GOD, nothing behooueth a Statist more, then daylye to re-commend his actions vnto his Diuine Maieſty, by feruent and deuoute Prayer, the force and benefit whereof, is vnſpeakeable, no leſſe in all kind of temporall matters, then in ſpirituall. For the which, wee haue not onely our Sauiours Doctrines and warrant: but alſo, infinite examples of holie and wiſe men, both in Diuine and humane Hiſtories. While *Joſuah* fought with *Amalek*, *Moyſes* prayed vppon the Moutaine, and obtained of God the Victory. The two *Annaes* beeing barren, were by Prayer made Mothers; the one of the Prophet *Samuel*, and the other, of the Virgine *Mary*.

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Salomon, by Prayer obtained Wiſdome. King *Hezekias* recovered health, and had victorie againſt the *Aſſyrians*. The three Children alſo (by praier) were deliuered from fire. And to ſpeake of later times, *Theodoſius* the Emperour, ſirnamed the Great (as *Saint Auguſtine* witneſſeth) preuailed againſt the Tyrant *Eugenius*, more by Praier, then by force. And the like alſo is teſtified by Graue Writers, as of *Narſes* the Eunuch, Lieutenant to *Iuſtinus* the Emperour, whoſe great victories were attributed vnto his zealous prayers, and manly endeouours exerciſed in armes.

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In like manner, the famous victories which *Heraclius* the Emperour gaue vnto *Cofroes*, King of *Perſia* (of whom hee recovered *Ieruſalem* and all the Eaſt parts) are aſcribed by the beſt historiographers that write thereof, to the earneſt Deuotions and Prayers which hee dailie vſed; and commaunded alſo to be performed, for his good ſucceſſe in that warre. We read in our *Engliſh* Hiſtories, that King *Ethelred*, c'der Brother to the famous *Alfred* or *Alured*, founder of the Vniuerſity of *Oxford*, beeing encamped againſt the *Danes*, and aduertified by his Captaines (when he was going to heare Diuine Seruice, and to perſourme his duty to God, as dayly hee was accuſtomed to doo) that his Brother *Alfred*, with the reſidue of his Captaines, had ioyned

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The benefit and neceſſity of prayer, for the good ſucceſſe of matters of State.

Math. 6, & 7.
Marke. 11.
Luke. 11.
Exod. 17. 12.
1 Sam. 1. 12.
Luke. 1, 13.
Examples of the great force of deuoute prayer
Ioan. Damasc. in Orat. de nat. B. virg.
Aug. in Lib. 5. de Ciuit. Dei. Cap. 26.
Procop. de bel. Goth. Euagrius in lib. 4. cap. 23.

Paul. Diacon. Lib. 18.
Cedren. Theophan.
Nauelex. Baron. Anno. 521. 622. 623.
Guiliel. Malmesb. de geſt. reg. Angl. Lib. 2. Cap. 3.
Roger. de Hoveden.
Annal. par. 1. An. 871.
Baron. An. condem.

ioyned battail with the enemy, and were in great daunger to be ouerthrowne: he had no sooner ended his Diuine Orisons, but he came himselfe in person, and finding his Soldiers ready for flight, recalled them backe to the battel, thrusting himselfe into the middest thereof. *Cum virtute* (saith the Historie) *Dei miraculo*: By whose valour, and the myraculous helpe of God, the *Danes* were put to flight, and their King slaine, with diuers of their Nobility, and manie thousands of the Soldiers.

To this purpose also may serue, those examples of the famous victories of *Edward the third*, King of *England*, against the *French*, at *Cressie* in *Piccardie*, and of the *Christians* against the *Turkes*, at *Lepanto* in our dayes; as also, of manie other admirable victories which I refer the Reader vnto. And will end concerning Prayer, with this sentence of *Saint Chrysostome*. *Vis orationis* (saith he) *Vim magnis extinguit*, &c. The power of praier hath extinguished the force of fire, shut vp the mouthes of Lyons, giuen victories in warre, appeased stormes and tempests, expelled Devils, opened the gates of Heauen, broken the bands of death, cured diseases, reconciled enemies, deliuered Citties from Earth-quakes, and defended them as well from the punishments of God, as from the Treasons and attempts of men. Finallie, it hath overcome all sorts of euils. Thus saith *Saint Chrysostome*, of the wonderfull efficacy of prayer, and thus much concerning Prayer and Diuine helpe.

Now, to speake a word or two more, concerning humane counsell, the Holyghost giueth a notable aduice. saying: *Fili sine consilio nihil facias, & post factum non penitebis*. My Son, do nothing without aduice and counsell, so shall it not repent thee after the deed. And againe, *Qui agunt omnia cum consilio, reguntur sapientia*. They which do all things with Counsell, are governed with wisdom. And this point I hold to be absolutely necessarie, not onely for young men, or others of small experience: but also for the eldest and most expert. For, *Nemo omnibus horis sapit*, No man is wise at all houres. And as the Prouerbe saith, *Two eyes see more then one*.

Therefore the famous *Scipio Africanus*, did ever consult all his affaires with *Caius Laelius*. And *Cicero* confesseth,

that in his Consulship, hee did nothing without the aduise of the *Philosopher, Publius Regulus*. And for this cause, Princes haue diuers Councellors, to the end, that matters being pondered by diuers, all circumstances may be duly examined and considered. For as *Salomon* saith, *Ubi sunt plures consilium, confiduntur cogitationes*. Plots and designments are confirmed and established, where there are many Councellors. For some find out one inconuenience, and some another, some one remedy, and some another, whereof I shall haue occasion to say more hereafter.

Therefore, I conclude for the present, that a young Statist following the rule and counsell of *Tobias*, that is to say, fixing his heart and hopes vpon Almighty God, adding the continual vse of deuout and feruent Prayer, to humane counsell and diligence; and loyning thereby, *The Wisedome of the Serpent*, with the simplicity of the *Doue*, Piety with Pollicy, giuistes of Grace, with ability of Nature; and finally, the Wisedome of God, with the Prudence of Man, shall deliberate and worke in all occasions, no lesse happily then wisely. And this shall suffice for the third rule.

Fourthly, it importeth greatly, that after mature consultation of any matter of State, and serious re-commendation thereof, to Almighty God, no time of action be fore-slowed with needlesse delayes; after the matter determined. For time may so alter the state of any affaire, be it neuer so well and wiselic resolved: that the opportunity of execution may be vtterly lost, and the businesse it selfe withall. And therefore, the common Prouerbe aduiseeth, *To strike while the Iron is hot*. For the Poet could say, *Nocuit differre paratis*, Delay is alwayes hurtfull, to those who are ready to execute. But especially in matters, wherein there is any competence of enemies, who euer watch diligently to take all opportunities: and do often helpe themselves very greatly, by the negligence and delayes of their aduersaries.

And although this aduise is necessary in all matters of State, yet is most behoouefull and requisite in warlick affairs; wherein we see many times, that speede and diligence is more important, then great force. For speed being commonly accom-

ther an olde man should deale with matters of State.

Prouer. 17, 22. Many Councellors necessary for Princes.

The conclusion concerning the concurrence of deuoute praier and humane counsell. Mat. 10, 16.

Time not to be fore-slowed or lost.

Lucan. in lib. 1. The danger of needlesse delay.

Speedy execution is most necessary in matters of Warre.

Guil. Malra. de hispra.

Chrysost. de nat. Dei. Hom. 5. The testimony of Saint Chrysostome concerning the force of Prayer.

The necessity of humane counsell. Eccles. 32, 20.

Prouer. 15, 21.

Pantarch in his Treatise in vtuled, whe-

The force of sudden feare.	<p>accompanied with sudden terrour and feare : doth open the way to small force, and enable the same to woorke great effects. And therefore <i>Agathocles</i>, one of the Tyrants of <i>Sicily</i>, hauing but a few Soldiers, and exhorting them vnto the speedie and sudden inuasion of <i>Carthage</i>, said: <i>In repentino metu non modicum victoria momentum. Sudden feare will be of no smal moment and importance, for obtaining of the victory.</i> Which was pro- ued to be true by the euent, and is daillie seene by the experience of surprizes, camifadoes, and all other sudden enterprises of warre.</p>	in another.	A Statist ought to measure the matters he vnder-taketh, with his owne ability.
<i>Iust. in lib. 42.</i>	<p>To conclude this aduise, one generall rule is to be held, that to temporize or delay time is neuer good, but in three cases. The first, when matters are not maturely consulted, and well digested: wherein (neuerthelesse) al due diligence is to be vsed, least time and opportunitie of action, bee lost and spent in consulta- tion.</p>	<p>Now then, it is conuenient for euery one, as well to weigh his owne Talents, and how they sort with the businesse in which he is to be employed. As if he be to perswade, whether hee haue the giift of vtterance and eloquence. If he bee to passe Couenants and Conventions of Leagues or Marriages; whether he be a Lawyer. And if he be to treat on mat- ters of warre, whether hee be a Soldier, and so in like cases. For otherwise, hee shall prooue, <i>Asinus ad Liram, An Asse at an Harpe</i>, as the Prouerbe saieth, and not only disgrace himself, and them that sent him: but also, loose his labour and businesse.</p>	Who they are commonly that vnder- take greater matters, then they can per- forme.
In what cases delay is necessary.	<p>The second case is, when there is som iust and important impediment of the execution. The third, is in cases of ex- tremitie, which surpasse a mans power and wisdom to helpe; for then the on- ly remedy is to temporize and win time, which produceth many accidents, that could neuer be foreseen or imagined, and discovereth soueraigne remedies, for the most desperate diseases. And therefore <i>Pericles</i> was wont to say, <i>Time is the wisest Councillor that is.</i> Thus much for the fourth aduise.</p>	<p>They that erre in this point, are those (commonly) which either haue such an inordinate desire to be meddling in great matters, that they care not what they vnder- take, so they be doing; or else haue an extraordinary conceit of their owne wit and sufficiency. And therefore, it shall be good for euery one, to moderate in himselfe, as for the first, the desire of dealing; so for a remedy to the later, it shall be secure for any man in my fancy, not to relie wholly vpon his owne opi- nion, concerning his sufficiency, but partly vpon the iudgement of others, receyuing rather imployment from his Prince, or other superiours, then offer- ing or intruding himselfe thereto, til he haue made some good triall of himselfe. For by that meanes, if the busines speed well, hee shall haue the thanks and honor of it: and if it succede otherwise, hee shall auoyde a verie great part of the blame.</p>	A young Sta- tist should not make himself Iudge of his owne sufficiency.
The first case.	<p>Fiftly, let euery young Statist consi- der, and measure his owne ability, to the end, that he do not vnder- take anie mat- ter about his reach or capacity: for no man (how excellent soeuer he bee) is so perfect, that he excelleth in all things. And therefore the Poets faigned, that the Goddesses themselues had not al giftes alike; but that some excelled in one, and some in another. And the Apostle saith, that God distributeth his gifts vnto men, diuersly. <i>Diuidens singulis prout vult. Di- uiding them to euery one as pleaseth him</i>, to the end we may haue need one of another. And this also, common experi- ence teacheth; for some excell in depth of iudgement; others, in sharpeuesse of wit; others, in eloquence; others in me- mory; others, in Science and learning; and of them, some in one kind, and some</p>	<p>But if he find, that his superiours know him not so well as he doth himselfe, and yet would employ him in matters, wher- in hee hath neither experience nor abili- tie, it shall be lesse shame for him to con- fesse his defect, and either to refuse the Commission, or to craue an associate, furnished with the parts that he wanteth then to accept the charge, and so faile in the performance.</p>	Better for a Statist to ac- knowledge his owne de- fect, then to accept a charge which he cannot performe.
The 2. case.	<p>And of them, some in one kind, and some</p>	<p><i>Moses</i> being commanded by almigh- tie God, to go in Embassage to <i>Pharaoh</i> King of Egypt, for the deliuerie of the Children of <i>Israel</i>, humbly excused him selfe, as vnfit for such a waighty charge, by reason of the impediment of his speech: for the remedy whereof, God gaue</p>	Exod. 3, 11, 12.
The 3. case.			
<i>Plutarch in Pericle.</i> Time the best Councillour that is.			
A mans owne abilitie well to be weighed			
1 Cor. 12, 11.			

Instruction both for Princes and Subjects.

A yong Statist ought to begin his practise with small matters.

A yong Statist like to a Phisition.

A yong Statist compared to the Iuic Tree.

The assistance of wise & sincere friends, most necessary in great employments.

The practise of the Lacedemonians in great employing Ambassadors.
Aristot. in Lib. Polit. 2. Cap. 7.

gaue him an assistant, to wit; his brother *Aaron*, who being verie eloquent, might speake for them both. Whereby, not onely Subjects, which are to be employed, may learne to consider and acknowledge their owne defectes: but Princes also may learne so to employ their Subjects, that one may haue the partes another wanteth, and supply each one the defectes of another.

Sixtly, it shall not be amisse (in mine opinion) for a young beginner to enter into his first practise, with matters of small importance, and to proceede vnto greater by degrees, as his experience and ability shall growe and encrease. Like vnto the wise Phisition, who when hee beginneth to practise, taketh easie cures in hand, and medleth not with inueterat and dangerous diseases, vntill hee hath got both experience and credit. And so woulde I wish a young beginner in matters of State, to flye businesse of great weight and difficulty; and rather to procure at first, some honorable Commission or Embassage of congratulation, or condoling, including some ouerture of an important treaty, rather then to deale in the treatie it selfe, which requireth great practise, Experience, and Wisdom.

And, if hee be employed in any such treaty, I wold wish him to be contented, rather to be a second or an assistant, then chiefe in Commission, and so to growe (for a while) like the Vine or Iuy, by the support of another tree. Or, if his dignity be such, as cannot admit a seconde place; then, to procure (so much as may be) to haue such assistants, as are not onely men of sounde iudgement and Wisdom, but also his sincere friends. Such being commonly the emulation and ambition in Courts, that he may otherwise make account, that his owne associates and Companions, will curiously obserue euery little error of his, and take aduantage thereof for their owne better credits.

To which purpose is to be considered that the *Lacedemonians* vsed to choose such to send on their Embassages, as wereyther publicke, or at least of secret enemies: to the end that one of them might serue as a spie over the others actions. And the like may still be vsed, and is (no doubt) many times. And *Phillip de Co-*

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mines noteth of *Lewes* the eleuenth King of *France*, that he was woont sometimes when hee sent a great Ambassadour, to giue secret Commission (apart) to some meancier man in his company, vsing the other for a shew, and for matters of complement; or perhaps to the end, that he should beare the greatest part of the embassage charges, as commonly greatmen do, rather then for the dispatch of important affaires. And the like of both these examples may well be practised by Princes, when they send great Ambassadors, and especially when he that is chief in commission, is raw & vnexpert. And therefore, it shall be conuenient for such a one, to consider the same, to the end, that hee may the better looke and regard his owne carriage, and procure (as I haue already said before, to haue about him, wise and assured Friends: least otherwise, his owne assistants, may let him commit some grosse and absurd errors; and so handle the matter, that all the Negotiation, shall turne to their owne Honour, by the discouerie of his imbecility.

And this hee may feare, not onely in his associates and fellowes in Commission, but also in his followers and Seruants: among whom, some one of more spirit and talent then the rest, may seeke to make aduantage of his maisters weakness. As chanced to an Ambassador (whom I knew) whose Secretary noting in him some negligence in the dispatch of aduises; when occasion required, pretended commonly his Maisters Letters with his owne. Besides, being employed by his Maister, to procure aduises and intelligences, he concealed the most important matters from him, and wrote them himselfe to some principall Councillours, whose good grace hee gayned so farre thereby, that they procured his aduancement at his home return: whereas, the Ambassadour himselfe, was helde altogether vnwoorthy of further honor and preferment, and liued euer after in disgrace.

Seauenthy, I would aduise a young beginner, not to charge himselfe with many matters at once, as some do, that cannot endure to see any man employed, but themselves. Whereon it followeth, that some one or two busineses succeeding il (as comonly among many

Phillip Com in Cron du Roy Louis, Cap. 26.

The practise of King *Lewes* 11. of *France*, when he implored a great Ambassadour.

The danger of associates in Commission, when they are not sincere friends.

The treachery of seruants to be feared in weighly employments.

Many matters not to be vnder taken at once, by a yong Statist.

A yong Statist like to a man of a weak Stomack.

An aduertisement to the Favourites of Princes.

The danger that the Favourites of Princes doe incurre by hatred of the people.

Polidor. Virgil. in Hist. Angl.

Secrecy in matters of State, most necessary.

do) they receiue more disgrace thereby, then reputation or thanks for all the rest, though they succede neuer so well. Therefore, it is wisdom for anie man (especially for such as be Nouices in affayres of State) to take but few matters in hand, and to dispatch them well. Like to a man that hath but a weake stomach, who is to take heede, that he neuer ouerlay it with quantitie: nor yet to pester it with diuersitie of meates, because one thing will let and hinder the digestion of another.

And this I wish to be considered especially, by such as are the fauourites of Princes, who (manie times) desiring to haue al in their owne hands, do not stick to charge themselues with much more, then they can attend to dispatch in due manner and season, to the exceeding great detriment, as well of perticuler men, as of the State ingenerall. Whereby also, they expose not onely themselues, but their Princes likewise, to such hatred of the Nobilitie and people, that thereon doth follow (manie times) commotions, and rebellions, insomuch, that their Princes are either forced to abandon them to their enemies, or else to perish with them. As to omit forraigne examples, we haue seene by experience in England, in the times of King *Edward* the second, and King *Richard* the second against whom, the Nobilitie and Commons did take Armes, for the hatred they bare to their fauourites, *Pierce Gausson*, the two *Spencers*, *Robert de la Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, and others theyr Adherents: vpon whose persons they discharged their fury, euercising all kind of cruelty on them, except vpon the Earle of *Oxford*, who saued his life by flight into *Holland*, and ended his dayes in banishment. And heereto also may partly be ascribed, the vnfortunate endes of both those Kinges, who were afterwards deposed, and cruelly and Treacherously murdered.

Eightly, nothing is more necessary in handling matters of State, then Secrecy, I meane matters intended and consulted, before they come to execution: for, they are like to a Mine, which hauing any vent, is wholly frustrate, and of no effect. Therefore, *Peter* King of *Arragon*, being demanded of Pope *Martine* the fourth, what hee meant to do

with the great Fleete, wherewith hee afterward recouerd *Sicily* from the *French*, made this aunswere vnto him: *That if he thought his Shirt did know ic, hee would e burne it.*

But, because I am to speake of this point of Secrecie heereafter, I wil heere onely giue a generall rule to be helde and practised by young Statistes: which is, not to communicate anie important matter of State, to any man whatsoever; except he is to be employed, or his counsell to be vsed therein. For, whosoever fayleth in this point, is not fit to handle any matter of importance, nor shall euer haue credit with Princes, who esteeme nothing more in their Seruants, then Secrecy. Insomuch, that a Prince in these dayes (whom for some respects I forbear to name) caused a faithfull seruant of his (whom he also loued dearly) to be killed, for feare he should reueale a secret, which (by chaunce) hee came to know: whereby we may perceiue, howe dangerous a thing it is, to be pertakers of Princes secrets. And therefore, *Philippides* the Comedian, being willed by king *Lysimachus* to aske some fauour of him, beseeched him to doo him what fauour else he pleased, so that he imparted none of his secrets vnto him. And thus much for this point.

Ninthly, a young Statist is to haue especiall care, to auoyde all kinde of vnlawfull employments, as to be an Instrument of any wickednesse for his Princes seruice: for, beside the offence to God, (who will assuredly punish the same sooner or later) he may well thinke, that his Prince also will neuer after trust him, howsoeuer hee bee satisfied with the seruice for the present. For, Princes manie times are contented, to take the benefit of a seruice done by euill meanes, and yet (euer after) holde suspected, and hate the enuious and mallicious nature and disposition of him that did it: for, they make vse of such men, no otherwise then as of poyson, onely to serue theyr turne, though they detest the malignitie of it. And therefore, *Augustus Caesar* was wont to say, *I lone the Treason, but I hate the Traytor.* And allwise Princes hold it for a rule, that where there is no bridle of Conscience, and feare of God, there is no fidelity towards man to be expected.

A generall rule to be held concerning Secrecy.

Princes esteeme nothing more in their seruants then Secrecy.

Dangerous to be pertakers of Princes Secrets.

Plutarch in his Treatise of talking too much.

Vnlawfull employments by Princes to be auoyded.

Plutarch in his Apotheg, of Kings and Captaines.

Princes loue the Treason but hate the Traitor.

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He that is false to God, will not be true to man.

Polidorus Virgil, in Henry. 5.

When Princes are wise and learne to know themselves.

Princes sometimes disauow their commissions after the fact.

Gods Justice vpon euill instruments.

Lustin. in lib. 12.

Cornel. Tacitus. in Lib. 1. Annal.

We read, that *Constantius Caesar*, father vnto the Emperour *Constantine* the Great, hauing commanded, that al such christians as would not adore his Gods, should depart from his seruice: did (neuerthelesse banish all those that denyed their Faith, and retained the others in his seruice and fauour. Whereof hee gaue this reason: *That those who had so little Consciencia as to bee false vnto their GOD, could not be true to him.* And *Henrie* the sifst, King of *England*, presently after his Fathers death, banished from the court all such as had beent Councillours, Instruments, or Companions of his ryots before, perswading himselfe, that they were not to bee trusted about his person. And so it commonly falleth out; when Princes are wise, and enter into due consideration of themselves, and of their consciences.

But such other Princes, as giue themselves ouer vnto detestable Vices and sinnes, and maketh no Conscience of anie thing, do not onely disauowe theyr owne Commissions, after that some Wicked acte is committed by their order: but also vse to picke quarrelles, or to take verie small occasions, wherby to make away the Instruments of their owne Wickednesse, eyther to rid themselves of the suspicion, reproach, or infamy thereof, or for the ieaousie which they haue of the maligne Natures of their Instruments; or for feare they may discover their practises if they liue; or sometimes for some other respects, God so disposing (by his most iust Iudgements) to make them onely serue for the Executors of his Iustice vpon those, who preferred their owne seruice before his.

So did *Alexander* the Great at his fathers Obsequies, command publicke Iustice to be done vpon those, whom hee himselfe had secretly employed for to kill him. So did *Tiberius* the Emperour, disauow his Commission giuen vnto a Soldiour, to kill *Agrippa*, telling him, that hee should aunswere the matter before the Senate: As hee did also put to death *Seianus* his great fauourite, and Instrument of much mischief. And in the like sorte, dealt *Caesar Borgia* with a fauourite of his. And so also haue some in these our dayes, by diuers and sundrie deuises, beene made awaie in many

seuerall Courtes and Countreyes, when they had serued the appetites of some great personages, whome (for iust respects) I will heere forbear to Name. Which may serue for an aduertisement and warning vnto all men, to take heed how they suffer themselves to be imployed by any man, in matters which are vnlawfull and offensive vnto GOD, *Et felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum; Happte is hee, who can take heede by other mens harmes.*

The tenth aduise which I giue vnto a young Statist, is, that if his Prince doo him the honour, to make him of his Councill, to consider well, what is the dutie of a Councillour, to which purpose, I will also set downe some Rules. Wherein neuerthelesse, I meane not to frame an exact Councillour, as *Cicero* did an Orator; and *Xenophon* a Prince; and *Castiglione* a Courtier; neyther yet do I take vpon me, to aduise old Councillours, whose experience must needs surpasse mine. But onely to giue some aduertisements, vnto such as haue not anie great experience or practise in matters of State. And forasmuch, as it requireth some larger discourse, then were fit and conuenient to prosecute in this Chapter, it shall serue for the subiect of the next.

CHAP. VI.

40 Other Generall Rules for a young Statist, aduanced by his Princes fauour to be considered in himselfe; in his prince, and in the matters that are to be consulted. And first, concerning the Councillour himselfe.

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HE poyntes which (in my fancy) are principally to be considered by a young Councillor, though they might be diuided

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Hippy is he that taketh heed by another mans harmes.

Of the dutie of a Councillor, more at large to be handled in the following Chapter.

The points that are to be considered in a yong Councillor, reduced to three heads.

Eight points to be considered in the Councillor himselfe. A Councillor ought to be truly vertuous and Religious. God doth assist and illuminate good men in matters of Councill.

Numb. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, &c.

Vertue giueth reputation to the possessors thereof.

Ambrosius de Officiis lib. 2. cap. 10.

Where vertue and wisdom concurre all good counsell is to be expected.

Ambrosius ibid.

The dignity of vertue is such, that euill men beare respect thereto.

into manie members, yet may be well reduced to three heads. The first, concerning himselfe; the second, concerning his Prince, and the third, touching the matters that are to be consulted. Of all which I will say somewhat, with such perspicuity and breuity that conueniently I may.

As for that which toucheth himselfe, he is to regard chiefly eight points. The first, that he procure by all good means, not onelie to haue the reputation of vertue and religion: but also to be (indeed) truly vertuous and Religious, for two causes. The first, to obtain thereby the assistance of Gods grace, which howe necessarie it is, for the illumination of mans vnderstanding: appeareth in our former Chapter of true Wisedome, Prudence, and Pollicie, to bee the especiall giustes and graces of Almighty GOD, and no otherwaies to bee obtained, but by the obseruation of his commandements.

The other cause, why it behooueth a Councillor to bee truly Religious and Vertuous, is, for that such is the force of Vertue, that it giueth credite to the possessors thereof, and dooth make them more easily to bee beleued: and their counsell the better accepted. And therefore we see, that all men of discretion and iudgement, do demaund Councill rather of those that are reputed wise and vertuous, then of wicked men, who onely haue a reputation of Wisedome. For, as Saint Ambrose sayeth; *Where Wisedome and Vertue are conioyned, Magna erit consiliorum salubritas*, There is all good and wholesome counsell to be had. And all men (saith he) are willing to heare the wise and vertuous man, as well for the admiration of his wisedome, as for the loue of his vertue. In which respect also he saith, that men addresse themselues commonly for Councill, to those who are more vertuous then themselues. For no man (saith he) hath reason to thinke him who is inferiour vnto himselfe in manners, to bee his superiour in Wisedome and counsell.

Furthermore, such is the dignitie and authoritie of Vertue, that euill men beare a reuerend respect thereto, and stand (as it were) in awe of good men. Whereof we haue an example in Herod, who al-

though he held Saint Iohn Baptist in prison, and would not followe his counsell in the matter of his Diuorce: yet, for the reuerence which hee bare vnto his Vertue, hee consulted many other thinges with him, and followed his aduice therein. And, as the Holye Scripture sayth also, *Metuebat eum*, Hee feared him.

And no doubt but wise and Vertuous Princes, much more esteeme and respect the counsell of wise men that are vertuous; then of others; of equall wit and iudgement, that are vicious and wicked; knowing that, as Salomon sayth, *Consilia impiorum fraudulenta*, The Counsell of the wicked are fraudulent. And that hee who hath no care of his Conscience, and dutie towardes God, will haue no lesse care of his dutie towardes men.

The second point, is, that hee also giue satisfaction vnto the worlde of his wisedome, by the good and wise government of his family. For no wise Prince can thinke him a fitte man to Councill him; or to gouerne vnder him, that cannot gouerne himselfe and his owne Family. And therefore, Basilus the Emperour aduised his Sonne, to choose those for his Councillors, who hadde giuen prooffe and experience of theyr Wisedome, in the good conducte and direction of theyr owne priuate affayres.

Whereuppon also, Saint Ambrose sayeth, *An idoneum putabo, qui mihi & consilium, qui non dat sibi? Can I thinke him fit to counsell me, that cannot Councill himselfe?* For, hee that is a Foole in his owne businesse, can neuer bee wise in the businesse of other men. And therefore Saint Paule declaring the dutie of a Byshop, requireth, that hee bee such a one, as gouerneth well his owne family. For, *Si quis (saith he) domini iura praesse nescit, quomodo Ecclesia Dei dirigentiam habebit*. If a man cannot gouerne his owne house, how shal hee gouerne the Church of God.

The third point is, that in all his speeches and Conference with his Prince, hee vse all sincerity, trueth, and playnesse, without Flatterie. For, although the common Prouerbe say; *Obsequium vnicos, Veritas oarum parit*, Flattery gayneth

Marke. 6. 20.

Prouer. 12. 9. The counsell of wicked men is euer more fraudulent.

A Councillor ought to haue great regard to the government of his Family, and priuate affayres.

Ambrosius in Lib. 2. de Officiis. Cap. 112.

No man fit to counsell another, that cannot counsell himselfe. 1 Tim. 3. 2. 5.

A Councillor ought to auoide all flattery Terentius in Andri.

with friends, and Truth hatred: yet, as there is nothing more pernicious to Princes the flattery; so (by consequent) there is nothing more unfit to be vsed of Councillors. Whose office is, and especiall care should bee, to vndeceiue their Prince in all things, wherein he is any way deceiued, and to labour therein so much the more, by how much the lesse other men do it. Seeing one of the greatest infelicities of Princes, is, that all, or most Men flatter and sooth them in all things, and few or none dare deale sincerely or plainly with them. In which respect *Seneca* saith; *Quid omnia possidentibus deest? Ille qui verum dicat. What wants he that hath all? A Man to tell him the truth.* Which therefore the faithfull Councillor should doe, for otherwise, the Prince shall liue in continuall error and ignorance of his owne Estate, and especiallie of his imperfections, yea, and in great perrill of ruine. For, as *Quintus Curtius* saith. *Regum opes, &c. The States of Princes are oftener ouerthrowne by flattery, then by force.*

Neuerthelesse, if the Councillor haue occasion to admonish his Prince, in any error or fault of his: he ought to doe it with great discreation and moderation. Vling (as *Parisatis*, Mother to *Cyrus*, was wont to say) words of *Silke*, and launcing the sore (like a good Chirurgion) with such dexteritie: that hee may cure it, and not exasperate his Prince, and make him lesse capable of his good counsell. Those that offend in this kind, are commonly such, as presume ouer-much, either on their owne wits and power; or on their Princes weakenesse; or on his ouer-great fauour and familiarity; or on the neede that he hath of them: or else perhaps, are of nature seuerer, insolent, and passionate, for such sometimes doe forget themselues, yea, and take a pride in contradicting or admonishing their Princes, with lesse duty and respect, then were conuenient.

Such a one was *Calisthenes*, of whom *Arrianus* Writeth, that he made himselfe odious to *Alexander* the Great: *Tum ob intempestiuam libertatem, tum ob superbam stultitiam: Both for his vnseasonable libertie of speech, as also for his proud follie.*

Such a one also was a Philosopher, that liued in the Court of *Dionysius* the elder, a Tyrant of *Sicilie*. For, whereas the Tyrant (being delighted with his own Poems) was wont to impart them publicquely to certaine Philosophers, which liued in his Court, to haue their opinions: there was one among the rest, who could not flatter, nor endure the vanitie of the Tyrants humour; but told him plainly, that his Verses were nothing worth, and that it was a shame to heare them. Where-with the Tyrant was so offended, that he commanded his Guard to take him presentlie away, and to carry him to the Mines, to worke there among other condemned persons.

Afterward, the same Philosopher being released, & returned to the Court, at the suite of his Friends: it chanced, that the Tyrant caused a certaine Poeme of his owne, to bee read againe in the presence of him, and all the other Philosophers, commaunding them to speake their opinions thereof. All the rest extolled the worke to the Skies; some praying the inuention, and others the vaine and grace of the Verse, euery one striuing who should commend them most: vntill it came to the turne of this Philosopher, who, in stead of giuing his censure, called suddentlie to the Guards of the Tyrant, saying; *Come Maisters, carry me away to the Mines, for I cannot endure this extreame folly.* The Tyrant being (as it chanced) in a good humour, tooke it not ill: but was content to put it off to a iest, and laughed well at it.

But this Philosopher seeking to auoyd *Silla*, fell into *Charibdis*, for, by flying base flattery, he fell into another extremity, to wit, impudent insolency, which is no lesse unfit and absurd for Councillors: who are to imitate the discreet & prudent modesty of *Hephestion*, Councillor to *Alexander* the Great. For, although he alwaies admonished *Alexander* discreetly and freely, as occasion serued: yet he euer did it in such sort, that it seemed rather to be *Alexanders* will and pleasure he should so do; then that hee challenged any such right to himselfe.

The like stile ought a Councillor to vse, in contradicting or admonishing his

Eeee 3 Prince,

Princes that haue all, want one to tell them the truth.

Flattery the ruine of Princes States. *Quint. Curtius. in Lib. 8.*

How a Councillor ought to admonish his Prince of his error. *Plutarch* in his Treatise of Flattery.

Who they are that commonly ouer shoot themselves in admonishing or contradicting their Princes.

Arrian. in Lib. 8. de rebus Alexand. Vnseasonable liberty of speech odious to Princes

Plutarch.

A pleasant example of a rude Philosopher, and the Tyrant *Dionysius* of *Sicily*.

A bold, plaine and resolute Philosopher.

The discrete modesty of *Hephestion* Councillor to *Alexander*. *Quint. Curtius. de reb. gestis Alexand.*

In what manner Princes are to be spoken too, and admonished.

All speech proceeding of passion, insolency, or contempt, are odious to Princes. A wound at a friends hand better then the kisse of an enemy. Prouer. 27. 6.

How a Councillor ought to speake to his Prince, and of his Prince.

Councillours by coniuency, are pertakers of their Princes faults.

Plutarch in Themistocles.

A Councillor ought to be constant in his opinions.

Prince, obseruing exactly his disposition and humor, because no man is alwayes disposed alike, either to receiue contradiction, or to heare of his faults, especially in the presence of others. And therefore, fit time and place is alwayes to be chosen for that purpose, and some plausible preamble to be vsed of the Princes praises, for some good parts of his: which (in such case) is no flattery, but a spurre to Vertue, and may serue for a preparatiue to the pill of admonition, which hee meaneth to giue him. So that hee deliuer it in so good tearmes, and with such dutifull respect, that the Prince may perceiue, it proceedeth not of passion, or of a spirit of contradiction, or of audacious insolencie, or of contempt (al which are to Princes most odious, but of intyre loue and affection, for so will hee (if hee be wise) take the admonition in good part, and say with Salomon, *A wound at a Friends hand, is better then the Kisse of an enemy.*

To conclude, a Councillor may hold this rule, to speake alwayes in this manner freely vnto the Prince himselfe, although it be of his errors, but neuer to others of him, otherwise then in his honour and commendation. And though the Prince bee neuer a whit the better, for the admonition, yet it may suffice his Councillor, to haue done his dutie, and not to be pertaker of his Princes faultes, as otherwise he should be, if he should not (in all dutifull maner) aduise and admonish him, as occasion should require. And therefore, though he should feare to incurre his displeasure for his plainnesse, yet he ought to discharge his conscience, and to say as *Themistocles* did to *Euryades*, who took vp a staffe to strike him from his free speech: *Strike mee so, that you heare me heereafter.*

Finally, a Councillor should not expect, that his Prince should alwayes follow his aduise, nor afflict himselfe much, if he do not. For, though Princes giue vnto their Councillors great libertie, to say what they will: yet they do reserue a greater to themselues, that is to do what they list. And thus much for the third part.

The fourth point that a Councillor is to consider in himselfe, is, that it behoeth him to be graue and constant in his opinions, for lenity and inconstancie is a

most euident signe of folly. And to this end, it shall be necessarie for him, maturely to deliberate, and fully to consider the matter propounded, before hee deliuer his opinion. For, as *Seneca* saith, *Sunt duo contraria consilio, festinatio et inertia, Two things are contrarie to Councell, Hast, and Anger.* And againe, *Deliberandum est diu (saith he) quod statuumendum est semel. The thing that is once to be determined, is to be deliberated by leysure.* And to the same purpose *Aristotle* saith, *That a Wiseman ought to counsell slowly, and to execute speedily.* Therefore, he excludeth verie young men from councell in matters of State. For that (saith he) *their naturall heate maketh them ouer-hastie and headlong, in giuing their opinions.* Besides, by reason of their want of experience, there doth not occure vnto them many reasons or difficulties to be considered: in which respect, they resolue easily and speedily, and with lesse iudgement. Whereas ancient men, both by reason of their colder humour, and also of their greater experience (which ministreth vnto them more matter of discourse, and more doubts to be resolued) do determine slowly, and with far more iudgement. So that speedy resolutions, are arguments of weaknesse of witte, or want of iudgement; and therefore, to bee shunned of all Councillors, as one farre more proper vnto Women: whose Councell (men commonly say) is neuer to bee taken, but vpon a suddaine, whereof I shall declare the reason heereafter.

The fift point, is, to auoyde the other extremitie opposite to lenitie, to wit; Obstinacie and Wilfulnesse, which is no lesse vnfit for a Wise Councillor, then the other. For, obstinacie is euermore accompanied with contempte of others mens Opinions, and contention, and is therefore a verie great Enemy vnto Resolution; which can neuer bee taken, where Obstinacie and Contentious men, do meete together in a Councell.

This Defect, proceedeth commonlie, either thorough great Pride and Presumption of a mans owne witte, or else, of a false conceite, that manie men haue, that it is a shame for a Wise man, to change his opinion; which is farre otherwise. For although a wise man ought not

Lenity and inconstancy, an euident signe of folly.

Seneca in Pro-ucribijs. Ibidem. Arist. in Ethic. Lib. 6.

Why young men are not fit to giue councell.

Why old men resolue slowly and maturely

Women's councell to be taken on the sudden.

Obstinacy in opinion vnfit for Councillours.

From whence obstinacy in opinion proceedeth.

Folly for a wise man not to change his opinion, when there is iust cause.

Seneca in lib. 4. de Benef. Cap. 34.

A necessary exception to be vnderstood in the opinion of a wise man. Idem. Ibid.

Plato in Lib. 10. de Rep. Cap. 9.

A wise man compared to a good Gamester by Plato.

In what case a wise man may change his opinion.

While the chiefe and fundamentall reasons of the designement doe stand good, the councill is not to be changed.

Time alwaies affordeth new difficulties.

not to doe it lightly, and without great reason; yet, when there is sufficient cause, it were great shame and folly not to do it. And therefore Seneca the Stoick, who, according to the opinion of those of his Sect, held; That a wise man neuer changeth his opinion: expoundeth it in such sort, that he includeth in the opinion of a Wise Man, a necessary exception, to wit; if nothing happen that may alter the case. And therefore hee also saith, that, It is the property of fooles, to assure themselves (ouer-much) of their counsels and determinations. And that a wise Man knoweth, what sway error beareth in the affaires of Men; How vncertain all humaine things are; And how many accidents hinder good and wise designements. Whereupon he concludeth; That it is no shame for wise men to alter their opinions when occasion requireth. And Plato compareth a wise man to a good Gamester, Who doth accommodate his play to the chances of the Dice. And so (saith he) should a wise Man accommodate his counsels and course of life to the occasions, which changing and varying with the time, doe often require new deliberation.

Neuerthelesse, it is heerein to be considered, that this change (with the occasions) is conuenient only, when the occasions change the fundamentall and chiefe reason of the first resolution. For whereas in all matters of counsell, many reasons may concur to one end, whereof some may be more important then other, and some one (perhaps) the ground and foundation of the rest: it falleth out other-whiles, that change of times and variety of occasions, doe alter some considerations and circumstances, and not the grounds and fundamentall reasons of the matter; in which case, the resolution is not to be changed. For otherwise, men should be like Weather-cockes, which change with euery winde: seeing time alwaies produceth some new difficulties, and changeth some part of the reasons in all matters, that require any long time for the execution. Whereupon, there may follow some alteration of circumstance in the designement; though the resolution may stand good for the principall.

Wherefore, it were great temeritie and lenity in any Man, to condemne o-

ther mens counsels; because some of the Morines that induced them thereto, haue failed; or because the successe hath not (in the beginning) answered their expectations. As may appeare by the wise Phocion of Athens who hauing dissuaded the Athenians, from a certain enterprise which succeeded well, and being reproached therewith by some of his Aduersaries, saide: I am right glad of the good successe, yet nothing repenteth me of mine opinion. This he said, partly, because he fore-saw a bad sequell of their good beginning (as after it fel out) and partly, because a wise man dischargeth his part and duty, if his counsell be wel grounded vpon good and sound reasons, although the successe bee not so good as he expected. Considering, that the euent of all mens counsels is onely in the hands of God, and cannot assuredly be fore-seene; but much lesse warranted by the wisdom of Man.

To conclude this point, a Wise man ought alwaies so to ground his opinions and counsels vpon reason, conscience, and Iustice: that whatsoeuer succeedeth; he shall haue no iust cause to repent or retract the same. And therefore Aristides, hauing said to Dionysius the Tyrant (who demaunded one of his Daughters in marriage) That he had rather see her burned; then married to a Tyrant: would neuer retract or recall his words againe, although it did cost him the life of his Sonne. For, when the Tyrant had slaine his Sonne, and asked him, whether he was still of the same minde, concerning the marriage of his Daughter? He answered. Although I am sorry for that which hath happened to my Sonne; yet I doe not repent me of that which I haue said. Which constancy of Aristides, Plutarch greatly commendeth: As proceeding (saith he) of a notable and compleat vertue. And thus much for this first point.

The sixth point necessary in a Councillour, is Secrecy, whereof I haue said somewhat before, and heere adde: That Councillours must vnderstand, that their mouths are sealed vp by their Princes; as Hephestions mouth was by Alexander the Great, who hauing shewn him a secret Letter, said nothing else to him, but tooke off his sealing Ring, and put it to his hippe. This (I say)

A Councill not to be condemned, because some of the morines haue failed.

Plutarch in Timoleon, et in Phocion.

A good beginning hath many times a bad sequell.

Counsell grounded vpon reason, conscience, and Iustice, neuer to be repented.

Plutarch in Timoleon.

The constancy of Aristides.

Secrecy most requisite in a Councillour.

Plutarch in Alexandrio.

Secrecy the best and surest bond of matters of State. Valer. Max. in Lib. 2. Cap. 2. The Persians honoured Silence as a God. Amian. Marcellin. in Lib. 21.

Tit. Livius. in Lib. 42. The admirable secrecie of the Romaine Senate. Valer. Max. in Lib. 2. Cap. 2.

Some men are over-secret, and some too open.

The danger of taking information by obscure questions.

2. b. 1. p. 1.

Some intending to be secret, do thereby discover their secrets.

say) a young Councillour must vnderstand, to passe betweene his Praince and him, when his Prince doth him the honour, to make him of his Councill, or to treat with him of matters of State. Wherof secrecy is (as Valerius Maximus saith.) *Optimum & tutissimum vinculum, The best and surest bond.* And therefore it was so much esteemed among the Persians, that they honoured Silence for a God. And such was the care and respect that the Romaines had thereto, that when King *Eumenes* came into the Senate, to demaund assistance against King *Perseus*: it was neuer vnderstood, (as *Liue* witnesseth) either what he said, or what any answered, vntill the warre (which the *Romans* made at his request) was ended. Such being the secrecie of the Romaine Senatours (though verie many in number) that, as *Valerius* saith, it seemed, that *Not so much as one Man heard, that which was committed to the eares of so many.*

Neuerthelesse, great discretion is to be vsed herein: for a Man may as wel be ouer-secret in some cases, as too open. I haue noted sometimes, that some great Princes and Councillors, for fear of discovering their designements, haue eyther for-borne to take sufficient information and instruction, of such as could best informe them, and might haue bene trusted, whereby they haue gone blindly to work: or else they haue sought to inform themselues in clouds, by such darke and obscure questions, that they haue bene falsly and ill informed. For the parties with whom they conferred, making a false coniecture of their drift, and answering them according to their owne sense (far otherwise then they would haue done, if they had knowne their meaning) haue abused them against their wils.

Again, some there are, who intending to be very secret, play, as a man may say, wilyly beguile theselues. I knew a Councillor, who being commaunded by his Prince, to giue him his opinion in a matter of exceeding great importance and secrecy: thought to informe himselfe of some circumstances so cunningly, that his meaning should not bee so much as guessed at. But the party with whom he treated, being of an excellent iudgment, presently vnderstood it, and

though he answered him to his great satisfaction: yet, not thinking himselfe any way bound to secrecy (because the Councillor neither had taken his oath, nor his word, nor had shewne any confidence in him for that matter) wrote it to a great personage, with whom he had correspondence, by which meanes, it was (within a month) so publike, that it came into the *Gazetta* of *Rome*, & from thence was published throughout Christendome, as the Councillor himselfe hath since told me. So that, in seeking information by Riddles, & obscure questions, two inconueniences may be feared: the one, to receiue a false information; and the other, to discover the designement against a mans will.

Therefore, to prevent these inconueniences, that when information must needs be taken (as in some cases it is absolutely necessary, especially for enterprises to be made in forraign countries, vnknowne to him who would lay the plot) it shall be conuenient, if a sufficient enformer may bee found, who is knowne to be of sincere conscience: to deale plainly with him, & to shew confidence in him, taking (neuerthelesse) his oath for secrecy, to binde him the more, and to vse other meanes of courtesie and benefits to oblige him; yet to do this with the leaue of the Prince, for the Councillors better discharge. But when such a confident and sincere enformer cannot bee had; my opinion is, that although it shall be good, to vse all possible meanes, to vnderstand what may be learned, without discovering the intention: yet neuerthelesse, no great foundation is to be made of an information taken by such a meanes; except it be of a matter of fact, wher in, no man (that knoweth the truth) can falsly enforme, except he will wilfullie lye. For, in matters of discourse, depending vpon the iudgement of the enformer, be hec neuer so wise: small reckoning is to be made, whē he doth not fully vnderstand the intention of the propounder. Thus much concerning the sixt point.

The seauenth point, which a Councillor should consider in himselfe, is, that in the deliberation of all matters whatsoeuer: he be cleare and free from all passion and perticuler affection, that

An example to very good purpose in this case.

Information by Riddles.

How informations are to be taken in important matters.

When a confident informer is not to be found.

An information little to be esteemed, when the Informer doth not fully vnderstand the drift of the propounder.

A Councillor ought to be free from passion and peticular affection.

Salust. in Cate- lin. Passion and affection doe blinde the judgement.

Iustin. in lib. 19.

Enny maketh a man sometimes enemy to his owne good.

Plutarch in his Apotheg of Kings and Princes.

Councillors should leaue their quarrels at the Councell-Chamber doore.

Respects of other mens greatnesse pernicious in Councils.

is to say, from all respects, eyther of loue, haired, or enuy to any. And this I say, for wise Princes are wont, exactly to obserue the humours and dispositions of their Councillors, & to make small account of the aduise or persons of such, as they finde to be subiect to any of the foresaid imperfections. And with very great reason, for, as Salust saith. *Non facile animus, &c. The minde doth not easily see the truth, where passion and affection beareth sway.* Beside, passion not only blindeth the vnderstanding of Man, but also dooth so corrupt his will: that although he see the truth, yet he will not embrace it. Which Iustine obserued very well in King *Antiochus*, for, when *Hanniball* had counselled him to invade *Italie*: his Councell (saith *Iustine*) was reiected, partly, because the chiefe Councillors and Fauourites of *Antiochus* feared, that if it were admitted, *Hanniball* might grow in more credite and fauour with *Antiochus*, then they; and partly, because *Antiochus* himselfe doubted, least his owne glorie might (in some part) be obscured, if he should be thought to doe any thing by *Hannibals* aduise. So pestilent is the passion of enuy and emulation; that it maketh a Man (sometimes) Enemy to his owne good, no lesse then of the publique.

Therefore *Aristides* of *Athens*, being sent Ambassadour with *Themistocles*, who was his Enemy, willed him at their departure out of the Cittie: that they might leaue all their emulations behinde them at the Gates, least their priuate passions might hinder the publique good of the Common-wealth. And so in like manner, all Councillors that haue any peticular quarrels, or disgusts among themselves: should leaue them at the Councell Chamber doore, when they enter in. And the like may also be said, of the respects of priuate friendship, or of other mens greatnesse and fauour with the Prince: which respects are (many times) no lesse hurtfull in Councils, then Enuie or Hatred. For they make men con- ceale their owne iudgements, because they will not disgust some Friend or great Man, that holdeth a contrary opi- tion. In so much, that it falleth out many times, that some fauourite of the

Prince, hauing once vttered his conceit, albeit none of the wisest: carryeth after him all the rest without contradiction, and so the best opinions are either concealed, or not so well debated as were conuenient.

For the preuention and remedy of this inconuenience, the wise *Cosmo de Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, and *Phillip* the second, last King of *Spaine*, vsed to propound their most important mat- ters to their Councillors, first by Wri- ting, commaunding them: to set down their opinions also, in Writing, with their reasons, and not to communicate the same with any other. Afterward, if they thought it needfull, they assem- bled them in their presence, to heare them debate and defend their owne opi- nions; which proceeding (in my fancy) was very prudent. For so, every Coun- cellour gaue his opinion freely, with- out passion, or respect to any other: & (for his owne honour and reputation) defended it so far as reason would beare him, whereby, matters were thorowlie beated and discussed.

To conclude this point, Councillors must say of all peticular respects, as *Popilius* the *Romaine* (being sent Amba- sadour to King *Antiochus*, his old friend) saide vnto him of their former amity: *Facessit priuata amicitia, &c. Farewell priuate friendship, when publique matters are in hand.* This (I say) should Coun- cellors, when they come to the Coun- cell-Table, both say and practise, lay- ing aside all priuate and peticular re- spects, eyther to one or other, or vnto themselves. As hauing nothing else befor their eyes, in all their deliberati- ons: but the publique good; to wit, the the seruice of God, their Prince, and their Countrey.

The eight and last point, which I would wish a young Councillour to consider, concerning himselfe, is: the danger of punishment, both humane and Diuine, which he shall incurre, if he seduce or corrupt his Prince by euill Councell. Because the Prince himselfe, if euer he haue the grace to see his own errour: cannot but hate and detest the Authour and Councillour thereof. As did King *Henrie* the fift, who repenting the riotous course of his youth: banni- shed from the Court, all those which had

A prudent practise of the wise *Cosmo de Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, & of *Phillip* the second, last King of *Spaine*.

The freedom of every Coun- cellors opinion on to be giuen

Iustin in libro 2. Priuate friend ship not to be respected, when publique matters are in hand.

What Coun- cellors ought to haue al- wayes before their eyes.

The dangers that Councel- lors incurre, by giuing eu- ill counsell to their Prin- ces.

Euill Coun- cellors hate- ful sometimes to their Prin- ces.

had misled and seduced him, as I have partly noted before. And though he escape the disgrace and punishment of his Prince: yet he may iustly feare the hatred of the people, and his owne destruction to ensue thereof, as I have also signified before (vpon another occasion) in *Pierce Ganesstone*, the *Spencers*, and other Councillours of King *Edward* the second, and King *Richard* the second.

To whom I may adde *Emson* and *Dudley*, put to death by King *Henry* the eight, in the beginning of his raigne, to satisfie the importunity of the people: who demaunded Iustice against them, for the euill councill they had giuen to King *Henrie* the seauenth, in matters of exactions, impositions, and pecuniarie penalties.

And *Plutarch* also noteth, that the Councillours and Fauourites of *Apolodorus*, *Phalaris*, *Dionysius*, *Nero*, and other Tyrants, were racked, flayed, burned, and other-wise most cruelly tormented by the people. And iustlie (saith he) for that he which corrupteth or seducteth a Prince, deserueth no lesse to be abhorred of all Men: then one that should poyson a publique Fountaine, whereof all Men must drinke. Seeing that vpon the Princes example and authority, dependeth on the good or euill estate of all his Subiects. And therefore, hee which misleadeth the Prince, doth notable iniurie to the Common-wealth: and oweth the penalie thereof, as well to the people, as to the Prince himselfe. In which respect, *Plutarch* also noteth of *Tigellinus*, a wicked Councillour and Corrupter of *Nero*, that the people (after the death of *Nero*) made continuall instance for his punishment: as for publique debt due to the Common-wealth, which at length they obtained of *Otho*, Successour to *Galba*.

But though neither the Prince nor the people, doe exact this debt of a wicked Councillour: yet hee shall be sure to pay it eternally to Almighty God, if he respect not, and satisfie his Iustice otherwise. For, if *Not one'y they which doe euill, are worthy of death* (as the Apostle saith) but also those, *Qui consentiunt facientibus, which consent thereto*: much more guiltie are the Councillors of euill, who are either the principall Au-

thours thereof, if they inuent it; or abettors and associates in the highest degree, if they approue and ratific it. And therefore, how hatefull such are to Almighty God, it appeareth by the examples of *Achitophell* and *Haman*, the one Councillour to *Absolon*, and the other to *Ahasnerus*, whose wicked counsels God did not onely Frustrate and Infatuate; as the Scripture speaketh: but also punnish most exemplarily in this life, making the one of them his Instrument, to execute Iustice vpon himselfe, and turning the wicked councill of the other, to his owne destruction. Also the like may bee obserued in Gods iust punishment, vpon Cardinall *Wolsey*, and some other Councillours of latter times.

And *Phillip de Commines* seriously noteth, how a Councillor vnto the Duke of *Bourgundie*, called *Monseur Contay*, having giuen cruell Councill vnto the Duke (to put to death certaine Hostages of *Liege*) lined not long after. Which some (who were present, and heard him) did in a manner prognosticate, saying; *That they would warrant him, he would not liue a yeare to an end*. Which (saith he) fell out to be true, for he dyed within a short while after. Thus then it appeareth, how true the Latine Prouerbe is: *Consilium malum consultori pessimum*, *Euill Councill is worst to the Councillor*. This shall suffice for those points which a young Councillour ought to consider in himselfe.

CHAP. VII.

What a Councillour ought to consider in his Prince: Namely; his Conscience; his Commodity; and his Reputation.



A Councillor is to consider in his Prince, (principally) three thinges: his Conscience, his Commodity, and his Reputation. Of which three, I place a Commodity in the midst, because it is to bee ballanced and weighed with both the other:

Polid. Virg. and Iohn. Stow in Hen. 5.

Euill Councillors hatefull to the people, and punished by them. In *Stowe*. in *Henry*. 8.

Plutarch in his Treatise that Philosophers should conuerse with Princes.

The wicked Councillors of diuers Tyrants notably punnished.

A wicked Councillor like to one that poysoneth a publique Fountaine.

Plutarch in *Otho*. The punishment of a wicked Councillor, is a debt due to the Common-wealth.

The danger of eternall damnation to a wicked Councillor.

Rom. 7, 31.

1 Sam 7, 23. *Hester*. 7, 10.

Haman and *Achitophell* punished by Almighty God in this life for their wicked councill.

Phil. Com in *Cron du Roy*. *Louis* 21. Ca. 28.

What *Commines* noateth of a Councillor to the Duke of *Bourgundy*.

Hofiodus. Euill Councill worst to the Councillor.

A Councillor is to consider in his Prince, his conscience commodity, and reputation.

other: seeing, nothing can bee truelie commodious, which is not agreeable to both, and no temporall commoditie can recompence the losse of eyther of them.

And first, to speake of Conscience. The word *Conscience* is diuersly vnderstood, and commonly taken for an Act, consisting in the application of our knowledge to our actions. For that, *Conscientia* is *Scientia cum alio*, Knowledge with another thing. In which sense, Conscience may erre, when we erre in Knowledge, or apply our true Knowledge erroneously to our actions. And therefore I will not treat of Conscience heere in this sense; but onely as it is the first natural habite in the Soule of man, which neuer erreth. And so *Conscience* is the surest and highest part of reason, whereby we doe naturally discern betwixt good and euill, reiecting the euill, and approving the good. Wherevpon groweth remorse and repentance in our Soules, after an euill act; and contentment, after a good. In which respect, *Origen* saith, that Conscience, is *Rektor & pedagogus anime*, &c. The Governour and pedagogue of the Soule, whereby it is diuerted from euill, moued to good, admonished, reprooued, and chastised.

Saint *Basile*, as *Thomas Aquinas* noteth, called it *Naturale iudicarium*, The Natural facultie of iudgement. Whereof *S. Augustine* speaketh, when he saith, that there are in the Soule of Man, Certaine infalible rules, true and incommutable lights of vertue, whereby euery one conceiveth and iudgeth truely, of the generall principles of the office and ducie of Man. *S. Chrysostome*, speaking of Conscience, saith. Almighty God hath placed it in the Soule of man, as a Iudge, which is ever vigilant, and attentive to his actions, incorruptible, inexorable, inflexible, and searching into his very cogitations and intentions. Whereupon it followeth, that after any sinne or offence is committed, a mans owne Conscience iustly iudgeth and condemneth him, without any other Accuser or Witnessse, then himselfe.

Lastly, *Thomas Aquinas* calleth it *Lex naturalis*, A naturall Law, or the Law of Nature, by the light whereof, the verie *Painims* know those thinges which are commaunded by the Law of God, as

the Apostle testifieth, saying: *The Gentiles who haue not the Law* (that is to say, the written Law of God) *doe by nature the thinges contained in the Law, they hauing not the Law, are a Law vnto themselves.* Which shew the effectes of the Law written in their Hearts, their Conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts accusing one another, or excusing, in the day of Iudgement. Thus saith the Apostle. Wherby it appeareth, that those which liue according to the rule of reason, the Law of God, and the Law of Nature (which are alwaies conforme one to another) do according to Conscience: and and on the contrary side, those which decline and swerue from any of them, do against conscience.

Now then, forasmuch as eternall felicitie dependeth, vpon the integritie & purity of Conscience, in which respect our Sauior saith; *Beati mundo corde*, &c. *Blessed are the cleane in heart, for they shall see God*: it followeth, that nothing can be truly commodious, which is contrary to Conscience. For, whatsoeuer hindreth our greatest good & commodity, that is say; our Saluation, and draweth vs also to the greatest miserie that can be, to wit; to eternall damnation: the same is not good and profitable, but mischieuous and pernicious. For, as I noted (else-where) out of our Sauiors words; *What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world, if he loose his soule?* And therefore *Saint Augustine* saith very well, that hee which counsell:th a Man contrary to his Saluation, hath *Pallium consulentis*, & *venenum perimentis*; The Cloake of a Councillor, and the Poyson of a Killer.

Whereupon it followeth, that the first and principall thing, which euery Councillour ought to regard, is, that his counsell be so grounded vpon Conscience: that God be not offended, nor his Princes conscience wounded therewith, which latter were (of it selfe) no small infelicity, though God should not otherwise punish the euill act. For, as on the one side; *There can be no greater happinesse in the life of Man, then the tranquillity and quietnesse of Conscience*, as *S. Augustine* saith: So, on the other side, there can bee no greater miserie or torment, then *Nocte, dieque suum gestare in pectore restem*, To carrie day and night, the

agreeable to the Law of God. Rom. 2, 14, 15, 16.

Who doe according to Conscience, or against Conscience.

Math. 5, 8. Nothing truly commodious that is against Conscience.

Mat. 16, 26.

August. in Psalme. 119.

The principal thing that a Councillor ought to regard.

No greater happinesse in this life, then tranquillity of Conscience.

August. de ciui. Dei. in Lib. 21.

Iuuenall.

What the word Conscience signifieth.

Thom. Aquin. 2. P. 2. Q. 2. Ar. Cap. 4.

Idem. 1. P. 79. Q. 79. Ar. 13. in Cor.

The definition of Conscience.

Remorse of Conscience.

Origen. in Lib. 2 in Epist. ad Rom. Cap. 2.

S. Basile. apud D. Thom. 1. P. Q. 79. Ar. 13. Ca.

August. in lib. 2. de Lib. arbit. Cap. .o.

Chrysost. To 2. concio. 4. de Lazararo.

Conscience placed in the soule of man as a Iudge of his actions.

D. Tho. quod li. 2. Ar. 6. 1. Conscience is a natural law, alwayes a-

Testimony

Testimonie of a Mans wickednesse in his owne breast.

And although Princes do not alwaies (at the first) feele the pricke of Conscience, while the pleasure or commodity of wicked counsell is yet fresh: neuerthelesse, afterward they are stung, and vexed there-with at one time or other. Such beeing the Nature of the Worme of Conscience, that though sometimes it seem to sleepe: yet otherwhiles it gnaweth and biteth bitterlie, as Saint *Chrysostome* witnesseth. *Least if it were continuall, it should not bee supported, and if it were not frequent, it might quickly be contemned or forgotten.* But howsoever it may seem to sleep in prosperity, it neuer faileth to prick and sting in aduersity, giuing testimony to wicked men, of Gods iust iudgement vpon them. For, as *S. Gregorie* saith; *Culpa claudit oculos, & pena aperit; Offence, or sin shuts the eyes, and punishment openeth them.* To which purpose also, *Job* saith; *Cum reddiderit Deus, tunc scient; When God shall reward him, according to his deserts, then he shall know it, that he hath sinned.* The Children of *Jacob*, being taken for spies, and detained in *Egypt*: fell presently into account of their sin, in selling their Brother *Ioseph*, saying; *Merito hoc patimur, &c. We suffer this worthily.* And *Mauritius* the Emperour, seeing his Children slaine before his face, and himselfe also designed for the slaughter, acknowledged Gods Iustice, saying; *Iustus es Domine, &c. Thou art iust o Lord, and thy iudgement is right, and full of equity.* The like may be noted in *Alphonfus* King of *Naples*, of whom I haue formerly spoken, and infinite others, whom I omit for breuities sake.

And this al wicked Councillors ought well to consider and feare, in respect of the hurt that may ensue thereby, as well to themselues, as to their Princes: because the worm of conscience breedeth not onely remorse, & repentance of the euill act; but also hatred, both of the counsell and the Councillor. As it did King *Adelstane*, the first Monark of *England*, after the entrie of the *Saxons*, who being seduced by the bad counsell, and false suggestions of one of his favorites: banished his Brother *Eadwin* vniustly, commaunding him to bee sent to Sea, with onely one Seruant, and in a Boat

without Oare or saile, wherein he perished. Which when King *Adelstane* vnderstood, he fell into the account of his owne offence, and so much repented it, that he not only tooke vpon him seuen yeares hartly contrition: but also grew by little and little, to detest and abhorre his fauourite, who had counselled him thereto, insomuch, that in the end, he did cut off his head, taking occasion vpon certaine words of his. For he beeing his Cup-bearer, and coming one day to giue him drinke, in a sollemne publique feast: chanced to stumble with one foote, and yet to recouer himselfe with the other, saying; *So one Brother helps another.* Whereupon, the King remembering the losse of his Brother, was so moued therewith: that hee caused him presently to be taken and executed.

Furthermore, a Councillor is to consider, that counselling his Prince against his conscience: he endangereth not onely his Princes Soule, but also his temporall state, exposing him and it to the iust punishment of Almighty God, vpon whose will dependeth the States of all Princes, as I haue largely prooued already. Beside, no man knoweth, for how small an offence, in the sight of man; God may punish a Prince in his person or State. *Moyse*, for a litle distrust in the promise of God, dyed before he entred into the Land of promise. King *Saule* was reiected of Almighty God, and dispossessed of his kingdom; for reseruing some part of the spoile of *Amalecke*, at the request of the people, contrary to the commaundement of the Prophet. *Dauid* was punished with the losse of 70000. of his Subiects, for numbring them. And *Ezechias* for his vaine glory, in shewing his treasure to the Ambassadors of the King of *Babylon*: was threatened by the Prophet, with the spoile of his Pallace, and captiuitie of his posterity, which afterward was fulfilled.

But of al other acts against conscience, for which God punisheth Princes and their States, none are more pernicious to State: then such as are committed, with intention and hope to benefit the State. For, how little soever some of them may seeme to be in their owne nature: yet they haue one circumstance, which doth greatly agrauate them, and maketh them very haynous in the sight of

No greater misery, then a tormented Conscience.

The worme of conscience byreth at one time or other.

Chryso. in 16. Luc. Concio. 4. Why the sting of Conscience is frequent, and not continuall.

Gregor. in Job. 21. Sinne shuttes the eyes, and punishment openeth the. *Job. 21, 19.*

Gen. 42, 21.

Nicophorus. in Lib. 8. Cap. 40.

Guicciard. in Lib. 1. Cap. 22. *Numb. 6, 7, 8.*

Remorse of Conscience breedeth hatred of the euill counsell and of the Councillor.

Guicciard. in Lib. 2. Cap. 6. *Matth. westm. 28. 934.*

A memorable example of K. *Adelstane*, and his Cup-Bearer.

How a wicked Councillor endangereth the State of his Prince. No man knoweth for how small an offence, God will punish a Prince in his person or State.

Num. 20, 14. 1 Reg. 15, 11. Deut. 1, 33.

Example of *Moyse*, *Dauid*, *Saule*, and *Ezechias*.

4. Reg. 20. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

No wicked counsel more pernicious to State, then that which is giuen for the benefit of State, and why.

God doth
justly turne
Machiullian
policies to
the ouerthrow
of the contri-
uers.

Prouer. 10, 24

An example
of Pharaoh,
Exod. 1, 16.

Exod. 12, 36.
Exod. 14, 28.

An example
of the Iewes,
Iohn. 11, 57.

August. Tract.
40. in Ioan.

Iustin. in Lib. 1.
An example
of King Asti-
ages.

Iustin.
3, 4. in Lib.

of God, seeing that wicked pollicies do commonly proceed, of distrust or lacke of belec in the prouidence of God. For no man, who sincerely belieueth, that all States depend vpon Gods will and prouidence, can with any reason perswade himselfe: that any thing which is offensiuē to god, may be good for state. And therefore no maruaile, if Almighty God, who of his Iustice punisheth sins many times, euen by the same means whereby they offend him: dooth often turne the wicked pollicies of Machiullians to their owne ouerthrow, or dayning that (as Sa'omon saith.) *Quod timet impius ueniat super eum; That which the wicked man feareth, may fall vpon him.*

So it fell out to Pharaoh, who fearing least the Children of Israel might multiply ouer-much, to the daunger of his State: oppressed them wrongtully, and commaunding that their Male children should be cast into the Riuer, as soone as they were borne. Neuerthelesse, the more they were oppressed, the more they encreased and multiplied: and, thorow the special prouidence of God; Moyses was saued drowning, and nourished by Pharaohs owne Daughter. And by his ministry, the Children of Israell wer deliuered, Ægypt spoyled, and Pharaoh himselfe with all his Army drowned. So it also fell out to the Iewes, who fearing least Christ (if he should liue any time) would draw so many to belieue in him, that the Romains might easily destroy their Nation and Temple, for want of people to defend the same: resolved to kill him, and so drew vpon themselves & their Temple, the destruction which they sought to preuent. God so disposing, for punishment of their wickednesse, that the Romains did afterward vtterly destroy their Temple and Countrey, as I haue amply related before. And Herevpon S. Augustine notably saith; *That while for feare of loosing their temporall State; they contemned the eternall; they iustly lost both.*

Also, the like Iustice and iudgement of Almighty God, may be noted in King Astiages, who fearing that his Daughters issue might deprive him of the Kingdome: thought to preuent it, by the murder of her Sonne Cyrus, commaunding Harpagus to destroy him as soone as he was borne. But God so

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disposed, that the Child was saued, contrary to the expectation of them both; and that afterward, he dispossessed Astiages of his Kingdome, with the assistance of Harpagus, whom Astiages had made the Instrument of his wickednesse. So also it happened to Amulius, who thinking to assure his owne State, by the murder of his two Nephewes, Romulus and Remus: caused them to be layed foorth in the Woods, when they were new borne, to the end, that they might be deuoured of wilde beastes, or perish other-waies. Whom (neuerthelesse) it pleased God to preserue them, and by the meanes of Romulus, to dispossesse Amulus of his Kingdome.

But to speake of Christians. In the time of the Emperour Valentinian the third, Attila, the Scythian, and King of the Hunnes (who called himselfe *Flagellum Dei; The Scourge of God*) invaded the Romaine Empire, with an Armie of eleauen hundred thousand Men, and hauing already possessed himselfe of all Pannonia, (called Hungaria euer since) passed thorough Germany into France, vsing all kindes of cruelties vpon all forres of Christian people; threatening vtter ruine and destruction, as well to Christian Religion, as to the Romaine Empire. Wherevpon, the famous Captaine Aetius, being assisted with Theodoricke, King of the Gothes, and diuers other Princes; presented him battaile in France, not farre from Orleans. In which battaile, there were slaine an hundred foure score thousand on both sides, and Attila ouerthrowne in such sort; that he had no meanes to saue his owne person, but by retyring himselfe into his Campe, where hee fortified himselfe. Neuerthelesse, hee might haue beene eyther slaine or taken, and Christendome thereby deliuered of a most potent Enemie; if Aetius would haue done his endeouour thereto. But he preferring reason of State, before true Christian zeale, and Gods seruice, spared him, fearing lest if he were vtterly ouerthrown: the Gothes (who had already conquered all Spaine, and a great part of France) would be far more dangerous to the Romaine Empire, being then free from the feare of Attila, who was comon enemy to both. For which respect, he suffered him to escape with

Plutarch in
Romulo
An example
of King Amu-
lius.

Paul. Diac. in
Lib. 15.
Attila, King of
the Hunnes,
that tearmed
himselfe the
scourge of
God.

An hundred
and foure
score thou-
sand men
slaine in one
battaile.

The famous
Captaine
Aetius, pre-
ferring rea-
son of State
before consci-
ence destroy-
ed himselfe,
and endange-
red the Ro-
maine Em-
pire.

the Reliques of his Army into *Hungary*: which (by the iust iudgement of God) turned as well to the destruction of *Ætius*, as to the great daunger of the Empire. For *Ætius* being returned most triumphant to *Rome*, fell shortly after into the disgrace of the Emperor, who suspected; that he had spared *Ætius*, to the end, to make himselfe Emperour by his assistance, whereupon he slew *Ætius* with his owne hand. And *Attila* having (within a while) repaired his Army: was more terrible and noisome to the *Roman* Empire, then he had bin before. For he came into *Italy*, putting all to Fire and sword: he razed *Aquilleia* to the ground, tooke *Paui*a, sacked and destroyed *Milaine*, and marched towards *Rome* to besiege it. Which he had done, if he had not beene diuerted from it by Pope *Leo* the great: who going himselfe in person to him, perswaded him to desist from his enterprise, and to retire himselfe into *Hungary*, which he did presently. But to return to *Ætius*; we see herein the bad successe of his policy, & how it turned to his owne destruction, when he preferred reason of state, before conscience, and the seruice of Almighty God.

Hereto I may adde some others of later time, of whom I haue also spoken before, vpon other occasions; as *Cesar Borgia*, the Mirror of *Machiauels* Prince: who determining to poyson Cardinall *Cornetti*, poysoned his own Father and himselfe. In like manner, the Queen of *Hungarie*, thinking to maintain her selfe and her Son, in the vniust possession of that kingdome, against *Ferdinand*, then King of the *Romains*, and afterward Emperor: craued ayde of *Solyman* the great Turke, by whom, both she and her Son were depriued thereof. Hereby it may appeare, how dangerous and pernitiuous all Councelles or attempts against conscience, are to State; in respect of the offence of him; on whose will depend all States, and who, as *Iob* saith; *Apprehendit sapientes in asturia eorum, &c.* Overtaketh the wise Men of the World in their owne craft and subtilty, and the counsell of the wicked is made foolish. Therefore it may be truly said of *Machiaullian* Princes, and their wicked Councillors; as the Prophet said of the King and Councillors of *Ægypt*. *Stulti*

Principes, &c. The Princes are Fooles, and their wise Councillours haue giuen foolish Councill; the Lord hath cast among them the Spirit of giddinesse, and hath made them stagger and erre in all their works, like a reeling and vomiting drunken Man.

As for reputation, which is also called Honour, Estimation, Fame, Good-Name, or Credit, no small regard is to be had thereto, when there is any question of the Princes commodity: considering, that of all externall goods, it is the principall and most precious, and (as *Thomas Aquinas* affirmeth) *Most like to the goods of the minde*. Wherevpon *Salomon* saith: *Melius est bonum nomen, quam diuitia multa, A good Name is better then great Riches*. Which is most euident in matter of State, for that reputation conserueth the States of Princes many times, no lesse (or rather more) then wealth and force.

In which respect, *Tiberius Cesar* was wont to say, as *Tacitus* noteth. *That although the deliberations of all other men, doe commonly consist in the consideration of utility and profit: yet the State of a Prince is such, that he ought principally to respect Fame and Reputation*. And the reason is, for that the losse of reputation, is not onely the signe, and (as I may say) the preamble of a Princes fall: but also the occasion thereof many times. Because, therewith decayeth and falleth (commonly) the affection of friends, and the respect, feare, and obedience of Subiects, whereupon followeth the subuersion of States.

Now then, whereas the reputation of Princes consisteth especially in foure things, to wit; Wisedome, Valor, Vertue, and Power: all counsell (tending to commodity) is to bee weighed with the estimation thereof, for nothing that may impair the honour of the Prince in any of these, can be accounted truelie commodious for him. Therefore *Phillip de Comines* aduise, touching the Princes Wisedome, that if he bee not verie wise, and of good partes: great care be had, that Strangers be not admitted to his presence, especiallie to treat with him, least the discouerie of his imperfection in that behalfe, may blemish his Reputation, and animate his Enemies to contemne him. For the French Historiographers affirme, that

Attila more hurtful to the Romaine Empire, then before his sparing by *Actius*.

Blondus in *Decad.* 1. Lib. 2. *Sabellie*. *Ennead.* 8. Lib. 1. *Baron.* An. 452.

Cesar Borgia the mirrour of *Machiauels* Prince. *Guicciard.* in Lib. 6. *Hist.*

The Queene of *Hungary*. *Syrus* in *Commen.* An. 1542.

Iob. 5, 13.

Esay. 16, 9, 10

The reputation of the Prince greatly to be regarded of a Councillor, and why.

D. Thom. 2. 2. 9. 73. *Ar.* 2 & 3. *Prouer.* 22, 1.

Cornel. Tacitus. Lib. 4. *Annal.*

The danger of the losse of a Princes reputation.

Wherein the reputation of a Prince consisteth.

Phillip. de Com. Cap. 57.

Du Haillan in *Charles le sage.*

that the opinion which men had, of the Wisedome of Charles the first, King of Fraunce, called the *Wise*: auayed him more against the English, then his force, in so much, that the dispatches which he made in his Chamber, were more feared then his Armies in the Fielde.

The reputation of valour in a Prince.

The like also is to be said, of the opinion of Valour in a Prince, which maketh him no lesse redoubtable vnto his Enemies, then beloued of his Friends and Subiects. Whereas the opinion of his effeminacy or baseneise of mind, maketh him contemptible to all men, and often causeth the deposition and destruction of Princes: as it did to *Sardanapalus*, the great *Asirian* King; to *Chilperick*, King of *Fraunce*; to *Wenceslaus* the Emperour, and to many others beside.

In *Justin. in Lib. 1. Paulus Aemilius in Chilper. Naucler. Chron. 1400.*

Arist. in Lib. 5. Polit. The reputation of vertue and Religion.

And as for vertue (wherein I include Religion also) *Aristotle* teacheth, that the onely reputation and opinion thereof: is a notable stay and prop to a Princes State. In respect, that all Men commonly conceiue, that a vertuous and religious Prince, is in the fauour and protection of Almighty GOD. And therefore *Achior*, chiefe Captaine of the *Ammonites*, councelled *Holophernes*, when hee made Warre vpon the Children of *Israell*: To informe himself, whether they had committed any great offences towards their God, whereby they might loose his fauour. Assuring him, that otherwise it would bee in vaine to assaile them, because their God would defend them. And the like conceit it seemeth, that *Leolin*, Prince of *Wales*, had of *Henrie* the third, King of *England*, for, when certaine Bishops (who were sent to treat with him, to reduce him to his obedience) threatned him with the Kings great power and forces: he answered. That he feared more his Prayers and Almes giuing, then his Armies. Meaning, that hee doubted, least in respect of his Piety and Charity, God would protect and assist him: and that otherwise, he would little esteeme his force and power. So much it importeth a Prince, to haue the reputation of vertue and Religion, which serueth for a Bridle to his Enemies, both Domestickall and Forraigne, to with-hold them from all attempys against him: Beside, it

Judich. 5, 20, 21.

Matthews Paris. in Henric. 3

Piety and Charity great beauties in a Prince.

causeth that his faults and errors are eyther not beleued; or more easily excused, and the blame thereof laid vpon his Councillors.

And for these causes, *Machiauell* also counceileth his Prince, to procure (by all meanes) to haue the reputation of a religious, iust, and vertuous Prince: though he teach him withall, to bee a most wicked Tyrant. Wherein I cannot omit by the way, to note the absurditie of his doctrine, notably repugning and contradicting it selfe. Seeing, he will haue his Prince to seeme a Lambe; and be a Wolfe, and to make shew of a Saint, and yet to be a Deuill indeede. Which is more possible, then, as the Comickall Poet saith; *Cum ratione insauire; To bee made with reason. For all feigned thinges (saith Cicero) fade and fall away like Flowers, and nothing that is dissembled, can long last.* Where our Sauiour himselfe also confirmeth, saying expressely of Hypocrisie. *Attendite, &c. Beware of the Leauen of the Pharises, That is to say; of Hypocrisie. For nothing is secret that shall not be reuealed, nor any thing hidde that shall not bee knowne.*

And this is more euident in dissembling and hypocriticall Tyrants, then in any other sort of Men. Because, so violent is the flame of tyranny; that it breaketh through the weake and clouien Walles of Hypocrisie, and discoouereth it selfe to the World. Such being the State of publique persons, and especiallie of Princes (whose actions are subiect to the eyes and censures of all Men) that their least faultes cannot passe, eyther vnknowne, or vncontrouled of the people.

As *Plutarch* affirmeth, notably aduising Princes, to haue an especiall regard vnto all their actions: because their very least defects or imperfections are noted. Which he confirmeth with examples of diuers Princes; as of *Pompey* the Great, noted of singularity, for scratching his Head with one Finger; *Lucullus*, censured to be ouer-delicate in his Dyet; the famous *Scipio*, blamed for much sleeping; and *Cesar*, for going ill girded. What shall wee say of tyrannickall Actes, such as *Machiauell* commendeth in his Prince: I meane Murthers, breach of promises, and

oaths,

Machi. in Princ. Machiauell aduise his Prince, to seeke to haue the reputation of Religion and Vertue. The absurdity of Machiauel's Doctrine.

Terent. in Eunuch.

Cicero. de Offic. Nothing that is dissembled can last long.

Math. 16, 6.

Tyrannie cannot be hid or concealed.

The least defects of Princes are commonly noted and knowne to their Subiects.

Plutarch in his Instructions for those that manage matters of state.

No hypocri-
fic can suf-
fise to couer
Tyrranny.

Hypocrisie
encreaseth
the hatred of
God and man
against a Ty-
rant.
Iob. 20, 27.

The reputa-
tion of true
& not of feig-
ned vertue
requisite in
any Prince.

What true
vertue in the
Prince work-
eth in the
subiects.

What are the
effects of vice
in a Prince.

Concerning
truth and fi-
delity in any
Prince, in his
Oaths, promi-
ses and word.

Falshood and
deceit, dan-
gerous and
damnable.

oaths, frauds and deceit, and all kind of in-Iustice? can any man of reason think, that the same can be covered with any Cloak of Hypocrisie? Or can a people be so simple or senselesse, as not to know and see a tyranny, when they behold the manifest effects, and see too heauie a weight thereof in themselues? Therefore, what else can follow of Hypocrisy in a Tyrant, but that his Subiects shall hate him much more, and the sooner conspire his ouerthrow, as of one no lesse odious to God then to man? wher by the Scripture shal be fulfilled, which saith; *The heauens shall reueale the iniquity of the Hypocrite, and the Earth shall rise against him.*

Now, concerning the reputation of Vertue, which is necessary for the conseruation of a Prince: it must be grounded vpon true vertue, and not vpon vain shewes, & hypocriticall dissimulations. For, as true Religion, Iustice, & Vertue (ioyned with princely power) do engender in the Subiects admiration, respect, reuerence, & loue towards their Prince: euen so impiety, in-iustice, and intemperance in him, do breed in the subiects either hatred, or cōtempt of his person. For of the crimes of impiety and in-Iustice (as periury, deceit, and crueltie) proceedeth hatred; and of the vices of intemperance (as lasciuiousnesse, drunkennesse, and such like) is engendred contempt, whereof I purpose to discourse more at large hereafter. Neuerthelesse, I think good to say somewhat more in this place, concerning one speciall vertue, very requisite in a Prince for his reputation: to wit; truth, fidelity, and constancy, in the exact obseruation of his oaths, promises, and word. Wherof I am the more willing to treat, because *Machiauell* alloweth and commendeth all maner of falshood, deceit, treachery, and periury in a Prince, when he may hope to gaine, or to benefit his state thereby. But how impious and absurd his doctrine is in that behalfe, yea, and how pernicious to Princes & their States: it will the more euidentlie appear, if we consider, how dangerous and damnable all falshood and deceit is to any Common-wealth, for the conseruation whereof, nothing is more necessary then truth and fidelity, as well in the Prince, as in the people.

Therefore *Cicero* teacheth, that *Fides*, which we may call *Fidelitie* (consisting, as he saith, in *Veritie, and constant performance of vvordes, Promises, and Couenants*) is *Fundamentam Iustitie, The Foundation of Iustice*, which is the especiall prop and stay of State. In which respect, he calleth it; *Commune omnium præsidium; The common defence or refuge of all Men.* And also saith, that *Nul-lares vehementius rempublicam continet, quam fides. Nothing doth more firmelie vnite and hold together the Common-wealth, then Fidelitie.* And *Valerius Maximus* calleth it; *Venerabile nomen, & certissimum humane salutis pignus; A venerable and Diuine power, and the most sure pledge of humane securitie.* And the Romaines so much esteemed it, that they builded and dedicated a Temple to it, as to a Goddesse, in which Temple, all Leagues, Truces, Couenants, and important Bargaines, were publicly made and sworne: which were so religiously obserued, that whosoever brake them; was held for a cursed and damned Creature, and vnworthy to liue in humane societie. And with great reason, for, if falshood and fraud were permitted to haue course in common-wealths: what Traffique or Commerce with Straungers or Friendes? What assurance in Leagues with Forraigne Princes, in Contracts and Marriages, in Promises and Bargaines, and in buying and selling? What Loue? What Society? What Commonwealth? Which consisteth in the communication of Commodities one with another; and flourish so much the more, by how much euery one tendereth, and desireth the publique good, more then his owne: in which respect, it is called *Respublica*, that is to say, *Weale-publique.* And therefore, if trustie and faithfull dealing should faile among Men: there wold beno more ciuill societie amongst men, then amongst Tygers and Beares, Foxes and Wolues, Cats and Dogges. Which the Apostle insinuateth notably, when hee exhorteth the *Ephesians*, and (in them) all other Christians, to vse all Sincerity and truth one with another, because wee are all combined in one Mystical Bodie. *Propter quod* (saith hee) *deponentes mendaciam, &c. Therefore, laying aside all lies, let euery*

Cicero in Lib. I de Offic. Wherein Fidelity consisteth.

Idem. pro Sext. Ref.

Idem. Lib. 2. de Offic.

Valer. Max. in Lib. 6. cap. 6. Dionis. Halicar. in Lib. 2. Tit. Liii. in Lib. 2. et 3.

If falshood & fraude were permitted amongst men, no Commonwealth could stand.

Respublica, the Commonweale or publique good.

everie one speake the truth to his Neighbour; Quoniam sumus invicem membra; Because wee are all Members one of another.

Heerevpon it followeth, that fidelity is not only necessary in the Subjects, but also in the Prince, for the conseruation of the Common-wealth. For, seeing nothing is more requisite, for maintenance of the Politicall body, the vnion of the head with the members thereof, that is to say; of the Prince with the people, and nothing more necessary thereto, then their trust and confidence one in another, which cannot be, where there is no fidelity: It followeth, that nothing is more requisite, for conseruation both of the Prince and people, then fidelity in both; without the which, neither can the subjects assure themselves of their Princes protection, nor the Prince be satisfied of his Subjects Loyalty.

And to speake heere particularly of the Prince, it is to bee considered, that the want of fidelity and sincerity in him, is most dangerous: not onely vnto the Common-wealth, but also to himselfe. As it will be euident, if wee weigh the force and effect, of the good or bad example of the Prince, and how potent a Motiue it is, to induce his Subjects to vertue or vice. Seeing, as Salomon saith, Qualis est Rector Ciuitatis, tales sunt habitantes in ea; What manner of Man the Ruler of the Cittie is, such are they that dwell therein. Therefore (I say) that as the example of the Princes fidelity, dooth redound both to the good of the Common-wealth, and also to his owne security (because the people doe learne thereby, to be not onely faithfull vnto one another, but also dutifull and loyal towards him:) euen so, the example of perfidious and double dealing in him, dooth worke the contrary effect, and teacheth his Subjects to be no lesse faithlesse and treacherous toward him, then fraudulent and treacherous one to another, which may turne as wel to his destruction, as to the hurt of the Common-wealth.

But perhaps some Machiavillian will say, that although the Prince (for his owne commodity) do vse sometimes to violate his faith: yet he may so seuerely punnish it in his Subjects, that no in-

Fidelitie most necessary in the Prince for conseruation of the Common-wealth.

Trust & confidence one in another most requisite

The force of the Princes good or bad example in the Common-wealth.

Eccles. 10, 2.

How the fidelitie of the Prince redoundeth to his owne good.

A perfidious Prince teacheth his subjects to be traitorous to himselfe.

conuenience shall followe of his example, eyther to the Commonwealth, or to himselfe. Wheretof I answer, that the Prince cannot (with reason) expect, that the seuerity of Lawes, or other politike meanes, shall repress any vice in his Commonwealth: which shall be anie way Authorized by the example of his owne practise. For as the Poet saith,

Totus componitur orbis Regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflectere sensus Humanos edicta valent, ut vita regentis.

That is to say, All the world is framed after the model of the King, and no Lawes or Edicts can so much mooue the mindes of men, as dooth the life of the Governour. Which Plutarke confirmeth notabiye, saying: That euen as a squire or rule must be straight in it selfe, befre it can make other things strait: So the Prince, who is (as it were) the rule of his Subiectes, ought first to rectifie himselfe, before hee go about (by Lawes or other meanes) to rectifie his Commonwealth. For, he that is falling (saith Plutarke) is not fit to upholde others, nor hee that is ignorant, to Teach; nor he that is incorrigible, to Correct; nor he that is himselfe disordered, to put others in order.

Thus saith he, giuing to vnderstand, that a vicious Prince, who seeketh to make his Subiects vertuous by rigor of Lawes, laboureth in vaine, like to one, that buildeth with one hand, and pulleth downe with the other; and so destroyeth more in one day, then he can builde in many. For so do the bad example of the Prince, corrupt more in a day, then his Lawes can correct or amend in a yeare.

This the ancient Romans so well considered, that their Magistrats & Senate were most exact and punctuall, in the obseruation of Oaths and promises eue to their very enemies: for the regarde they had, not onely to Iustice, and to their own reputation: but also the consequence of their good example in the Commonwealth, as vpon other occasions, I haue formerly proued, by the examples of Marcus Atilius Regulus, T. Veturius & Spurius Posthumus, Consuls; and of T. Mutius and Q. Emilius, Tribunes of the Temple.

The Princes bad example ouer weigheth good Lawes.

Claudian.

Plutarke de doctrina principum.

The Prince is the rule of his subiects.

A bad Prince who maketh good lawes, buildeth with one hand, and pulleth downe with the other.

The Romaine Senate and Magistrats most exact in the obseruation of Oaths and promises.

Sextus Pompeius would not breake his Oath, to be Emperor of all the world. Plutarch in Anton.

The like notable examples of perticular men among Paganes, may also be alledged, whereof I will onely relate one or two, for breuities sake. *Sextus Pompeius*, Sonne to *Pompey the Great*, hauing warres with *Antonius the Triumuir*, and meeting with him at the Sea side, vpon a treatie of peace: invited him to Supper in his Gally, giuing him his oath for his assurance. And beeing secretly demaunded by *Metrodorus*, the Pyrate, whether he should weigh Anker, and set saile, and so make himselfe Lord of all the World? Answered. *That it was not his custome or condition to forswear himselfe*: esteeming it neither honourable nor profitable for him, to gaine the Empire of the World by per- iurie.

The care which *Licurgus* had of his fidelity. Plutarch in *Licurgus*.

No lesse care of fidelity had *Licurgus*, Brother to *Polidektes*; King of *Lacedemonia*. For, hauing taken vpon him the gouernment, of the Kingdome after his Brothers death, at the instance of the people, vntill his Brothers Wife (who was great with Childe) should be brought to Bed, and the Child of years to gouerne. And being sollicitated by her, to marrie with her, vpon her promise to kill the Child in her Womb, thereby to assure his State: he not onely refused it, but also proclaimed her Sonne King, as soone as he was borne, taking only the tuition of him, vntill he came to age, as partly hath been before declared.

An vnnatural motion of a Mother.

I neede not adde heereunto any examples of Christian Princes, whose Religion both teacheth and birdeth them, to be more exact and precise then Painims in this case. Neuerthelesse, I cannot forbear to speake of a notable act in this kind, of the most Christian and vertuous Prince *Ferdinand*, Brother to *Henry* the third of that Name, King of *Castile*. This *Ferdinand*, being left by his Brothers Testament, Tutour to his Sonne King *John* the second (an Infant of eight moneths old) and being vrged greatly by the three States of *Castile*, to take the Crowne to himselfe: he would by (no means) consent thereto, saying. *That he would neuer be false, eyther to his Brother dead, or to his Nephew liuing, to whom he had promised his fidelity*. For which faithfulnessse (no doubt) God blessed him, and (within

Ferdinand, Brother to *Henry*, King of *Castile*.

Lucas Marin. Siculus, de Reb. Hisp. Lib. 11.

fixe yeares after) gaue him the Kingdome of *Arragon*, where he was chosen by the free election of the Nobility and Commons of the Realme. Behold then, how great respect, not onely this Christian Prince, but also the Paganes before named, had to sincerity and fidelitie, as well for the causes before mentioned: as also for the verie detestation and hatred of perfidiousnesse, being a vice (of it selfe) most odious, and vnworthy of Princelie Dignitie.

For whereas all other vices and sinnes (for the most part) are, or may be attributed either to frailtie or errour, whereby they seeme (many times) the more woorthy of pardon: perfidiousnesse is euer presumed, to proceed from a treacherous; maligne, vile and base nature, and therefore not excusable in Princes, whose proceedings ought to be (in al thinges) Reall, Generous, Noble and Heroicall. In which respect, one false and trecherous acte, may suffice to ecclipse, and obscure the glory of many great vertues in a Prince. As *Plutarke* noteth in *Alexander the Great*, who causing certaine *Indian* Souldiours to bee slaine, after they had rendered themselues vnto him vpon his worde: *Spotted and stained* (sath he) *the renowne of all his glorious Conquests and Royall vertues, with the ignominie of that one Acte*. And the reason is, because so delicate is mans credite and reputation, in matter of trust and confidence: that it is like vnto a Glasse, which beeing once broken, is not repayrable. And therefore, he that is once knowne for a Lyer, is not beleued when he saith true: and he that is once reputed to bee false, is euer after held in suspition. And according vnto the generall rule of the Law; *Semper presumitur malus in eodem genere mali; Is euer presumed to be wicked in the same kind of wickednesse*. Wherevpon it followeth, that a faithlesse Prince is hated of his Subiects; suspected of his best Friends; irreconciliable with his Enemies; beloued and trusted of none; and betrayed or forsaken of all Men in his greatest necessities. And that worthily, seeing hee himselfe giueth the euill example, which other Men follow to his own utter ouerthrow and destruction.

The care of sincerity and fidelity manifested.

Perfidiousnes is a signe of a base and vile nature.

Plutarke in *Alexandro*.

Once false, euer after is suspected.

L. 1. Si cuius de accusat. Bart. in li. Cassius de Sena.

The dangers, which accompany perfidiousnesse in a Prince.

But

The Politick or Machiavillians obiectio.

But the Politick or Machiavillian will say, that a wise Prince hath sufficient remedies against these inconveniences, to wit; strong Gards, Garrisons, Forts, and Fortresses, besides his owne policy, assisted with the prudence of faithfull and vigilant Councillors, whereby hee may securely make his commoditie in all occasions, without feare of anie damage that may ensue thereof to his person or state.

The insufficiency of Machiavillian remedies.

Thus saith the Machiavillian, most absurdly, as it will appeare, if wee consider whence groweth the danger, that the Prince incurreth, by perfidious and deceitfull dealing, which being most hateful, not only to man, but also to God, doth draw vpon him both Diuine and humain punishment, against the which, neither these, nor any other Machiavillian remedies can warrant him.

Falshood hateful to God and man.

And first to speake of the offence of God, and diuine punishment ensuing thereon. We finde in holy Scriptures, that nothing is more detestable vnto almighty God, then a deceitfull or double man. And therefore, the Holyghost saith in the Parables, *Os bilingue detestor, I do detest a double tongued mouth.* And againe in the same Booke, *Abominatio Domini est omnis illusor, Every deceyuer is abominable before God.* And the Royall Prophet, coupling the deceyuer with the blood-sucker, saith of them both, *Virum sanguinum & dolosum abominator Dominus, God dooth abhorre the bloudie and deceitful man.* And speaking of the guilefull tongue of *Doeg*, hee threatneth the vengeance of God to him, and all such, saying: *Lingua dolosa, propterea, &c. A deceitful tongue, God will therefore destroy thee eternally, he will plucke thee up, and remoue from thee from thy Tabernacle, and root thee out of the Land of the liuing.*

Prouer. 8, 13.

Prouer. 3, 32.

Psalme. 52, 9.

Psalme. 11, 8.

Lo the, how odious fraudulent and double dealing is to Almighty God, who being *Ipsa veritas, Truth it self*; exacteth nothing more of man (created in his Image) then verity and truth. But much more of a Prince, then of any other priuate person, because the Prince is his Image, not only by reason of the naturall gifts of his soule, as all other men are: but also in respect of his Office, whereby he representeth his person (as his Lieutenant) in the administration of Justice, whereof Fidelitie and truth is the Foun-

God exacteth nothing more of man, then Truth.

A Prince is the Image of God in two respects.

dation, as I haue sufficiently declared before.

Wherein (neuerthelesse) it is to be understood, that although all real, plain and true dealing bee most requisite in a Prince: yet hee is to vse great discretion and prudence therein, because infinite occasions do occurre, wherein Princes ought to conceale and couer their intentions, with more care and circumspection then all other men, especiallye in matters to be executed. Wherefore, great difference is to be noted, betwixt telling a lye, and concealing the truth, which the Latines do signify in two proper words, to wit; *Simulatio* and *Dissimulatio*. Whereof the first, which we may tearme *Simulation* or fiction, is euer vnlawfull, and therefore neuer to be vsed. But the latter which we may call discrete dissimulation, is both lawfull & commendable; yea, and so necessarie sometimes in Princes, that it may well and truly be said: *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare: He which knowes not how to dissemble, that is to say, discreetly to couer and cloake his intentions when occasion requireth, knoweth not howe to raigne.* But I say with *Salomon* who was himselfe a most wise and potent Prince; that, *Non decet principem labium mentiens: A lying lip or mouth, dooth not be seeme a Prince.* In which respect, he also prayeth to Almighty God; *Verba mendacia longe fac a me, O Lord preserue and keepe me far from lying words.* And againe in another Parable, he saith; *Qui nititur mendacijs, pascit ventus; He which trusts to lies, seas the winde.* That is to say, as *Saint Augustin* expoundeth it; *Fis esca spiritibus malis, He becomes the meat or prey of euill spirits, or of the Deuill, whose immitator, or rather whose childe hee maketh himselfe.* For, as our Saviour saith, the Deuill is *Mendax & pater eius, A Lye, and the Father of lyes*; and is therefore called *Diabolus*, which signifieth a deceiuer.

What then shall wee say of such a Prince as Machiavil frameth; to witte; a most treacherous, perfidious, and periured person? Can he deserue to be called the Image, Lieutenant, or Minister of God, whose similitude and likeness he defaceth in himselfe; whose Commission he abuseth, & whose holy name he shamefully prophane? What else can he expect at the hands of God, but seuer

Great prudence to be vled of Princes in plainesse.

Great difference to be noted, betwixt telling a lye, and concealing the Truth. The difference betwixt fiction and discrete dissimulation. Discrete dissimulation commendable in a Prince.

Prouer. 17, 7. A lye most vnseemely in a Princes mouth.

Pouer. 30, 8. Prouer. 10, 25.

August. cont. crescon. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.

A lye the Child of the Deuill. Iohn. 8, 44.

Machiavels Prince perfidious and periured.

A heauy and fearefull expectation.

seuere punnishment, not onelie in the world to come, but also in this life, if he repent not?

This may appeare by manifold examples, whereof I will alledge some out of approoued Authiours, both auncient and Moderne, to shew the impious absurditie of Machiauels doctrine, allowing perfidioufnesse and periury in a Prince, as necessary sometimes for the benefite of his State.

Gen. 49, 7, 8. Simeon and Leui curfied by their Father Iacob, for violating their league with Sichem and Hemor.

But first, to speake of our holy Scriptures. We read in Genesis, that Simeon and Leui, the Children of Iacob, wer curfied by their Father at his death, because they had violated their league made with Sichem and Hemor, whom they destroyed with all their Citty, contrary vnto theyr promise and covenant. *Maledictus* (saith Iacob) *furor eorum, quia pertinax, &c. Cursed be their furie, because it was obstinate.* And prophesying further of the temporall punnishment, which God woulde inflict vpon their posterity for the same, he added. *Diuidam eos in Iacob, & dispergam in Israel. I will diuide them in Iacob, and disperse them among the Children of Israel.* Which was fulfilled afterward, as Saint Hierom witnesseth, for that their Tribes had not their habitation apart, as the others had: for the Tribe of Leui was distributed in diuers Cirties, amongst the other Tribes, to bee their Leuites and Priests. And the Tribe of Simeon, had their dwelling with the Tribes of Iuda, & (as the Hebrewes affirme) serued for School-Maisters in all the other Tribes, and got their living onely by teaching Children.

Hierom in Tradition. Hebraicis in Genesim.

Petrus in Genes Cap. 47.

2. Reg. 21, 17. Iosuah, 9, 12. Sauls posterity punnished for his breach of league with the Gabaonites.

In like manner, the punnishment of God was notable vpon King Saules posterity, for his breach of League which Iosuah made with the Gabaonites. Wherein it is to bee noted; that although the Gabaonites craftily circumuented Iosuah, and induced him by fraud and deceit to make league with them, putting on their olde shooes, and torne cloaths, and affirming, that they were a people dwelling in a farre Countrey, and that being moued with the fame of his victories: they were come so many dayes iourney to meeete him, that they had worne out their shooes and cloaths in their voyage; whereas, they dwelt not farre off, and in the very Land of promise, which GOD had giuen to the Children of Israel. Ne-

The great regard that Iosuah had of his Oath and league with the Gabaonites.

uerthelesse, when Iosuah discovered their deceit, he had such regard to his Oath, that hee would by no meanes violate it. But answered to the Children of Israel, when they murmured against him. *Iurauimus eis* (saith hee) *We haue sworne vnto them, in the name of the Lord God of Israel; and therefore wee may not touch them, least the wrath of God fall vpon vs, if wee breake our Oath.*

Iosuah, 9, 19.

10

Thus saith Iosuah: whereby we may learne, how great is the Obligation of all iust and lawfull Leagues, or other Covenants passed by Oath, and how daungerous is the breach thereof, in respecte of Gods iust and seuere iudgements, vpon the offenders in that behalfe. Whereof the experience was seene, aboue three hundred yeares after Iosuahs time, in the breach of that league by Saule. For the which, the Children of Israel were afflicted with three yeares famine in Dauids time, and seauen of Saules Children and family, were deliuered into the handes of the Gabaonites, and hanged by them in punishment of Saules offence.

The obligation of lawfull leagues.

The iudgement happened 300. yeares after, in Saules time.

20

Furthermore, we read in the Booke of Machabees, that Andronicus a Fauourite of King Antiochus, was by the iust iudgement of God, and the commaundement of Antiochus himselfe, shamefully put to death: euen in the verie same place, where he had killed Onias the Highpriest, who had rendred himselfe vnto him vpon his promise of security. Also the examples heereof, are verie notable amongst the Ethnicks, who obserued (diligently) the iudgements of God, vpon traitorous and perfidious persons. And therefore when Tissaphernes the Persian, made war against the Grecians, and brake Truce, which he had made with them for three months, Agesilaus reioyced greatly, saying; *We are beholding to Tissaphernes, for making the Goddes his enemies, and our friends, therefore let vs boldly giue him battell.* And so he did, and gaue him a great ouerthrow.

2. Reg. 21. 9.

2. Mac. 4, 38. Andronicus punnished for his Treachery towards Onias.

30

How the Paynims obserued Gods iudgements vpon perfidious persons.

40

Plutarch also recounteth a notable historie, of Cleomines King of Lacedemonia, who hauing made truce with the Argians for seauen dayes: set vpon their camp in the night, and taking them vnprouided by reason of the truce, made great slaughter of them. But being reproched with his breach of promise and oath, he iested at it, saying; *That hee sware Truce for*

Polien. in Lib. 2.

50

Plutarch in Apoph. Lacedem. Gods notable iudgement vpon Cleomines, for his periury.

A shamefull repulse giuen by weomen.

Plutarch in Dione. Calippus punished by Almighty God for his periurie.

Matters in controuersie decided by Oaths at the Tombes of Martires in the primitiue Church.

August. Epist. 137. What Saint Augustine affirmeth of his knowledge.

A notable example of a Noble man of England, iustly punished for his periurie.

for the dayes, but not for the nights. But so it fell out (saith *Plutarch*) in punishment of his falshood and periury; that it serued him to no purpose. For whereas, he assailed the Cittie presently, hoping for to take it with all facility, hee had a shamefull repulse by the women which dwelt therein. And afterward falling furiously mad, he tooke a Knife, and ript vp his owne body, from the very heele to the heart, and so dyed laughing.

The same Author also signifyeth, that one *Calippus*, being iustly charged with a conspiracie against *Dion* of *Sicilie*, and hauing denyed it with manie solemne Oaths) in the Temple of *Ceres*, was (by Gods iust iudgement) slaine with the same Dagger wherewith *Dion* was killed before by his consent. I omit diuers other examples, which might be alleadged out of prophane Historiographers, to adde a few out of Christian & more Moderne Authors.

The seuerer iudgements of God vpon men, for the sinne of periury, haue been alwayes so incident among Christians: that the custome was in the Primitiue Church, to discide matters in Controuersie by Oaths, at certaine holy places, and the Tombes of Martyrs, where Almighty God did ordinarily extend his Iustice vpon periured persons. Which Custom (as Saint *Augustine* witnesseth) was in vre in his time, at *Millan*, where of he saith, *Nos nominus Mediolani, &c. I my selfe haue knowne in Milaine, at the Momories of Saints, a certaine Theefe, who went thither with intention to deceiue by periury, was compelled to confesse his Theft, and to restore that which hee had stole.*

But of this matter, we haue a most famous and autenticall example in our owne Histories. *Elfred* or *Alfred*, a Nobleman of England, in the time of King *Adelstane*, conspired against him vvith certaine others: and beeing accused thereof, stood vpon the deniall, and because the prouers were not sufficient to conuince him, he was sent to *Rome* (as the Custome was then) to make his purgation by Oath, at the Altar of *S. Peter*, where he swore contrary to his Conscience, and presently fell down before the Altar, and dyed within three daies after. Vpon aduertisement whereof, King *Adelstane* gaue all the Lands of *Elfred*, to

the Church of Saint *Peter* in the Abbey of *Malmesbury*, by his Letters Patents; wherein, after the graunt of the sayde Lands, he declared the whole matter as it passed:

Also some yeares after, in the same age, *Lotharius* King of *Austrasia* (which contained all *Lorraine*, *Flanders*, & some part of *Germany*, *Burgundy*, and *France*) came to *Rome*, accompanied with his Nobility, in the time of *Adrian* the second, because he had bin excommunicated, for his diuorce frō his lawful wife *Theutperga*, and married with *Walrada* his Concubine. Now he was content, for his purgation thereof, to receiue the blessed Sacrament at the hands of Pope *Adrian*, together with his Nobility, whiche he did, protesting for his part, that he stood cleare of those things wherewith he was accused, which also his Nobility affirmed. But, as they departed from *Rome* homewards, there hapned such a strange disease among them, that *Lotharius* (having seene the death of most of his Noblemen) before he came to *Luca*, fell sicke there himselfe, and died within a few dayes after at *Placentia*; so that of all those that receiued the Sacrament with him, there liued not any one to the yeares end.

And nowe to returne vnto our owne Countrey. Earle *Godwin*, Father to *K. Harold*, hauing procured the vntimelie death of *Alfred*, Brother to King *Edward* the Confessor, denied it continually with solemne Oathes; and especiallie once, when he dined with the King. At what time, occasion beeing offered to speake of that matter, he took a piece of bread, and prayed to God, that the same might be his last, if he were any way consenting or priuy therto. And so eating the bread was choaked therewith, and died there in the Kings presence.

It is also obserued and testified by most of the old Historiographers of our countrey, that the ouerthrow of King *Harolde* by *William* the Conqueror, was a iust punishment of God vpon him for his periury, the Story is briefly thus. *Harold* being in *Normandy* with Duke *William*, in the time of King *Edward* the Confessor, promised for to assise him after the Kings death, in his pretence to the crown of *England*, which he also confirmed by solemne Oath. Whereupon, Duke *William*

Guliel. Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Angl. Lib. 2. cap. 6.

Regino. Chron. Agmoniu. Sigon. de Reg. Ital. An. 869. Naucler. Chron. An. 867. Baron. An. 868.

Henry Huntend in Hist. Lib. 6. Ingulphus Hist. Angl. 113. Polidor. Hist. Angl. Periury notably punished in Earle Godwine, Father to King Harold.

King Harold slaine by Duke William the Conqueror, in punishment of his periury.

liam affianced his Daughter to him, and because she was not then of yeares to be married: he tooke *Harolds* oath, to perform the mariage within a certain time after. But when the time appointed for the mariage came, and *Harold* shewed no care to perform any part of his promises, the Duke sent Messengers vnto him, to request of him the accomplishment thereof. But he, in stead of giuing satisfaction to the Duke: derided his Messengers, causing some of their Horses tailes to be cut off, and others to be lamed. Also, afterward, when King *Edward* dyed, he practised not onely to exclude the Duke from the Crowne: but also procured it for himself, pretending that his promise to the Duke, was made for feare, & therefore it could not binde him.

When the Duke was entred into *England* with his Army, and sollicitated him by Messengers, to haue care of his conscience, representing vnto him the seuerer iudgements of God on periured persons, offering to come to some reasonable composition with him: he made no account thereof, neither yet of the admonition of his owne Brother *Gurth* or *Girth*. Who aduised him seriously before the battaile, to retire himselfe, and leaue the conduct of the Army to him and others, who were not bound to the Duke vpon any oath or promise: least otherwise, GOD might suffer them all to bee quite ouerthrowne for his cause.

Whereto hee answered; *That he would put it in venter, and that God should be the Iudge thereof.* And so giuing the battaile, was slaine himselfe, and all his Army ouerthrowne. And although the said Conquest might seeme to be a punishment of God vpon the whol Realm; for the peoples sins: yet the perticuler disgrace, which happened to King *Harolds* person, may well bee thought to haue proceeded (by Gods iust iudgment) for his periurie, and so the English Chroniclers, which wrote in that age, doe signifie: As *Iugulphus*, *William of Malmsburie*, *Henry Huntendon*, *Mathew of Westminster*, *Matthew Paris*, and *Roger Houedon*, who speaking of the victory, saith. *Vere & absq; dubio, Dei iudicio a scribenda est, qui puniendo, scelus periurij, ostendit*

se Deum nolentem iniquitatem. Truly and without doubt, it is to bee ascribed to the iudgement of God, who punishing the sin of periurie, declared thereby, that hee is a GOD, who doth not like nor allow of iniquity.

10 But to come neerer to our time, *Phillip de Comines* noteth the manifest Iustice of God, in the disgracefull death of *Charles*, the last Duke of *Bourgundy*, thorough the treason of *Compobachio*, an *Italian*, shortly after that the saide *Charles* had betraied the *Count S. Paule*, and sent him Prisoner to *Lewes* the cleauenth, King of *France*; notwithstanding, that he had ginen him safe conduct to come into his Country.

20 Furthermore, I cannot omit *Cesar Borgia*, though I haue spoken of him diuers times before. For, as *Machiauell* worthily maketh him a Mirrour for his Tyranny, in respect of his manifold vices: so he may as worthily be proposed for an example of Gods Iustice, in regard of the manifold iudgements of God diuersly extended vpon him. And perticularly, in the punishment of his perfidioussesse and periury, whereby hee had deceiued and ruined diuers other principall personages: As *Liuerotto*, *Vitellozzo*, *Pagolo Vrsino*, and the duke of *Grauina*, whom he caused to be strangled; after they had rendred themselves to him vpon composition, and employed themselves faithfully in his seruice. Wherein Gods Iustice may bee noted, (by the way) in *Liuerotto*, who (a little before) had cruelly and trayterously murdered his owne Vnckle, and diuers other principall Cittizens of *Fermo*; hauing inuited them to a banquet in his owne house.

30 40 50 Which perfidious treachery of his, God punished (as it seemed) by the treachery and perfidioussesse of *Cesar Borgia*: who also receiued the like measure himselfe, by others. For, whereas he had taken an oath of fortie principall personages, to assist him after his Fathers death: he was forsaken of them all, and putting himselfe (afterward) into the handes of *Henando Gonçales*, Governour of *Naples*, vpon his safe conduct; he was also betrayed by him, and sent Prisoner into *Spaine*, as else-where is signified.

The words of *Roger Houeden*, an ancient Chronicler.

Phil. de Com. Chron. du Roy Louis. Cap. 83. & 91.

Charles Duke of Bourgundy worthily betrayed.

Cesar Borgia punished iustly for his perfidious Treachery.

Guicciardin in Lib. 8. Hist.

Liuerotto hauing traiterously murdered his Vnckle, was traiterously murdered himselfe.

Idem Ibid.

Regard of Oath and promises vtterly forgotten by *Harold*.

Duke *Williams* honourable proceeding with *Harold*, at his entrance into *England*.

The vnaduised answer of *Harold* to his kind Brother *Girth*.

The ancient Antiquaries that auouch this History.

The

Swius An. 1517
Another ex-
ample of Chri-
stiern, King of
Denmarke and
Norwy.

Olaus. Mag. in
Lib. 8. Cap. 39.

Christiern ex-
pulsed from
his kingdome
by his owne
subiects, and
after ward
poysoned in
Prison.

Munster. Geo-
graph. Lib. 4.

Martin du Bel-
ley. An. 1527.
The Duke of
Bourbon slaine
at the sledge
of Rome in
punnishment
of his periury.

The like Iustice of God may bee no-
ted also in *Christiern*, King of *Denmarke*
and *Norway*, who married a Sister of the
Emperour *Charles* the fift, in the time of
Henry the eight, King of *England*. This
Christiern besiedging *Stockholme* in *Swe-*
tia, tooke it by composition, binding
himselſe to certaine conditions, not on-
ly by Oath, but also by receyving the
blessed Sacrament. Which conditions,
he obserued for some few dayes, till hee
had the Castle, and all the strongest pla-
ces of the towne in his owne hands, and
that hee had furnished them with men
and munition. But then, inuiting all the
Noblemen and Magistrates to a Ban-
quet, to the number of ninety foure per-
sons: he imprisoned and after kild them,
with a great number of the Cittizens.
And finding, that verie manie escaped
him, by hiding themselues, he promised
(by Proclamation) life and libertie to all
those which were left aliue, whereupon
they all shewed themselues, and were all
miserably slaine. But within a while af-
ter, he was driuen out of his kingdome
by his owne subiects; and when he hadde
wandered from Countrey to Countrey
in all pouerty and misery for the space of
ten yeaes, he was receiued again by some
of the chiefest Nobility, who although
they promised him obedience and assi-
stance vnto their handes and seales, yet
they tooke him prisoner vpon his ente-
rance, and (within a while) poysoned
him in prison: thus was his perfidious
falshood iustly repayed with the like. Af-
ter whose deposition and death, his Vn-
kle *Fredericke* a worthy Prince, was cho-
sen King of *Denmark*.

About the same time, the Duke of
Bourbon, being fled from *France* the first
King of *France*, to the seruice of the Em-
perour *Charles* the fift, Emperour, and
made by him Governour of *Millayne*: he
so exasperated the people by his exaci-
ons and crueltie, that they rose against
him.

Insomuch, that to pacifye them, he
bound himselſe by Oath to certaine con-
ditions, praying withall to Almightye
God, that in case he did not exactly per-
forme them, he might be slaine by a bul-
let, in the first occasion of warre which
he offered. Neuerthelesse, hee fell after-
ward againe to his former course, with-
out regard of his Oath, and being (with-

in a while after) made Generall of the
Emperours Army in *Italy*, he was timul-
tuously carried by his Souldiers (against
his will) to the sledge of *Rome*, where he
was presently slaine with a piece of Ar-
tillery of his owne, negligently dischar-
ged by his Soldiers, and so payed the pe-
naltie of his periury, according vnto the
iudgement and sentence which hee had
(prophetically as it were) giuen against
himselſe.

Now then, I wish all *Machiullians* to
consider heere three thinges, which are
eident by these alledged examples. The
first, how detestable all periury and per-
fidiousnesse is in the sight of God. The
second, how dangerous it is to Princes,
in respect of Gods wrath, which may fal-
vpon them and their states for the same
through the seuerity of Gods Iustice; a-
gainst which, no humane policy or po-
wer is able to defend them. The third,
is a necessary consequent of these two, to
wit; that all *Machiullian* remedies (con-
sisting partly in humane prudence and
diligence; and partly in force, and
strength of Guards, Garrisons, Fortref-
ses, and such like) are most friuolous and
vaine when God is offended; and will
punish for sinne. Whereupon it fol-
loweth also, that the aforesaid remedies
are (in like manner) insufficient, to pro-
tect a perfidious Prince from the danger
of humane punishment, which is com-
ly but a sequel and effect of the iust iudg-
ments of God. In whose hand, are the
hearts and willes of all men, and who v-
seth the same as his Instruments, to exe-
cute his Iustice vpon Princes, when they
deserue it.

Besides, it is eident enough in true
reason of state, that although there were
no danger at all of Gods wrath: yet these
and such other *Machiullian* pollicies, are
not only insufficient to prevent or reme-
dy the inconueniences, which Wicked
Princes incurre by the hatred of Men,
but also do (many times) encrease theyr
dangers, and helpe to prapitate them
to the vtter destruction, whereof I shall
haue better occasion to speake heereaf-
ter.

In the meane time, this shall suffice,
for so much as concerneth the Vertue of
fidelity in a Prince, with this conclusion.
That because the danger which groweth
vnto Princes by fraud and deceite; pro-
ceedeth

Paulus Iouinus
de expug. orbis
Romae.

Three things
to be conside-
red and noa-
ted of Machi-
uillians in the
premisses.

The insuffici-
ency and va-
nity of Ma-
chiuillian pol-
licie, for the
defence of a
wicked Prince

Concerning
the danger of
mens harred,
that may be a
meanes to
further detri-
ment.

All reputation
of vertue
ought to be
grounded vpon
sincerity
and truth.

Prover. 10,
9, 10, 11

The reputati-
on of the
Princes pow-
er and great-
nesse.

Opinion of
the Princes
weaknesse is
the Mother
of conspira-
cies.

Augustus Caesar
laboured
greatly to
conferue the
reputation of
his greatnesse
Cor. Tacit. in
Lib. 1. Annal.
Iustin. in Lib. 3.

Great Xerxes
ruined by the
losse of repu-
tation.

ceedeth principally from the iust Iudgements of God; therefore, the yong Statist and Councillor (whom I labour to informe) ought to vnderstand concerning this, as well as all other Vertues, that the reputation thereof, which he is to desire and procure in his Prince, is to be grounded not vpon vaine shewes and apparances of counterfeit vertue (which God of his Iustice will discouer, and punish sooner or later) but vpon the solide Foundation of all sinceritie and trueth, which is the surest piller and stay of all humain actions, and most grateful both to God and man. And therefore, the Wiseman sayeth; *Qui ambulat simpliciter, ambulat confidentur. He that walketh simply and plainly, walketh boldly and surely. Et qui deprauat vias suas, manifestus erit. And he which runneth an indirect course, shalbe made manifest.*

It resteth now, that I saie some-what, (though verie briefly) of the reputation of a Princes power and greatnesse, the losse and decay whereof, emboldneth his enemies, discourageth his friends, and layeth open his person to the contempt of all men, yea, and his state to infinite daungers. For, as the reputation of a Princes greatnesse, wealth, and power, striketh a feare and terror into the hearts as well of his owne subiects, as strangers, and with-holdeth them from conspiring against him: euen so, the opinion of his weaknesse, worketh the contrary effect, and is the verie Mother and Nurffe of Rebellions, Conspiracies, and all hostile attempts. And no man knoweth howe small an enterprize may ouerthrow the greatest State in the world, seeing it dependeth vpon the successe which no man can warrant, and many times is such that it deceyueth all mens expectations. Therefore, the surest and wisest way is, to vse all preuentions, that nothing bee attempted against the State.

To which purpose, the reputation of a Princes power, force, and greatnesse, is highly auailable, the which Augustus Caesar knew so well, that hauing lost an Army in Germany, of 40000. men: yet he continued the warre for no other reason or necessity (as Tacitus noteth) then to maintaine the opinion and reputation of his power, least otherwise, the might grow to be contemned as the great Xerxes was; who hauing terrified all Greece,

with his huge Armie of a Million of men, was (vpon his ouerthrowe and returne into Persia) so despised, that he was slaine by one of his owne subiectes. So dangerous it is, and damageable vnto a Prince, to loose reputation; how great soeuer it be. Whereupon I conclude, that it importeth a wise Councillour to measure and waigh all the commoditie and benefite of his Prince: as well with his reputation, as with his Conscience, though not in the like degree.

For, although reputation be the chief externall good of man: yet it is inferior to the internall, that is to say, vnto the goods of the mind, whereof a pure conscience is the principall, because therein consisteth the chiefe felicity of man, as Saint Ambrose saith. Beside, the benefite which redoundeth to Princes, by clearnesse of Conscience, is the fauour and protection of Almighty God, to them and their States heere in this world, and eternall saluation of their soules in the next. And the damage that ensueth of a corrupt and sinfull Conscience, is Gods indignation in this life (whereby the greatest Monarkes and their Monarkies, haue perished) and euerlasting damnation in the world to come. Whereas (on the other side) all the benefit or damage which the gaine or losse of reputation, can yeild (beeing considered in it selfe) extendeth no further then the fauour or disfauour of men: who can neither vphold him whom GOD ouerthroweth, nor ouerthrow the man whom God protecteth. For, as the Apostle saith, *Si Deus pro nobis, &c. If God be for vs, what matter makes it who is against vs?*

Whereupon it followeth; that whether we regard the dignity and benefit of Conscience and Reputation, or else the damage that ensueth by the blemish of either of them: the respect of conscience is farre to be preferred before the other, and the losse of reputation is then principally to be feared, when Conscience is foully stained and polluted. For then the Prince lying open to the contempt and hatred, as well of God as man, hath no defence, but may well feare and expect punishment from both. And so much the rather, because the losse and want of reputation, is one especiall meanes whereby God vseth to execute his iust iudgement on wicked Princes: it being

All benefite of
the Prince to
be weighed
with his repu-
tation & con-
science, but
not in like
degree.

Reputation,
though it be
the chiefe ex-
ternall good,
is inferior to
Conscience.
Ambr. in Lib. 1.
de Offic. Cap. 12

The damage
that ensueth
to the Prince,
by a bad Con-
science.

How farre the
gaine or losse
of reputation
may hurt or
auaile.
Rom. 8, 31.

The losse of
reputation is
chiefely to be
feared when
Conscience is
stained.

They that contemne God, shall iuftly be condemned by men.

The losse of reputation is nothing fo dangerous when confci-ence is cleare.

The comfort of a good Confci-ence.

2 Cor. 1, 12.

A good de-figment is not to be left off, for feare of falfe Rumours.

Plutarch in Fa- bio. Cicero in Lib. 1. de Offic.

The noble faying of Fa- bious Maximus.

Ennius apud Cicero. Lib. 1. de Offic.

ing moft confont to Iuftice and Rea- fon, that they who contemne and difobey their Soueraigne Lord, King and Crea- tor, fhould be ruined by the contempt, hatred, and difobedience of their owne fubiefts. And this danger (I fay) is iuftlie to be feared, when both reputation and confci-ence are ftained.

But when Confci-ence is pure and en- tire, the losse and reputation is nothing fo dangerous. For, although the iuftest and beft men, are fometimes fo calumni- ated, that they incurre great infamie and difgrace through the praftifes of the wicked: yet forafmuch as the fame hath no ground at all, it vanifheth away like fmoak, and is euer through Gods iuftice) difcouered & cleared in the end, to their greater reputation and honour. In the meane time, they haue the comfort, not only of Gods protection, as I haue formerly faid: but alfo of their owne Con- fciences, the good reputation whereof, giueth (in fuch cafes) inestimable confo- lation. And therefore, the blessed Apo- ftle, faith; *Gloria noſtra hac eſt testi- monium confciencia noſtra: The Testimonie of our Confci-ence is our glory.* In which reſpect, Wiſe, and Vertuous Princes, though they haue due care of their re- putation, yet doe not fo much regarde falſe rumors when their Confci-ence is cleare, as to forbear the execution of any good and neceſſary deſignment, for the feare thereof. But rather follow the Councell and example of the Wiſe and valiant Conſull, *Fabius Maximus, Qui non penebat rumores ante ſalutem; Who preferred not rumors, before the good of the Commonwealth.* For, although his delays againſt *Hannibal*, were (through the malice of his enemies) much calu- niated and generally condemned by the common people, as proceeding of Co- wardiſe, yet hee was nothing mooued therewith, holding it, as he ſaid, *A greater Cowardiſe to leaue a good purpoſe, for feare of mens tongues, then to leaue the field, for feare of an enemy.* In which re- ſpect he continued his courſe, vntill hee had thereby, waſted and conſumed the forces of *Hannibal*, with ſecuritie to the Romain State. For which, he was after- ward highly commended, becauſe (as *En- nius* ſaith) *Cunctando reſtituit rem: By delays, hee repaired and reſtored the ſtate of the Romaines.*

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Neuertheſſe, in ſuch caſes alſo, al di- ligence is to be vſed by Princes and their Councillors, to take away the ſcandall and aſperſions, that may growe by erro- neous conceit of their actions, although their Conſciences be neuer ſo cleare. Whereupon *S. Auguſtine* ſaith, *That he which neglecteth his fame or good, truſting to his Conſci-ence, is cruel.* And thereof he yeildeth a reaſon: *Becauſe* (ſaith hee) *he killeth the ſoules of others.* For, although he do not the euill that is ſuppoſed, yet the very ſuſpition thereof, ſerueth as a ſtumbling blocke. to ouerthrow ſuch as are weak and ill diſpoſed. And therefore, *S. Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *That conſci-ence & fame being two thinges, the one of them is neceſſary for vs; & the other for our neigh- bor.* And, *that he which keepeth his conſci-ence cleare, doth good to himſelfe: but hee which preſerueth his fame, doth good to o- thers.*

For this cauſe alſo, *Plato* requireth in euery good and vertuous man, that hee haue eſpeciall care, to leaue behind him an eternall reputation and fame of his vertues, to the end, to ſtirre vp not onely men of his time, but all poſterity alſo, to the imitation thereof. Which is moſt ne- ceſſarie in publick perſons, and eſpecial- ly in Princes, becauſe their example inci- teth to vertue or vice, much more then the example of priuat men. And therefore not only by reaſon of ſtate, but alſo con- ſci-ence bindeth them, to be moſt careful of their reputation and good name, and not to permit the leaſt blemish thereof, (though it be neuer ſo vniuſt) if it may be conueniently remedied. But when it can- not be holpen, without ſome greater de- triment to themſelues, or to the Com- monwealth, then it is to be endured with patience. For, both reaſon and equity re- quire, that the publicke and common good be preferred before any mans per- ticuler benefit, and that of two inconue- niences the leſſe is to be preferred and choſen, wherof Conſci-ence alſo is to be Iudge.

Therefore I conclude, that whereas Commoditie, Conſci-ence, and Reputa- tion are to be reſpected in all Deli- berations concerning Princes affayres, Conſci-ence ought to predominate, and to ſerue for the touchſtone and rule, as well of reputation, as of all Temporall commodities. And therein a Councillor

G g g g shall

Good fame not to be contemned, vpon confidence of a good Conſci-ence. *Auguſt Ser. 49. Cap. 1. et de bo- no viduitatis. Cap. 21.*

The prefer- uation of a mans good name, is ne- ceſſary for his Neighbour. *Auguſt. ibid.*

Plutarch. Epiſt. ad Dionyſium. 2. Why a man ſhould ſeeke to leaue an euerlaſting Fame.

In what caſe an vniuſt blemish of reputa- tion is to be tollerated.

Publique good alwayes to be prefer- red before particuler be- nefite.

Conſci-ence is the Touch- ſtone of all reputation & commodity.

Cicero in Lib. 1. de Offic. A Councillor should holde for a ground, that nothing is profitable, that is not honest.

shall well discharge his dutie, if in al consultations, he hold the knowne Axiome of Cicero for his ground, to wjt: *Nil est utile quod non sit honestum*, Nothing is profitable, that is not honest. Which point Cicero discourseth, and teacheth notably in his Offices.

CHAP. VIII.

What a Councillor is to consider in the matters which are to be consulted.

Concerning matters to be consulted.



And now to com to the last point of my diuision, that is, what a Councillor is to regard, in the matter it selfe that is to be consulted: it is to be vnderstood, that although the affaires of state are infinit, and therefore, cannot sufficiently bee reduced to perticular rules, yet some things are generally to be considered in all matters, whereof I wil touch some few.

It is necessary for a Councillor to know the state of forreigne Princes.

First, for a necessary preamble and preparatiue to all deliberations in matters of State, it is to be considered, that in respect of the connexion, which perticular affairs of State either haue, or may haue, with the general state of forrain Princes it is conuenient for a councillor to haue bin a traoueller, or els to procure by all means to haue an exact knowledge, not only of his own Princes state and affairs, but also of the estates and affaires of other Princes, especially of such as are his Princes neighbors, enemies or confederates. To this end, two things are requisite, that he be affable and courteous to al men, and willing to hear them, and confer with them, especially strangers, because he may learn by them many things more, then otherwise he can attayne to know, concerning the state of forraigne Princes and countries. For as the Spanish Prouerb saith, *Mas sabe el necio en su casa, que el cuerdo en la ageno*, A foole knoweth more in his owne house, then a wiseman doth in another mans. And although a Councillor may be many times troubled with impertinent matters, yet hee shall withall vnderstand many thinges, which may import him much to know. And there is no man so wise, but he may somtimes heare of a simple man, somewhat that may serue him to verie good pur-

A Councillor should bee courteous and affable to strangers, and why.

A Spanish Prouerbe to good purpose.

The wisest man may learne something of the simplest.

pose: therefore the trouble (in this case is to bee borne with patience, in respect of the benefit that he may reap thereby.

A Councillor ought to procure frequent intelligences out of forreigne Countries, and of what matters.

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The other thing necessary for a councillor better information, is to procure frequent aduises and intelligences, by Letters from all parts, of the State, humors, and disposition of forraign Princes; of all changes and innouations in their Courts and Countreyes: Of the Mariages and Alliances of them, their Children, and their most powerful subjects: Of Ambassages too and fro, and their Treaties: Of prouisions and preparations for warre, both by Sea and Land, and their intentions therein: Of all Taxes and impositions laid vpon the people, or other leauies of Monies: Of the diuisions that fall out amongst the Nobility or common people, and of their discontentments: Finally, of al matters that may tend to the establishment and strengthening, or to the weakening and innouating of other Princes States. For, although a Councillor shal by this meanes, heare manie vntruths: yet hee shall verie often receiue aduise of important matters, whereof he may make good vse and benefit.

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And being a man of iudgement, and hauing intelligence with manie, he may easily discern truths from falshoods, by conferring their aduises together, especially, if hee take order that his Intelligencers doe not know of one anothers employment.

What benefit a Councillor shall reape by frequent intelligence, although hee may hear many vntruths.

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Finally, he shal by this meanes, not only iudge better and more clearly of al matters occurring for his Princes seruice, but shal also make himselfe much more grateful to his Prince, by his diligence: and be more intrinsical with him, by occasion of his frequent aduices of forren newes, which Princes are alwayes most desirous to heare. And thus much for the first point.

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Secondly, a Councillor is to consider, that in all matters of Council, 3. things are especially to be respected, as Thomas Aquinas (following Aristotle) noateth. The fyrst, a due end. The second, conuenient meanes. And the third fyt time and season, that is to say, that the end and meanes be not only lawfull, iust, and honorable in themselves, and in their owne Nature: but also to the person, state, and power of the Prince. For, if there bee any

Three things especially to be respected in euery matter. Tho Aquin 2. 2. Q. 51. Aristot. in Lib. 6. Ethic.

any inconuenience or disproportion in any of these, I meane, if the meanes bee not conuenient, for the obtaining of the end; or, if the end or meanes be impossible, or aboue the might and power of the Prince, or base, or any way vnfit for his state and person, or if the counsell be giuen out of due time and season, especially too late: it loofeth all grace, & cannot be accounted either good or prudent.

To this purpose I say, that according to *Platoes* rule, he who is to giue his opinion of any matter, *ought first to vnderstand & know full y the state ther of with all the circumstances.* For mans iudgement is grounded on his knowledge, and guided therby, & some one litle circumstance vnknowne may wholly alter the case: Inasmuch, that a simple man may iudg more wisely thereof, then a far wiser man that knoweth lesse. And the reason why wise men do not alwaies iudg with like wisdom and prudence in all causes, is, because they do not vnderstand them alike.

But to proceed, the state and circumstances of the matter beeing once fullie knowne to the Councillor, he is then to passe to the consideration of the inconueniences, difficulties, dangers, discommodities, & commodities therof, which may minister diffrent arguments, *Pro et contra*, in the discussion wherof, the prudence of a Councillor is especially seen. And heere I note by the way (thogh perhaps I may seeme to digresse from the matter) that some men, who haue great viuacity and sharpnes of wit, to find out inconueniences to foresee dangers, and to propound obiections, doubts, and difficulties, haue no maturity of iudgement, to clear and deside them, or to find out remedies. And some others, who are of more sound iudgement, are lesse sharp of wit. Again, some who are of good capacity, haue so litle corage, that they are dismayd with euery difficulty, and therefore cannot easily resolue on anie thing. Whereas some others, of lesse capacitie, and more corage, resolue more easily in any occasion. So that we may say with the Poet, *Non omnia possumus omnes, We cannot al do al things.* And therefore *Phil. de Comines*, obserueth very wel, that it is conuenient for Princes to haue many counsellors, to the end, that one of them may supply the defects of another *For the wisest* (saith he) *erre oft-times either through*

passion, or through hate or affection, or thorough the indisposition of the persons, especially after dinner. And if any thinke, that such ought not to be made Councillors, it may be answered, that we are al men. And whosoever wil haue none to be of a Princes council, that erre at any time in speech or opinion, or are otherwhiles mooued, and led with passion or affection, he must seek them in heauen, for in earth, none such are to be found. Thus saith he, who was himselfe a graue and wise counsellor, which I note heere by the way, to the end, that young Councillors may learne, neither to assure themselves much on their owne opinions, nor rashly to condemne others of their fellow-Councillors, if they erre and be deceiued sometimes.

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And to prosecute this digression yet a little further, I also adde, that it is necessary for a Prince, to haue his Councill composed like mans body, that is, of men of different complexions & humors, to the end, that the Chollerick heate, and hasty feaour of some, may bee tempered with the Flegmatick coldnesse, and slow resolution of some other, and that the pinacity of some mens sanguine spirites, may be somewhat depressed and counterpoized with the maturity of some others melancholy iudgements, which *Aristotle* holdeth to be the soundest in matters of State. Whereby the whole bodie of the Councill, may be reduced vnto a perfect temperature, so that the predominant qualitie therein be found in most, or in some at the least, which may helpe to correct the peccant and offensive humors of the rest, restrain the superfluity of ouer flowing conceits, cleare doubts and difficulties, and satisfye Obiections which proceedeth (manie times) from them who are not able to resolue them, yet serue to great purpose in Councils, to whet the wits, and open the vnderstanding of men of iudgement. This I haue thought good to touch by the way, that the young Councillor, whom I aduise, may vnderstande somewhat, as well of the Nature and Condition of a Councill, as of the Office and duty of a Councillor.

But now to return to the consideration of matters to be consulted, it is requisite, that a Councillor do prudently weigh and compare the discommodities with the comodities, & inconueniences with

All Councillors erre at one time or other.

A Princes Councill ought to be composed of men of different humours.

The melancholly iudgement most sounde.

Arist. in Proble. Sect. 30. quest. 1.

To whet the wit, and open the vnderstanding.

Consideration of matters to be consulted.

Plato in Phedro. Necessary to know the state of the matter, with all the circumstances. One litle circumstance vnknowne, may cause great error in resolution. Why wise men doe not alwaies iudg with like prudence.

What is particularly to be considered in euery matter.

The difference that may be noated in the ability of Councillors.

Mature and sound iudgement. Sharpnesse of witte. Lacke of corage.

Phil. Com. in Chron. du Roy Louis Cap. 27. Why it is conuenient for Princes to haue many Councillors.

No commodity without a discommodity.

What is to be foreseene and provided for in euery matter.

He that will hazard nothing shall win nothing.

What is to be considered concerning danger, and the prevention thereof.

Better one Bird in the hand, then two in the Bush.
Cor. Tacit. in Annal.
Resolutions are to be grounded vpon probable reasons and sufficient meanes.

Nothing of importance is to be left to chance.

the remedies, the difficulties & dangers, with the possibility and probability to ouercome them. And not to reiect a verie commodious and honorable designment, because it is costly, or some way discommodious or difficult and hard, or some way dangerous. For as the prouerb saith; *There is no commodity without discommodity, nor any thing honorable, which is not difficult.* And therefore, it is to be foreseene and provided, that the commodities may ouerweigh the damages, that the gaine quite the cost, that euery inconuenience haue a due remedie; that euery difficulty be some way facilitated; that euery important danger may be probably prevented or escaped; that of commodities (which cannot be had together) the greater be chosen; and of inconueniences (when all cannot be auoided) the least be admitted. All which being foreseene, and probably provided for, anie important action whatsoever, may be determined, councelled, and vnder taken, notwithstanding some dangers may be incident thereto. For he that will not take paines to cracke the Nut, cannot eat the kernell, and he that will hazarde nothing, shall win nothing: *for nought venter (saith the Prouerb; nought haue.*

Yet this is to be vnderstood; that the danger be not ouer-great, which may partly be provided for, if it be foreseene, that the greatest danger rather doth concerne some circumstance of the matter, then the principall partes, or the whole body of the plot; that the benefit expected, exceed the losse which may be feared; that no certaine thing of moment be aduantaged, for a thing vncertain. For *better one Bird in the hand, then two in the bush*: that of matters doubtfull, which cannot fully be resolued, the lesse doubtfull, or more assured be preferred. And finally, that the hope of benefit be grounded vpon probable reason, and sufficient meanes to atchieue the same, and not vpon chance, which is so vncertain, that no man may safely build any important matter thereon. And therefore, *Tiberius Caesar* helde it for a ground, as *Cornelius Tacitus* witnesseth, *Non omittre caput rerum, neque se in casum dare, Not to let slip the first opportunities, nor to adventure himselfe or his estate vpon chance* That is to say, not to hazard himselfe or his state in any enterprize, when he hath not suffi-

cient probability of good successe.

For, although the euent of al plots that are put in execution, is casual, depending vpon the will of God: yet it is a wise mans part, to do that which lieth in him, to assure it by all probable and conuenient meanes, and then to leaue the rest to Gods disposition. For otherwise, hee should tempt God, and offend him by his negligence: and therefore, without this probability of assurance, no matter of importance ought to be attempted by a wise man. Except in desperat cases, when the necessity is so great and so sudden (as sometimes it falleth out to be) that there is no time or place for discourse. For, then there is no remedie; but to trust only to God and a mans good fortune, which falleth out many times better, then by humane discourse can be expected or immagined. As it did to *Iulius Caesar*, who finding himselfe vnable to giue battel to *Pompey*, because his forces wer not arriued, and being (in the meane time) constrained to go to sea in a litle Frigot, in such stormy rough seas, that the Pilot wold not passe forth, discovered himself, and bad him set sail and go forward in any case, because he carried *Caesar* and his fortune: which succeeded wel, for thereby he escaped at that time, and afterward ouerthrew *Pompey*, and became Emperor of the world. But this he did, because he had no other remedie, thinking it better to put himselfe to the mercy of the seas, then of his enimie.

And in such desperat and sudden exigents, when there is no time and place for wisdom and discourse, the counsell of some woman or simple fellow, may be better then of the wisest man. For that (as *Aristotle* sayth) some such being by the giift of God, born fortunate, and following the impulse and motion of nature, may aduise or execute more happily, then men of great wisdom, who pondering all things in the ballance of reason and discourse, do not followe many times, a fortunat motion in themselves, nor happy counsell of others, because they see not some good and probable or reasonable ground for the same wherby they forgoe and loose their good fortune. And this is the reason, why the common Prouerbe saith, *That a Womans Counsell is neuer good but vpon the sudden.* For when Women counsell according to their first motion, they

What euery wife man should very diligently obserue.

In extremities a man must trust to God and his good Fortune.

Of *Iulius Caesar*, and his Fortune.
Plutarch in Iulio Caesar.

In extremities, the counsell of a simple man may be good, and why.
Aristot. de bona Fortuna.

Why a womans Counsell is neuer good but vpon the sudden

they may counsell fortunately, either by chance, or by some naturall impulse or motion: whereas, falling to discourse of reason, or to deliberation, they sildom or neuer counsell wisely, through the infirmity and weaknesse of their iudgement. And to this purpose, *Aristotle* alledgeth the old Prouerb, *Fortuna fauet fatuis, fortune fauoureth fooles*, as I haue signified before, concerning this point.

Heerupon I conclude two things. The one, that except in case of necessity, a wise-man ought to leaue nothing vnto chance, that may be any way assured by reasonable meanes, in respect of the danger that may ensue thereby. For, although dangerous counsels (grounded vpon hope of good fortune) speede well somtimes by meer chance, yet they proued most commonly pernicious. And therefore, the Wiseman sayeth wiselie: *Qui amat periculum peribit in illo, He that loueth danger, shal perish therein.*

The other Conclusion is, that seeing men are many times put to such sudden extremitities, that they haue no time or opportunity to aduise themselues, or to consult with others: it is most necessaric that they arme and prouide themselues against the same, by frequent Praier, and by dayly recommending al their actions to almighty God, the authour and giuer of all good successe. To the end, that he may (in such cases) guide, protect, and prosper them: and this I hold to bee the foundest aduise, that any counsellor can giue to his Prince. Thus much for the second consideration.

The third, shall be to ponder and examine diligently, not onely the present state of the matter, and the immediate or next sequel thereof: but also, what may be like to succeed from time to time: and especially, what may be the conclusion, or (as I may terme it) the vpshot of the whol. For many times it falleth out, that designments prosper wel for a while, and yet ouerthrow the authors or attempters in the end: not so much by Fortune or chance, as by ouer-sight in the counsellor or contriuer thereof. For hee being deceiued with the appearaunce or hope of some present, or neere commoditie, fore seeth not, or else neglecteth some future and finall disgrace. Much like vnto the sicke-man, who following his owne appetite, eateth or drinketh some

one thing, which refresheth and contenteth him for the present, yet augmenteth his disease, or killeth him in the end.

In this point, all wicked and *Machiwillian* Councelles fayle for the most part, which do often succede well for a time, thorough Gods permission, for secret causes best knowne vnto his Diuine Wisedome: but in the end, do destroy Princes and their States, partlie thorough the Iustice of almighty God, and partly by the errour and negligence of the Councellours in true reason of State, as shall be more at large prooued heereafter.

In the meane time I adde for the present, a fourth Consideration to the same purpose, to wit; that a Wise Counsellor ought to weigh the Commoditie of euery thing, with the stability and security thereof: and not to aduise his Prince with a fewe yeares present pleasure or benefit, to purchase manie yeares future paine or discommoditie. But, rather to endure some disaduantage or damage for a time, when thereby he may attaine to some stable and permanent good afterward.

And this he may learne, by the course that Nature holdeth in humain affaires, ordaining Motion for rest, businessse for repose, Labour for ease, and payne for pleasure. In which respect, a Wiseman labourereth when he is young, to rest in his Olde age, and taketh a loathsome Potion, or bitter Pill, to recouer health, and willingly endureth all Temporall miserie, to attaine in the end to eternall Felicitie. This (I say) not onely Nature, but also true Wisedome) which alwayes followeth the course and steps thereof) doth teach vs no lesse in matters of State, then in all other humayne affayres.

Therefore by the same reason, a counsellor ought also to prefer a certain and durable commodity, though it be lesse, before a greater, that is short and vncertaine. To which purpose, *Theopompus* K. of *Licedemonia*, answered the Queen his wife very well, when shee lamented to him, that he wold leaue his roiall authority lesse to his children, then he had receiued it, because he had ordained certaine Controllers of Kings, called *Ephori*, *No* (quoth he) *I shal leaue it the greater,*

Some impro- uident Coun- cellors com- pared to sicke men.

Wherein all wicked and *Machiwillian* counsels fail: for the most part.

Commodity to be weighed with stability and security.

The course of Nature to be followed in the delibera- tion of mat- ters of State.

Plutarch in his Treatise whe- ther a Prince ought to be learned.

Aristot. de bona Fortuna.

Nothing is to be left to chance, but in case of necessity.

Eccles. 3, 27. He which loües danger, shall perish in it.

The necessity of daily re- commendati- on of our acti- ons to God.

Diligent pon- dering and examination in the present state of the matter, & fu- ture successe.

The ouer- sight in some Councillors.

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The greatnes of Princely authority to be measured by the Stability thereof.

What is chiefly to be considered, concerning Stability

True Stability is Eternity.

Sufficient rules cannot be giuen, in perticular concerning matters of State.

Concerning the maintenance of a ciuill warre in a forreigne Country.

because it shalbe more firme and sure. Thus sayd he, wisely measuring the benefite of Princely Authority, was so much by greatnesse, as by surety and stabilitie, whereto all the Councelles and endeaours of Wise Councillours and Statists ought chiefly to tend: yet with this consideration, that although of worldly things, some are more stable and permanent then others: yet there is no true stability in any of them; and that therefore, all Wisemens Councelles are especially directed, to the attaining of Heauenlye things, wherein is true stability and eternity. Thus much for considerations to be had in generall, concerning matters to be consulted.

And, forasmuch as sufficient Rules cannot be giuen in perticular, concerning the same, in respect that the affaires of State are infinite and variable, by reason of the infinite occasions & accidents which fall out dayly to be considered (all which may require different considerations, according to the different Nature and quality of the matters, and the sundrie circumstances of times, places, and persons) I haue therefore thought good (for examples sake, and the instruction of young Statists) to handle and debate heere, some one matter of State, by way of discourse. And because occasion is offered oftentimes, to deliberate about the maintenance of a Ciuill Warre in a forraigne Countrey, I will set downe mine Opinion, what aduise a yong Statist may safely giue, concerning the same.

CHAP. IX.

For the better enstruction, and more perticular information of a young Councillour, concerning matters to be consulted: a matter of State is debated, to wit; What is to be considered in a deliberation, touching the maintenance of a Ciuill Warre, in a forraigne Countrey.



Who soeuer shall giue aduice concerning the maintenance of a Ciuill warre, in a Forraigne Countrey, it shal be conuenient for him (in my

fancy) for to consider principally these points following.

First, the Equity and Iustice of the cause, as well on his Princes part, to wit; whither it may be iust and lawful in him, to giue the assistance demanded: as also, whether their quarrell, which demand the same, be lawfull and iust, or no. For, if Iustice and Equitie want in cyther of both, no commodity that a Prince can receyue or expect, can counteruaile the dishonor, danger, and damage which he shall assuredly incurre by the offence of Almighty God. *Qui auferit spiritum Principum; & terribilis est apud Reges terra. Who taketh the spirit of Princes away and is terrible to the Kinges of the Earth.* And will assuredly exact the penaltie thereof on him, or perhaps on his state, or on both, sooner or later. Which is the chiefe and highest point of state, to be considered in all deliberations of princes, seeing the vtter destruction and ruin of them and their estates, proceedeth principally from the offence of God, as hath bin more at large before discussed.

It is also to be considered, what good and iust motiues his Prince may haue on his own part, to giue the succors demanded, which may be reduced to four cases. The first, when he may thereby do some notable seruice to God, which is alwaies in it selfe not only honorable but profitable, as it were mony put to intrest, in respect of the reward which hee shall assuredly receiue at gods hands for the same howsoeuer it succeed for the present.

The second case is, when he is bound by Oath, promise, or gratitude, to succour the party that craueth his aide. For in such case, the omission thereof (when it may iustly and conueniently be done) were both offensiue to God, & also, dishonorable and dangerous to a Prince, as wel in respect of Gods punishment for his periury, as also for the bad example, and iust occasion he should giue vnto others his Allies and confederats, yea, and to his owne subiects to forsake him in his necessity.

The third case is, when the Prince of whom the succour is demanded, hath a iust pretence vnto a forraigne Crowne or State, for the obtayning whereof, he may hope to haue a party, by maintaining a iust quarrell in the same State or Country. Wherein respect is to be had, that

The equity of the cause to be considered two wayes.

Psalm. 76. 11.

The highest point of State, to be considered.

Iust motiues on the Princes part to giue succour.

Some notable seruice to God.

Obligation by oath, promise, or gratitude.

A iust pretence to a forreigne Crowne or State.

that the Princes own forces be sufficient for the execution of his enterprife, that he shall not neede to relie further vpon his partie; then onely to facilitate the same. For, if his hope of good successe, eyther in obtaining his pretence, or in conseruing or maintaining it afterward, doe chiefly depend vpon the good will, fidelity, and strength of such a party: he buildes (as a man may say) vpon the Sand, and puts in aduerture his labour, charges, and reputation.

Heereof wee haue had a lamentable example not many yeares past, in *Sebastian*, King of *Portugall*, who hoped to make himselfe King of *Marocco*, vnder colour to restore thereto *Muley Mahomet*, whereof he made so sure account; that he carryed a Crowne with him, to Crowne himselfe King there. Not considering, that his aduersary *Muley Molucco* (who was in possession of that kingdome) was not onely most valiant for his person: but able also to put into the field for his defence, about 100000. Horse and foote.

Against whom neuerthelesse, King *Sebastian* vndertook the enterprife, with an Army of 13000. Souldiors, or there about, the most of them vntained: beside, neither he himselfe, nor any that did commaund the Army vnder him, had euer borne Armes before. In so much, that he trusted (as it seemed) to the conduct and forces of *Muley Mahomet* his Confederate, who when hee came to tryall, was not able to bring to the fiede 2000. men. So that, aduentering with so few, to fight with about 40000. Horse, and 10000. Foote, and (as some say) a farre greater number: his Army was presently enclosed on all sides, and so opprest with multitudes, that he lost both the battaile, and his life. So perilous a thing it is for a Prince to ground any designement of a forraigne War: eyther on the weakenesse of an Enemy, or on the strength of a Confederate, and not vpon sufficient forces of his owne. But to proceede.

The fourth case is, when to auoyde some imminent danger, of inuasion or Warre at home, or other great vexation: a Prince is forced to holde his Enemy occupied in his owne Countrey, by supporting there a iust quarrell against him. Wherein, though he spend

largely, without fear of losse, in respect of the present security which hee purchaseth, and exemption from greater expences and daunger at home: neuerthelesse, it shall be Wisedome for him, (in my fancy) to practise the counsell which *Alcibiades* the *Athenian* gaue to *Tissaphernes* in like case, to wit. *Not to giue greater succor, then may suffice to keep the warre still on foote, as well to gain time, which often remedieth the greatest inconuenience; as also to extenuate and wearie both parties, in such sort, that whether the warre end by victorie or composition, they may haue no ability to assaile him.* Which he may well feare, though the party which he assisteth should preuaile.

For this purpose, it is to be considered, that Ciuill dissentions end many times, to the cost of the Forreigne Prince who maintained them: whether they end by victorie of the enemy, or of his Confederate, or else by their composition. For, his enemy, if hee ouercome, remaineth more irretated, and more obliged to seek reuenge then before. And his Confederate, if hee vanquish the other, and succeed him in his State: is more like to proue an enemy then a friend, especiallie, if the quarrell of the other was not personall (that is to say, proceeding of some perticuler iniurie done to his person) but a quarrell of State, as commonly it is, for in that case, whosoever shall be Governour of the same State, will be his enemy, notwithstanding, any benefit receiued. For experience teacheth, that respect of gratitude for benefits past, little auai-leth, when it is any way encountred with reason of State.

Which (as *Guicciardin* saith) *Vince ogni partito, Doth (with Princes) ouer-weigh all other considerations.* And is so varriable, according to the variety of occasions, and successe of affaires: that it changeth daily, and of a Friend this day, maketh an enemy to morrow. In which respect, the Leagues & amities of Princes, is commonly very vn-sure, bee the obligation neuer so great.

Moreover, it commonly falleth out, that the party whom a forreign Prince helpeth to aduance, remaineth his debtor for the charges bestowed in his succour: wherevpon it followeth many times,

A forreigne warre not to be grounded principally vpon hope of a partie.

A lamentable example of *Sebastian* King of *Portugall*. Hieron. Cone. Regio de' unio de li Reg. di *Portugallo* lib. 2.

A very indiscrete and vnkingly aduerture.

A perilous resolution in a Prince.

A forreigne warre to be maintained, to auoide a domesticall.

Good counsell of *Alcibiades*, concerning the maintenance of a forreigne warre.

Ciuill warres end to the cost of the Forreignener that maintained them.

Respect of gratitude encountred with reason of State, little auayleth.

Guicciardinelli, *Auiso* 10. it. Reason of State very variable.

Mony lent to maintaine a forreigne war in danger to be lost.

Edward the blacke Prince.

Polidor. Virgil. in Hist. Angl. Lib. 19.

Places or Townes giuen in pawne for money make enemies of friends.

Composition of deuided parties against the forreigner.

The Barrons warres in England. Polidor. Virgil. in Hist. Angl. Lib. 15. Paul. Acmil. in Phillip. 2.

Phillip. Duke of Bourguindy.

Pol dor. Virgil. in Hen. 5. & 6.

times, that the Creditour loofeth both his Friend and his Money. For, if he trust to bare promises of repayment, he is in danger to be serued, as was Edward the Blacke Prince, who going in person (with a great Army into Spaine) to succour Peter the King of Castile, vpon his promise to repay him all his expences: was after the victorie) so delayed and deluded by him, that hee was faine to returne without any satisfaction. By meanes whereof, hee was constrained to lay such impositions vpon his owne Subiects in Aquitaine, for the payment of his Souldiours: that they rebelled; and hee lost the greatest part of that Country.

And put the case, that hee haue any places or Towns deliuered him, in consideration of his expences, or his better security, which any Prince that giueth succour to Forraigners) hath reason to seek: then his friend many times (for reason of State) becomes his Enemy, to recouer those places which he gaue him before. And so it falleth out commonly, when soeuer ciuill wars and disentions come to end; by composition of the parties deuided: who willingly agree, and ioyne themselues against the Forraigner that maintained their deuision. Especially, if he haue any hold or footing in their Countrey, though it were at the first with their owne consent; whereof I wil alleage a few examples, as well Ancient as Moderne.

In the Barons wars in England, in the time of King John, Lewes the eight, then Son to Phillip the second king of France, assisted the Barons against their King, and being called by them into England, and proclaimed King therof: was shortly after (by common consent; as well of them, as of al the other English) driuen out againe.

Also Phillip, Duke of Bourguindy, to be reuenged on the Duke of Orleans, & on Charles the seauenth, while hee was yet but Dolphin: called Henry fift, King of England into France; & assisted him first to make him Regent, & after to crown not only him, but also Henry the sixt his Son, King of France in Paris. Yet in the end, he made his peace with King Charles aforefaide, and helped him to depriue the English of all that, which either they had got by his meanes, or otherwise.

In like manner, Charles the eyght, King of France, was most earnestly solicited to the Conquest of Naples, euen by the Neapolitans themselues: who, neuerthelesse) shortly after helped to expel the Garisons and forces which he had left ther, notwithstanding they had receiued great benefits of him.

In this age also, the late Queene of England, of glorious memory, gaue some support in the first troubles of France, to her great charges. But when peace was made in the year of our Lord 1562. they all ioyned against her, to recouer Haure de Grace from her, which they had before giuen her, for assurance of the Mony, by her lent them.

And lastly, notwithstanding the costly succours of Men and Mony, that the French Catholikes receiued from the Catholike King of Spaine: yet they forsook him almost all in the end, and ioyned with his and their aduerse partie, and made War against him, to recouer of him som few Towns in the frontiers of Flanders, which they had giuen him before; for his and their security.

Therefore, although these things doe not alwaies succeed in this manner, yet forasmuch as most commonly they do, and that nothing is more vncertaine, then that which dependeth on the will, affection, or gratitude of other men, or vpon reason of state; which varieth and changeth daily, according to the variety of occasions. I hold it for a speciall point of prudence in a Prince, to take the surest way, to wit; not to engage himself too far, nor to aduenture more, then he careth not to loose, in the maintenance of a ciuill Warre in a forraigne Country; except, when either the seruice of God, som iust obligation, or the conseruation of his own state doth necessarily require it. Thus much concerning the behalfe of the Prince that is to giue the succour. Furthermore, great consideration is to be had, of the State and condition of the parties which demaund it: as, whether they bee able to ouercome their aduersaries, or (at least) to stand and maintaine their quarrell, with the assistance which they craue, or may be giuen them. For otherwise, it were great impudence in any Prince, to vndertake their maintenance: but rather to endeaour by way of treaty

Charles 8. King of France. Phillip. Comm. in Carol. 2. Cap. 2. & 39.

Elizabeth Q. of England.

Phillip the second King of Spaine.

Nothing more vncertaine, then that which dependeth on the will of men, or reason of State.

Considerations concerning those which demaund succour.

ty (betwixt them and their aduersarie) to compound the quarrell, and thereby to make himselfe gratefull to both parties.

And for as much as it many times falleth out, that the ability and power of the party which craueth assistance, consisteth not in the strength of some one potent and absolute Prince, but in the force of many Princes, Townes, or States; confederated and leagued together: it is in such case specially to be considered, how, or vpon what reasons, the said partie is vnited.

To this purpose it is to be noted, that in all confederacies and leagues, wherein many do vnite themselues: the confederates are moued thereto, cyther with one motiue or end (as in the Cantons of the *Switzers*, or in the League which the Pope, the King of the *Romaines*, the King of *Spain*, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milaine*, made against *Charles* the eight King of *France*, for the defence of *Italie*;) Or else they are moued thereto with diuers and sundry motiues, some with one, and som with another.

As for example, in the late French League or vnion; some entered onelic for conseruation of the Catholike Religion (which was the common and pretended end of all that partie) others entred for perticular respects; as either for passion or ambition, or for the friendship of some one Man on the one side, or hatred of some on the other, or for hope of future gaine, or for present profit and commoditie; or such like.

Now then, those that are led by perticular respects, doe not (for the most part) remaine any longer in any league, then they may hope to obtaine their desires. And when they are perswaded, that they may sooner obtaine the same, by adhearing to the aduerser partie; they are easily induced thereto: and hereupon followeth commonly, the dissolution of such leagues and confederacies. For which cause, the strength and power of any leagues, is not to be measured so much by the multitude of confederates, be they neuer so great and potent: as by their concurrence and agreement in one and the same end. For, as a few vnder one head, are stronger then many, vnder many and different heads;

as *Phillip de Comminaus* noteth very well: so a few principall persons or Townes, vnited together for one and the selfesame cause, are to be reputed far stronger, and more like to stand; then verie many (though much more potent) if they haue many and different ends.

Therefore it much importeth a Prince, that shall support a Forraigne League, to discouer (as much as hee may) what end or motiue induced the Heades and principall Confederates, to make their entrance. Whereby he shall the better discern, what their force and strength may be; and how they are like to stand, and to maintaine their quarrell. For, if they haue al but one end, they may be reputed the stronger: but if their endes be diuers, they cannot long stand. As wee haue seene lately in the French League, which, notwithstanding the great succours (both of Men and Money) giuen them by the Catholique King: dissolved rather of it selfe, then by any forces of enemies, by reason that many of the Governours of Townes, and chiefe Pillers thereof, concurred not in one end with the whole league. And therefore, when they received satisfaction for their perticular desires, or saw themselues out of hope thereof, they easily changed their party.

To such Leagues (I say) vnited onely in exterior shew, and not in one common end: I hold it not secure or conuenient for a Prince to giue succour; except he be moued thereto by some imminent danger of inuasion, or other great dammage. Which he may feare to receiue from the enemy occupied, as I haue signified before, while he neyther prepares for his better defence at home, or at least may winne time; which in all extremities is to be sought, and often remedie the very greatest inueniences.

Moreover, forasmuch as the succours demanded or giuen, consist commonly eyther in Money, Men, or in both, and that it may import a Prince (for the furtherance of some iust pretence. or obligation of his own, or for some publique good) to imploy not only his forces, but also his Mony largely, to maintaine and support a Forraigne League: I will adde somewhat concerning the same, to the end, that a young Statist may

many vnder different heads. *Phillip. Com Chron. du Roy Louis. Cap. 26.*

Necessary for a Prince to discouer the ends of the principall confederates.

The dissolution of the French league through the diuersity of ends.

In what case a Prince may support a forreigne league, not vnited in one end.

The succours demanded consist either in mony, men, or in both.

Concerning Townes or States confederated.

The motiues or ends of leagues to be considered.

Phillip. de Com. Chron du Roy Charles Cap. 23

The common end of the French league.

The perticular endes of many in the French league.

Diuersity of ends causeth the dissolution of leagues.

A few vnder one head is stronger then

may the better vnderstand, both what to aduise, and also how to deale therein.

Therefore, first concerning the bestowing of Mony, I say, that although it cannot be denied, but that Mony may doe very much in all busineses of this quality. (For, *Quid non mortalia pectora cogit auri sacra fames? What doth not the detestable hunger of Gold compell Men to do?*) Yet ordinarily, the effect that Mony can worke, is but to dispose the wils and mindes of Men to the desired end. Which disposition (neuerthelesse) in some that receiue the Mony, is none at all, in others very little, and in most very doubtfull, and to be suspected. For those to whom thou giuest thy Mony, either are thine enemies, or thy friends, or else neutrall. If they be thine Enemies, commonly they take thy Mony, to impouerish thee, to enrich themselves, and to imploy thine owne Mony against thee, when they shall see time.

If they bee thy Friends, thy Money worketh little; because their own good will and friendship, bindeth them more vnto thee, then thy Mony can doe. If they be neutrall, & become thy Friends for the profit they haue by thee: their friendship will last no longer then the profit continueth. And when they may think to get more by thine enemy, then by thee: they will be his friendes for the same reason, that they were thine. And although they shall haue neuer so great benefit by thee; yet they will perswade themselves, that thou seekest thine own Commodity, and not theirs, and that thou art beholding vnto them, for that they doe vouchsafe to take any thing of thee.

And forasmuch, as the hunger and desire of Mony, doth encrease with the possession and vse thereof: the more thou giuest them, the more they will desire. For, as Cicero saith; *Fit deterior qui accipit, & ad idem semper expectandum paratior; He which taketh or receiueth Mony, is made worse thereby, and alwayes the more ready to expect the like.* So that, if thou doe not euer giue them, when, and how much they shall expect or demand of thee: they will hate thee more for that which thou dost not giue them, then they haue loued thee for

that which they haue receiued already. For, as Seneca saith. *Vetus & nota ingratitude est, dati immemores meminisse negati, ideoque rara & tepentes gratia feruida & frequentes querela. It is an old and notorious ingratitude; to forget a benefit receiued; and still to remember a benefit denied. Whereupon it followeth, that thankes are care and cold; and Complaints, feruent and frequent.*

I speake not this, for that I thinke it not conuenient to negotiate with Mony, to gaine and entertaine the affections of men: but to signifie, that it is to be don with great consideration. For, as P.iny saith. *Inconsiderate largitionis comes penitentia est. Repentance euer accompanieth the inconsiderate imployment of Mony.* Therefore to say some what of this point, my opinion is, that it is conuenient for any man, that doth negotiate with Mony in a strange Country: to haue his Purse alwaies open, for such as are true Friendes to him and the League, as well to gratifie them, and to recompence their good wils and good Offices; as also to helpe their necessities, and to enable them to vphold their partie.

And those may bee accounted true Friends, whose end is eyther the common end of the whole League: or so dependant thereon; that it cannot be otherwise obtained, but by the good successe of the League. And to such, Mony may euer bee securely giuen, when their necessities, or the publike good of the League shall require it. But vnto others, little or nothing is to be giuen (in my fancy) except it bee to buy of them some important places; or to recompence intelligences, or seruices already done. And therefore it shall bee conuenient, to vse all diligence (as before I haue signified) to discouer the true Motiues, that induced euery one to whom Mony is to be giuen, to enter into the League.

And in case it may seeme needful, to aduenture some what, to entertaine some few principall men, though neutrals, or suspected, to diuert them from compounding with the enemy: it shall bee conuenient (in my fancy) to giue them largely, and more then the Enemy is like to giue them, and precisely to accomplish what else shall be promised.

For

How money is to be bestowed in the maintenance of a forreigne league.

What effect money may worke.

Money is giuen to such as eyther are friends, enemies, or neutrall, and in what nature it worketh with eyther of them.

The desire of money encreaseth with the vse and possession thereof. Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.

Seneca in Lib. 2. de Ira. Ca. 14. A benefit receiued, soone forgotten: a benefit deuided, remembered euer.

Plin. lib. 7. Epist. Monie to be bestowed with great consideration.

Liberality to be vsed towards true friends, and who they are.

How mony is to be bestowed vpon suspected persons.

Remembrance still to be had of the motiues.

Of entertaining some few principall men.

The danger of breach of promise.

Example of the league in France, witnessed by the Author.

Money and forces concurring, doe worke great effects.

The Oracle to Phillip of Macedon.

No trust in affection bought with monie.

Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.

A man corrupted with monie, will be faithfull to no man.

For otherwise, they will acknowledge no Obligation, and when the Enemy shall giue them more, they will follow him: and if promise bee not kept with them, they will esteeme themselves to be mocked, and (for very disdain) will passe to the Enemy: and of all this, I saw daily experience in the time of the League in France. There the Catholike King bestowed many Millions, in Pensions, in entertainments, which many receiued, and after became his open Enemies. Some of them, because they were not punctually paid their entertainments; Others, because (as they pretended) promise was not kept with them in other things; And some others againe, either because they could not haue whatsoever they demanded, or because that others had more then they.

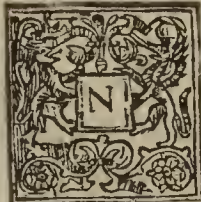
But how much soeuer shall be bestowed vpon one or other, there is no security or assurance, in negotiating with Money alone: except the same be eyther accompanied, or shortly seconded with sufficient forces, which concurring therewith, may work great effect. And therefore the Oracle saide to Phillip of Macedon: *Hastis pugna argentatis, & omnia vinces: Fight with s. uered shields, and thou shalt overcome all:* aduising him thereby, to imploy Mony and Forces together. For, as for negotiation with mony alone, the longer it continueth; the more danger there is, both to loose the Mony and the businesse. For no trust is to be had in affection bought with Mony, and not grounded on reason & vertue. In which respect Phillip King of Macedon, saide very well to his Sonne Alexander, who sought to gaine from him the good wils of the Macedonians, with guitts and bribes. *What mischief (quoth he) perswadeth thee to thinke, that those will bee faithfull to thee, whom thou hast corrupted with Mony?*

Thus much for this matter, whereof much more might be said, if the question were reduced to perticular persons and Countries; which might minister other important considerations of difficulties, according vnto the Nature, strength, or weakenesse of the places, and the conditions and abilities of the persons, who were to bee succoured or impugned. Which I forbear to pro-

secute any further, to passe to another matter: meaning to debate, whether the remedies which Politiques teach, against the daungers and inconueniences growing of wickednesse be sufficient (in reason and true pollicy) to assure the State of a wicked Prince. By occasiō whereof, I will examine diuers principles of Machiuillian Doctrine, and shew the absurdity thereof. To the end, that the young Statist, whom I labour to informe, may vnderstand as well what to auoyde, as what to embrace in matter of pollicy, and that a Princes State cannot be assured by wickednesse.

CHAP. X.

Another Question is debated, for the further enstruction of a young Statist, to wit: whether a Princes State can be assured by wicked pollicy? By the occasion whereof, many principles of Machiauell, and of the Politiques his followers, are examined and confuted by reason of state without the consideration of Gods Iustice.



O Man that is endued with reason, will denie, that wickednesse in a Prince, maketh him hatefull to his Subiects, and (consequently) endangereth his Estate. Which al Machiauellians and Politiques knew so well; that the greatest part of their pollicy, consisteth in deuising remedies against the same. To the ende, that their Prince may bee securely wicked, that is to say, that he may purchase and enjoy all Worldly pleasures and commodities, *Perfas & nefas*, By right or wrong: without danger of any reuenge of Man, and not fearing the wrath and Iustice of God, because they beleue not, that there is a God, or (at least) that he medleth not with the affaires of Men.

First let vs see some of their Remedies. One of the principall (according to the Doctrine of their Maister Machiauell)

The Argumēt proposed in the ensuing Chapter.

Wherein consisteth the greatest part of Machiauels pollicies.

All to be compassed by right or wrong.

Machia. de princip.

Machiauels principall remedy consisteth in extremity of wickednesse.

Machiauell would haue a Prince to be either a Saint or a Deuill

Machiauels absurdity in seeking to remedie a disease, by encreasing the cause thereof.

Excessiue wickednesse exposeth a Prince to excessiue hatred Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.

No force or power can sufficiently resist the hatred of many. Politiques seeke absurdly to remedie hatred by feare.

Feare concurring with hate makes it more dangerous to him which is hated, and why.

auill) is, extreimity of all mischiefe and wickednesse, which Machiauell teacheth to be far more secure for a Prince, then mediocrity betwixt vertue and vice. Therefore he would haue his Prince to bee, either the best man liuing, or the worst: that is to say, either to be a Saint or a Deuill. Whereof his reason must needs be (if he haue any) that he which holdeth the middle way betwixt vertue and vice, and doth sometimes well, and sometimes ill: must needs incur the offence and hatred of some men, whereby he shall be endangered. Therefore he thinketh it conuenient for such a one, to practise the common Prouerb, to wit; *Qui semel verecundia fines transierit, &c.* He that hath once past the bounds of shame, must be notably impudent. That is to say, he that is once ouer the shooes in sinne; must (for his safety) goe ouer head and eares. As though the way to remedie a disease, were to norish and encrease the cause thereof: as to cure a drop sic with continuall drinking, or a burning feauer with hot Wines and Spices, or to cast Oyle into the fire, to the end to quench it. For so do Machiauellians, who, to remedie the danger that groweth to a wicked Prince by hatred, doe make him more hatefull, and by the excessse of wickednesse, expose him to the extream & excessiue hatred of all men, and consequently, to ruine and perdition. For, as Cicero saith; *Multorum odijs nulla opes, nulla vires poterunt resistere. No force, power, or wealth, can suffice, to resist the hatred of many, and much lesse of all Men.* Yes, say they; *Oderint dum metuant; Let them hate him* (be they neuer so many) *so that they feare him.* For feare shall so repress their hatred: that they shall not dare to attempt any thing to his preiudice. Thus say they, but most absurdly: for feare (in a mind posselt with hate) is nothing else, but as it were *Vnguis in ulcere: A mans naile or a scratch in an vlcere or botch*, which is exasperated thereby, and the paine of the patient greatly aggravated. And although feare doe (in some sort) delay and repress the fury of hatred: yet it makes it much more secure for the hater, and more dangerous to him that is hated.

For those that hate without feare, do many times attempt (vnadvisedly) to their own destruction: but those which

both hate and feare, do deliberate, and execute with much more maturity and consideration, and (consequently) with lesse daunger to themselues, and more to their enemy. So that, whē the Prince doth adde feare to the hate of his Subiects: he redoubleth both his own feare, and also his owne perill. Whereupon the Tragical Poet saith.

10 *Qui sceptrā duro seuus imperio regit, Timet timentes, metus in autorem redit.*

That is to say. He which gouerneth by severity and cruelty, feareth those which feare him, and the feare turneth vpon the Author or cause thereof. And, as Seneca the Stoick saith. *Nesse est vt multos timeat, quem multi timent.* He must needs be in feare of many, whom many feare. Also Cicero, following Ennius the Poet, saith notably thus. *Quem metuunt oderunt, &c.* Men hate him whom they feare, and euery one desireth the destruction of him whom he hateth: And no force or power of Empire (bee it neuer so great) can long stand, if it be prest with continuall feare of the Subiects. Thus saith Cicero, declaring the daunger that groweth to a Prince by hatred & feare, which are the most forcible and vrgent Motiues that may be, to moue a people to conspiracies, as well among themselues, as with forraigners: both to deliuer themselues of the feare, as also to discharge their hatred & ire vpon their Prince. Wherefore Aristotle doth reckon hatred and feare, among the principall causes, of the destruction of Monarchies and tyrannies.

40 But heere say the Machiauellians. For, this cause hath the Prince his Guardes, Armies, and Fortresses, to defend himselfe from all attempts, both Forraigne and Domesticall; beside the vigilancy and pollicy which he vseth, for the prevention of conspiracies; disarming and impouersishing his Subiects; forbidding their assemblies and publike conuentions; and all other meanes, which may breed loue, trust, and confidence among them. Terrifying thē (oftentimes) with the frequent shew of his Guardes and Garrisons, to make them seruile & base minded; suffering them to be vicious & dissolute of life, to make them effeminate: nor permitting them the vse of Schooles, or other meanes, whereby they may become learned, wise, & politike. Employing his spies euery where, for

The Prince adding feare to the hatred of his subiects redoubleth his own feare and danger.

Seneca Traged.

Feare turneth vpon the Author.

Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.

Hatred and feare are the causes of conspiracies.

Arist. in Polit. Lib. 5.

Machiauellian remedies against conspiracies, deliuered according to the rules of their Doctrine.

for the discovery of every mans intention. Nourishing divisions among the greatest, to counterpeize one with another. Suspecting all men, be they never so much bound to him. And finally, cutting off (by one means or other) al those whose power, courage, or wit, he may thinke to bee dangerous to his State: wherby he shall be secure from the dangers which may grow to his person or State, by the hatred of his Subjects.

Whereto I answer, that if *Machiauell*, or some other Politicke in these our daies, had bin the first inventers of these policies, and that they had never bin yet tried: it might with more reason be supposed, that there were, or might be some assurance therein for a wicked Prince. But seeing all this, or whatsoever else *Machiauel*, or any Politicke doth teach, for the conservation of a Tyrant, hath bin practised in all times & ages, by Tyrants and wicked Princes, who (nevertheless) have al, or the most part of the perished by the hatred of men: who seeeth not the insufficiency thereof, for the assurance of a Prince in wickednesse?

Can *Machiauell*, or any other Politick, teach more to this purpose, than we find written about 2000. yeares ago by *Aristotle* in his Politickes? Who shewing the meanes, whereby Tyrants seeke to preserve themselves and their states: ministrereth to *Machiauell* and his fellows, al the matter and substance of their wicked policies. Which nevertheless, were not approved by *Aristotle*, as sufficient for the conservation of tyranny: but vterly reiected by him. In which respect, he declareth how vnsure tyranny is, and exemplifieth the same in all tyrannicall state, which had beene before, or in his time. Shewing how speedily they all perished, excepting only foure: whereof the first continued 100. yeares, the second 73. and sixe months; the third, 33. and the fourth, 22. yeares. And the cause of the long continuance of the first and second, he ascribeth to the moderate and iust government of the Tyrants, who though they got their States tyrannicall, and held them by vsurpation (in regard whereof they are called Tyrants;) yet they governed with such moderation and Iustice, that they were greatly beloved of their Subjects.

To which purpose *Aristotle* also ob-

serveth, that the state of a Tyrant is so much the more sure: by how much more moderate it is, and neerer to his iust government of a King. Wherein al *Machiauellians* may note, both by the doctrine and experience of *Aristotle*, that the extremitie of wickednesse and tyranny, is the high way to carry a Prince headlong to his destruction, notwithstanding all their preventions aforesaid. Whereof some part are most necessary for the conservation of any Princes state: as Guardes, Garrisons, Fortresses; vigilance of Councillors, dilligence of Spies and Intelligencers, as also such other parts of those policies; as is conforme to reason, Iustice, & conscience. But the rest, I mean those points of hindring loue and confidence among Subjects, immoderate pilling and poulling them, making them effeminate, ignorant, & base minded; nourishing debate amongst great persons, and cutting off such as are more eminent in credit, power, courage, and wit, then the rest: these I say, and all such as are against charity, Iustice, and Conscience, are against all true pollicy, and so farre from helping a Tyrant, that they help to ruine him, as heere in this Chapter shall appear, concerning some of these pointes in perticuler, and some in generall.

And now to speake of some of them. What can be more contrary to true reason of State: then to hinder trust, confidence, and loue among the people, without the which there can be no commonwealth? For, without loue & confidence, there can be no fidelity; & without fidelity, no Iustice; and without Iustice, no Commonwealth, as you have read in the necessity of fidelity in the Prince. For this cause, all ancient Lawmakers, and founders of commonwealths, have ordained in all Countries and Cities, publike Feasts, Playes, and assemblies, where the people may meet together: not onely for recreation; but to make them also known one to another. To the end, that of their conversation, may grow loue and friendship; and the same redound to generall vnity, for the conservation of peace in the whole Commonwealth. And therefore *Aristotle* saith, that friendship is; *Maximū bonum civitatibus*; The greatest good that can be to Commonwealths. For saith he, By means

Hhhh thereof.

Arist. Ibid. Cap. 11.

Machiauellian policies contrary to Aristotles doctrine and experience.

What is to be reiected and what allowed in the *Machiauellian* remedies aboue mentioned.

Machiauels Doctrine concerning deuision confuted.

Why publike Feastes and Playes were first instituted

The benefit of loue and friendship in Commonwealths.

Aristot. in Polit. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.

Machiauell was not the Inuenter of his pollicies.

Machiauellian pollicies knowne and practised in all ages, by wicked Princes to their ruine.

Arist. in Polit. Lib. 5. Cap. 11. *Machiauellian* pollicies reiected by *Aristotle* about 2000 yeares agoe.

The speedy fal of tyrannicall states noted by *Aristotle*. *Aristot. Ibid. Cap. 12.*

Plutarch, in Solon.

What Common-wealth Solon liked best.

The loue & vnion of members of the politicall body, most necessary, for the conseruation thereof.

Seneca, in Lib. 2. de Ira. Cap. 31.

Why Machiauellians doe thinke; that factions among subiects are good for Princes.

A Machiauellian Prouerbe, and principle confuted.

thereof, they shall be free from sedition. Also, So, on esteemed this amity and vnion of minds, to be so necessary for the conseruation of humaine Society, that, being demanded, what Common-wealth was best, and most like to continue: Such a one (saith he) wherein euery Man doth take the iniury which is don to another, to be done to himselfe. And to the same purpose he made a law in Athens, giuing leaue to euery one, to take vpon him the iust quarrel of any other, and to demand reparation of the wrong, as if the matter concerned himself. Which constitution of Solon, Plutarch commendeth greatly. As a means (saith he) to accustom the people, to feele and redresse the griefes & iniuries one of another, as being al members of one body. Whereby he may vnderstand, that the vnion and loue, of the political body (that is to say, the Common-wealth) is no lesse necessary; then the combination of the parts in the body naturall. Which Seneca teacheth notably in these words. *Vt omnia inter se membra, &c. As all the members and parts of mans body, do agree together for the conseruation of the whole, which also redoundeth to the good of euery part in particular: So all men ought to agree to the benefit one of another, because we are borne to liue in societie, which cannot be conserued, but by the agreement and loue of the parts thereof.* Thus saith Seneca.

How then can it stand with true pollicie, or reason of State, to hinder this vnion and loue of the people, or to sow and nourish factions among them, and especiallie among great personages; whereby seditions, tumults, and garboyles may grow in the Common-wealth? Yes, say the Machiauellians, it standeth notably wel with the reason of our Princes State, who seeketh not the generall good of the Commonwealth: but his particular benefit. And therefore, forasmuch as the vnion and friendship of subiects, may enable them the rather to conspire against him; it is good pollicy & reason of State for him, to maintaine factions among them, according to the old saying. *Si vis regnare, diuide. If thou wilt raigne, make diuision.*

Thus say they. Of whom I wold gladly learne, how they can (in this case) seperate the perill of the Common-wealth, from the perill of the Prince, to make

this good pollicy for him? Can the body be in danger, without the perill of the head? Hath it not bin seen many times, that some priuate quarrell, growne at first betwixt meane personages: hath after passed further to a multitude, and (from them) come to be general to the ruine of a whole State? And therefore, Plutarch wisely compareth sedition to a little sparke of fire, which falling into straw, or other dry matter in some corner of a house: setteth the same on fire, whereby (in the end) a whole Towne is burnt. In which respect, he counteth it for one of the most speciall pointes of political Science: to take away all occasion of sedition, and when it groweth, to appease it quickly.

Aristotle also teacheth the same verie seriously, affirming, that *Sedition is the chiefe cause, of the mutation and subuerfion of Common-wealths.* Shewing how many waies it may rise, and how it may be remedied, & that it is alwaies dangerous; but then most petnitious, when it groweth among great personages. And therefore he aduiseh, to remedy the same (if it be possible) in the very beginning, because: *Principium dicitur esse, dimidium totius: The beginning is saide to be the one halfe of the whole.* And little seditions at the first, grow after to be great, especially among great men: *Whose discord (saith hee) draweth the whole Common-wealth after them.* Whereby it may appeare, how dangerous and absurd is the counsell, which Machiauellians giue to their Princes; to norish factions in their Common-wealth, & especially among great personages: as if Princes were omnipotent, and had the harts and wils of al men in their hands, to moue, sway, incense, or temper in such manner and measure, as it shall please them, which only is in Gods hand and power to do. So then it is eident in this case, that the Machiauellians expose their Prince to manifest danger, without any assurance, or sufficient probability of remedie, which in matter of State is most absurd.

The like may also be said, of their other pestilent pollicies before mentioned, consisting in all kind of cruelty, iniustice, and wickednesse: whereby they make their Prince most odious to all men, and (by consequent) do draw them into manifest dangers, from which they are

The good & ill of the Common-wealth and of the Prince are conioyned. Factions in the Common-wealth dangerous to Princes.

Plutarch in his enltructions, for such as deale in matters of state.

Arist. in Polit. Lib. 5. Cap. 2. 3. & 4.

Sedition a principall cause of the subuerfion of States.

Idem Ibid. ca. 4.

Factions among great men most dangerous.

Princes may make factions but cannot afterward hinder the bad effects thereof.

Machiauellian pollicies make Princes odious to their subiects.

are notable to warrant or defend them by all their pollicies. As it may appear by the experience of all ages & former times, vnto this wherein we liue, seeing all Histories doe testifie, that the more wicked and tyrannical Princes haue bin, and the more they haue incurred the hatred of men: the sooner they haue bin ruined; some by open rebellions of their subiects; some others, by their general description in fauour of strangers; others by secret conspiracies of a few; and others also, by the desperate attempt of some one man, notwithstanding all their pollicies, power, force of Guards, Armies, Fortresses, or other humane meanes.

This point Cicero proneth, by the examples of Phalaris a most cruell Tyrant, whom all the people of the Agrigentines oppressed in a general tumult: and of Alexander, the Tyrants of Phara, killed by his owne craft: And of Demetrius, King of Macedon, forsaken of all his subiects, in fauour of King Pyrrhus. To whom we may adde Romulus, the first founder of the Romain Empire, who hauning made himselfe hateful to his Senators: was murdered by them in the very Senate house. As L. Tarquinius Priscus, his third Successor, being odious to the people for his In-justice, and fraud towards the Children of Ancus Martius, whom he deprived of their Kingdome, though he was left their Tutor by their Father: was slaine by two Shepheards. In like manner, Tarquinius Superbus, the seauenth and last King of the Romaines, who vsed all the tyrannicall pollices aboue mentioned, violated all Lawes humane and diuine, for the conseruation of his estate: was neuerthelessse driuen out of his kingdom by his subiects, and the name of King and kingly authority, abolished among the Romaines (in hatred of him) for the space of 500. yeares.

And if wee looke into the Romaine Empire after Iulius Caesar, we shal finde, that neither pollicy nor power, could defend many Emperors of Rome & Constantinople, against the hatred of Men. As, to omit many others, who perished vpon other occasions; it may appear by (a) Iulius Caesar himselfe, Caius Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Domitian, (b) Commodus, (c) Digijs, Iulianus, (d) Caracalla, (e) Opi-

lius Macrinus, and his Son Diadumenus, (f) Heliogabalus, Alexander Seuerus, Iulius Maximus, (g) Galienus, (h) Philippus, (i) Aurelianus, (k) Constans the first, (l) Gratian, Valentinian the third, Basiliscus, Zeno, Mauritius, Phocas, Heraclion, with his Mother Martina, Constans the second, Iustinian the second, Phillipicus, Constantinus the first, Nicephorus Stauratus, Leo Armenius, Michael the Son of Theophilus, Nicephorus, surnamed Phocas, Ioannes Zemisces, Michael Calaphrates, Stratioticus, Michael Parapinaceus, Andronicus Comnenus, and diuers others, who hauning incurred the hatred, either of their Subiects in generall, or of some particuler persons, were some of them poysoned, and others violently slaine, eyther by the fury of the people, or by their Nobility, or by their own Guards and Soldiours, or by their wines, Concubines, or seruants, or by other particuler men. Besides, some others of them were deposed, and eyther confined into Monasteries, or deprived as well of their eyes and noses, as of their Empire. And one among the rest, to wit, Zeno, a most cruell and crafty Tyrant, was put into his Sepulcher aline (by the consent of his Wife) while he was drunke, or, as some write; taken with a fit of the falling sicknesse. Being also so hated of his owne Seruants and Guards, that when hee came to himselfe, and cried for help out of the sepulcher: no man assisted or pitied him, and so he died raging, and tearing his flesh with his teeth, as it appeared afterward when the Tombe was opened.

And although euery one of these was not so subtile, nor so pollitike, nor yet so wicked, as Machiavill would haue his Prince to be: yet it is euident in them all, that the hatred of Subiects, is most pernicious to Princes. And in some of them it appeareth manifestly, that no humane power, or wicked pollicy, can warrant and assure them the State of a Prince generally hated: seeing that diuers of them before named, excelled not onely in imperiall power; but also in subtiltie, craft, perfidiousnesse, periury, deepe dissimulation, crueltie, and all such kinde of wickednesse, as Machiavill requireth in his Prince. As (to omit others, for breuities sake) the last whom I named of the Emperors of

The hatred of subiects most dangerous to Princes, by the experience of all Ages.

Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.

The danger of hatred exemplified by Cicero. Diuers of the first Kings of Rome ruined by hatred.

Tit. Livius. Dec. 1. Lib. 1.

Examples in the Empire of Rome and Constantinople. a Sueton Tranquil. b Aelius Lampridius. c Spartianus. d Iulius Capitolinus. e Lampridius.

f Trebellius Pollio. g Sextus Aurelius Victor. h Flavius Vopiscus. i Porphyrius Laeta. j Ioannes Baptista Egnatius. k Zonaras. l Nicetas Choniates.

Zeno a most cruell and crafty Tyrant buried aline.

Cedrenus in Comp. Zonarus Annal. T. 3. Ioan Baptista Egnatius in Zenone.

The hatred of Subiects, is most pernicious to Princes.

Epito. Ioan. Bap. Egnatius.

Nicetas Choniates in Andronico Comneno. Lib. 1.

Constantinople, to wit; *Andronicus Comnenus*, was so eminent and egregious in all tyrannicall Pollicy: that *Egnatius* worthily calleth him; *Callidissimum mortalium*; *The most crafty of all Mortal men*. Of whose manner of government I wil say somewhat briefly, to the end it may appeare: how little security a Prince may haue by wicked pollicies, against the hatred of men.

The History of *Andronicus Comnenus*, Emperour of Constantinople, an egregious Politique.

This *Andronicus*, hauing with great art and subtilty, obtained to be Tutour to the young Emperour *Alexius*, Son to *Emanuel*: made himselfe (thortly after) his Companion in the Empire, procuring the death of the Empreffe, Mother to *Alexius*, and of diuers others, whose liues hee thought to be preiudiciall to his pretence. Within a while also, hee caused the young Emperour himselfe to be murdered, notwithstanding, his former oath of fidelity, sollemnely confirmed with receiuing the blessed Sacrament. And being then Emperour alone, and finding himselfe to be hateful to his people: he practised all the tyrannicall Pollicies, that could be deuised for his own conseruation. He guarded his Pallace and person, with strong Guards of barbarous Strangers, and the most desperate Fellowes that could bee found, who could neither speake nor vnderstand the language of the Country: and he had (beside) every night at his chamber door, a huge Mastiue dog, so fierce, that he durst fight body to body with a Lyon, or with an armed man on horsebacke. He was also provided of wicked Instruments, for the execution of his will in all cases: as Spies, Promoters, and false witnesses, whereby many Noblemen were slaine, imprisoned, or banished. Yet for no other cause, but for that he feared, that either their credit with the people, or their power, or their wealth, or their wit, might prooue in time dangerous to his State.

Idem. Lib. 2.

His Guards of barbarous strangers, and his great dog.

Idem. Lib. 2. His wicked Instruments.

Idem. Lib. 2. His care of the administration of Iustice in all things which did not concerne his particular benefit or pleasure

Neuerthelesse, knowing right well, that the more his Empire flourished in Iustice, the more it would be his honor, benefit, and security: hee shewed such espeicall care thereof, that hee excelled many notable Princes therein, not onely providing for the election of iust and wise officers: but also feuerely punishing those, who eyther did, or permitted any wrong to bee done, to the meanest or

poorest subiect he had. Beside, he ordained, and gaue most liberall allowance, to al Magistrats for their maintenance, to the end: that they should not haue any need or pretence to take bribes. And such as were prooued to be corrupt, he punished so exemplarly: that (within a while) no Magistrate durst take so much as a present of any man, though it was neuer so voluntarily offered. He shewed himselfe affable and courteous vnto the poore, and seemed full of pittie and compassion, whensoever hee heard their complaints, and did them exact Iustice. Furthermore, he tooke such order, for the releefe of the necessities of the common people: that all kinde of victuals were most plentifull and cheape; the ground well tilled and mannured, the Countries well inhabited; Villages and Citties much augmented, & the Common-wealth greatly enriched.

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Such was the care he seemed to haue of Iustice, and of the publique good, which (neuerthelesse) he respected no further: then it might turne to his own particular benefit or pleasure, whereof he preferred the consideration, before all things else whatsoever. For, as he provided the Commonwealth of notable Magistrates: so he furnished his Court with wicked Councillours and Iudges, voyd of all conscience, who executed his will, vpon all such as incurred his dislike or suspicion. Some they banished, spoiled others of their goods; deprived others of their eies; murdered others secretly, and condemned many publikely, vpon false pretences, of whom (neuerthelesse) he himselfe would seem to haue great compassion. As for example, vnderstanding that one *Isacius*, a Noble-man, had taken Armes against him in the Island of *Cyprus*: he picked a quarrel against two of his own trustiest Seruants and Favourites; because they were great friends to the other, causing them to bee accused of Treason, condemned, and executed. And when suite was made vnto him, after their deaths, that their Bodies (which were hanged vp) might be taken downe and buried: hee seemed so much to pittie their case, that hee shed abundance of teares, lamenting that the sentence of the Iudges, and the feueritie and authoritie of Law, must needs ouerweigh his

Idem Ibid. His kindnesse and affability to the poore, and prouision for plenty of all things.

He furnished his Common-wealth with good Magistrates, and his Courte with wicked Councillours and Iudges.

Idem. Lib. 1. He suspected and made away his most familiare Seruants.

His deepe dissimulation and feigned pittie.

Idem, Lib. 2.

His horrible cruelty craftily couered.

Andronicus had the Quintessence of Machiauis policies, long before Machiavel was born.

Idem, Ibid.

His daily feares and suspitions,

His Sorceries and witchcraftes.

his desire, and the affection that he bare them. And when any were touched with matter of sedition: not onely they themselves, but also al the whole kindred and families were condemned and ruined, to the end, that none should be left of their race to reuenge it. The which (neuertheless) he seemed rather to permit, and suffer to be done, then himselfe to ordaine it. For he caused his Iudges and Magistrates, to giue those sentences by publique Edict, with plausible preambles: shewing their care of the Emperours person, and referring it not to his commaundement; but to diuine inspiration, as a thing necessary for the seruice of God, and the good of the Common-wealth.

Heere now I appeale to any *Machiauilian*, whether *Andronicus* had not the Quintessence of *Machiauis* Policy, long before *Machiauil* was born? And whether he wanted eyther desire, wit, or wickednes, to conserue his state against the hatred of men, if it had bene possible to haue done it by wicked meanes? Therefore, let vs see the end, which was such, that it may well serue for an exemplare warning, to all *Machiauilian* Politiques.

While *Andronicus* gouerned in this manner, his cruelty and in-Iustice did purchase him more hatred, then the good that he did for the publike, could recompence. Which filled him euery day with new feares, suspitions, and iealosies: especially, after that he was pressed with warres by *William King of Sicily*. Who hauing ouerthrown some of his armies, and taken *Theffalonica*, and other towns of importance: marched towards *Constantinople*, wherwith the people began to take courage, and to discouer their hatred to *Andronicus* daily more and more. This did put him in such feare of Conspiracies, that hee consulted with Sorceres and Witches: especially with one *Sethus* a Magitian, who deuined by a Bason of Water. And one day, when *Andronicus* desired to know the name of his Successor; *Sethus* shewed him in the water, the two Letters, *I.* and *S.* wherby he & his Councillors coniectured, that it should be *Isacius*, who had rebelled against him in the Island of *Cyprus*, as before hath bin declared. Neuertheless, forasmuch as there was another *Isacius*

(sir-named *Angelus*) at the same time in the Court, a man of so quiet a Spirit, and so small courage, that *Andronicus* himselfe did no way suspect him: one of his speciall Councillours suggested to him; that it were good to command the said *Isacius Angelus*, to be taken and put into prison, to prevent the worst. Least (saith he) we may seeke the Viper abroad in the field. when perhaps we haue him in our bosome. And although *Andronicus* seemed (at the first) to contemne *Isacius*, as a man no way to be feared: yet at last it was resolved by him and his Councill, that he should be taken. And for that purpose, *Stephanus*, one of his chiefe Councillours and worst Instruments, went himselfe (with certain of his catchpoules) to the house of *Isacius*, who defending himselfe: killed *Stephanus*, & ran presently (with his sword bloody in his hand) through the Market place, to take Sanctuary in the chiefe Church of the towne, imploring (as he went) the ayd of the people, declaring what hee had done, and why. The people flocked after him to the Church, pittying greatly his case, and commending his act, and at length, their courage encreasing with their multitude: they began to embolden one another; first to defend *Isacius*, and afterward to make him Emperour. Which being propounded to the whol assembly, was accepted of them all: thogh he himselfe neither desired it, nor so much as dreamt of it, but thought himselfe well payed, if he could saue his life. This resolution being taken among them, they proclaimed him Emp: first in the Church, and after in the streetes: which was approued with general consent of the Nobility, and all the people of the Citty, who came to yeild him obedience, and to assist him. *Andronicus* seeing himselfe forsaken of all his Subjects, durst neither trust to the strength of his Pallace, nor of his Guards, nor of his great Dog: but fled away in a Boat, and was shortly after taken, and brought backe loaden with Iron Chaines. Hee was scorned and reuiled by the people; his haire of his head and beard pulled away; his teeth stricken out; his right hand cut off; and (a few daies after) one of his eyes pulled out of his Head. Then was he set vpon a scabbed Camel, apparrelled ridiculousslie, and carryed
H h h h 3 through

How he was ouer reached in his Sorceries.

Wickednesse neuer wants as wicked Councill.

How his wickednesse turned to his owne ouerthrow.

Isacius feareing to loose his life, was suddenly made Emperour.

Andronicus forsaken of all his Subjects.

The reward and miserable end of *Andronicus* for his Tyranny.

through the streetes to be shewn to the people: who threw vpon him all kinde of ordure and filth, euery one contending, who should deride or abuse him most. And at the last, he was hanged vp by the heeles, his apparrell torne from him, and his naked body wounded, by whosoever would strike him, as many did in diuers manners: some for sport; some for reuenge of iniuries; some to try their swords, & some their strength, till (at the length) he was hackt and hewed in pieces. Behold here the fruit of *Machiaullian* Pollicy, the lamentable issue of wikednesse and tyranny, and the small assurance that Tyrants haue, against the hatred of their Subiects, eyther by vsurped power, or impious polly. Whereto I might adde an especiall obseruation of Gods iust iudgements: but that I promised not to vrge the same in this Chapter. Thus much concerning the *Roman* and *Greek* Emperors.

I might also produce many other notable examples of this matter, out of Histories as well of our own Country, as of al others. For, what caused the destruction of *Edmond Ironside*, who was murdered vpon a priuy; or the continual rebellions in the time of *K. John*; Or the vntimely death of *Edward the second*, broached with a hot spit; Or of *Richard the second*, first deposed, and after slain in Prison; Or yet of *Richard the third*, forsaken of all his Nobility and Commons, and slaine at *Bosworth* Fielde; what else (I say) was the cause thereof, but the hatred of their Subiects? And as for the last of these, I meane *Richard the third*, if we consider his malignant and treacherous Nature, his cruelty, his deepe dissimulation, his deuillish deuises and inuentions, as well to get the Crown, as after to conferue it: we shall not finde him inferiour, to the most famous tyrants of former times, for al impious and wicked pollicies, which neuerthelesse could not free him from the danger of destruction, which the hatred of his Subiects iustly drew vpon him.

But what neede I alledge other examples, seeing the Mirror of *Machiauis* owne Prince, *Cesar Borgia*, may serue for a Witnesse of this matter? For, though he so far surpassed al former Tyrants, in wickednesse and tyrannical power, that *Machiauis* made choise of him,

to frame his Prince by the modell of his tyranny: yet could he not vphold and conferue his State, against the hatred of Men. But beeing abandoned by his Subiects and Friends: became a notable example, not onely of humane imbecility, but also of the wofull end, of such as trust to wicked Pollicies, as I haue declared before vpon other occasions.

Hereupon it followeth, that no Princes power or pollicy, can sufficientlie warrant and assure his estate, against the vniuersal hatred of men; specially, considering the little security, that wicked Princes (when they grow to be hated) haue of their owne Guards or Armies. For, though they are the special means of their defence; yet they serue (many times) for another end, then to butcher and slaughter them: As hath formerlie been auouched, by the examples of (a) *Caligula*, (b) *Caracalla*, (c) *Heliogabalus*, (d) *Phillip*, (e) *Galien*, *Macrinus*, (f) *Aurelianus*, (g) *Maximinus*, and others, slaine partly by their Guards, and partlie by their Souldiours, notwithstanding, the great liberality, which many of these Emperours vsed, to buy their affections and fidelity. As it may be well obserued (to omit diuers other) in *Maximinus*, of whom *Iulius Capitolinus* saith. *Ea astutia fuit, vt milites non solum virtute regeret, sed etiam premijs et lucris sui amanti ssimos redderet. He was so crafty, that hee did not onely gouerne his Souldiours by vertue, but also wan their affections by gifts and rewards.* And yet neuerthelesse, they conspired diuers times against him, and at length, when he was denounced public enemy by the Senate, and somewhat distressed in his march towardes *Rome* for lacke of victuals: they slew him and his Sonne in their Tents, and sent their heads to *Rome*.

And heerein I wish two things to be noted. The one, the fruit of cruelty; for this *Maximinus* beeing made Emperour tyrannically by his Souldiours, against the wil of the Senate: followed the principles which *Machiauis* teacheth his Prince, perswading himselfe, as *Iulius Capitolinus* testifieth: *Nisi crudelitate impertum non teneri: That he could not holde the Empire but by cruelty.* Wherewith he so exceeded, that some called him *Cyclops*; some *Busris*; some *Scyron*; some *Typhon*; and

The fruit and benefit of *Machiaullian* pollicie.

Examples out of our English Histories.

Polidor Virgil. Lib. 7.

Idem. Lib. Idem. Lib. Idem. Lib.

Sir Thomas Moore in King *Richard* the thirds life.

Richard the third, not inferior to the famous Tyrants of former times.

Example of *Machiauis* owne Prince *Cesar Borgia*.

Guicciard. lib. 6.

The little security that wicked Princes haue of their Guards or Armies.

^a *Suetonius.*
^b *Spartianus.*
^c *Lampridius.*
^d *Trebellius Pollio.*
^e *Flavius Vopiscus.*
^f *Iulius Capitolinus.*

Iulius Capitolinus in *Maxi.*

Two things to be considered. The fruit of Cruelty.

Idem. Ibidem.

and some *Phalaris*. And therefore (in the end) he receiued the iust reward thereof at the handes of his owne Soldiers, to whom, notwithstanding his great Donatiues, he became no lesse odious then to other men.

The other thing which I wish to be obserued, is the great infelicite of such Princes as seeke rather to be feared, then to be beloued. For, though they are forced for their owne safety to become slaues to those, by whom they keepe others in slavery, yet they are not secure thereby, but still in danger, not onely of others, but also of them that should defend them. Whose mercenarie mindes are so inconstant, and subiect to corruption, that the liues of the princes whom they guard, are euer salable, and therefore neuer warrantable, by any humaine pollicy. For let the Prince giue them neuer so much, to binde them to his Seruice, yet he that shall giue, yea, or promise more, may win them from him. As it hath falne out many times to the Romaine Emperors, who haue bin sold by their Guards and Soldiers not for readie money, but for the promise of greater summes, then could be expected at their hands. As *Plutarch* noteth in the Guards & Soldiers of *Nero*, corrupted by *Nymphidius* in fauour of *Galba*, vpon promise of a greater Donatiue, then could afterward be performed. Which, sayth hee, caused the destruction both of *Nero* and *Galba*: for the Soldiers forsooke *Nero*, in hope of the payment promised, and then killed *Galba* because he could not pay it. So tickle is the trust that Princes repose in Mercenary men; and so vnshure the state that is to be vpholden by such incertaine and weak props, which many times faile, when there is the most neede of them.

Furthermore, another especiall and ineuitable danger is to be noted, which any Prince (generally hated) must needs incurre, to wit; the defection of his subiects, in all occasions of inuasions from forraigne Countreies. For, although he be neuer so strong at home, in Gards, Garrisons, and Fortresses, and his Subiects also so poore and weake, that they neither dare nor can rise against him: yet if forreigne Princes doe inuade him, eyther vpon a quarrell of state (which among Princes that are Neighbours ne-

uer wanteth) or vpon Ambition to enlarge their Dominions; what remedie hath he against the generall hatred of his people, who haue then sufficient opportunity and meanes, to bee reuenged on him, and to free them-selues from the yoake of his turranny, by taking part with the forreigner, the experience whereof hath bene scene often times.

10 Wee reade in *Iustine*, that the Subiects of *Demetrius*, King of *Syria*, abandoned him for the hatred which they bare him, and tooke part with a knowne Counterfeit, calling himselfe *Alexander*, pretending and naming himselfe to be of the royall race, as *Perkin Warbeck* did in England. This *Alexander* they accepted for their King, being so incensed against *Demetrius*: That they were content
20 (saith *Iustine*) to admit any whosoener, to be rid of him. Also the last Kings of *Naples*, no lesse rich and potent, then wickedly pollitique, being most hatefull to their Subiects for their Tirrannicall gouernment: were forsaken of them all; & betrayed to the French, to whom they yeilded them-selues without any resistance.

30 Also *Lodouico Sforza*, Duke of *Milaine*, may serue for a notable example of this matter. For when *Lewes* the 12. King of *France*, made warre against him, and had already taken diuers principall Townes and Fortes in the state of *Milayne*: Duke *Lodowick* (knowing himselfe to be very odious to his Subiects, for his great exactions and impositions, and fearing least they would abandon him) assembled the people of *Milayne*, to recover their good willes, and not only remitted diuers taxes which he had imposed vpon them; but also gaue them many reasons and excuses for his former proceedings. Neuerthelesse, such was the hatred which they had conceiued against him, that within a few daies after, they tooke Armes, slew *Antonio Landriano* his Treasurer, forced him to fly, called in the French, and yeilded the town and them-selues to their obedience. Haue we not scene also the like effect of hatred in *England*, in the time of *K. Iohn*, whom the Barons and Nobility of the Realme, called in *Lewes* the eight, King of *France* while he was Dolphin, and proclaymed him King? Choosing rather to liue vnder the Naturall King. Who, as *Mathew*
50 of

No remedy against the peoples generall hatred.

Iustin. in li. 20 Demetrius king of Syria.

Guicciard. in Lib. 6. Pbi. sp. Comm. in Carlo 8. Alphonso and Ferdinand Kings of Naples.

Lodouico Sforza, Duke of Milayne Guicciard. in lib. 4.

Polidor Virgil. in Io. 17. King Iohn of England.

Math. Westmin. 19 Anno. 12. 16.

The infelicity of such Princes as seeke rather to be feared, then to be beloued.

Romaine Emperors sold by their Guards and Soldiers.

Plutarch. in Galba.

Nero forsaken and *Galba* slaine.

An ineuitable danger which a Prince generally hated must needs incurre.

of Westminster writeth, *Exosum se prae-*
buit, &c. Made himselfe hateful to them,
as wel for the murder of his Nephewe Ar-
thur, as for his adulteries, tyranny and exa-
ctions, the continual seruitude wherein he
kept England, and lastly, for the war which
his deserts procured. In respect whereof,
Vix alicuius meruit lamentatione deplorari:
He deserued not to be lamented scarcely of
any man. Thus saith he, I forbear to al-
 ledge many other notable histories vnto
 the same purpose, because I do holde it
 needlesse in a matter so euident.

Machiauell
 seeking to ex-
 pell and reme-
 die one poy-
 son with ano-
 ther, poyso-
 neth his
 Prince dou-
 ble.

What then shall we say of *Machiauel's*
 pestilent Precepts, for the preseruation
 of a Prince already infected and poyso-
 ned with wickednesse? Can wee saie
 ought else, but that while he seeketh by
 one poison to expel or remedy another,
 hee poysoneth him double, and killeth
 him out-right? For, a wicked Prince,
 adding (as *Machiauel* aduise) wicked-
 nesse to wickednesse, and cruelty to cru-
 elty, doth accumulate vpon himselfe, ha-
 tred vpon hatred, which, as I haue de-
 clared, will breake out sooner or later to
 his ouerthrow.

The danger
 which Tirants
 incurre by
 the ordinary
 errors pro-
 ceeding of
 humaine im-
 becility.

Neither can the *Machiwillian* help his
 Maisters cause, by saying, that such wic-
 ked Princes as haue perished by the ha-
 tred of men, haue committed som error
 or other, which they shoulde or might
 haue foreseene and auoided. For, the
 imbecility of mans wit and power is such
 that no man liuing, is able to foresee and
 preuent all the daungers and accidents,
 which may occurre in the affairs of men,
 to the ouerthrow of their designments.
 As hath bin already prooued by the ex-
 amples of the absurd errors, as well of
 the wisest Senates and Councelles, as of
 most pollicicke men. Whereupon, it
 followeth, that the Prince which expo-
 seth himselfe vnto the generall hatred
 of all men, incurreth many notable dan-
 gers.

Examples of
 Townes of
 warre & For-
 tresses want-
 ing enemies.

For, euen as Townes of Warre, or
 Fortresses which haue no enemy neere,
 do, or may commit many errors (in mat-
 ters appertaining to their defence) with-
 out danger; but being besieged by their
 enemies, are sometimes surprized, by oc-
 casion of their least ouer-sight or negli-
 gence. Euen so, it fareth with Princes,
 who so long as they are generally belo-
 ued, are little or nothing preiudiced by
 many errors which fall out in their Go-

uernment, but beeing once (as I may
 tearme it) besieged with the hatred of
 their Subiects and Neighbours, they are
 ruined sometimes with the least error,
 which they or their Magistrats do com-
 mit.

Euery little
 errour of a
 Prince gene-
 rally hated,
 is very dange-
 rous.

For, the hatred of men when it is ge-
 nerall, may bee compared to a swelling
 Sea, which enuironing a Ship on euery
 side, dooth otherwhiles ouerwhelme it
 with the impetuosity of Waues, and
 sometimes againe entereth in at euerie
 leake or rift, and so sinketh it. In like
 manner, the general hatred of men, doth
 not only ouerthrow a Princes state, by
 potent and powerfull attempts: but also
 by taking aduantage of euery little error
 or accident, which may helpe to ruine
 it.

And therefore, forasmuch as the weak-
 nesse of mans witte, and the varietie of
 times and occasions, do produce alwaies
 some dangerous accidents in the States
 of Princes, either by their errors or o-
 therwise: whereupon their industrious
 & watchful enemies (especialy at home)
 may take aduantage: it followeth, that
 no Prince generally hated, can liue long
 in securitie, bee he neuer so Dilligent,
 vigilant, or suspicious of all Men, as
Machiauel would wish to haue his prince
 to be.

No Prince
 generally ha-
 ted, can liue
 long in secu-
 rity.

Who could vse greater vigilancie or
 diligence for his owne conseruation; or
 be more suspitious, then *Alexander* the
 Tyrant of *Pheres*? Who though he lo-
 ued his Wife *Thebes* verie deerly, yet ne-
 uer came he to her chamber, but he cau-
 sed both her Coffers and her selfe to be
 searched, to see whither she had any wea-
 pon hid in her Garments. And yet ne-
 uerthelesse, hee was killed by her, in the
 end.

Cicero in 2. lib.
de Offic.

No vigilancy
 sufficeth a-
 gainst the ha-
 tred of all
 men ingene-
 rall.

Could any man bee more prouident
 for his safety, then was *Claudius* the Em-
 peror? He would neuer goe to any ban-
 ket, but where his owne Guardes and
 Souldiers seued the Table; and neuer
 visited any sicke man, whose Chamber
 was not searched before by some of his
 Guards, euen to the verie beds and bed-
 straw, and yet he was poysoned at last by
 his owne Taster, whom he neuer sus-
 pected. What should we say of *Domitian*
 the Emperor? Hee was so fearefull and
 suspitious of all men, that hee made the
 walles of his Galleries where he used to
 walke,

Suetonius in
Claudio.

Idem in *Domiti-
 tiano.*

The Stone
Phengius.

Most prou-
dent and po-
litique Ty-
rants, ouer-
throwne some
times by th^e
whom they
most feared,
and some-
times by their
owne polli-
cies.

Another dan-
ger procee-
ding of hu-
maine insti-
tution.

Example of
Iulius Cesar.
Plutarch in
Iulio Cesar.

Idem. in Peiopi-
da.
Archias a
Tyrant of
Thebes.

Phillip. Comin.
in Lodouico. 11.
cap. 83. & 91.
Charles the
last Duke of
Bourgundy.

walke, to be set full of bright and cleare
Stone, cald *Phengites*, wherin he might
see whatsoeuer was done behinde him:
and neuerthelesse, he was murdered by
his owne Chamberlins.

Many such other examples might be
alleged of Princes, who besides their
great Guards and Armies, for defence
of their persons, vsed al human diligence
also, being iealous and suspitious of all
men: and yet neuerthelesse, were ouer-
reached, sometimes by those whom they
most feared; and sometimes by those
whom they least suspected, or best tru-
sted. Whereto I adde (as I haue else-
where noted, and cannot repeat too of-
ten) that sometimes the most prouident
and pollicicke Princes, are (through the
imbelicity of humane wit) ouerthrowne
by their owne policies, that is to say, by
the verie same meanes wherby they seek
either to benefit themselues, or to hurt
and destroy others, as hath sufficientlie
appeared by many feuerall famous ex-
amples.

But what security can a wicked prince
haue by Guards, or other humane pro-
uidence and diligence, seeing sometimes,
that the wisest and best guarded, being
aduertised of some imminent daunger, ey-
ther haue not the hope to vnderstand it,
or the wit to beleue it? So it happened
to *Iulius Cesar*, who, as he was going to
the Senat, receiued a memorial, where-
in the Conspiratours against him were
discouered, and beeing willed to read it
presently, because it imported him great-
ly: was so troubled with the presse and
importunity of suiters, that he could not
attend vnto it, and so was slain the same
day in the Senate house. *Archias* also,
a Tyrant in *Thebes*, being inuited vnto a
Supper, where his death was conspired,
receiued a Letter from a Friende of his,
containing an aduise of the Conspiracy.
And beeing requested (by him that
brought it) to read it out of hande, for
that it concerned matters of great im-
portance: made aunswere, that it vvas
then no time to negotiate, and so laying
it aside, was slain within two houres af-
ter.

In like manner, *Charles* the last Duke
of *Bourgundie*, who, as I haue declared be-
fore, was slain at *Nancy*, by the treason
of *Campobachio* an *Italian*: was aduertised
and fore-warned thereof, by *Lewes* the

eleauenth, King of *France*. Neuerthe-
lesse, perswading himselfe, that his ad-
uertisement proceeded either of malice
to *Campobachia*, or out of a desire to de-
priue him of his most necessary and tru-
stie seruant, he would not beleue it, but
loued him the better for it. Beside, one
that was priuy to the conspiracy, being
condemned to die for another matter,
and determining to reueale it vnto the
Duke, thereby to obtaine his pardon,
made suite vnto him to speake with him,
promising to aduertise him of som thin-
ges, which it imported him greatlie to
know, but the Duke would not bee in-
treated so much as to heare him, for the
man was executed, and the Duke slaine
within a few daies after.

Now then, I would gladlie knowe of
Machiauel and his followers, what se-
curity they can promise their Prince in
wickednesse, seeing it is euident by the
reasons and examples alledged, that the
extreame hatred, which extreame wick-
ednesse draweth vpon them, doth (not-
withstanding all their power and policy)
worke their ouerthrow by so many mea-
nes as hath beene declared? As by open
Rebellions, or the generall insurrection
of a whole people, by enterprise of a few
by the attempt of some one man; by the
disloyalty and treachery of a false wife,
faigned Friends, fauourites, Soldiers, &
Guards, by the defection of Subiects. in
faueur of some enemy forraigne or Do-
mesticall; by the negligence of Officers
and Ministers, by the casualty of all hu-
maine affayres and designments; & last-
ly, by the errors whereto all human wit
and policy is subiect, which to Princes
(that be generally beloued) are nothing
so dangerous. By all which meanes, the
strongest, mightiest, and most politique
Tyrants haue bin ouerthrowne at one
time or another.

So that the absurditie of *Machlauel* is
most manifest, in true reason of state, see-
ing that, in counselling Princes to wick-
ednesse and tyranny, vpon confidence of
humaine force and policy, hee exposeth
them to an assured danger, and doth not
giue them any certaine or probable re-
medy, but rather heapeth danger vpon
danger, by encrease of cruelty, and of all
Tyranical impiety. Insomuch, that it
may be saide to *Machiauels* Prince, as
Diogenes saide to a Disciple of his, whom
he

When an
euill is desti-
ned, there
can be no
preuention.

How many
wayes a wic-
ked Prince is
endangered,
without any
meanes of a-
uoyding the
perill.

Machiauel ex-
poseth his
Prince to an
assured dan-
ger, & giueth
him not so
much as a
probable re-
medie.

Plutarch in his
Treatise,
How to know
whether a
man haue pro-
fit in vertue.

he had forbidden the Tauerne. For, seeing him one day running from the Tauerne doore, where he stood into the Tauerne to hide himselfe from him, he called vnto him, saying, *Com back thou foole, for the further thou goest forward, the more thou art in the Tauerne.*

The further a Prince proceedeth in Machiauels pollicies, the more he endangereth himselfe.

And so may we say to *Machiauels* Prince, that the further he proceedeth in his dangerous course of wicked pollicy, the more he endangereth himselfe. And (as the Poet saith) *Incidit in Scillam, cupiens vitare Charibdim*, that is to say; *Seeking to auoyde Scilla, he falleth into Charibds;* or as our English Prouerbe saith, *Hee leapeeth out of the Frying pan, into the fire.*

The torment of conscience which tyrants doe endure.

But put the case, that a *Machiullian* or wicked Prince, could (by *Machiauels* Pollicy) assure his estate from all forren and domesticall dangers, yet hee should infallibly pay such a grieuous penalty of his wickednes thereby. For, such excesse of impiety, as *Machiauel* requireth in his Prince, as euer accompanied, not onely with hatred of men and infamy, but also with griefe and anguill of mind, infinit suspitions and feares, weary dayes, restlesse Nights, dreadfull dreames, besides continuall torment and horror of Conscience, yea, and many times with distraction, madnesse, and despaire.

Cicero in Tusculan. Quest. 1. Dionysius the elder, a Tyrant of Sicily, suspitious of his owne Daughters.

The elder *Dionysius*, a Tyrant of Sicily, though hee raigned 38. yeares, in great wealth and magnificence, yet liued in such continuall feare, ielousie, and suspicion of al men, that he durst neuer trust any Barber to trim him. Hee taught his own daughters to shauie while they were yong, and when they came to be of any yeares, hee would not suffer them to vse the Razor, but made them burne away the haire of his head with wal-nut shels made red hot. And hauing two Wives, hee alwayes caused them to be searched, before he would come to them: & when he had any thing to treat with the people, he spake vnto them from the top of an high Tower. And howe miserable also his whole life and state was, he himselfe declared sufficiently, when *Damocles* (one of his Flatterers) admyring his great wealth, dominion, Magnificence, and Maiestie, sayde; *That hee thought no man liuing, more happy then he.* Whereupon *Dionysius* asked him, whether hee would trie how happie hee was, and take a taste of his felicity? And when *Damo-*

Idem. Ibidem.

How *Dionysius* repented to *Damocles* the miserable life of a Tyrant.

cles was contented therewith, he caused him to bee set vpon a sumptuous bedde, (as the vse was then) richly couered, and Cupbords of Plate to be furnished with Siluer and Golden Vesselles, Tables replenished with al kinde of delicat meats, and most beautifull Boyes attending thereon.

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Besides, there was no want of precious ointments and sweete perfumes, excellent Musicke, and whatsoeuer else might delight the senses, insomuch, that *Damocles* thought himselfe to bee a most happie man. But at length, casting vp his eyes, hee was aware of a bright and sharpe sword, hanging ouer his head by an haire, with the point downward (for so had *Dionysius* ordained) which when he saw, hee had no more pleasure in beholding his faire Boyes, or his rich furniture, or to eate of his dainties, or to heare his Musicke, but desired the tyrant to giue him leaue to be gone, for that he would no longer be happy. Thus did *Dionysius* well expresse the infelicity and misery of wicked tyrants, how pompous, potent, or magnificent soeuer they may seeme to be.

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I omit to speake of the Emperors *Nero*, *Claudius*, and *Domitian*, and of *Alphonsus* King of Naples, of whom I haue sufficiently spoken before: and will only touch the wretched estate of King *Richard* the third, after hee had murdered his Nephewes, as *Sir Thomas More*, described it in the Story of his life, euen in these words.

Sir Thomas Moore in the Story of King *Richard* the third.

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I haue heard (saith hee) *by credible report of such as were secret with his Chamberer, that after this abhominable deede done, he neuer had quiet in his minde, nor euer thought himselfe sure. When he went abroad, his eyes whirled about, his bodye was priuily fenced, his hand euer on his dagger, his countenance and manner, like one alwayes readie to strike. He tooke no rest a nightes, but lay long wvaking and musing (sore wearied with watch and care) rather slumbred then slept, troubled with fearful dreames: suddenly sometimes started up, leapt out of his bedde, and ranne about the Chamber. So much was his restlesse heart tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression, and stormie remembrance of his abhominable deeds. Thus saith *Sir Thomas More.**

The tormented Conscience of King *Richard* the third, after he had murdered his Nephewes.

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Where-

Plutarch that wickednesse sufficeth to make a man miserable. Ibidem.

An obiection made in favour of Machiavilians.

Cicero in Tuscul. Quest. Lib. 5.

Plutarch in Solon.

Tyranny like to a Labyrinth which hath no Issue.

Whereby wee may see, that *Plutarch* had great reason to say, that wickednesse is of it selfe sufficient to make a man miserable. And that *Wicked men, the longer they live, the more miserab'le they are.* And that *The dolesal and Tragicall endes which most Tyrants haue, cannot be so properly counted the temporall punnishments due to their wickednesse in this life; as the consummation and end thereof.* I conclude that although there were no other punishment Diuine nor humane, to bee feared for wickednesse, nor anie danger to follow thereof to a Princes state, neither any Hell or Heauen after this life; yet this continuall torment and anguish of mind, this hell and horror of Conscience, might suffice to make all Princes detest and abhor the abominable precepts of *Machiauel*, who wold perswade Princes to conserue their states by wickednesse.

But perhaps our *Machiavilians* wil heere say (in defence of their Maisters doctrin) that although it should nor bee amis for those, who come iustly and lawfully to Soueraignty (as by succession or election) to procure the loue and good wil of all men, by their vertuous and iust Government: yet a Prince, who commeth to his State by intrusion and Iniustice, as by Murders and Mischiefes, to the preiudice of the right Heires or Owners thereof, cannot hope to conserue and maintain himselfe therein, by vertue and Iustice, or by the peoples loue, whose hatred hee hath already incurred, but by force and feare, and by continuall wickednesse and in tyranny. Which indeed, *Cicero* may seeme to haue insinuated by *Dionysius* the tyrant of *Sicily*, of whom he saith, that *Saluus esse non posset, si sanus esse cepisset, Hee could not haue bin safe, if he had begun to be sound.* That is to say, he could not haue bin secure, if he had become iust and vertuous. The which also, wise *Solon* the *Athenian*, may seeme to haue signified of all Tyrants: for, when he was moued by his friendes, to make himselfe Tyrant of *Athens*, with intention to gouerne wel and iustly afterwards: he refused it, saying, *Tyranny is like to a Labyrinth, which hath no Issue.* Meaning (as it may seeme) that a tyraunt cannot with his security, retorne from wickednesse to yertue: but that he must proceed and go on in impiety and tirany, hauing

as it were, a Wolfe by the eares, whom if he let go, he sets vpon himselfe. Thus say the *Machiavilians*, or at least may say, for I am content to plead their cause for them.

For the satisfaction heereof, it is to be considered, that *Cicero* and *Solon* spake thus, not because that the way and passage from Vice to Vertue, is not open as well for Tyrants, as for other Men: but to signifie the malignity of their impious Natures, and theyr miserable estate.

For, Tyrants are (commonly) of so vile, maligne, and Beastlie Nature, that it is seldom seen, that any of them come to embrace Vertue: in which respect, *Cicero* thought Tyrants to bee most miserable. Beside, *Solon* beeing most wise and prudent, was not ignorant, that *Honors* (as the Prouerbe sayeth) *chaungeth manners.* And therefore, he greatly feared, that if he should once giue waie to ambition, and violate Iustice by oppression of the Commonwealth, hee should hardly repaire the wracke of his owne Conscience afterward.

For, whosoever shall loose (as I may teame it) the Anker of integrity, and suffer himselfe to be so farre carryed away with the winde of ambition, that he runne the Shippe of Conscience, against the Rockes of tyranny: let him not maruaile, if he make an irreparable shipwracke of all Iustice and Vertue. Neuerthelesse, if a Prince that hath got a Crowne or State vniustly, doe hold such a vertuous course, that he conuert his tyranny into a regall and iust government: it is euident (both by reason and experience) though he hold not his ill gotten State lawfully, yet hee shall possesse it with farre lesse daunger, and much more security.

And this is conforme, not onely to the opinion and doctrine of *Aristotle*, as I haue declared before in this Chapter: but also of *Plato*, who counselled the two Tyrants of *Sicilie* (the Father and the Sonne, each called by the name of *Dionysius*) to change their tyrannicall course, into a iust manner of gouernment, assuring them, that they could not otherwise long conserue and assure their Estates. The truth whereof appeared sufficiently, as well by the miserable life of the father, so lately spoken of before,

The maligne nature and miserable estate of Tyrants, signified by Cicero and Solon.

Honor chaungeth manners.

A Tyrant ouerring his tyranny to a royall and iust government, shall be much more secured thereby, then by continuance of Tyranny.

Plutarch in Dion Plato his counsell to the two Tyrants of Sicily, Father and Sonne.

Plutarch in
Dion.

before, as also by the ignominious banishment, and vnfortunate end of the Sonne, whom *Dion* (with verie smal forces) cast out of his Kingdome, by reason that he was hated and forsaken of all his Subiects. Whereas diuers other tyrants, as well of *Sicilie* as other countries, changing their course of Tyrannie, to a iust and Vertuous Gouvernement, liued and raigned no lesse gloriously, then securely.

Anaxilauus.
Iustine, in lib. 4.
Examples of
Tyrants that
assured their
estates by Iustice and vertue.

Such a one, was *Anaxilauus* a Tyrant of *Sicily*, of whom *Iustine* Writeth thus. *Ex Tyrannorum numero Anaxilauus, &c. Anaxilauus, who was one of the Tyrantes, did strue to surpassse the crueltie and impietie of others, with his Iustice and Vertue, which wrought a wonderful effect. For, when he died, and left his Children (verie young) in the tuition of Nicithus a slave of his, whom he dearly loued for his Fidelitie: such was the loue that al his Subiects beare vnto the memory of him, that they chose rather to obey his S'auie, then to forsake his Children and all his Nobility, forgetting their dignity, and the maiesty of their Kingdome, did offer themselves to bee governed by a Slave.* Thus saith *Iustine*.

Plutarch de
seranum. vindict.
Hierom.
Gelon. Pisistratus.

Plutarke also testifieth, that *Hieron & Gelon*, Tyrants of *Sicily*, and *Pisistratus* the Sonne of *Hippocrates*, hauing most wickedly possesed themselves of theyr estates, did neuerthelessse, gouerne afterward with such Moderation, Iustice, and Equity, that they became very popular Princes. As also, that *Lisades* the tyrant, restored vnto his subiects their old Lawes and priuiledges: and afterwards, dyed gloriously in the field, in defence of his Countrey.

Dion in Augusto
Examples of
Augustus Cesar

In like manner, *Augustus Cesar*, after he had suppress his Commonwealth by force of Armes, and vsed such crueltie for many yeares together) that hee was hated of all men, insomuch, that hee could neither eate, drinke, nor sleepe in quiet, for feare of Conspiracies: chaunged his course by the Councell of his Friends, and gaue himselfe wholly to the exercise of Vertue, Pietie, and Iustice, whereby he was (at length) exceedingly beloued of al his Subiects, and esteemed to be *Pater Patrie*. *The Father of his countrey*, and passed the rest of his life in no lesse securitie, then honor and felicitie. Whereas verie manie of his successors, trusting partly to the strength of theyr

Pater Patrie,
The Father of
his Country.

Guards, Garrisons, and Armies, and partly to their policies, lost their honor, empire, and liues, by the continuance of their cruelty and wickednesse. Wherby it appeareth, that it is better (according to the Latine Prouerbe) *To bee late wise, then neuer*; and that it is not onely easie, but also most secure, for a tyrannicall Prince, to passe from cruelty to clemency, from vice to vertue, and from tyranny, to Iustice and Piety.

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But doe you (saith the *Machiwillian*) count it Wisedome for a Prince, so to confide in Iustice and Vertue, that he may trust those, whom he hath once iniured? Or, that he may thinke himselfe secure from them, so long as they liue? The *Italian* Prouerbe saith, *Chi offende non perdona mai*. He which offendeth, that is to say, hee which deserueth thine iniury, neuer pardoneth, and much lesse, hee which reciueth it.

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Heere to I answer: That I graunt to the *Machiwillian*, that his Tyrant shall neuer repose so great confidence in anie reconciled enemy, that hee shall put his life or state into his handes: for I haue formerly prooued, that the *Wisdom* of the *Serpent*, is to bee conioyned with the simplicity of the *Doue*, in pardoning, yea, and louing our enemies: and yet in being warie and circumspect, how we trust them. But that which I require of a Tyrant for his securitie, is, that he cease to heape Coales vpon his owne heade, by continuance and encrease of In-iustice, Cruelty, and Tyrannie: and that he labor (by all conuenient meanes) to pacify the exasperated minds of those whome hee offended, not only with words, but also with deeds; recompensing iniuries with benefits, and disgraces with fauors; Cruelty and seuerity, with clemency, benignitie, and affabilitie; doing Iustice to all men, and shewing himselfe to haue a particular care of the Commonwealth. To preferre the publicke good, before his owne priuate pleasure or commodity, to be the Patron and Protector of Vertue, the punisher of Vice, a refuge vnto the poore afflicted; and finally, a Father to all.

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Heereby he shall purchase to himselfe the generall and vniuersall loue of al, and either extinguish the hatred of those whom he hath offended and wronged: or at least, so temper and mitigate the same,

Better late
wise, then
neuer.

Another
Objection of the
Machiwillians

The Answer
to the obiection.

The wisdom
of the
Serpent, and the
Doues simplicity
ioyned
together.

How a Tyrant
may make
himselfe
generally
beloued, and all
his former
Cruelties to
be vtterly
forgotten.

Generall and
vniuersall
loue.

same, that it shall be much lesse dangerous vnto him, when all men generallie honor and loue him.

Moreouer, I allow not only to a reformed Tyrant, but also to the most lawfull and best Prince liuing, all lawfull meanes of defence; as strong Guards, Garisons, Armies, Fortresses, the vigilance of Councillors and Magistrates, the dilligence of Spies, and all other lawfull policies. All which concurring with the vertuous & iust government of a prince, and beeing fortified with the general loue of his people, which Vertue and iustice only engendereth, shall yeelde him the greatest assurance and security, that can be had, by any humaine means whatsoever.

But perhaps the Machiullians will yet reply, and say: That (for all this) I make not the reformed Tyrant, no, nor anie other lawfull Prince secure. For, although he shall neuer be so well beloued generally: yet (as I haue already proued) some one man offended, may (notwithstanding all his force and lawfull Policies) be reuenged on his person. And therefore, the only remedy for the Prince (say they) in that case, should be to cut off by some meanes or other) all such as hee may thinke likely to seeke reuenge, or to be any way daungerous vnto his State. For, as Theodosius sayde vnto Ptolomey King of Egypt, when as hee councelled him for to murder Pompey, *Mortui non mordent; Dead Men bite not.* So say they.

But what neede the dead to bite him, when not onely his owne Conscience shall bite and sting him: but also, there shall be men enow left aliue, to seek the reuenge; as their Children, if they haue any; or their Kinsfolkes, Seruants, or Friends. As for example, Frotho King of Denmarke, first of that name, caused his owne Brother to be murdered, and afterward killed the mur herer, least hee might reueale it; all which notwithstanding, he was smothered with smoake by his Brothers Children.

Valentinian the third Emperor of that name, hauing vngratefully killed the famous Captaine Aetius with his owne hand, was slaine by two Soldiers of Aetius, in reuenge thereof. Also Amurathes, Emperour of the Turkes, the first of that Name, was slaine with a dagger

by a seruant of Lascarus, the Despot or Lord of Seruaia, for reuenge of his Lord and Maisters death: notwithstanding, this Amurathes was one of the most crafty and vigilant Princes, that the Turkes euer had, according as Paulus Iouius reported.

10 But amongst all those, who haue sought to assure their estate by murders none euer exceeded Andronicus Comnenus, Emperour of Constantinople, who as I haue declared before) vsed to condemn and extirpate whole families, for the suspicion which hee had (diuers times) of some one man, thereby to free himselfe from all feare of reuenge. Which (neuertheless) was reuenged on him: most notoriously, not onely by the friends and well-willers of the dead, but also by all the people, such being the horror of Injustice and cruelty, that it doth not only offend those which are iniuried; but also all other men.

20 And therefore it hath been often seen, that Subiectes haue attempted against the state or person of a Prince, for the hatred of some murder, or off me one cruell acte. Iustine Writeth, that when Seleucus, King of Syria, beganne his Goernment with the murder of Berenice his Steppe-Mother, and of her Sonne his owne Brother: all the Citties which were subiect to him in Asia, *Exemplo crudelitatis territa, Being frightea with this example of crueltie,* suddenic renoulted from him, and yeilded themselues to the subiection and obedience of Ptolomey King of Egypt, *Tantum illi odom (sayth Iustine) parricidiale scelus attulerat: So great was the hatred which his wicked and parricidial acte caused in his Subiectes towards him.* So vn Timer and daungerous is the remedie of daungers by murder and crueltie, that the danger is manie times increased and redoubled thereby.

30 40 50 But now the Politicke may aske mee heere, whither I (who inculcate so oft the daunger of wicked policy) can assure a Princes state by vertue & iustice, in such sort, that the same shall not be subiect to any inconueniences? Wherto I answer, that though the naturall infirmitie and condition of mans state bee such, and so infinite the hazards whereto hee is subiect, & such also the malice of euil men, that no humaine force or policy can war-

Wherein the greatest security which can be had by humane meanes consisteth.

A Reply of the Machiullians, inferring the necessity of murders sometimes, for a Princes security.

Plutarch. in Pompeio.

A Machiullian Prouerbe and principle confuted.

Olaus. Mag. in Lib. 8. Cap. 26. Saxo Gram. in Lib. 7. Paul. Diacon. in Lib. 15. Cassiodor Chron. An. 454. & 455. Euagri. in Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Paulus Iouius in Amurathes.

Idem. Ibidem. Nicetas Comiat. in Andronico Comneno. lib. 2.

The horror of in Justice and Cruelty.

Iustine. in Lib. 37. Seleucus King of Syria forsaken of his Subiects for murder.

Iustine ubi supra.

Dangers not remedied but increased by Cruelty.

Whether any Princes state can be assured by Justice and morrall vertue.

All the security that a Prince can haue by humane means, is to be attained principally by vertue.

The least dangers and inconueniences are to be chosen by wise men.

The greatest security of Princes consisteth in the loue of their Subiects, which vertue procureth.

Machiauell might haue noted the miserable end of all Tyrants in all Histories.

rant the best Prince liuing, from all perilles incident to his person and state, yet the assurance and security, which any Prince may possibly haue of the one or other by humane meanes, is to be attained principally by Vertue and Iustice, & such policies as are grounded thereon, and not on Iniustice, impiety, and wicked policy. For whereas the iustest Prince may haue some one or a few enemies that may endaunger him, the wicked must needs haue many, and the more wicked and cruell he is, the more Enemies he shall haue; and (consequenrly) the greater shall be his danger. For, if a Prince cannot be secure from one enemy or a few, hee shall be much lesse secure from many, and least of al from the generall hatred of all men, which (infallibly) groweth of such excessiue cruelty and wickednesse, as Machiauel requireth in his Prince.

Therefore, forasmuch as it is the part of all Wisemen (especialy in matters of State) to choose the least of all daungers or inconueniences, which cannot be remedied, and to seeke to preuent and auoyd the worst, as is sufficiently declared in the rules for young Statists, it is euident, that as no thing is more dangerous to Princes and their States, then Iniustice and wickednesse; which maketh them odious to all men; so nothing is more to be eschewed and auoyded of them, then the same, and the contrarie meanes of Iustice and Vertue, to be embraced and practised.

For, thereby they may purchase the generall loue of their Subiects, wherein consisteth the greatest security of Princes, such being the force and effect of loue, that it causeth in the louers as great a care of the beloued, as of themselues. In which respect, Seneca saith: *Vnum est inexpugnabile munimentum amor ciuium. The only inexpugnable fortresse of Princes, is the loue of their people.*

And this is so manifest, that Machiauel himselfe acknowledgeth it sufficiently, teaching that excellent vertue may conferue a Princes State, though he absurdly attributes the like force and effect vnto wickednesse. Which truely may be wondered at, if we consider, that hee being well read in Histories as it may seem, could not but see (if he were not wilfully

blind) that all such Tyrants as haue been noted to be excessiue in crueltye & wickednesse, haue perished miserablye one way or other, which hath bene obserued in all ages.

And therefore, Cicero speaking of the violent death of a Tyrant, saith: *Haud fere quisquam eorum similem interitum effugit. There is scantly any Tyrant to be found, that escapeth the like Destruction.* And thereupon, the Tragical Poet saith:

*Quota pars moritur tempore fati?
Quos felices Cinthia vidit?
Vidit miseris abitura dies,
Rarum est felix idemque senex.*

Seneca.

The sence whereof, is, *That few of them liue out the course of Nature, and that it is a rare thing, to see any of them olde and happy.* Whereof another Poet sayeth thus:

Few Tyrants liue out the course of nature.

*Ad generum ceteris, sine cade & sanguine, pauci
Descendant reges, & sicca morte tyranni.*

That is to say, *Few Tyrants dye their Natural death, or without blood.* Which Machiauel might haue noted, if not in other Histories, yet at least in the life of Titus Linius, vpon the which, he made certaine discourses.

For, of seauen Kings of Rome, from Romulus, to Tarquinius Superbus, foure, who got their Estates, or (at the least) maintained and gouerned them most Tyrannically, were three of them murdered, and the fourth Tyrant banished, as I haue obserued heretofore in Romulus, Lucius Tarquinius, Seruius Tullius, and Tarquinius Superbus. Whereas, the other three, to wit; Numa Pompilius, Tullius Hostilius; and Ancus Martius, who were lawfully elected by the Senat, and gouerned iustly and vertuously, liued in securitie and safetie, and dyed beloued and lamented of all the people.

Tit. Linius. Dec. 1. Lib. 1.

Kings lawfully elected by the Senate, and gouerned iustly.

The like also, might bee verie well ob.

observed in the Romaine Emperors, after Julius Caesar, if it were needfull.

But that which seemeth to mee most strange in Machiavil, is, that hee coulde not see the experience thereof (at least) in Cesar Borgia, whom, as I haue often signified before, he proposeth to his prince for a mirror of tyrannicall policy. Notwithstanding that the successe thereof, was such in him, that all Princes may learne thereby to detest it, seeing he who was (in Machiavils opinion) most exact in the speculation and practise thereof, was vtterly overthrowne thereby, as well as all other Tyrants of former times.

Which cannot be attributed to chance, as the politick would haue it, but either to the iust iudgement of God vpon wicked men, which indeede is the principall cause thereof; or at least to the next and immediate cause, which (for the most part) is the hatred of men. And therefore, seeing the miserable end of Wicked Tyrants, not only hath notorious & known causes, but also is frequent and common that it hath alwaies bin held matter of common experience: it cannot be referd to chace or Fortune, which are vnderstood to be in such things only as are rare, and haue no knowne or ordinary cause. So that it may rather be counted casuall, or a matter of chance, if any notable tyrant do com to a good end: because the same hath bin sildome seene, and the cause thereof secret, or at least vncertaine.

Therefore I conclude, that Machiavil cannot bee excused, either of grosse ignorance, if he knew not that which common experience teacheth, to witte; that wicked Tyrants do commonly perish miserably: or of extreame malice if hee knew it, and yet laboured to enduce Princes to wickednesse and tyranny. The later whereof is now sufficiently acknowledged by some Florentines of no meane iudgement, his owne Countreymen and friends, who in their ordinary discourses concerning his policies, do not sticke to confesse, that he himselfe knew them to be contrary to true reason of State; and pernicious to Princes. And that neuerthelesse, desiring to overthrow those of the house of Medices, which opprest the Commonwealth in his time, he published his Pestilent Doctrine, hoping that they would embrace it, and ruine themselves by the practise thereof, wherby the

state of Florence, might return to the old Democratie, or popular gouernement wherein it had continued manie yeares before. And this shall suffice, for the examination of Machiuillian policies, by only reason of State.

CHAP. XI.

Of Loue and Hatred, Amity and Enmity, which (by some secret propriety in Nature) is betweene many creatures.

Heraclitus the auncient Phylosopher, and manie more as well as he, were of opinion, that all things were caused by concorde and discord, and that thiorow peace and Enmity (which in all humaine thinges) ensueth the generation and corruption of them. Of which Philosophicall coniecture, I am not now minded to speake, as well in regard of the difficulty, as slender delight it will yeeld to the Reader. Neuerthelesse, wee will discourse of such amity and enmity, as is known and found to be among many things, albeit no man knoweth truely, from whence the cause thereof proceedeth, which to speake vprightly, is a matter very maruailous. As, for our first instance, the discord betweene the Dogge and the Cat, between Oile and Pitch, the Hart and the Adder, and such like, whereof we are instantly to discourse, that do naturally hate one another; and it is imagined, that this Enmity ensueth from the Elements. For the contrariety and discord which is among all thinges created, is manifest and euident: As we do discern, that Water is an enemy to Fire, because the Fire is hot and dry, and Water is cold and moist, so that these two Elements are wholly contrary. Water and Earth are friendes, in regard that they are both cold: and yet, there is a contrariety in them, because water is moyst, and Earth is dry. Betweene the Fire and the Earth, there is a conformity, in regard of the driness of them: and yet a difference too, by reason of the Fires heat, and Earths coldnes. In like

Machiavell might haue noted the miserable end of Tyrants in Cesar Borgia. Guicciard. in Lib. 6.

The miserable end of Tyrants cannot be attributed to chance, and why.

The miserable end of Tyrants is very frequent, and hath a known cause, and therefore is not casuall.

It may be referred to chance, if any notable Tyrant come to a good end.

Machiavell's other grossely ignorant, or extreame malicious.

How Machiavell's friends excuse him at this day.

Machiavell's Doctrine acknowledged by his friends to be pernicious to Princes.

from the

from the

Concord and Discord the occasion of all things.

No man knoweth truely whence the cause of this variance ensueth.

The contrariety among all things created.

Of Water and Fire.

Of Water & Earth.

Of Fire and Earth.

All things are
composed of
the Elements.

Of the most
gouernment
of the Elemē-
tary qualities.

Another kind
of Enmity not
proceeding
from the Ele-
ments.

* Like great
Fenell, called
Fenell Gyant,
or hearbe
Sagapene.

Hatred of
men at their
very first
fight.

Loue of men
at the first
fight.

like manner, among the Elements there is contrariety: and yet neuerthelesse, in part of them there is some kindnesse and conformity. All things then being composed of these Elements, it followeth by necessity, that there should be such contradiction or conformity, as is amongst those Elements whereof they are compounded. Wherefore, that thing wherin the Elementary quality gouerneth most, receiueth name from the qualitie, and that we tearme hot or colde, moyst or drie, some in more high degree then others, according as the thing is most qualified, by one of those first and chiefest qualities. Thus we may obserue, how one thing is contrary to another, working diuers effects: which contradiction is very apparant, and thereby we com to render a reason thereof.

11. But that the other kinde of Enmitie, which procedes not from the elements, but by a hidden and secret proprietie, or from some superiour influence, doth wel require a further contemplation, and search into the cause whence it shoulde ensue. The Dogge and the Cat (as wee haue formerly said) do wish il vnto each other, and yet the reason is not knowne wherefore. There are other thinges likewise, which doe entirely loue one another; and yet this loue proceedeth not from the Elements whereof they are composed. Asses do desire, and well like of an Hearbe, called * *Ferula*; and yet it is venomous to al other horses or mares. Foxes are friends to Adders or Snakes, that are enemies to all other Beasts. This is a matter of no lesse consideration among men, then in brute beasts, in regard, that not knowing whence or how it should proceed, one man, at the verie sight of another, hauing neuer known or seene him before, is very enuious and disdainful towards him, and yet another man is very pleasing and acceptable vnto him, vpon the as like sudden sight. Sometimes also, so soone as he sees a man that he knowes not, hee will beare affection to him, and hold him in reuerend regard although he bee much neerer then himselfe: and another shall happen to bee despised by him, although he be som worthy personage or great Lorde. We see some others, that are born (as it seemeth) to giue enstruction. Beside, we may note in two men, that the one suffers himselfe

to bee gouerned by the other: in which kind many times, the Maister is ruled by his seruant, euen as if hee were naturally subiect to him, and yet no reason rendered therefore. And the very like hapneth among Beasts and Birds also, euen in the same enmities and subiections, as wee may holde betweene the Eagle and the Swanne, the Crow and the Kite: for the Kite is many times so aduenturous, that shee daureth to snatch a prey out of the Crowes gripes. Like hatred is there betweene the Kite and the Chough, and the Eagle and the Goose: so that, if but the Feather of an Eagle bee mingled among them of the Goose, it quite consumeth them all. The Hart is a great persecuter of Adders or Snakes, for, by his strong breathing about the entraunce of the hole where they hide themselves, he draweth them forth by his breath onely, and presently eateth them. And to proue it true, that there is such deadlie hatred between them, the experiment hath bin made, by burning the Harts horne, the smoak whereof no Adder is able to endure. As great enmity also, there is between the Crow, Asses, & Bulls, because the Crowe smiteth at them continuallie with her beake, and endenoureth by all meanes to pecke out their eies. The Eagle, being the greatest of all Birdes, pursueth the small Coot, Moore, Henne, or Fen-Ducke: And the Coot or Moore-Hen is harmefull to the Larke, and spoileth her Egges.

The Fowle called *Flora*, counterfeteth the whinnowing of a Horse, whereby she feareth and astonisheth him, euen as he doth the like by her. The very greatest enemies to the Wolfe, are the Fox, the Ass, and the Bull. There is likewise continuall quarrell between the Vulture and the Eele. The Lyon dreadeth and flyeth from the Cocke, shunning Fire also, and the noise of a Cart or Wagon. The Panther holds the Hienna as his Enemy; and the Scorpion pursueth the *Tarantula* to death, which is tearmed by the Latines *Phalanges*: for whose byting (as one Author affirmeth) there is no remedy, but by Musick only. And so great is the hatred betweene these two Creatures, that whosoever is bitten by the Scorpion, must be healed by the Oyle, wherein the *Tarantulaes* are drowned. The Elephant beeing a mighty and powerful

The Maister
gouerned by
his seruant.

Deadly ha-
tred between
diuers Foules

The hatred
of the Hart,
to Adders &
Snakes.

Of the Crow,
Asses & Bulls.

Greatnesse
enuieth smal-
nesse.

A Bird that
couerfeiteth
the Horses
whinnoing.

The Cock
dreadfull to
the Lyon.

Of the Hienna
and Taran-
tula.

The feare of
the Elephant.

werfull Beast, not only feareth and shunneth the Snake, but also shaketh at the sight of a Sheepe, yea, and trembleth at the very grunting of a Swine. Horses, Asses, and Mules, by no meanes can endure the Weezell: the Francoline and House-Cocke, are greatly envious of each other. There is a kind of Faulcone, which Aristotle termeth *Tico*, that maintaineth great war and debate against the Fox, pursuing and fighting with him at all times, wherefoever he meets or finds him. *Elianus* tels vs, that there is appealelesse hatred, betweene the Crow & another kind of Faulcon, which hee calleth *Pelagra*; and likewise between the Crow and the harmlesse Turtle, the Owle and the Storke, the Partridge and the Tortois. The Pelican persecuteth the Quaille about all other Fowles; and the Horse is more affraid of the Camell, then of any other Beast whatsoever.

Among Fishes also, there is the like Naturall enmity: for the Crenis or crab of the Sea, keepes no societie with the Poulpe or Preake, but they auoide each others sight: as the Dolphin dooth the Whale, and as the Conger is Naturall enemy to the Lamprey. The Poulpe or Preake, hath such domination ouer the Eeek, and the Eeek is in such feare of the Poulpe, that she dieth with the verie fight of him.

There is extreame warre between the Sea-Wolfe, and the Fish called * *Mengilla*, or *Mugra*. If the Snake doth see a man cloathed, or hauing his Garments on, he wisheth him deadly harme, and laboureth to offend him; but let him behold him naked, and then he shunneth him as swiftly as he can Rats and Snakes or Adders, are mortall enemies, especially when they hatch their Egges in winter, and come not abroad to bee scene; for then they persecute each other verie cruelly. And because (by instinct of Nature) they know each others malice, they make such prouision of foode in theyr Nestes, as may glut them with feeding, and so to get them gone, without anie more contending. The malice of Woolues towards Sheepe is so naturall, that if a Drum be made of a Woolues skinn, Sheepe will with like fearefulnesse, flye from the sound thereof, euen as if the Wolfe were liuing, and nere vnto the Flocke.

Nay more, some Authors doe maintaine, that if eyther Viall or Lute bee strung, with strings made of the guts of a Wolfe or Sheepe; it is impossible to accord them together, or to make anie anie pleasing hermonie with them. If the skinn of a Wolfe, bee hanged in a Stall or Stable, or in any such like place where Sheepe are to bee fedde: the very feare which they conceiue thereof, doth forthwith compell them to cease from feeding.

The Monkey fearefully shunneth the Tortoise: And Rattes (by some hidden qualitie) are so contrarie to Scorpions, that the byting of a Scorpion is soonest healed, if a Ratte be but layde vpon it. The Snake and Viper, do woonderfullie dread the Crab, who hath (Naturally) such power ouer those two other Creatures, that if a Swine should bee bitten by a Viper, hee helpeth himselfe by eating of a Crabbe: And that which is much more to be admired, when the Sunne is in the signe of Cancer, both these kinde of Serpents, doe suffer verie extreame anguish and paine. The Scorpion Fish, and the Crocodile, haue continuall warre together, each killing the other most maliciously.

The Panther so dreads the Ounce, that (as is auouched) he suffereth her to kill him, without vsing any defence for himselfe. And if the skin of the Panther bee hung nere to the skinn of the Ounce, that of the Panther wil wast and consume away. The Enmity betweene the Chough and the Daw is so thecullish that (as Aristotle reporteth) they rob & destroy each others Egges. The VVaspe is at fierce feud with the Spider, euen like as the Coote and Mallard are with Rats and Mice, killing and eating each others young ones. The Kite and the Foxe are hatefull enemies.

There is a kinde of Hawke, of small groweth (which *Plinie* nameth *Fsalon*) who is so enuiously malicious vnto the Crow, that hee neuer ceaseth search for their Nest, onely to breake her Egges in pieces. Swine are Naturallie hatefull to VVezels. The white wolfe and the Lyon are such fatall enemies, that being dead, their blood cannot be mingled together. Moles or W ants are so bent against Ants; that they shunne any tree where they haue any being.

Arist. in Lib. 7. de Anim. cap. 3.

Elianus in lib. 9

The Owle & Storke.

Deadly hatred among Fishes in the Sea.

* Called also by some Pour contrail, a Fish with many feete.

* A kinde of Mullet.

The Snake beholding a naked man.

Of Rats and Snakes.

Of woolues and Sheepe, and a Drum made of the woolfes Skin.

A strange secret in nature

Of the Scorpion and the Ratt.

Of the Scorpion Fish and the Crocodile

Of the Panther and Ounce.

Arist. in Lib. 7. de Anim. cap. 3.

Plin. in Lib. 8. Cap. 10.

Of the wolfe and Lyon.

Of the Moles and W ants

Plin. in Lib. 7. Cap. 14.

Of the Spider & the Adder.

Enmity among other things that lacke life.

A strange property in the Olive.

Of Salt water becoming sweete and fit to drinke.

Things that mutually loue each other. Arist. in Lib. 7. de Anim. cap 3.

Sparrowes that doe cleanse the Crocodiles teeth.

Talpa Marina, that serueth as a guide to the huge Whale.

The Spider is at sterne warre with the Adder, as *Pliny* saith, that shee compasseth his death in this manner. When the Spider perceiueth the Adder to sleepe vnder any Tree where she worketh, shee descendeth by the small twine of hir own making; and getting into his braine pan, ther biteth and stingeth him in such sort, that she neuer leaueth him, vntill she see him quite dead by her venom.

Among other inanimate thinges also, there is the like contradiction and enmity. For, Oyle is an enemy to Pitch; because, if Oyle be put into a Vessel which is pitched within, the pitch consumeth all the Oyle. Oyle is likewise enemy vnto water, as Lime is; but Lime and Oyle do ioyne together, and seemeth to loue each other naturally.

The Olive hath an admirable secret Vertue, against Carnall and luxurious desire; yea, and in such sort, as I finde it credibly written, that if an vnchast womans hand do plant it, it will receyue no roote, but withereth and dyeth. Coleworts cannot prosper, if they grow neere to the Hearb Maricrom of *England*. Salt water becommeth fresh and sweete, being mixed with Wheaten floure, so that within two houres after, a man may very well drinke thereof. I could alleadge so many examples, concerning natural hatred betweene things both animate and inanimate, as were able to tire a very patient Reader.

The like could I do of things that mutually loue together, as the Peacock and the Pigeon; the Turtle and the Popinay; the Blackbird and the Feldfare. *Aristotle* reporteth, that there is such kinde-nesse betweene certaine Birdes or Sparrowes, and the monstrous Crocodile, that the huge Beast wil open his mouth, to suffer these small Birdes to picke and cleanse his teeth with their billes, also to purge his gummes when they paine and offend him; and alledgeth withall, that these Birdes are onelic nourished thereby. It is said moreouer, that there is great amity betweene the Fox and the Crow, the Dawe and the Henne of *India*; the Larke, and another Bird called a Ioncke. The Fox is neuer harmed by the Snake, nor the Sheepe likewise. Pigeons and Turtles agree well together; and the Partridge with her louer the Ring-doue. The Fish (called in Latin *Talpa Marina*)

is, beyond all other, affected most of the Whale: for, as *Pliny* affirmeth, it swimmeth alwayes before him, to giue him warning of whirlpits, and daungerous deepe places.

Thus you see the woonderfull workes of nature, disperfed and limitted by the prouidence of God, and partly occasioned by the influence of Starres and Planets. All which, we finde sufficientlie authorized and warranted by good Authors: as *Pliny*, *Aristotle*, *Albertus Magnus*, *Elianus*, and the Poet *Marbodeus*, in his Booke of Stones, beside manie other both ancient and Moderne, that haue written on the Nature of Beastes, and other things else.

Marbodeus in Lib. 2. de Lapid.

CHAP. XII.

By what meanes and occasions, the natures of Amity and Enmity, are said to proceede from the Celestiall Influences: and the reason, why one loueth or hateth another.

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N the Chapter of secret and hidden occasions, we haue already proued that there are some Planets & stars, that do hold perticuler dominion ouer some things more then other, & do infuse perticuler proprieties, which are not caused by any quality of the elemets.

Some Starres and Planets of more pre-dominance then other.

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And yet notwithstanding, we canot properly say, that the Planets, Starres, and Signes of heauen, haue any discorde or enmity among themselues. Neuertheles, ancient Philosophers and Astrologians, considering the contrary and diuers effects of the Influences, which the Stars and Planets do cause in things, by their irradiation and motion, haue attributed diuers qualities to them, and likewise great enmity betweene them.

The opinion of ancient Philosophers and Astrologers.

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According to *Guydo Bonatus*, *Schonerus*, and many more beside, we finde, that *Mars* and *Venus*, are enemies to the Planet *Saturne*. *Iupiter* and *Mercury* are enemies also. The Sunne, Moone, and all the Planets, are Friends to *Iupiter*, *Mars*, onely excepted, who is enemy to them all, sauing *Venus*. *Iupiter* and *Venus* loue the

Guydo Bonatus, Schonerus.

Of Amity and Enmity among the Planets.

the Sunne; and their opposites or contraries are Mars, Mercurie, and the Moone. Venus is affected of them all; except Saturne. Thus then there is such Amity and Enmity among them; as I must now cease to discourse on, onely for breuities sake.

Now seeing that matters stand thus, such things as are vnder the order and government of one Planet: must (by naturall inclination) be Friends or Enemies to those, which are obedient to another Planet, Signe, or Constellation, according to the conformity or diuersity, that is betweene the Starres ruling those things. And this enmity is likewise the greater, and of the more efficacy; when among the nature and qualities of the Planets (to whom they are subiect) there is the greater repugnancy. As contrariwise, the amity or loue will be much more liuely, when there is greatest conformity betweene the Planets.

This is to be vnderstood, as well to extend it self to men; as in dominion ouer brute beasts. Neuerthelesse, Men being of a free and liberall will, although they feele this repugnancy or inclination; yet they may (by grace) with-stand and resist it. But beasts, who are exempt and deprivied of this priuiledge: must needs be governed according to their natural inclination, and doe put the same in execution, so much as in them lyeth, euen as Hearbes and Plants doe the like.

Concerning mutuall affection among Men, the Astrologers doe maintaine, especially Ptolomy their Prince, that such Men as (at their birth) haue one and the selfe-same Signe, for Lord of the ascendent; will sympathize in an equall nature of loue and agreement; yea, and that very pleasingly: as also such as haue the Sunne and the Moone in one selfe-same Signe. Moreouer, they say, that in such as haue one and the same Signe for Governour at their natiuity: it infuseth and begetteth (naturallie) a like loue and conformity in nature. And albeit, that one Planet be not answerable to them both: yet it is sufficient, that the two Planets are friendes, and not enemies; or else, that they both do lenda fauourable and auspicious eye. This is easilie discerned, by erecting the

Figures of both the Natiuities, and much helpe ensueth to this conformity: and if Fortunes be harbourous and friendly in the same Signe or House, and that the House or Signe of the Moones being in at the ones Natiuity, doe affoord a gracious aspect to the others birth. For as they do more or lesse consent and agree in these conditions: euen so (more or lesse) is the quality of naturall loue.

Hence it ensueth, that two Men being imployed about one businesse: a third man (being a By-stander) wil lend a very heedfull and affecting eye to the one, despising and condemning the other mans painfull endeuour, although he neuer iniured or any way offended him: Which might happen to two persons, that had their ascendent signes repugnant in their quality, and of contrary triplicitie, and the Planets (beeing Lordes of their Natiuity) enemies and contrarie one to another. As the Sun and Moon, being in opposition and diuers signes, and those of one birth, casting an euill aspect on another: for, by reason of these things, & others which we could speake of, ensueth the cause of one mans beholding another, with inward contentment or disliking. As appeareth very plainely, in seeing two Men playing at any game together: the stander by, not beeing any way obliged eyther to the one or other, nor (perhaps) knowing either of them; yet his minde is more affectionate to the one then the other, and he wisheth him better successe then the other.

As for the other Argument, of one mans feare and dread of another, suffering himselfe to be ouer-awed and governed by him, although hee be much inferiour to him; we see the case cleare by common experience. The reason of these accidents is rendred by Ptolomy, saying: That he which at his birth, shall haue an ascendent Signe, as (by way of example) the one in the East, and the other ouer the South: that man shall naturally haue a kind of subiection and reuerence done vnto him by the other. The like shall ensue to him, that (in his Natiuity) hath the Signe governing, and the other Mans obeying. But if two Men shall haue one and the same signe for Lord of the ascendent, or else one Planet governing

Matters vnder one Planet are friends or enemies to them that be vnder another.

The like power is ouer men & beasts, but not in a like nature.

Of mutable loue and Amitie betweene man and man, according to the equality in their birth.

If one Planet be not alike to two mens births.

Example of two men dealing in one businesse.

The Sunne and Moone in opposition and contrary signes.

Example of affection and dislike.

One man standing in awe and feare of another.

A reason alleged by Ptolomy, Prince of Astrologie, for superiority in birth.

One Lord of the ascendent governing two mens births.

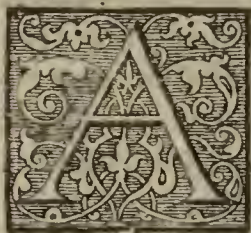
ning both: he that in the power and order of that Planet shall be Superior (as we haue already declared of Beastes). shall not naturally haue dominion ouer the other.

Now, when this aduantage happeneth in him, who is a Friend and Fauorer of another; the fauour and affection encreaseth so much in him, that the others gouernment is the more gladlie yeilded to him. If this happen in the case of a Seruant: doubtlesse, he will be loyall, faithfull, and very obedient. If betwecne two Friends, equall in birth, Goods, and Fortune, as it hath beene, and yet is oftentimes obserued: their affections are mutually found to bee perfect and intire, and the one willingly is gouerned (for the more part) by the other.

Examples of this accident happening in sundry degrees.

CHAP. XIII.

¶ Whence it ensueth, that a Way of like length, seemeth more short and euen or plaine, and is lesse offensive: then that which is long and euen, is yrkesom and distastfull. And why our turning in going, procureth falling.



Albeit, this Chapter seemeth not to bee of such importance as the precedent: yet the Argument is not to be despised, in regard

that Aristotle thought it no disgrace to him, to determine the doubt. We doe oftentimes behold, that he which goeth by a Way that is short, as if you would say, halfe a Mile, eyther more or lesse, if the same Way be plaine and euen, without Hills and Dales: hee is nothing so soone weary or lagged then, as if it were crooked, vnenen, and rugged. But if the way be long, as of eight or ten miles, more or lesse, and smooth and euen: in very truth, it will be more wearisome to him, then if he had some Hilles and Vallies to passe. The reason is, that a Man becommeth weary, for two causes. The first, because trauaile is long and durable, though it appeare

Arist. in Lib. 3. de Anim. Cap. 9.

Of an euen or smooth way, & that which hath Hilles and Dales.

Two causes why a man is weary in his walking.

not very sharpe. The other, in regard it is sharp, though it lasteth but a little while.

Concerning the first point whereof we haue spoken, that the way which is short, hilly, and side-long, weareth a man more, then that which is plain and euen, though of the selfe-same length: we are to vnderstand, that this labour, although it be little, is more sharpe and tedious, then when a man walketh plainly. For it is a matter more repugnant to our nature, to goe as if it were climbing and iumping: then to walke on in an euen and smooth way.

Now, for the long and plain passage, that it wearieth more, then the other that hath some Hills or Dales: the reason ensueth of a long and semblable Way, in regard, that the members doe hold on in pacing, all after one manner, without any alteration or chaunging, which (ordinarily) yeildeth some repose and ease. So that, albeit mounting appeareth to be more painefull, then walking on a plaine and euen Way: yet it is so, that this mutation affoordeth ease and refreshing, because the Members doe thereby apprehend a nouell forme; and their motion is in another manner. As we may very well obserue in them that ride on Horse-backe, who (though it be much more painfull, then trauailing on foote) doe oftentimes descend or alight, and walke a while to ease theselues. In like case it fareth with a long and euen way, that the Members do then hold but an equal motion, and are in one order or kinde: without extendure or stretching, and retiring or with-drawing themselues, more at one time then another. And therefore, when the iourney continueth for a long time; it is the more offensive and wearisome. And although that mounting and descending, doe endure longer then the plaine trodden path: yet the plaine and euen waies among it, doth cause a mutation therewithall, whereby the members do receiue some ease and lightning of toyle. Whereof wee may make a good example, by a man that sitteth a long while together, and resteth himselfe without any walking: yet is hee glad (oftentimes) to stretch out his Members, to put them forth, and pull them in to him. These are the opinions of

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Of the short, Hilly, and tedious way.

A repugnancy to our nature in trauailing.

Alteration in going affoordeth some ease.

Mounting not so painfull as euen walking.

Ryding more painefull then trauaile on foote.

Of mounting and descending.

Example of a mans long time of sitting, without walking. Alexand. A. phrod. in Probl.

Macrob. in Somn Scipionis. Lib 1. Plato. in Tim.

of Alexander Aphrodiseus, in his Problemes: and Macrobius, in the first Book of Scipioes Dreame; as also Plato, in his Timeus.

They haue likewise vrged this question: wherefore a Man, in suddaine turning, or beeing brought by or from another Man: it falleth out so hurtfull vnto him, that his sight becomnieth dazeled, and he hardly auoydeth stumbling or falling? Wherunto all of them make aunswere, especiallie Macrobius, saying. That the moouings of all corporall thinges, are seauen in number. One whereof, is; the moouing from beneath, to aloft, or on high. A second, is from on high, to below or beneath. A third, is from one place to another forward. A fourth, is from forward, backward, without either mounting or descending. A fift, is to the right side. A sixt, is to the left. And the last, is turning round about: which is neyther on high nor below; nor to the right side or left, but in a round circle, as it were. And this is the proper motion or moouing of the Heauens, the qualitie whereof, is to turne in that manner: and is not so common or ordinary to man, as the other sixe, or every one of them are.

From thenceit ensueth, that in neuer hauing beenefecne, nor done by man, when hee so mooueth of himselfe, or else by another: he findes himselfe feared and troubled, and then some notable accident or imitation happeneth to him, because hee is troubled in the braine, all his spirits, and an alteration appeareth in the humours of his head, so that the Organes of vnderstanding, cannot receiue their vertue and animall power. And so, our bodilie charge and weighinesse, beeing not sustained by the Soule: falleth downe to the ground, without power, without sight, and void of any supporting strength. But if a man doe performe this motion aduisidly, and by little and little: nature findeth no impeachment, but without daunger it may very well be done.

Macrob. ubi sup.

Seauen seuerall kinde of motion or moouing.

The true moouing of the Heauens, not common or ordinary vnto man.

The reason of falling in sudden turning.

CHAP. XIII.

How excellent a thing the Memory of Man is. And what is the reason, that such as are endued with an acute Spirit, haue but weak retention. Moreover, what is the cause that Men haue so good remembrance of their youth, or younger yeares.



Among all the inward perfections of Man, Memory is the most excellent: as being the Treasurer and Guardian of all the other. The blessing bestowed by God on Men, in giuing them Memory, is so great and precious: that onely the very praises thereof, and recitall of the benefits which come to them thereby, might well consume a great space of time, in Writing and repeating; yea, Paper would want to relate so worthy an Argument.

Cicero saith, Memory is the Theame or discourse of the Soules immortality, and diuinity of Man. Pliny calleth it such a benefit; As is absolute necessary to life. And Plutarch stileth it; The Antistrophe of diuinitie: that is to say, equiualent or semblable to the Diuinitie, considering, that of passed thinges, shee maketh a present obseruation. For, the time that is past, may bee compared to him, that is carried away with a swift Water current: but Memorie maketh retention, and appeareth to vse strong resistance against that swift course, with a meere essence of that, which other-wise were lost and gone. Others call Memorie; The Tresurie of Knowledge. And hence it came, that Wisedome is counted the Daughter of Memory, and also of Experience: because Memory is as a Coffer or Cabinet, containing all such thinges as we learne, behold, and vnderstand. The Sauour and Redeemer of all the World, did highly make esteem thereof, considering, that when he left vs the blessed Sacrament of his bodie and blood, he said: Doe you this, in the Memorie

Memory is the chiefest of all other perfections in man.

Cicero. in Lib. 1. de Offic.

Plin. Secund. in Lib. 4. Cap. 7.

Plutarch. in Moral.

An apt Comparison of the times past.

Valer. Max. in Lib. 7. Cap. 14.

Example of our blessed Sauour.

Luke. 22. 19.

Pfalme. 18, 6.

The iudge-
ment of Ora-
tours concer-
ning Memo-
ry.
*Quintil. in Lib.
de Institut.*

Use and ex-
ercise increa-
seth Memory.

Memory ha-
bitually pursued
is not easily
retained.

Two meanes
for the ap-
prehension of
Memory, con-
firmed by ex-
ample.

*Arist. in Lib. 4.
de Ethic.*

*Plutarch his
comparison,
how Memory
commeth to
men.*

Memorie or remembrance of me; meaning that in his Memory wee ought to receive them. The Church both saith and singeth; *The iust shall live in eternall Memory.* We must needs say then, that the place of happinesse belonging to this Memory, is very great and gracious.

But let vs come now to humane learning. Our Oratours doe reckon Memory, as one of the principall parts of speaking. *We are taught in vain* (saith *Quintillian*) *if we forget that which wee haue learned.* Therefore himselfe commaundeth, that this powerfull vertue should be often exercised; because by use and exercise, it is increased. It is a meruailous thing, that in setting Memory to her worke, and holding her in due commendation, she should be so memoratiue of passed occasions: And yet he that pursueth her with greatest affection, is least able of apprehending her, and contrariwise, he to whom she appeareth most painfull and laborious, for finding out difficult matters past, she rendreth her selfe the readiest afterward. We are therefore to vnderstand, that there are two means appertaining to this vertue.

A man that hath his Memory prompt and very ready, to entertaine such instructions as are giuen him; cannot keep them for any long time. But another man, who is long in apprehending, preferueth (what is taught him) in much better manner. The naturall reason whereof is giuen vs by *Aristotle*, saying. *Men that haue linely and sharpe Spirits, are (at the first sight) easie to be instructed, yet very weake in their retention. Contrariwise, more rude and duller Spirits, that apprehend and conserue with great difficulty; are capable of farre better retayning.*

Plutarch affirmeth, that these things happen to men, as it doth to a Pot or Vessell, which hath a little mouth or entrance, and therefore is the harder to be filled, as also voyde of the lesse danger, in emptying it againe: and such Vessels (such saith hee) doe represent men of rude vnderstanding. But they that haue a quicke and agile Spirit; doe resemble Vesselles with wide mouthes and large entrance; and as they are easily filled, euen so are they as quickly

emptied of all that they containe.

The learned *Thomas Aquinas*, who omitted nothing, or (at the least) very little, which he did not iudiciously peruse and examine; speaketh to this purpose. *By diuers corporeall dispositions, doe ensue the diuers promptitudes and operations of the Soule.* For as we behold, that those things wherein are made some impressions or Characters with paine and difficulty (as in stone or Mettals) doe preferue those prints more substantiallie, then other things that are much easier imprinted, as in Waxe, and other matter of like softnesse: Euen so the Memory (which is the Guardian of all instruction) being in the head of a Man of hard vnderstanding, when she receiveth any thing wel figured and stamped, she preferueth it the better in this hard habitation, because it was entertained with paine and difficulty. But as for them that are sprightly, prompt, and ready, and doe entertaine thinges with lesse trauaile: they are euen as speedy in forgetting, and vtterlosse of them.

There is another thing in the Memory, which is likewise worthy to be noted, to wit: That such things as we behold, to be imprinted in the tender Spirit of Infancy, are not forgotten in the estate of Man-hood. *Auicenne*, in his sixt Booke of naturall thinges, saith. *The reason hercof is, that such as haue their vnderstanding at quirt, and with ought the charge of great occasions: haue their Memory the more certine.* And for this cause, those things which Children do learne in their chiefest Infancy: they retain them for a long time, by not being mollensted with weighty thoughtes and trauailes. *Thomas Aquinas* rendreth another reason, and (in mine opinion) more auailable, saying. *That thing, which is the occasion of most notable motion in Man, remaineth the firmest in his Memory: as namely, matters of greatest novelty and admiration: And therefore, as all thinges appeare to Children, to be newell, strange, and of great importance: so are they the cause, that they are the more solidly stamped in their Memory.*

But let vs leau Infancy, and come to Men, of whom, some haue been obserued, to be of such capable and singular vnderstanding; that it hath appeared, to be a matter of no meane meruaile.

*Tho. Aquina.
Sum. 1. Dist. 9
Sect. 13.*

Example of
difficult staps
or impressi-
ons, & others
of more easi-
nesse.

Such things
as are appre-
hended in our
infancy, we
doe not forget
in manhood.

*Auicenne de Reb.
Nat. Lib. 6.*

*Tho. Aquinas.
ubi supra.*

Examples of
men of admi-
rable vnder-
standing.

Plin. in Lib. 7.
Solin. in Lib. 1.
Quintil in li. 1.
Of Cyrus.

uaile. *Pliny, Solinus, & Quintillian*, haue set vs downe diuers and sundry exam- ples. We read of *Cyrus*, that he knew all the Men in his Army, which was of wonderfull greatnesse: and hee could call them all by their names and fir- names, a thing deseruing to be admir- ed.

Of *Lucius Sci- pio*.

Solinus writeth as much of *Lucius Sci- pio*; and yet notwithstanding, though this doe appeare to be meruailous: yet it is supposed, that by frequent and con- tinued cōuersation, he might wel do it. That which is reported of *Cineas*, Am- bassador from *K. Pyrrhus* to the *Romains*, dooth vrge much greater amazement. For, hauing been in *Rome* but two daies onely: he knew all the Senators names, albeit there was a great number of the. He knew likewise the names of all the Gentlemen, and principall persons in the Citty, apprehending them readilie at a second sight, and spake to them e- uery man by his name. *Spartianus*, in the life of *Adrian*, doth highly com- mend his Memory, saying. *If a Booke were read in his presence, albeit he had ne- uer seene, or heard thereof before: yet af- ter the whole reading was finished, he wold recite (word by word) all matters contain- ed in the Booke, without fayling in any thing. And hee did perfectly (euer after- ward) know them, that had but once spoken to him.*

Of *Cineas* Ambassadour to the *Ro- maines*.

Spartianus in vit. *Adrian. Imp*

A memora- ble History of Age, counter- feiting youth, in presence of the Emperour *Adrian*.

I remember, that (not long since) I read a pretty discourse, of a Man that was aged, hauing his head and Beard long and white; and somewhat hee had petitioned of his Prince, wherein hee was denied. Whereupon, this aged Man afterward caused his haire to bee close cut, and his Beard to bee shauen, making vse of a false and counterfeit Perry-wig, as if he were become a yong Man againe: And by this occasion (as I gesse) came vp our borrowed haire, which nowa-daies are in the same re- quest. In this manner hee returned to the Emperour *Adrian*, vrging the same suite, which he had formerly denied him. The Emperour well knowing him, and smiling to himselfe, that his deniaill had made the aged man, thus to becom (in his own conceit) of younger yeares, as hoping thereby to ouer-reach him: he made him this answere. *My Friend, very willinglie could I graunt thy request:*

An excellent and witty an- swere.

but that (some few dayes since) thy Father was with me, and moued me in the very same suite. Now in my iudgement, I hold it not agreeing eyther with Honor or Reason, to grant that to the Sonne, that I haue already denied to his graue and reuerend Father. With this reply, the (olde imagined) young man went away con- founded with the conceite of his owne folly, and iustly was dealt withall as he had deserued.

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Wee reade of *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, that his Scepter commanded ouer two and twenty seuerall Langua- ges, and that he gaue audience vnto all these Nations, without any Interpre- ter, and answered euery one of them in his owne tongue. The Memory of *Themistocles* was also very great, for *Ci- cero* speaking of him, saith: *He learned and apprehended whatsoeuer he would, and desired to forget many things, of lesse worth then he esteemed them to be, but hee could not. Symonides* (on a time) demanded of him, if hee would haue an excellent receipt: for the maintenance of a good Memory; whereto *Themistocles* reply- ed. *He would gladly find out a meanes, to forget many things, for he had no neede of encreasing his Memory. Quintillian* re- porteth of *Publius Crassus*, that in one instant, he gaue audience to fise kindes of tongues vsed in *Greece*; and gaue an- swere also presently in each one of the. *Seneca*, in the Prologue of his Decla- mations, saith; that *Porcius Latronius* (who so much renowned the Schooles of the learned *Rodolphus Agricola*) had (both by Nature and Art) such a Me- mory, that it appeared to be incredible: because what-soeuer he learned, he re- tained still faithfully. And being come to the degree of an Oratour; all the O- rations which he had suddenly made, he could recite them by heart, without fayling in any one word. Hee saide, *This was a more profitable labour then wri- ting; because he could write all his inuenti- ons in his Memory. Cicero* writeth the like of *Hortensius* the great Oratour, and saith. *As he directed his Oration, so hee wrote, and afterward pronounced it, with- out fayling in a word. Seneca*, in his Book before alleaged, speaketh of the same *Hortensius*, saying. *He was selling cer- taine goods by an Inuentory, and the sale continued for the space of a whole day. But*

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Two and twenty seue- rall tongues vnderstood by *Mithridates*.

Cicero in Lib. 4. de *Offic.*

Themistocles his answere to *Symonides*. *Quintil* in li. 1. Of *Publius Crassus*.

Seneca in Pro- hem. *Declamat.* *Porcius Latro- nius*. *Rodolphus A- gricola*.

Writing re- proued by an Oratour. *Cicero* of *Hor- tensius* the fa- mous Ora- tour.

Seneca in Pro- hem. *Declamat.*

after

after all was done, he recited (orderly and by art) all things which had bin sold, rehearsing euery bodies name that had bought them, & the seuerall prices of each thing sold, not fayling in a iote, as they had beene set downe in the Inuenty order.

Seneca in the report of his owne memory in his youth.

An admirable Memory.

The Memory of Iulius Cesar.

Plin. in Lib. 9. Cap. 4.

Spartianus. in vit. Adrian. Imp.

The contention between Scipio Africanus Secundus, and Appius Claudius for the Controuership of Rome.

Cicero. in Tusculan Quintil. in Lib. de Inuent. Ioan. Camertes. sup. Cap. 7. Solin.

Seneca, writing of himselfe, as being best witnesse of himselfe, saith; that he had such a perfit memory in his youth, as if one had declared to him, the names of two thousand seuerall thinges: hee could repeate them all againe, euen in the same maner, as they had bin named, without fayling in any one. He saith moreouer, that in the time of his being a Scholler, two hundred Schollers came before the Maister, reciting (each one) a seuerall Latine verse: and when they all had ended; hee beganne, and repeated them all againe one after another, and failed not in a fillable. Among these examples of so great capacity, Iulius Cesar deserueth to be remembered: who at one instant time, gaue enstructions to foure Secretaries, to write Letters vnto foure distinct persons, and of different occasions Pliny writeth of him, that at one and the same time, he gaue directions for a Letter to one of his Secretaries, and read in a Booke, and heard another speaking to him. Spartianus writeth the like of the Emperor Adrian.

To this purpose, I cal to mind the ingenious answer of Scipio Africanus the younger, who contended with Appius Claudius for the office of Controuler of Rome. Claudius, to attract the people to his part; cald each Roman by his name, saying: This was a good signe, that they were all beloued of him, because his memory was so good, as to name them all; whereas (contrariwise) Scipio knew not one of them, neither was acquainted with their Names. Whereto Scipio thus answered. It is true Claudius, that I neuer sought (by purchase) to make my selfe knowne: but such haue beene my actions and behaviours, as there is no man in the City, but hee might take knowledge of me. I could wade further in plenty of other examples, concerning the admirable memory of men; but he that is desirous of more, may read the Tusculanes of Cicero, Quintilian, and the Histories recited by Ioannes Camertes, vpon the vij. Chapter of Solinus.

CHAP. XV.

How the Memory may be hurt and offended: And how it may also (by Art and good meanes) be strengthened and comforted.

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As the Memory is held to be most noble and excellent: euen so likewise it is very dainety and delicate, and easily corrupted or offended by many occasions; as diseases, bruises, and wounds in the head, age, sudden feare, and falling from some piace of height. All these thinges are troublesome to Memory; because they doe endamage the place, the Organes and Instruments thereof. This is moreouer to bee noted, that some men, by weaknesse of their Memory, are forgetfull in all thinges; and some others will erre or wander atray therein, especially in some part thereof. As Pliny writeth of Messala Corninus, who, by reason of a sicknesse, grew to such forgetfulnesse: that he could neuer remember his own name, nor when he was especiallly demanded thereof. Valerius also, speaking of miraculous occasions, maketh report of a learned man, who by the blow of a stone, which bruised his head: forgot al that he had learned in the Arts and Sciences, and yet was very memoratiue in all other matters. Another Man, by meanes of a fall; lost the knowledge of his Mother, Kintred, and acquaintance. I haue read, and heard it reported by many, that Franciscus Barbarus, a man of our time, and very learned; especiallie in the Greek tongue: by the meanes of a disease he had, forgot (peticularly) whatsoeuer he knew in Greek, remaining (otherwise) as he did before, a thing (in my opinion) very meruailous. It is likewise said, that Georgius Trabazonius, a man well learned, and liued in our Fathers daies: did forget in his age, al that he had learned in his life time before.

Now, as we find, that the Memory is peticularly iniured by some occasions: so likewise do we read of sundrie Men, that

The Memory is subiect to many meanes of offending.

Plin. in Lib. 7. Cap. 24. O Messala Corninus.

Valer. Maxim. in Lib. 3. cap. 7.

Of Franciscus Barbarus the great Grecian.

Of Georgius Trabazonius.

Of men very weake and feeble in their Memory.

Suetonius in vit. Claud. Imp.

Of the Sonne to Herodotus the Sophister.

Of sudden feare and alteration, being hurtfull to Memory.

Of Demosthenes the famous Oratour, before King Phillip of Macedon.

Theophrastus before the Areopagites.

Herodes the Athenian. Heraclides Licus.

Bartholomeus Socinus Senensis.

that (meerely by nature) haue bin therein very weake and feeble. The Emperor *Claudius* was so vntable of Memory, that (as *Suetonius* writeth in his life) he hauing his wife somtimes accōpanying him in bed : after he had once spoken to her, he remembered her no more, but would demand of others, what was the cause, why she did not come to bed to him? Once he commaunded one of his Councillers to be put to death; and the next day following, demanded, wherefore he came not to counsell. *Herodotus* the Sophister had a Son of such poore Memory and vnderstanding: that hee could not (by any meanes) learne and retaine the Letters of the Alphabet. And yet the Father was so desirous of his learning, that hee caused foure and twenty Children (of the same age as he was) to be tutord with him, and imposed vpon each one of them, the name of each Letter in the Alphabet; to the end, that by naming and knowing his companions, he might thereby likewise learne the Letters.

I haue formerly saide, that suddaine feare or astonishment, is a great let and hinderance to Memory, and thereto I may well adde, that although such feare do not wholly destroy the Memory: yet it hath evidently appeared, to make mē vterly forget such thinges, as formerly had bin wel determined in the mind. As it happened to *Demosthenes* the famous Orator, who being sent as Ambassador to King *Phillip* of *Macedon*; fell suddenly into such a strange alteration, by being in the presence of so great a Prince: that hauing begun his Oration (which he had well composed and committed to Memory) he was at a *Non-plus*, and vterly forgot what he had to say. We read the very same, of *Theophrastus*, who was to speake in presence of the Councill and *Areopagites* of *Athens*. And the like of *Herodes* the *Athenian*, beeing in presence of the Emperor *Marke Anthony*. And of *Heraclides Licus*, in presence of *Seuerus* the Emperour, according as *Philostratus* recordeth. And euen in our time, as it were, *Bartholomeus Socinus*, a Natiue of *Sienna*, being a man very learned, in the Lawes, and Ambassador for his Country to Pope *Alexander*, began his Oration, which he had very perfectly studied and prepared: but he became

suddenly so altered, by seeing so many great Princes then there present; that he forgot all, and was not able to remember or vtter one word. My selfe, who haue beene the traducer of this Booke, do testifie of my selfe, that the very like alteration as befell *Demosthenes* (not that (in thought) I compare my selfe with him) happned to me, in the presence of men of great iudgement; and the intirenesse of affection, which then I had to the Iustice and true deliury of my speech: did alter me in such maner, as I was not able to hold on (the least while) from my beginning; albeir I wanted no study or premeditation, euen so much as my hart could desire.

Now, that Memory may be holpen and conserued by artificial meanes; is a matter most certaine, and I finde manie good authors that do affirm as much: as *Solinus* in his *Polyhistor*, *Petrus Crotius*, and *Quintillian*, all along in his Institutions. We finde recorded, that *Cineas*, Ambassadour to King *Pyrrhus*, was very practique therein. *Plinie* and *Solinus* doe say, that *Symonides* was the Inuenter of the Art of Memory: albeit the same *Plinie* affirmeth, that *Metrodorus* brought it to perfection, and help himselfe extraordinarie thereby. *Cicero*, in the Booke of his Oratour, *Quintillian*, in his Institutions, and *Valerius* in his Miracles, doe all affirme, that *Symonides* being inuited to a Feast, with many others: the Haule wherein they banqueted fell, and all there died, *Symonides* excepted, who (by thance) was called thence in that instant, by some one of his friends, and was gone forth without any knowledge of him that called him, by which meanes his life was saued. Historians say, that in viewing the dead bodies, which had bin thither inuited, and who were a great number: *Symonides* noted them all & declared, in what order they were seated at the table when the hal fell. The examples which might be alledged to this purpose, are infinit: but these already spoken of) shall suffice at this time. Another thing is to be noted, to wit; that the naturall Philosophers, and especially *Aristotle*, do make a difference betweene the Memory and Remēbrance. For say they, *Memory* may be in beasts, as well as in Men, though it be more imperfectly: but remēbrance is in man onely,

Example of the Author him selfe.

Solin in *Polyhist.* *Petrus Crotius* in *Lib. 5. Cap. 3.* *Quintil.* in *Institut.* *Pin.* in *Lib. 7. Cap. 8.* *Solin.* in *Polyhist.* The first inuenter of the Art of Memory. *Cicero* in *Lib. de Orat.* *Quintil.* in *Lib. de Institut.* *Valer. Max.* in *Mirac.*

The strange preservation of *Symonides*, among a great many other that perished.

A difference alleaged betweene Memory and Remēbrance, exemplified both in men and beasts.

only, who is to make recordation of himselfe, to use discourse, and to thinke on things; as by way of contemplantion, describing a generall from particulars, by circumstances of time and place, with consideration and vnderstanding. In beasts, there is nothing to be remembred, but of some place where they haue once salne: as in a Horse, of a fault by him committed, in some part of his ordinary way, and so in other beasts likewise more or lesse, and in diuers degrees. But as we haue formerly saide, remembrance in Man is much more perfect, with intelligence and discourse, running from one thing to another. And therefore, according to *Aristotle*, this dignity in men, who haue their vnderstanding most apprehensiu & liuely: haue also most remembrance, albeit another man may be more abound in memory. Because remembrance is a manner of search and Inquisition, which awaketh and stirreth vp Memory, to some such thing as is to be recorded. Wherefore, the best and liueliest vnderstanding, yeildeth occasion of the best meanes, and (in that respect) is prouided of the best remembrance. The Greekes, among other vanities of their Gods, had a Goddesse, of Memory: so that the memoriall vnderstanding hath euermore beene very highly esteemed. Thus you may perceiue, how much men are bound to extol and thank God, for such a precious & inestimable benefit, and how carefull they ought to be in the preservation thereof. *Marcilius Ficinus*, in the Booke which he made of tripple life, setteth downe excellent receipts and enstruptions, for the conseruation of Memory.

CHAP. XVI.

How the Ancient Prouerb is to be interpreted, or vnderstood: That a bad Man may be a good King.



N grosse eares, and such as are not vsed and accustomed, to weigh one thing with another (indifferently) in the ballance of reason; I make no doubt, but the common

Prouerb appeareth to be very strange, to wit: That of a bad Man, he may become a good King: and so much the rather, because it is necessary to vnderstand and know, what the true meaning of this word bad or lewd, doth imply in it selfe. In the old and autentique *French* Language, *Vn meschant*, a bad, lewd, or naughty man, is not said to be such a one, as is full of all vices, as a Brigande, a Robber, an Exactor, a Detractour, a Quarreller, a Violater of Womens modesties, and a Committer of other villainous acts. But we are rather to vnderstand, that it signifieth such a person, as suffereth himselfe not to be led and gouerned, by the appetite and passions of other men, who prodigally do wast and consume the goods that are in his power; and is not difficult in access of importunate persons, that make demaund of vnreasonable requests; that will know such as feede on his meanes; that lendeth no eare to flatterers; that opposeth himselfe seuerely against such, as do mollest others without reason, or any, doing these or the like thinges. Whosoever readeth auncient Bookes, turned or cōposed in the *French* toong, shall finde, that by a bad or naughty Prince; a good and well aduised King is meant and vnderstood. They that haue translated *Homer*, do oftentimes tearme *Jupiter*, and other Deities beside, bad, wicked, and euill, when they were irritated against the *Greekes* or *Troyans*, throwing thunder-bolts and lightnings on them, or darkening the ayre, or suffering the waters to mount out of their bounds, and work great damages on the earth. Contrariwise, as well in time of Antiquity, as euen in these present daies, by a good man, hath bin, and is vnderstood: one that is simple, slow conceited, dull of vnderstanding, a man that sees himselfe deceiued at all times, and vnder speeches of the smoothest language; a man that suffereth al things, yea, euen to the silly point; that his wife bestowes a Cuckolds creast vpon him, and enery man calls him Good Man, or Good *John*.

Such men as are of this opinion, doe much abuse themselves, in praying and adoring the goodnesse of a Prince, that is soft, simple, gracious, and courteous: for such simplicity, without prudence,

The perfection of Remembrance in man.

A definition of Remembrance, and how to be obserued.

A Goddesse of Memory among the Greekes.

Marcil. Ficin. in Lib. de triplici vite.

The interpretation of the name or word of bad and good man.

Vn meschant in le Vieille language Françoise.

How and in what sence such a man is to be comprehended and vnderstood.

According to the auncient language of France.

Examples tending to the purpose.

The dammages ensuing by the simplicity of a Prince.

Of sufferance & lacke of experience in a good Prince.

dence, is most dangerous and pernicious; yea, and much more to bee feared, then the cruelrie of a Prince, that is seuer, melancholly, hoarse in speech, auaritious, and vnaccessable. By sufferance, and vnexperienced simplicitie in too good a Prince, it many times cometh to passe: that flatterers, busie-braines, Knaues, Varlets, and the vilest persons, beare away the Offices, charges, benefits, and very best guiftes, wasting and consuming the Reuenues of a State, and by this means, the poore people are bitten, euen vnto the bare bones, and cruelly made seruile to such as are greatest, so that in stead of one Tyrant, there are ten thousand. In like manner, through this ouer-much mildnesse and goodnesse, wee may daily behold: impunity of wicked persons, murderers, Concussionaries, or publike extortioners, and such like Catterpillers of a Common-wealth, for the King (in meere grace) may take no knowledge of them.

In brieffe, vnder such a Prince, the publique good is conuerted into some perticulers, and al the charges or heavy loads, doe light vpon the poorest peoples backes. As we may obserue by Catterres, and defluxions; in a delicate, weak, and sickly body, and that alwaies they happen to the vnablest persons. I could verifie what I haue written by abundance of examples, as well of the Emperors of Rome, as Kings of France. *Domitian* was terrible and wicked to the Senate, to the Nobility, to the great Lords and Gouvernours of the Empire: & yet notwithstanding, after his death, the people and Prouinces did highlie commend him, because there were neuer better Officers and Magistrates, then they that gouerned in his time, onely through the respect and feare they had of him. Vnder the two Emperors, that were both named *Seuerus*, the *Affricaine* and the *Syrian*, the Empire (almost wholly ruined, by the Emperors *Heliogabalus* and *Pertinax*) was re-established by seuerity and Imperiall austeritie, and reduced into her former splendour and Maiesty, to the wonderfull contentment of the Princes and people.

The Realme of France, was imagined ready to sinke, and appeared wel-neere, wasted and desolate; vnder the raigne

of *Charles*, first named the *simple*, and another *Charles* also, who was tearmed. *Donothing*. Yet afterward, it became great, rich, and flourishing, both in Armes and Lawes, towards the end of King *Frances* the first; when he grew to be Waspath, vnaccessable, and no Man durst come neere, to demand any thing of him. For then, Estates, Offices, and charges of import were not giuen, but by the merit of worthy persons, & idle gifts were so cut off: that when he died, there was found in the Treasury or Exchequer, a Million of Gold, and seauen hundred thousand Crownes.

Within some dozzen yeares after, when his Sonne King *Henrie* the second reigned (whose goodnesse and kindnesse was so great, that he could not be equaled by any Prince of his age) the State became quite altered. For, as he was soft, milde, gracious, and debonnaire; euen so, he could not deny any matter demanded of him. Whereby, the Reuenues of his Father being (in a short while) lauishly consumed: estates were (more then euer before) set to open sale, guifts bestowed, without any respect, Magistrates giuen to the fairest offerers, and (by consequent) to the vnworthiest persons. And the Imposts being far greater then euer they had been, when he dyed, the Treasuries of France were (neuerthelessse) found to stand charged, with two and forty Millions of Mony. If the gentlenes of this King, had beene tempered, or accompanied with seuerity, his goodnesse with strictnesse, his softnesse with austeritie: there could not haue beene drawne from him such abundance, nor euery one to preuaile so easily as they did.

And thus this ancient Prouerbe is to be vnderstood; *That a bad Man, may be a good King*: which may relish somewhat harshly, if wee take the bare proprietie of the word, & leaue out this application, that it signifieth nothing else, but an austere, rough, and steare Nature. And in this sense, wee are not to tearme a Prince a Tyrant, because he is so seuer or rigorous: provided, that he goe not against the Lawes of, God and Nature.

Frances the first hard to be endured, yet the good that proceeded from him

A great difference betwene the Father and Sonne.

Henry the second too good & milde a King.

The Treasuries of France charged with 42. Millions of Money.

The Authors application of the Prouerbe.

Publique good conuerted into perticulers.

How *Domitian* was saide to be good and bad.

The two Emperors named *Seuerus* of *Affrica* and *Syria*.

Charles the *Simple*, and *Charles* Doe nothing.

CHAP. XVII.

¶ Of Constantine the Great; and whether hee were the first Christian Emperour or no.



Have made all the diligent examination, that possibly I could devise to use, to know, whether there were any Christian Emperour before Constantine the Great, as many have thought, and dared to speake. I can finde no acknowledgement of any, that had good opinion of Christian Religion, except it were one: or else they did it very secretly, in regard they persecuted such as made profession thereof, and the authority of the Senate intermeddling therein. For there were many of the *Romaine* Senators, and of their Families, that were possessed of their great spirituall Revenues, and which ought likewise to have beene so called themselves: in regard they had original from publike expences, or of some certaine particulars, for worshipp of the Gods among them.

There is no apparance, that *Marcus Antonius* was a Christian, or that he had any vnderstanding of Christian Religion: considering, he was a man very superstitious in the the Pagan profession, and yet learned, and of good iudgment. I am of opinion, that by some good naturall instinct, he did not approoue the cruell and hard persecutions, which wer imposed on the Christians. For, without any frowne or distast, he accepted a request presented to him, by *Iustine*, a Christian Philosopher, wherein he declared the Christians innocencie, and the crimes which falsly were laide vpon them, onely to make them the mote odious. He made an Edict, which he caused to bee confirmed by the Senate. It prohibited any more molestation to the Christians for their Religion, & that he which imposed any crime falsly vpon them; should forth-with be

proceeded against, and punished with the selfe-same Lawes, that were ordained against the Christians. This Mandate was published in *Ephesus*, in a generall assembly.

Adrian, who was before him, about twenty yeares, after he had permitted, that the Christians should bee strictlie persecuted: yet taking acknowledgement, that (with much shame) they were thus cruelly proceeded against; he made the like Edict as *Antonius* formerly had done. And perceiuing the *Iewes* to liue like Vagabonds, without any Land or abiding, as euen (to this day) they are in no better estate: he suffered them to dwell in *Palestine*, and to re-edifie the Temple and City of *Ierusalem*. But when they were at a little ease and liberty, they rebelled against the said *Adrian*; who (not without great labour) overcame them. He was no way a Christian, and much lesse of the Iewish Religion: but very true it is, that he had (naturally) a good iudgement, and degenerated not from the true parts of a Man.

There was some likely-hood, that *Alexander Seuerus*, the two and twentieth Emperour; raigning in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 225. had some vnderstanding, though hee made no demonstration thereof. And yet hee would often say: That he ought to loue his Neighbor as himselfe; and should not do that to another man, which he would not haue done vnto himselfe. Doubtlesse, he had read in the Bookes of the Old and New Testaments, or learned it of some Christians: because Paganes were neuer so charitable, as to use any such language.

Mammaea, Mother to the said *Seuerus*, was truly a Christian; for shee sent to seeke *Origen*, who taught in *Alexandria* of *Egypt*, and he remained at *Rome* with her in the Pallace, for some time, to be instructed more amplie by him, then formerly she had bin in the Catholique Faith. If the Emperour himselfe had any feeling of Christianity; he kept it verie secretly. And yet, during the space of thirteene yeares, while hee was Emperour: he exercised great deeds of charity vnto the poore, a thing neuer put in practise before hee did it. The persecutions as well in *Gaule*, as in the East, were very great: and I am of the mind, that neyther hee or his Mother euer

Adrian was good both to the Christians and *Iewes*.

The *Iewes* rebelled against the Emperour *Adrian*.

Alexander Seuerus the 22. Emperour.

A Christian saying of *Seuerus*.

Mammaea, Mother to the Emperour *Seuerus*, a Christian.

Seuerus very charitable to the poore.

The occasion of this Chapter.

Wherefore the Romaine Senate persecuted the Christians.

Marcus Antonius Aurelius caused the persecutions to cease.

Eusebius in Lib. 4. Cap. 10.

The Proconsuls greedy of proscriptions against the Christians.

knew how to stay them. For the Proconsuls or gouernors of the Prouinces, hauing a lickorous appetite after the confiscations of Christians goods; did all according to their owne fantasies. In the end *Seuerus* was slaine (beeing aged twenty nine yeares) with his Mother *Mammaea*, traitorously by Theeues, that in the time of *Heliogabalus* (hauing held places of honour) were delected, and throwne out of their Offices and dignities.

The Christians most cruelly persecuted by the Emperor *Maximinus*.

After that *Alexander Seuerus* had raigned about foureteene yeares, hee was slaine by the conspiracies of *Maximinus*. The Christians (this *Maximinus* being created Emperour) were more cruelly persecuted then euer they had bin: for the first moued the sixt persecution, and especially against the Doctours of the Church, in hatred of the fore-named *Mammaea*, Mother to *Alexander* his predecessor, and murdred (with his owne hands) the Domesticks and Seruants of the said *Alexander*. This *Maximinus* hauing raigned three yeares, in the yeare of Iesus Christ 237. he was slain at Rome for his tyrannies; And *Gordianus* being elected by the Senate; shewed himselfe a Prince of noble disposition. We finde not any where recorded, that he made any cruell Edict against the Christians: yet he was no Christian, that euer any man could take knowledge of. He was slain fraudulently by *Phillip* that succeeded him.

Maximinus murdered for his Cruelties and *Gordianus* elected Emperour.

Phillip very hardly accepted to be Emperour, because he was said to be a Christian.

This *M. Iulius Phillip*, by Nation an *Arabian*, was elected Emperour (as we haue saide) notwithstanding hee found many difficulties in his acceptation. For it was said he might not be, because he was a Christian, and no one of that Religion, ought to hold any Office in the Empire of the *Romains*, by many Edicts, as well of Emperours, as of the Senate. But the most of the assistants, that were at his election and Imperiall salutation, made answer: That such Edicts held no place for the present time, in regard, that they were Christians also, as well as he. Whereupon he was accepted, and his Son likewise ioyned with him. He made publike profession of Christianity, and was conuerted by *Pontianus*, or *Pontius*, a *Romaine* Senator, and baptized by *Fabian* (who was then Byshop and Pope of Rome) with *Seuera*, Mother

Phillip conuerted to Christianity and Christened by *Fabian* Bishop of Rome.

to the said *Iulius Phillip*. Yet *Fabian* would not admit him into the latter Vigils of Easter (although he had great desire to assist in the congregation, and prayers of the Christians) vntill hee had made confession of his sin (which was a murder in the opinion of many) but was enioyned in company among such, of whom enquiry was made, by reason of their sins, and so was placed in ranke of the repentants; as *Eusebius* declareth in his sixt Booke, and 24. Chapter. All which *Phillip* refused not to doe, but accomplished that whereto he was enioyned by *Fabian*. This Man rheus the first of the Christian Emperours.

Phillip ranked among the penitents. *Eusebius*. in Hist. Eccl. Lib. 6. Cap. 24.

At length, and during his Empire, it is held, that all the people of his House, receiued the Christian doctrine, and renounced the Idolatries of the Paganes. But this felicity lasted not long in the Church: for, as *Phillip* had dealt with *Gordianus*, his Predecessor: euen so was he serued by his Successor *Decius*; yea, and his Son also, who was slain at Rome, and the Father at *Verona*; such was their end, after they had raigned seauen yeares. After him, till the time of *Constantine* the Great, there were nine Emperours, all of them being great Persecuters of the Christians: except *Galien*, who suffered the Christians to liue in peace, but he was neuer Christian himselfe. I am of opinion, that this permission was occasioned, by reason that he had some Christians of his Councell.

Decius murdered, both *Phillip* and his Sonne.

Decius favoured the Christians but was none himself.

Constantine the Great, was the second Emperour, that made confession publicly of Christianity, and, in despight of all enemies, he ceased the proscriptions against the Christians, in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 312. From thence forward, his Imperiall Successors were all Christian Catholiques, or Schismatickes, euen to our time: except *Iulian*, fir-named the *Apostata*, who returned from Christianity, to Paganisme, and liued no more but two yeares Emperour; for he was slaine in the warres against the *Parthians*. And this is al that I can finde recorded of the first Emperours of the Christians.

Constantine the Great, was the second Christian Emperour.

Iulian the *Apostata*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Who discovered the people called Cynocephali, or Cynocephales, that is to say; men having heads like unto Dogs; And what they are, that doe inhabite daily among them.



Any have held opinion, that *Pliny* and *Aulus Gellius* were loud lyers, when they wrote and published: that there lived a certaine kinde

of people in *Scythia*, which had Dogges heads, and that they howled like Dogs, in stead of speaking as other men doe. What these two worthy Men have written, is true in part, but not in all. I say in part, because some people that have beene discovered, within the space of these threescore yeares, and somewhat more: have a forme and figure, neere in resemblance, to the head and shape of a Dogs head; to wit, of those little pretty flat-nose Dogs, which Ladies keepe for pleasure, in their Chambers, yet not naturally, but artificially. For these people, from the time of all Antiquity, did alwaies hold it for a singular beauty to them; to have their noses flatted or falne downe. And this is the reason, that when their Children are newly borne, and have their bones very tender: the Fathers and Mothers neuer faile, to quash or flat downe that part of the face, which is betweene the eyes and the mouth, as the like hath bin done to little Dogges. And to speake truly, being thus dealt withall: they differ very little in their looks, from the resemblance of Dogges. But they meddle not with their eares, to make them pointed or hanging down, as commonly is vsed to those Creatures. Yet true it is, that when they are grown to manly stature, the bore or pierce holes thorow their eares (euen as is done heere among vs) to hang therein fine coloured stones, or else the bones of certaine Fishes.

On the other side, that they have not

(in part) reported any fable, is very certaine, when they say, that these people doe dwell in a part of *Scythia*: because all the Countries have beene discovered, and doth not declare any deformity on the peoples bodies. But they of whom I make mention, are placed betweene the Equinoctiall, and the Tropic of *Capricorne*, on that side which is called *America*: because *Americk Vesputius*, a *Portugall*, was the first that discovered this Country, the length whereof containeth aboute fife hundered Leagues, and is other-wise tearmed the Countrey of *Brasile*, *Caniballes*, or *Anthrophages*, that is to say; Eaters of Men. I would not bee thought to speake of all *America*, which is accounted to be the fourth part of the World: but only of that part, which containeth these *Cynocephales*.

Now, that they howle or barke, as Dogs do, is vtterly false: for they speak a Language disertly, briefly, and properly accented, which is supposed to be the Greeke tongue. And they are moulourdens or loutish people, but of a lively and chearefull spirit, quicke, cautious, magnanimious, and taking knowledge (very well) of any pleasure or displeasure done them, as also the time and place. They goe starke naked, as we vse to say; onely accepted (as a token or note of their brauery) a Plumassery, or wreath of Feathers, which circleth their heads, and a Cord or band of Cotten (hanging in manner of a Scarffe) which descendeth downe to the raines of the backe, there to sustaine other Plumasseries of diuers colours, that do round engirt them about the middle. They neuer walke along the Countrey, but they carry their Bowes, & Quiuers full of Arrowes, and many times a Club, containing eight or ten foote in length, of *Brasile* wood.

They eate not their Flesh or Fish (which they get in Rivers, or in the Sea, by helpe of their Arrowes, or other wise) raw, as some Men have imagined; but they vse both boyling and roasting of them. But true it is, that they eate the flesh of Men, yet boyled or roasted: and it is onely of their Enemies, against whom they war, and such as then can take Prisoners, but neuer any of their owne people or Country.

They

The situation of the Country, where the men doe inhabite that have heads like vnto Dogges.

Americk Vesputius, the first discoverer of *America*.

What kind of Language is vsed among these men, and the manner of their behaviour.

Of their ornaments for pride and brauery.

Whatsoener flesh or fish they eate, it is not raw, but boyled or roasted.

Plin. in Lib. 7. Cap. 4. Aulus Gellius in Lib. 9. cap. 7

People discovered within these last 60. yeares. &c.

An auncient custome obserued amongst them, whereby their heads doe seeme like Dogs heads.

The cynocephales enemies vnto long beards, and how they vse to weare their haire.

Their stature and manner of dwelling.

Their warre with their Neighbours.

Their Ships, and the number of their men of warre.

What manner of Weapon they war withall.

No vse of Gold, Siluer, or any other metall among them.

They are very hatefull against such, as haue their Beards long, or suffer the hair to grow much vnder their arme pits, and in other places of the bodie, be they men or women, but pull and teare it away very stearnely. Yet the hairy locks on their heads, they weare somewhat long, hanging all downe behind, but none before: as for the women, they vse their haire of like length as we doe, and weare it both before and behinde. They are people of goodly stature, and sightly presence, all sauing the face, which much resemb eth a flat-nosed Dogge, and is done by Artifice, as I haue already sayde. They obserue many of the fashions of the *Prouëcaux*, and it is thought, that they dwell almost in the like Climate, beeing all of an Oliue colour. They haue no Citties or Townes, but dwell onely in Villages, which are not farre distant one from another.

They maintaine war against a neighbouring people, whom they call *Margaias*, that haue the very same manners, behaviour of life, and Dogges heads, like theirs; and them they seeke to pursue; both by Land and sea. They make Boats or Vessels of the barks of great Trees, like Shippes, ioyning one vnto another, without failes: and they vse to surprize their enemies, without any seruice of Heralds of Armes, to denounce or proclaime their warre: yet their Armies do commonly consist of fiftene or twentie thousand men, and sometimes of lesse. The Weapons wherewith they defend themselves, are Bowes of a fadome and a halfe long; and their Arrowes halfe a fadome in length, which are sharp pointed with the bones of a certaine Fish, & woundeth very dangerously. They vse also great Maces or Clubbes of Brasile wood. And they neuer giue ouer battel, vntill the night doth hinder them: then each man returneth to his abiding, leading his prisoner (if he haue anie) along with him.

They haue not any vse, either of gold or Siluer, or any other Metall, neyther of any Cloath, Wollen, or Linnen. The reason why these people with Dogges heads, do war one against another, being of the same Language, complexion, or colour, and custome in life; is not to vsurp on their Lands, or the riches of eyther, or to make them tributarie, or for

glorie and honor, neither doe they eate their prisoners for gourmandize, or thorough want of victuals. But it hath been held from all Antiquity, as well on the one side, as the other, and stil they continue the same opinion, that they did eate each others predecessors. And therefore he that is the Conqueror, bringing prisoners from the warre, whether they be men or women, they kill them; and solemnly eate them with their friends, boyled and roasted on a grate of green wood, made in forme of a Gridyron, exalted somewhat higher from the ground, then our custome is, and he that hath doone most seruice, slaine and eaten, is the most honoured.

They haue no vse of bred also among them, as we in these parts: but in steade thereof, they haue two kinds of Rootes, which they call *Aypi* and *Maniot*, the nature whereof, is, to grow in the Ground (within the space of three or foure Moneths) as great as a mans Thigh, and in length a foot and a halfe, som more, and some lesse. VWhen they are gathered, the women (for the men are not busied therabout) after they haue dried them ouer a Fire, on their high wooden Gridyrons, by brusing them vpon certaine sharpe-pointed stones while they are greene, or else punning the on pieces of flat smooth wood, they bring them to resemble meal or Flower, which they seeth with water, in a great earthen Vessel, stirring it still with a good bigge staffe, till it bee like a Poultrisse, or very pleasing boyled meat, light and crusty, answerable in taste to the * *Pain Mollet* of Paris. As concerning this *Aypi*, it is not only very good in Dough or Flower, and so to be boyled: but also being sodden to dry dust, it then hath the rellish of Chestnuts, as the *Marrons* of Lyons. They can neuer make any bread of the Flower of those roots.

They haue a kind of Grain or Corne, which they call *Anaty*, and they of Peru tearme it *Maiz*, but elsewhere, they name it Corne of Turkey, or of the *Sarrazins*. For wantonneffe and curiosity, it is sown in many parts of France, it being a flatte Graine, Tawny of colour, and sometimes very ruddy. They boyle that also with water, but it is nothing so pleasing as the other, made of the fore-named Rootes. They sometimes do eate the raw Paste of the Rootes, and of *Maiz* likewise, though it

The reason of this peoples warring one with another.

No bread vsed among them, but matter made of Rootes and after boyled.

The manner how they vse those Rootes.

* A very light, crusty and saouory white bread, full of eyes, leauen and salte.

Anaty and *Maiz*, a kind of Corne which they vse to eate, and some of it is sown in France.

it be very thinne: yet they can conuey it dexteriously into their mouths, without any shame or soyling themselues.

They haue no foure-footed Beastes, Domesticke, or made tame, but the men do exercise Hunting, not only for Venison, but also to kill other most harmefull Beasts. The first and cheefest Beasts of chase among them, and tearmed by the name of Venison, is one that is halfe a Cowe, and halfe an Assle, pertaking of both those Natures, being of the greatnesse and grosnesse of a Cow, but without any Hornes, and they call him a *Tapirassou*. And heere is it to be remembred, that they haue not any such Beasts there, as are among vs. They hunt also another Beast, which they call a *Seouassous*, participating in the kinde of a Hart and Hinde: yet nothing so great as those among vs, nor horned likewise. Another they haue, which is a kinde of Wilde Boare, and they call him *Toiassou*, that hath a hole in the Chine bone of his backe, whereby he respireth and receyueth winde. Then they haue a straunge kinde of Pigge, which they term *Argoniti*. Also, a kinde of Hare, cald by them *Tapitis*. More, they haue great store of red Rats, that liue in their Woods, and the flesh of them is very delicate to eate. Then they haue another Beast, tearmed *Pag*, about the bignesse of a mean Mastie Dog, his head being of diuers colours, and he is able to do much harme; yet his flesh hath almost the selfsame tast as our Calfe or Veale. There is also another creature, called *Taton*, which is a kinde of Hedge-hogge.

They do commonly eat Crocodiles, which are no way hurtfull to them: for, as they take them out of the Riuers, they giue them to their children to play withall, before they kil them, beeing of the bignesse of a mans Thigh, and more in length, and they cal them *Jacraes*. They eat also great Lizards, not green as ours are, but Gray; hauing their skins as slick as our little Lizards, and they take them on the Riuers sides, like as wee doe our Frogges.

They mingle likewise amongst their meats, Serpents, as great as a mans arm, and as long as an Eele of **Paris* measure: they haue no venom in them, and they seeth them in great wodden Trunkes. I do not inferre heereby, that they haue

no other Serpentes; and principally in their Riuers, where they are to be found of great length and bignesse, as green as Grasse, and the byting of them is verie dangerous.

They haue Lizards also, Venomous and horrible, as bigge as the bodye of a man, and they make a dreadfull noise or hissing. Their Toads are as great as the head of a man, yet they serue them for food, without taking away either the skin or belly, as they do of other beastes. They vse to hunt another Beast, which they do name *Ianouara*, and is a great deuourer, killer, and eater of men: this Beast, they pursue to his Denne, and there kill him, by multiplicity of Arrowes shot at him. They haue Apes, Monkies, and Marmosets; but they are little, in comparison of others.

They feede also on Fowles and Birds, as Turkey hennes, and their owne common Hennes: but they hold their Egges to be Venomous; and therefore eat none of them, neither do the Hennes lay any, but very seldome. There is great store of *Indian* Duckes or Mallards, but they eat none of them, neither any other heauie Fowle whatsoever it bee, because their gate and flight is very lumpish & heauy. They vse to feed on Pheasants, which are as grosse and great as our very biggest Capons heere among vs. And of two kinds of Partridges, woodculuers, Turtles, and of many other Fowles, far differing from those in these Countries, that haue their feet and beakes very crooked, like vnto our Parrats, and other of that kinde, and aboue al thinges else, they are very fairely plumed with feathers. In like manner, the best and goodliest Parats of the World, are in those Countries both great and small.

There are also Battes, or Reremice, no way like to ours but very great, which enter into their houses in the night time; and if they finde any one sleeping, that hath his feet naked or discouered out of his lodging, they will pecke and suck the blood betweene his great toes, in great quantity, without the parties feeling any thing. There are Scorpions likewise, as poysonous as those in these partes; and they know how to kill by picking, as others naturally do.

And as they are thus stored with four-footed Beastes, Fowles, Birdes, and creeping

What flesh of Beasts are most common among them, for their chase and hunting.

Tapirassou, halfe an Cow and halfe an Assle.

Seouassous, like a Hart and Hinde.

Toiassou their wilde Beare.

Argoniti a Pig. *Tapitis* a Hare. Red Rattes.

Pag a kinde of mastiue Dogge.

Taton a Hedge-hogge.

They eate Crocodiles, Serpents, Lizards, Toades, and such like with out any danger.

* Three foot, two thurds of an inch, and the fiftieth part of a foot.

Venomous Lizzards.

Toads as big as a mans head, and good meate.

Ianouara a rauerous Beast that feedeth on men.

Of what kindes of Fowles and Birds they vse to feed on.

Indian Duckes or Mallards. Pheasants. Partridges. Woodcockes. Turtles.

The sayrest Parrats in the world, are among these people.

Battes or Reremice, that sucke mens blood.

How and after what manner they catch F. sh.

ping Creatures, though different from ours: so we are to credit the like, concerning Fishes, as well in the fresh Riuer, as the Sea. Which they vse to take, some with their Bowes or Arrowes, baites of fat Lard, and others, by swimming, which they diue for into the bottom of the Waters. Some also, doth make vse of the Line, after the order of Angling, and they make Flower of some Fishes, after they haue well dried them ouer the fire, and then they eat it so, or else baked or boyled. Their Fishing hookes are made of Thornes, and we must know, that they are the best swimmers in the world. We may constantly credit as much, concerning the diuersitie of their trees & fruits; as of the contrarietie of their beasts.

I haue seene a Dozen of these men at *Rouen*, which the Normans brought home with them, who had a braue and Soldierlike behauiour, yet neuer would be couered with any garments, how hot or cold soeuer it were. They are not vnder obedience to any Kings, but the most ancient of them doth command in their warres, and make Orations to the rest, that they may fight the more valiantlie. And aboue all they assure them, that if they behaue themselues Couragiously, their soules shall passe ouer beyond the Mountaines, to dance, leape, and leade a sprightly & Iouiall life, with their worthy predecessors. They also that are ancient and eldest among them, doe prohibit the beating of their Wiues, because they will (many times) smite them down to the ground, with vnreasonable blows of an vnfitting staffe, especially, when they are iealous of them. He that marrieth most Wiues, is the most esteemed, and yet we must not conceite, that a man may lawfully take what Maid he pleases, but hee must equire her first of her Parents, as we do in these parts, and if refusal be made, there must not any quarrell grow thereon, but vpon agreement, the Nuptials are performed.

In the interim while, and very respectfully, they do naturally obserue some degrees of Consanguinity, for the Son neuer marrieth with his Mother, nor the Brother his Sister; other degrees of Parentage they do not keepe. They hate to the death a couetous miser, that wil giue nothing: but they are glad and reioice in liberal minded men, and such a one, as

will talke or discourse with them; Also; they are verie knowledgeable of any kind of fauour done them.

They content not themselues, no more then other Nations do, to vse water onely for their drinke, but haue an artificijall kind of Beuerage, which they make in this manner. The Women cutte the Rootes of *Aypt* and *Maniot*, into final slices, or champe them in their mouthes, without swallowing down; or tear them with their fingers, and then put them into an Earthen Vessel, boiling them ouer a fire, and stirring them continually with a sticke. But being boyled a-while, they take it from off the fire, and then it purifieth it selfe like vnto wine. They doe the like, with the graine of great * Millet, or Hirse. Heere wee are to vnderstand, that before they mash these Rootes, or *Sarrazin Millet*, they cut them in halfes, and hold this superstition; that if men meddle in the making of ths drinke, it is not worth anie thing. These Beuerages haue a good strong taste, and if anie one take more thereof then reason requireth, it wil make him drunke. They drinke not in their time of eating; but, after they haue dined or supped: and they terme it by the name of *Canouin*.

There are manie of the minde, that these *Cynocephales* are verie hairy, saying; that they haue heard it credibly reported by some of credite, that they haue seene them. Most certaine it is, that the brauest and lustiest men among them, that would prepare themselues to be present at some marriage feast, or the eating of a taken prisoner by some intimate friend of theirs in the warre; and thereupon had made a solemne inuitation, doe vse to chafe and rub their bodies with a certain Gumme, whereon afterward they soe stick Feathers in the Gumme; and being thus furnished, men would imagine them to be hairie; and this is the truth of their hairinesse.

Before the *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Portugals* frequented with them, they knew no vse of Axes or Sawes, whereby to fell their woods, but onely made a fire at the roote of a Tree, which beeing burned, caused the whole bodie to fall. Then, setting the trunkes of Trees one against another, intending them to serue for their dwelling Houses, they couered them with the broad large leaues of certaine Trees

What manner of drinke they vse, and how it is made.

* Called by some *Sarrazin Millet*, French wheat, Buck-wheate, or *Boymong*.

A lye, and fable, that these people are very hairy.

No vse of Axes or Sawes among them.

How they vse to build their dwelling houses.

Flower for Bread made of Fishes.

Cynocephales the best Swimmers.

Cynocephales seene at *Rouen*, by the Authour.

Of their Commaunders in warre, and their Orations.

Against beating their wiues.

He that marrieth the most wiues, is the most commended.

Degrees of Marriage among them.

Couetousnes hated among these people.

Trees, which they wrought together so industriously, as no raine could fall in vpon them any way. They do yet continue this manner of building among them, hauing no wals or other defences to their houses.

Commerce
betweene the
and the Chri-
stians.

The Christians in their Commerce with the, do giue them Kniues, Combs, Belles, Pins, Points, Fish-hookes, little Looking-Glasses, and other Wares of slender value: and they (in recompence of them) do returne vnto the Christians diuers kinds of victuals, which they very gladly do bring them aboard to their Shippes: As also Brasile Wood, cut into round Blockes or Trunkes, as we see them heere among our Merchants. For if they were not cut round in that manner; the people (being naked) should hurt and wound their Armes and bodies very grieuouly.

Goodes and
victualles
brought to
the Christi-
ans.

They were not wont to haue any vse of Candles; but contented themselues with such light, as they receiued from Fires made of Wood in the night time. But now (of late) they haue bin taught to make Candles of Waxe: for in that Country they haue Bees, which resemble our little Flyes in these partes, that make their Waxe and Hony, in hollow Trees in their Forrests. They haue no other Iustice among them, but if any one doe offend another in quarrelling, as by breaking a Leg or Arme, beating out an eye, or any other iniury: he rendereth the like to him againe, if he can, and all his Kinred and Friendes are assistant to him in the cause, which being so done, they remaine satisfied: This is all their forme of Iustice.

No vse of
Candles a-
mong them,
till of late
time.

What man-
ner of Iustice
is vsed among
them.

Now, as I haue already saide, there are many Prouinces that liue after this manner, without Temples or Churches, and without assemblies, eyther for Prayers to God or Idolles: as they doe in other Countries, siue hundred Leagues off from thence. Some of of which Countries are called *Ouetacas*; others, *Margaias*; others, *Tonoupinambouts*; and many other, that manage Warre one against another, as hath beene declared.

They pray
not to God,
neyther in
assemblies,
nor in parti-
cular.

Their belcefe
and Religion.

They belieue the immortalitie of the soule, and that such Men as haue fought brauely for the defence of their Countrey: shall goe and liue with * *Topan*,

* The God of
Peace and
Ioy.

after their decease, and dance and drink in goodly Gardens, with their Predecessours and Friends. And on the contrary, that Theeues and Villaines shall bee tormented of * *Aygnan*, that is a Deuill: of whom, such persons haue visibly beene seen to be beaten and tormented in this World, in company among many others, as some haue faithfully auouched, that haue seene it. Behold what I haue gathered from the Writings of *Plinie*, and other good Authors, that spake of a certaine people which haue Dogges Heades: beside, what I haue else collected out of faithful Writers, that haue frequented with these people, and spoken and conuersed with them; as the Lord of *Villegaignon*, and of *Lery*.

* A Deuill vi-
sibly seene of
them some-
times.

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Marcus Paulus the *Venetian*, assureth vs, that there is an Island, named *Daganian*, the Inhabitants whereof haue heades like vnto Dogges, and liue by feeding on humane Flesh. And euen now it appeareth vnto me (as a matter nothing differing from our purpose) to set downe a Historie, not of Men that haue Dogges Heads: but of a people, who are credible auouched, to be originally descended of a Dog and a Woman.

Marcus Paulus
Venet. in Lib.
3. Cap. 21.
The Isle of
Daganian.

The Historie which *Ioannes de Barros*, Chronickler vnto the King of *Portugall*, hath Written, is much more strange and wonderfull, then all that hitherto hath beene said, if wee had as sufficient Testimonie to beleue it. Writing on the affaires of *Pegu*, as also that of *Sian*, which are on the other side of the River *Ganges*, he saith; that all the people of these Kingdomes doe hold it for a matter most certaine and indubitable, that this Countrey was wholly desert and Mountaine, not inhabited by any person, but generallie possessed by sauage Beastes, so that a great number of men were not sufficient to dwell there, without vnauoyable daunger. It chanced, that a Shippe, which came from the Kingdome of *China*; by torment and tempestuous violence of Weather, was driuen vpon this Coast, all the people in the Shippe being dead and lost, onely a Woman, and a great euill faouered Dogge excepted. This Dogge defended her from

*Ioannes de Bar-
ros* Chrono-
grapher to
the King of
Portugall.

Of a strange
People de-
scended of a
Dogge and a
woman.

A brutish behaviour among saluage people.

from the sauage beastes, which else (by many fierce attempts) had surely deuoured her. She being of young and tender yeares, and not acquainted with the courses and modesty becomming Women: permitted the dogge to haue vse of her body, and so conceiuing, was (at due time) deliuered of a Sonne. Ha- uing brought vp her Son to good and able yeares, he likewise had knowledge of his Mother, and begat diuers other Children of her, that afterward multi- plied in such liberall manner, as these two great Kingdomes grew to be inha- bited. And for this cause, they holde Dogges in very reuerent respect, by beleeuing most assuredly, that they had their originall and beginning from the I am very certaine, that (at this instant) the people of these Kingdoms are most ciuill, not pertaking any way in a dog- gish nature, and each man may credit this, as himselfe best liketh.

Volateranus in Lib. 25.

Hermippus. alleadging Aristotle for his Authour, saith; that there is a peo- ple in Æthiopia, which are ruled or com- manded by a Dog, euen as if they were to obey his iniunctions.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Omphale, a Lady of Lydia, who by the helpe of other Weomen, made her selfe Commaunder of that Prouince, by rea- son of the insolent liues of the Lydians.

Clearchus in Commen. ca. 14. The Lydians vsed Eunuchs in stead of weomen.



Clearchus in his Com- mentaries, hath left written, that the Ly- dians were the first that expelled Weo- men, and made choyce of Eunu- ches (to sport withall) in stead of them: proceeding on also in such licentious follie, especially such as were the migh- tiest among them; that they would vse the Wiues and Daughters of other Men: And to a certaine place, reamed by them D o v x (it may be on the same occasion) they would conuey them by force, or faire meanes, and their vjolate their chastities: growing to such a beast-

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ly and dishonett manner of lte, as ma- king spare of no body, or without any difference of Sexe; they dealt with men and Boyes; in stead of their owne Wiues. For which cause, Omphale, a Lady of stout and manly courage, not forgetting such a dishonourable iniury; grew offended at this brutish kinde of life. And procuring the assistance of o- ther Weomen of that Countrey: shee became Lady and Mistresse over the Men, onely through their basenesse and negligence; and exercised (deserued) no meane punishment vpon them.

Omphale ra- kerh on her to reforme the mens bru- tish liues.

Moreover, to reuenge the disgrace- full wrongs done to Weomen, and to pay them in Coyne of the same valua- tion: the Women assembled with their Daughters, in the same place called D o v x: where, in meece despight of their Husbands, they suffered them- selues to be dishonored by their Slaves and Seruants, or any other that would abuse them. In this sort she reuenged her Sexe, and remained Gouvernesse of all Lydia.

CHAP. XX.

A notable sleight or Stratagem, performed by Melanthus the Athenian, being in sin- gle Combate with Xanthus, Lord of the Beotians.



The Athenians being in con- trouersie with the Beotians, concerning their Confines and Limitations, and could haue no agreement toge- ther: after they had fought many bat- taitles, both sides concluded, that their Princes combatting body to body; should cease all the difference, and the Conquerour to enioy the Landes that were in controuersie: Xanthus was then Governour of the Beotians, a man verie valiant, and well experienced in Armes: and Thimotes ruled the Athenians, a man more apt for matters of peace, then any way disposed to Warre. Yet being desirous of his Countries Welfare, though himselfe refused the Combate: hee proclaimed by the sound of Trum- per,

Discord be- tweene the Athenians and Beotians about their lands.

The disc- o- rence be- tweene the two Gouer- nours.

peft, that whofoever had the courage to fight againft *Xanthius*, he would furrender the principallitie of *Athens* vnto his good fucceffe. Which being vnderftood by *Melanthus*, a man of doubtleffe Spirit: he accepted the Combate, and the day being come whereon it was to bee performed; they both entred the Lifts, and began to declare their manhood each againft the other. But *Melanthus* finding *Xanthius* to bee ouerftong and hardy for him: deuifed a fudaine Shift to help himfelfe withall, faid: *I maruaile thou cameft not alone into the felde, according to our compact, but haft brought another to helpe thee? Xanthius* crediting the words of *Melanthus*, turned his face, to fee who durft offer him fuch an iniurie to his reputation: in which little fpace, *Melanthus* (taking aduantage therof) gaue him a great ftroke with his Cemitarie, which cleauing his head, caufed him instantly to fall down dead in the felde. By this meanes hee got the Empire of the *Athenians*, who (in memory of his Act) instituted certaine Feaftes, that lafted for foure whole daies together, which they called *Apatenores*, or *Apatenores*, that is to fay, of fraud and deceit.

An ingenious Stratagem to over-reach an enemy.

Feaftes of Fraude.

CHAP. XXI.

The politique deuife of Anaximenes, of Lampfacum, which he vfed to Alexander the Great, for the fafety and freedom of his Countrey.



Alexander the Great, hauing vanquifhed *Darius*, and ouerthrowne all his countreies: determined to reuenge himfelfe on the Inhabitants; that had giuen ayde to *Darius* againft him. Which when the people of *Lampfacum* heard, not knowing what counceill to take againft the anger of *Alexander*: concluded in the end, to fend *Anaximenes* on Ambaffage to him, who formerly had beene well knowne to *Phillip*, *Alexanders* Father, &

Alexanders cruell intent againft the Subiects of *Darius*.

* A Towne by *Hellefont*, on the coaft of *Asia*.

also himfelfe. He had commiffion, to appeafe his fury by all the beft meanes he could deuife, as alfo to craue pardon of him in their behalfe, for whatfoeuer offences they had committed againft him. *Alexander* hearing of his comming, began to confider with himfelfe, wherefore *Anaximenes* was thus fent vnto him: and therupon, that he might haue a iuft and lawfull excufe, to refufe all grace and fauour; he follemnely fwore an oath, not to graunt any thing that *Anaximenes* desired. This likewife came to the eares of *Anaximenes*, a Man of prompt, ready, and dexterious capacity; who as readily bethought him of a fubtile inuention, to crosse the inconuenience purpofed by the King, and as his refusall fhould be rash and peremptory, euen fo would he meete with him, by applying a contrary fenfe in wordes, to the true intent of his Embaffie. Beeing brought before *Alexander*, hee humbly declared the caufe of his comming, and to defire an efppeciall fauour of him. Which was, to deftroy and ruinate the City of *Lampfacum*, from the toppe to the bottome, and to make publique fale of all, as well Cittizens, as other men, Women and Children. When *Alexander* had heard the Ambaffadors request, deliuered with fuch earnestneffe of fpirit: hee qualified his intended rage, perceiuing that (againft his will) he muft needs be charitable, and maintaine his owne oath, and fo pardoned the people of *Lampfacum*. Thus *Anaximenes*, by wifedome and good difcretion, faued his Countrey worthily, and was moft honourably received by his fellow Cittizens at his returne: and fo long as he liued afterward, was iuftly reuerenced of them all, as the fole preferuer of them and theirs.

Alexander preuented in his owne bloody purpose by *Anaximenes*.

Wifedome doth eafily forefee and preuent the greateft dangers.

Alexander conquered very honourably by *Anaximenes*.

CHAP. XXII.

An excellent example of faithleffe and double dealing, in a Wife towards her Husband: Approoued by the memorable Hiftorie, of Canarus the honourable Celtique Gaule, and Erippe the Mylefian, Wife to Xanthus.

After

Read Parthenius Nicenus, a learned Greek Author.

* A Towne in the borders of Ionia and Caria.

The Gauls carrie away with them the Myleſian weomen.

Xanthus, a man of great honour in Miletum.

Xanthus traualleth, to recover againe his loſt wife.

The meeting of Xanthus with his wife Erippe.



After that the Gauls had trauesed thorow Italy, Pannonia, and Greece; they came to Ionia, a Prouince of Asia; ſituate on the

Sea, which they likewise raged, robbing and pilling there many Citties and Townes. It hapned, that in the yeare of our ſaluation; 300. the ſacrifices of Ceres, called *Theſmophories*; were celebrated in the Citie of * *Miletum*: the wiues and women being then aſſembled in the Temple, ſom little diſtance off from the Citie. During the Feaſt time, a troupe of Gauls came running vpon the vnprovided *Myleſians*; and caried their wiues away with them: the moſt part whereof were ſoone after redeemed, by payment of great ſums of Mony for them. But ſome of thoſe men that belonged to *Celtique Gaule*, would not part with their prizes of Weomen: but led them thence into their owne Countrey, and brought them to familiar conuerſation with them. Among theſe thus conducted thence, was a moſt faire young Lady, named *Erippe*, wife to one *Xanthus*, a man of Noble birth; and one of the worthieſt perſons in the whole Countrey. She had left a young Son of hers, aged about two yeares, with his father at *Miletum*, who was vtterly comfortleſſe and deſolate, for the loſſe of his faire wife, whom he loued moſt intirely, & ſold the moſt part of al his goods, conuerting them into a great ſumme of Gold and Siluer, wherewith he betook himſelte to trauaile, in hope to recouer againe ſo deare a loſſe. Being ſhippt to Sea, he firſt came into *Italy*; where hee was knowne by ſome that were kinde well-willers to him. From thence, accompanied with ſome of thoſe friends, he went to *Marſailles*, and then into *Celtique Gaule*, direclly to the houſe of him that had his wife; who was one of the greateſt Lords in the Countrey, named *Cauarus*, and whoſe ſeruants (according to the gracious cuſtom of the country) granted him friendly entertainment.

So ſoone as he was entred into the Houſe, he beheld his Wife, and ſhe her Husband; who ran and embraced each other very louingly, ſhe conducting him further into her Chamber. When the

Lord of the houſe was come, *Erippe* acquainted him with the arriual of her Husband, that he had trauailed thither for her ſake, and to pay her ranſome: which he no way gaine-ſaide, but commended the louing mind of *Xanthus*, that he wold oppoſe his life to ſuch dangers, both by Sea & Land, and make ſo long a iourney to recouer his wife. So, calling his friendes together, he gaue him very magnificent entertainment: cauſing *Erippe* to lodge with *Xanthus* all the feſting time; for it was an anciēt cuſtom obſerued among them, to eate their refections couched on their beds. Afterward, he demaunded of him, what ſum of Mony hee had brought for her ranſome? Whereto *Xanthus* replyed; That the vttermoſt he could make, was 1000. Crownes. The *Gaule* then commanded him, to make foure parts of the ſumme; and to take three of them for his Wife and Son, and to leaue him the fourth part, as the ranſom for his wife: wherewith the *Myleſian* was wonderfully contented, and returned him many heartie thankes. But *Erippe* ſleeping that night with *Xanthus*; was greatly offended with him, and vſed theſe words vnto him, in meere extreimity of anger. *Alas my husband and friend, I am ſorry for the anſwere which you haue made to my Lord, becauſe you haue not ſo much Mony to pay him, as you promiſed, and he expected. It is impoſſible that you ſhould me thence with ye, for I perceiue we are both vtterly vndone, except you keep your word with him. Miſerable that I am, would it had pleaſed the Goddeſſe, that you had not beene ſo liberall of your tongue.* Good Wife (anſwered *Xanthus*) take you no care, for al things wil go well with vs, and now I wil diſcouer the truth vnto ye. I haue a thouſand Crownes more, beſide them promiſed to the Lord, which are ſowed vp in the ſhoes of my followers and friends. For I did perſwade my ſelfe, not to finde a Barbarian, (ſo did the Greekes vſe to call all other nations) ſo gentle and benigne as this man hath declared himſelfe, and that hee would demaund a much greater ranſome.

Erippe committed this ſecret to memory, & the day following, ſo ſoone as ſhe was riſen out of her bed; ſhee went to find *Cauarus*, ſpeaking to him in this manner. *My Lord, ſo pleaſe you to credit me, I haue this night vnderſtood good tidings for you. For I haue ſo cunningly wormed my*

LIII husband

An ancient cuſtome obſerued among the Gauls.

Extraordinary courteſie in *Cauarus* the *Gaule*.

The words of *Erippe* to her Husband.

The anſwere of *Xanthus* to his wife, wherby the betrayed him.

The falſhood and treachery in a ſuppoſed louing wife to her husband.

husband in the nose; that he hath discovered vnto me, more Mony then hee acquainted you withall: as namelie, a thousand crownes, sowed vp in the shooes of his friends and followers. Wherein he hath villainously lyed to you, and mocked you heere in your own country and house, where you haue so honourably entreated and vsed him. Breake then your word with him, and take possession of all his Mony and furnishment; yea, kill him, for you haue iust occasion so to do. And for mine owne part, I most earnestly desire ye to doe it; because you shall therein performe the greatest good (beyond all thinges else) that can happen vnto me: for I beare him deadly hatred, and neither Country, or Child, do I affect or couet so much, as I am desirous of your company, and wish you to finish the remainder of my dayes.

Most vile and wicked speeches in a wife.

Cauarus ceaseth to loue Erippe, and intendeth iust punishment for her double dealing.

Cauarus was greatly amazed at the words of this Woman, whom now he began to hate, and purposed to punish, as her double dealing and villainy iustlie deserued. When Xanthus prepared himselfe to depart thence, the honourable minded Celte, louingly graunted him leaue and licence so to do; both for his returne home to Ionia, and to take his wife Erippe along with. But to expresse his kindnesse the more, he called diuers of his friends and seruants, purposing to accompany them so farre as the Mountains, where ended the Confines of Celtique Gaule. Being come thither, he said, that there he would offer sacrifice to the Gods, before they parted from each other; which was much liked by all the company, who instantly provided a very low Altar, and presented a Lamb, or fom other beast for the oblation, bound in due manner for starting away. Neuerthelesse, he commaunded Erippe to hold it fast, whereto shee declared herselfe very obedient. Then, exalting his Courtlax to strike the stroke; in stead of letting it fall on the beast, he gaue it full strength on the necke of Mylelian Erippe, so that her head fell forthwith from her shoulders. Xanthus was not a little astonished, when he beheld the Celte thus to handle so bright a beauty; and now hee had no hope of his owne life, beside the losse of all his Mony, being thus alone in a strange Country, and in the power of a barbarous Man, who had committed such an inhumaine act. But he found himselfe deceiued; for the iust Gaule, not

Cauarus offereth sacrifice, before his departing from Xanthus.

The death of Erippe for her falshood.

onely comforted him with most kinde words: but also related the double dealing, and wicked treason of his Wife towards him. And (quoth he) till thus she would haue betrayed so louing a Husband, I neuer conceiued a bad thought of her: but so vile a Wife deserued not to liue with a man of such vertue. Here, take all the Coyne thou broughtest hither for me, bear it all hence with thee, for I will not haue one farthing of thee. And if thou stand anyway in neede of me; do but speake the word, & no spare shall be made, of whatsoeuer thou wilt desire. Depart (when thou pleasest) towards Ionia, and let the Milesians vnderstand, the deserued chastisement of thy disloyall wife, to remaine as an example for all wiues to their husbands. Let the also know, that the Gauls (whom you vse to tearm Barbarians) are courteous: and do exercise no cruelty, except it bee on Women of such wicked minds.

The extraordinary loue and friendship of Cauarus extended toward Xanthus, and their courteous parting.

CHAP. XXIII.

The reuolt and rebellion of the first Slaues: And of Drimacus, a valiant Man, who was their Captaine.



He first men that bought any Slaues, were they of the Isle Chios, who vsing them very inhumainely: gaue them occasion to reuolt from them, and hauing created a valiant man to bee their Captaine, named Drimacus, they went to liue in craggy and stony Mountaines, for their better securitie against their Maisters; descending thence oftentimes vpon them, to work what villainies themselves pleased, bringing pillage and booties daily from them. The Inhabitants of Chios had many battailes with them, but perceiuing it impossible to ouercome them: they tooke a truce for a certaine time with them, during which cessation of warre, Drimacus gaue assurance by hostages on eyther side, and came to parle with them in this manner as followeth.

Yon men of Chios, I haue determined for your greater good; that for the time

The men of Chios bought the first Slaues.

Truce taken with the Slaues for a limited time.

The Oration of Drimachus to the men of Chios.

For: ed T

Drimachus deli- uereth them his Ring, as a confirmation of his promise

A league of peace establi- shed firmly betweene them.

Drimachus grow- ing aged & weake, desi- reth to lue no longer.

time hereafter, there shall be no more war or incursions among vs: provided, that on your part, there be no default of performing our peace. And for this cause I am come hither on the behalfe of our whole Army, that haue revolted, and rebelled against you, only through the intollerable oppressions which you enforced them to suffer. I say to you, in name of them all, that if you will permit the Inhabitants of this Country, to furnish vs with necessarie foode, paying iustly and truly for all such provision: we will cease our wonted rages and Thefts, and make an inuiolable League of peace with you. And as an earnest or honest confirmation of my words; I will leaue this Ring with you, and while you keepe it, I will not at any time hereafter, eyther buy or receiue any Slaue or Seruant, that shall flye away from you, till I haue first vnderstood the cause of his departure. If then it shall appeare vnto me, that hee hath been mistreated by you, beyond measure or ability of sufferance: you must then (of necessity) yeelde consent, that he shall remaine among vs. But if I perceiue that hee hath no iust reason to forsake your seruice: I will not onelie severely punish him, but will send him also backe againe to his Maister. These conditions duely considered on: you are freely deliuered from our molestations, and we fully satisfied in all our requests.

The Inhabitants of Chios, hauing heard the honest demaunds of Drimachus: concluded to accept peace, on the forenamed conditions, by means whereof, they were neuer afterward assailed by the Slaues; but liued secure from all thefts and incursions. Neither did any Slaue (at any time) flye from his Maister: for they stood more in fear of Drimachus his seuerity, then the very hardest vsage, that could be inflicted vpon them by their Maisters.

This peace continued for many yeares, and Drimachus being growne very aged, his body also (by reason of many woundes formerly receiued) so disabled, that he found himselfe vncapable, of longer governing such an vnrule Armie: on a day, he called a young man aside, whom he earnestly affected, and entreated him to cut off his head, and

carry it to the men of Chios, for so hee should be well recompenced and rewarded by the deede; because it would be most pleasing to them of Chios, and a fauour very acceptable to himselfe, dying by the hand of his dearest friend. He vrged moreouer, that he could not die at a more conuenient time, because the ouer-plus of his yeares were irksome to him; and his daies full of paine and anguish, which he was no way able to endure.

This strange motion of Drimachus, could not (at the first moouing) win any place, or induce the young man to so bloody an enterprize: as well, because he imagined, that Drimachus vsed these speeches but to try him, as also in regard that his heart would not serue him, to doe a deed so harsh and vnnatural; because hee stood obliged to him by infinite fauours. Neuerthelesse, so often and earnest were his sollicitations, praying and re praying him (numberlesse times) to kill him, putting the weapon in his hand, and laying downe his head to endure the stroke: that the young man at length (seeing Drimachus so constant in his deliberation, and his importunities no way to be auoyded) smote off his head from his Shoulders, and hauing given buriall to the body, he deliuered the head to the Men of Chios. Whereat the people were exceedingly ioyfull, applauding and clapping their handes iocundly, for deliuerance from so great an enemy. And as a deserued recompence, they gaue manumission and liberty to him, that had done the deed, with a very bountifull summe of Mony beside.

The vse of Slaues in Grece, was very great in elder times: as Timotheus writeth, that the Corinthians had aboute four hundred thousand Slaues. And Etesicles saith in his Histories, that in the Region of Attica, a description was made of such men; and the number was found to consist, of foure hundred and thirtie thousand Slaues. Xenophon declareth, that Nicias, the Sonne of Nicerates, had a thousand Slaues alone to himselfe, which he gaue vnto Soscius, a man of Thrace, to dig in his Mines, for finding the veines of Mettals. Aristotle hath recorded, that the Aegenites hadde more then foure hundred thousand Slaues:

Good natures are not easily won to grant vnnatural requests.

The young man smote off the head of Drimachus, and gaue it to the men of Chios.

Thimotheus of the Corinthians Slaues. Etesicles in Hist.

Arist in Lib 7. Cap. 4. de Mund.

Slaues : which number conferred with them of the *Romaines*, would seeme but small : for some one *Romaine* had tenne thousand, and some other 20000.

CHAP. XXIII.

At what time Cookes (in daies of Antiquity) began to grow in estimation. Who were the first that began to vse multiplicity of meates : And of many Gourmands and grosse feeders.

The people of *Asia* were the first that liued out of order in diet.

THE people of *Asia* were the first, that began to liue void of measure, and without any discretion : which plague (as *Titus Linius* declareth) entred into *Rome*, after the victory or Conquest of *Asia*, and then, Cooks, whom the men of precedent & auncient times, held to bee as most vile and vnecessary Seruants, beganne to grow in some reputation, and the profession which formerly was reputed odious, began to be esteemed an honourable art. The care and endeuour whereof, consisted altogether, in seeking (euery where) appetites for the belly, and what quality of viands might be swallowed vp in gourmandise. *Apitius* the *Romaine*, vsurped the glory of this occupation, or beyond all other in his daies, according as *Seneca* recounteth, saying. *Apitius* liued in our time, who taught publicly, the science of the Kitchen in that City, where Philosophers formerly had expelled it thence, as the only corruption of youth; and (by his discipline) infected the world, the end whereof was this. When he had spent a thousand *Sestertiaes* on a Kitchen Dinner, and afterwards robd the publike purse, with the taxations of the *Capitole*, and in gifts to Princes: he saw himselfe pressed with debts, so that being constrained to cast ouer his accounts; that (al his debts deducted) there remained no more of his owne proper wealth, then an hundred *Sestertiaes*. Afterward, his credit not seruing to borrow an hundred *Sestertiaes*, and he ready to sterue with hunger, he dyed, by poysoning himselfe. *Plinie* called him; The bottomlesse Gulfe of all prodigality and wastfull spenders.

Apitius the *Romaine*, famous for Gluttony. *Seneca* in Lib. de *Consolat.* ad *Albin.*

Read *Dion Nicomus* in the life of *Tiberius*

Plin. in Lib. 7. Cap. 18.

One, named *Archistratus*, trauailed (very diligently) al Lands & Countries, and crossed the Seas, expressly, and to no other end, but to find out all voluptuous fare, and whatsoever might concerne exceesse in feeding. In his * *Gastrologie*, he writeth downe the places, where all the best viands are to be had: euen with no lesse study and dilligence, then they that make description of the World, and of their Navigations. Finally, the diuersity of meates grew to such encrease; and so many Instruments were found out for the belly: that Law and order enforced restraint; of superfluous prouision in the Kitchen. Notwithstanding all which, these daies of ours, do surpasse (beyond measure) the great pomps and magnificent Feasts of former ages, when there were diuillishly (if I durst say so) inuented; so manie Lawes, Customes, and Ceremonies of the Table, such store of seruices, different and disguised meats: that the most sumptuous banqueters of the *Asians*, *Medes*, *Sirabites*, *Tarontines*, yea, of *Sardapalus*, *Xerxes*, *Claudius*, *Tiberius*, *Vitelius*, and *Heliogabalus*, who (as all Historians doe auouch) exceeding all other Nations in the World, in costly preparations for the mouth; yet are valued as nothing, to the pride and prodigalitie of Feastes now adaiies vsed: in regard whereof, the very greatest banquets, may stand as small Breake-feasts or collations, if they were to bee compared with ours.

For, we stand not only, on the delicacy of eating and drinking; but the multiplicity of meats, euen in extremity of abundance, able to tire and wearie * *Milo* the *Crotonian*, who at one Supper, did eat vp thirty Loaves of Bread, beside all his other meates. Or *Fagonius*, who at the Table of *Aurelianus* the Emperor, deuoured a whole wilde Boare at a meale, beside an hundred Loaves of Bread, and dranke afterward (with a kinde of Pepper or Powder) more then was imagined a whale could do. Moreover, such feasts as are now vsed, would be irksome to *Albinus*, who (at one supper) did eat vp an hundred Fishes, ten Mellones, five hundred Figs, and three hundred Oysters. Also, to *Maximinus* the Emperor, who in one day, did eat vp foure hundred pound of Flesh, and dranke

Archistratus the belly trauailer.

* The Art of Gourmandise

The exceffe of these times beyond all antiquity.

Nations and men of greatest disorder in diet.

* Who slew a Bull with his bare hand, & carried him away on his shoulders, and the same day did eat him vp euery morsell. *Fagonius* the great feeder.

Albinus.

Maximinus the Emperor.

Geta the Em-
peror.
*Alexand. Nea-
polit. in Lib. 5.
Cap. 21.*

Meats serued
into the Ta-
ble, according
to the order
of the Alpha-
bet.

dranke the eight part of a Tun of wine. And *Geta*, another Emperour, who saie at the Table three daies together, without rising, and all his meats were serued in according to the order of the Alphabet. To wit, such whose names began with each Letter of the Alphabet; as for example, the Letter P. Pullets, Partridges, Pheasants, Poike, Pyes, Plovers, &c. and so of the other. Seeing then that God and nature hath ordained, that we should eat and drink, for the maintenance of health & strength: what more hurtful and dangerous thing can we do, then to fill the belly with such a number of meats, arteficially composed, and to take more then nature can carry. In the doing wherof, we distemper our bodies with incurable diseases, and by that meanes, procure the shortning of our daies.

CHAP. XXV.

Of those causes, wherby the life time of men or women, are lengthned or shortned.



He naturall cause, of the length or breuitie of mans life, according to the iudgment of som Philosophers, is the ayre: because wee

know & perceiue it to be the operative and inductive Instrument, of the vertue of life. Wherfore, according to the proportion of the spirit or ayre; life it selfe is also squared and proportioned. For, when it is over-little; then (by weakness) it abridgeth life, as in mellancholy bodies. And when it is over abundant: it quenchem heat by blowing, as we see the wind to extinguish a Torch or Candle: if it be grosse and thicke, certainly it hindereth the operations of the vitall vertues. Likewise, when it is over-thin or slender, then the party breatheth and respireth very easily. Now, the vndoubted conclusion of *Aristotle*, & the whole Schoole of other Philosophers, is: that heate and humidity are the beginners and causes of long life in men. That it must needs bee so, for so long time as heate can continue with moysture: it neyther consumeth nor corrupteth; and

so long as moysture can be brought and conuerted by the heat; so long (doubtlesse) the life of every mortall body lasteth. The which measure consisteth principally in three things: to wit, in the quantity; secondly, in the quality of the selfesame heat and moysture; and thirdly, in the quality of the members and vessels, wherein they work together, as more amply is declared by *Aristotle*, in his Booke of life and death.

When then in the body of a Man, any discordance is found, or that the heate and drinesse deuidenth it selfe, from this radicall moysture, or consumeth or corrupteth: it followeth then necessaillie, that the life of the man must needs be shortned. And this diuision or deprauation commeth by the humor of diuers causes, according to the Writings of Phisitians, and naturall Philosophers. And yet notwithstanding, we may note this most easily in Princes, who imagin themselves to bee as good Maisters and Commaunders of their stomackes and bellies, as of all their Subiects. Euerie day, and in all places, they feed only on precious delicates, and sauoury meats, diuersly prepared, & drink diuers kinds of Wines. Now, because a man eateth in much greater quantity, and feedeth beyond measure on meates, which hee findeth to bee sauoury and delicate; it necessarily ensueth, that by this diuersity of viands, the stomach must needs be griened. For by this kind of feeding, the appetite looseth it selfe, ventosities blow vp the belly, trembling of the members are occasioned, Feauers engendred, and in the end death entreth. For this cause was it, that *Aristotle* said. *There is not any thing; that more prolongeth the life of man; then to shun the superfluitie of meates. And nothing more shortneth life, then to adde meate to meate, and continue at banquets. A man should eate to liue, and not liue to eate. Hippocrates* kept so good a dyet, that hee could well endure the weaknesse of his body: affecting rather to liue weake and leane, then to dye fat and fullsome.

Men then, but Princes especially, shold not place their affection on eating and drinking; as did the Emperour *Gaius*, who when he brought him tidings, that the *Romaine* people were much displeas'd, because his Father *Valerianus* was

Three things
wherein the
measure chief-
ly consisteth.

*Arist. in Lib. de
Mors et vita.*

The depraua-
tion happene-
th by diuersi-
ty of causes.

An obseruati-
on concern-
ing Princes.

The danger's
ensuing by cu-
riosity in diet.

Arist. ubi supra.

Hippocrates his
care of dyet.

Princes shold
not delight in
grosse feed-
ing.

The Ayre is
the operative
and inductive
instrument of
life.

The propor-
tion of life an-
swerable to
the proporti-
on of Ayre.

Heate and
moysture the
beginning &
causes of long
life.

The Empe-
ror *Galen*
nunded no-
thing more
then his belly.

The Romaine
Empire inua-
ded by thirty
Tyrants.

Seneca writing
to *Paulinus*,
concerning
the breuity of
mans life.

Life is not
short to men,
but they
make it short
to themselues

Captaine to the *Parthians*: turned him-
selfe to them that stood about him, say-
ing, *How now? Haue wee nothing to dine
withall?* Oh abhominable answer. The
same gurmard Emperour, being plun-
ged in numberlesse voluptuous dissolu-
tions (for from the paunch, comes your
daunce, according to the common Pro-
uerb) when newes were brought him,
that *Egypt* was reuolted against him.
What (quoth he) *shal we spread our Table-
cloths no more in Egypt?* He was so drow-
ned in belly-delights, as hee cared for
nothing else, but to make good cheare,
and feed his owne guts, being whollie
addicted to drunkenesse. Moreover,
he suffered weomen (before his face) to
gouerne most ignominiously the Em-
pire. And these things were the cause,
that the *Romaine* Empire was inuaded
by thirty Tyrants, and that their owne
people murdered them.

I will conclude this Chapter, with
those reasons deliuered by *Seneca*, con-
cerning the shortnesse of humaine life.
Phisitions (saith he) cry out, that life is
short, and their Art long. One complain-
eth, that nature hath granted beastes,
to liue five or ten ages; & to men, born
for many great matters, a short tearme
of life is ordained. We haue no long
date of time, and yet we loose the most
part of it, for life were long enough, if
it might all be wel imployed. But when
it glides away by accesse & negligence,
and no good action is performed there-
in: at length, by constraint of the latest
necessity, if we haue not learned how to
walke, wee shall feele the payment for
what is past. For life is not made short
to vs, but we haue made it so our selues;
and wee are not needy, but prodigall
thereof. Like as magnificent and royall
riches, comming into a bad Maisters
managing, are suddenly wasted and con-
sumed, and smal store amounteth to in-
finites, being in the custody of a discreet
Guardian: euen so the age of man is of
long continuance, to him that is a good
disposer thereof. Wherefore then shold
we make any complaint against nature,
who hath carried her selfe louinglie on
mens behalfe? Life is long enough, if
thou know how to vse it.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of Lawes and Ordinances, appointed by our
Auncients, for the cutting off of excesse in
feeding, and superfluities of wearing Gar-
ments.



T is no matter to bee
meruailed at, if our fore
fathers in the first Age
liued so long: for they
fed on the fruits of the
Earth, and contented
themselues with very sparing dyet. But
after that inordinate appetite, to feede
and drinke (beyond compasse or mea-
sure) came into vse and frequentation:
the life-time of men began to diminish,
and not to containe a quarter of the for-
mer space. Which some wise and excel-
lent men (among those reuerend Aun-
cients) wel obseruing: they established
good and wholesome Lawes to mode-
rate the superfluity of grosse feeding.
C. Fannius, the *Romain* Consul, ordained
by a Law, which was receiued and em-
braced before the third *Punick* warre, in
the yeare twenty two, after the Law *Or-
chia*: that no *Romaine* should vse at any
meale, any other Foule or Bird, then a
Hen, not fatted (as in these daies, pul-
ling out their eies to fatten their bodies,
and cooping vp Geese in Pens, to make
them fat.) Also, that in their banquets,
no excesse or dissolution shold abound:
except in the time of the * *Saturnalia*,
and the Playes of the *Romaines*. Who-
soever did other-wise, was sure to bee
mulckt at a great payment.

The occasion of this Law (as *Sammo-
nicus Serenus* saith) was, in regard that
the *Romaine* Common-wealth endured
great damages, only thorow the excesse
of Feasts and banquets: And it grew to
such extreimity among them, that ma-
ny Sons and Daughters of free condi-
tion, lusting after lickorish desire of gur-
mandise; would thereby make sale both
of their liberty and honesty. Beside, so
many of the *Romaine* people, when their
heades were much distempered with
wine:

Difference
betweene the
diet of our
fore-fathers
of the first
age, and ours.

Macrobius.
Saturninus in
Lib. 3. Cap. 17.

* Feests kept
in December,
in the honour
of *Saturnus*.

*Sammonicus
Serenus*, for
the reason of
this Law.

Difference betweene this Law, and that of Orchia.

Of the Lawes Didia, Licinia, and Cornelia, and the makers of them.

The Law Cibaria made by the Confull Lepidus.

Stobaeus in Serm. 17.

Lawes against the superfluitie of Garments.

Aelianus in Lib. 14. The Lacedemonians care of their Citizens apparell.

Solons Law for apparell.

wine: would presume in to the Senate, and being drunk, deliuer then their opinions, in matters concerning the weal-publike. The severity of this Law, went beyonde that of Orchia, in that by the precedent; the number of Banquets on-ly were restrained, accordingly it was permitted to euery man; to spend his goods among a few people. But this Law, tearmed *Fannia*, limited the mea-
 10 sure of expences. The Law *Didia*, made on the same occasion eightene yeares after; and the *Licinia*, made by *P. Licinius Crassus* the Rich, followed it. After-ward; that of *Cornelia*, so tearmed of *Cornelius Sylla* the Dictator, and caused it to be put into execution. Yet in these there was no prohibition for the mag-
 20 nificence of Banquets, nor any certaine rule established: but all kinds of victuals were put to a taxation, and vnder-
 30 prized; which fauoured not of any good care, for by this meanes, men were incited to buy great quantities of meates, and so gaue themselues the more to
 40 gluttony, though their faculties were neuer so great or vnable. *Sylla* being dead, the Confull *Lepidus* made another Law, which was called *Cibaria*, that is to say, appertaining to food.

The excellent wise man *Phocion*, con-
 50 structed his Son, to liue soberlie, con- sidering that nature is contented with lit-
 60 tle: but if she be ouer-charged with too many meates; paine and annoyance is enermore ready at hand. As daily wee may obserue in our fields, where a horse is at continuall feeding, without any o-
 70 tlier exercise or imployment; which encreaseth in him diuersity of noysome diseases. Our venerable Ancients, and some great personages among them, made as great ordinances and constitu-
 80 tions, concerning the superfluitie of Habits and Garments, as for meates. *Aelianus* saith, that the *Lacedemonians* did not onely make Lawes against the
 90 excesse of wearing Garments: but also commandement was giuen to the *Ephori* (Magistrates of *Lacedemon*) to haue daily an eye, on the manner of the Cit-
 100 izens garments; and punish rigorously (by the Lawe) such as were noted, to wear any thing vnbecoming, or repug-
 110 nant to modest ornament and clothing. *Solon*, the *Athesian* Law-maker, prohi-
 120 bited by Lawe, that no person should

have any more then three Garments. *Dyonisius*, the younger *Syracusane*, pun-
 130 nished all delinquents in this case, verie grieuously: and yet notwithstanding, he would pardon all such as were
 140 Theeves and stealers of Garments, to the end; that the *Syracusans* might the more easily abstaine from the superflu-
 150 ty of them.

10 *Tiberius Caesar* inhibited the wearing of Garments of Silke. *Statilius*, and *L. Libonius* being Consuls; *Alexander Seuerus*, *Caesar*, would not permit his
 20 Wife to weare any richer Ornament, or any other Iewelles, then the other Ladies did. And when any pretious
 30 Stones or Jewels were giuen her, hee caused them to be sold, or else to be placed in Temples, for the better beauti-
 40 fying of them, saying; *It is not my mind, that any example of superfluitie or expence, shall be deriued from my Wife.* *Ioannes Du-
 50 cas*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, beholding the Riches of the *Romaine* Cit-
 60 izens, to be wasted and spent on strange Silken Garments, fashioned after the
 70 manner of the *Asyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Italians*, by ingenious art and cunning: ordained by an especiall Edict, that no
 80 any of his Subjects, of what estate or quality soeuer, should weare any such Habits; on paine to be noted of infam-
 90 y, and obserued the same in himselfe, and familie. Commanding them fur-
 100 ther, to content themselues with such Garments, as the *Romaine* Prouinces had formerly made vse of, and were
 110 framed by their owne handes. *Lewes* the Debonnaire, Emperour and King of
 120 *France*, Sonne to Great *Charlemaigne*, tooke away the wearing of Golde and Silke from his Souldiors, and if he espied
 130 any one in his Armie, to haue a Silken Garment, or any Gold embellished on it; he would say vnto him. *Thou art the
 140 veriest Foole among all Mortals. Is it not sufficient for thee to dye; except thou leaue
 150 such a spoile to the Enemy, to make him so rich therby, that (in the end) he shall the more easily, and at his owne pleasure, not onely be
 160 able to resist, but also to conquer vs?*

In a Synode of many Bishoppes, which was helde at *Aix la Chapelle* in
 170 *Germanie*, it was decreed, and enioyned to all Bishoppes, and Ecclesiasticall persons, of what order or decree soe-
 180 uer; to weare any sumptuous habite, as

Alexander A-lexandrian in Lib. 5. Cap. 13.

Dion in the hite of Tiberius Caesar.

Epistola Fulgo-ron in Lib. 1. ca. 4.

John Ducas, Emperour of Constantinople.

Read the Chronicles of Constantinople, where more is to be obserued of this famous exam-ple.

Lewes the meeke, Emperour and King of France, his words to his Souldiors.

This was in the yeare of Christ, 820.

A decree con- cerning Ec- clesiasticall persons.

of Silke, or Scarlet, or to wear any precious Stones on their fingers, as Diamonds, Rubies, Topazes, Saphires, or Emeralds, set in Rings of Gold: except when they were sacrificing to God at the Altar.

The vntruly and misgouerned world wherein we now liue, not able to yeeld any distinguishing of persons.

If all these honest minded people, were liuing now in these times; I beleue, they would blush (with meere conceite of shame) to see vs liue in such an vntruly World, euen from the greatest to the least, and the excessiue liberty of the meaner people, without any exception in degree; to weare such rich garments, Imbroydered with Veluet, in a thousand iagges and cuts, and lacing their Gloakes, Doublets, and Hose, with passement laces of fine Gold. So that now-adaies, we can hardly know a great Lord, Duke, or Earle, from a common Souldiour, or some other meaner man, that hath no greater Wealth, then his Cloake and Sword, and with them to giue his attendance too. And if we speak of the habite of one man only; the King himselfe hardly weareth any fairer, then ordinarily doth a silly Courtier. Which ought not to bee so permitted, for it is easie to iudge, that such ouer-braue new vpstarts, not hauing wherewithal to furnish their expences: this cost must needs be supplied by vnlawfull means. Or else, they are reamed * *Enfans de la matre* (so called, because they mate all such as they can cozen or cheate) or Court-Stables, Theues, Robbers, Murderers, or Ruffians. King *Phillippe Bel*, in the yeare 1294. made an ordinance, for the abridging of superfluities in meats and Garments, which I found among some auncient papers of my Predecessors, and because it had neuer bin formerly printed: I was the more willing to insert it heere. To the end, that such as are desirous of note-worthy observations, might perceiue thereby; how much the prices of thinges are enhaunced, since those daies; and how the excesse of meates haue also encreased, to the detriment and ruine of mens bodies. For all that *France* can boast of, since those times; is only her language, which by little and little) hath greatlie enriched it selfe, euen to the bright luster of perfection: but al good manners are quite out of vse. These are the verie words of the fore-said ordinance.

A meane Courtier as richly inhabited as the King himselfe.

* A Rascally place in *Paris*, whereat common Gamesters, Cheaters, Conycatchers and Cutpurfes vsually meet.

A worthy Ordinance of King *Phillippe Bel*.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Ordinance of King Phillip le Bel, against excesse and superfluitie in al manner of persons in the yeare 1294. Extracted out of a little Book, in the chamber of Accounts at Paris, the forty foure Lease.

10



O Cittizen, or Cittizens Wife, shall weare any Greene or Gray, neither any Ermines: but shall free themselus from such as they haue, from Easter next, within a yeare. And shall not weare, or cause to be worne, any pretious Stones, neyther any Girdles, adorned with Gold or Pearles.

For Cittizens and Cittizens wiues.

20

Item, no Clarke, if he be not a Prelate, or established in a Parsonage, or in some dignity; shall weare any Greene, Gray, or Furre of Ermines, no, not so much as in his hood onely.

For Clerks being no Prelates.

30

Item, Dukes, Earles, and Barons, of fixe thousand pounds yearely Rent, or more: may make foure paires of Roabs yearely, but no more, and as many for their Wiues.

For Dukes, Earles and Barons.

All the Prelates shall haue two paire of Roabes only, allowed them for each yeare.

For Prelates.

All Knights shall haue but two paire of Roabes onely, yearely, neither by guift, buying, or any other manner.

For Knights.

40

The Knight that holdeth three thousand pounds in Lands, or beareth most Banners: may haue three pair of Roabs yearely, and no more, and one of those three paires of Roabs, he may make for his Summer wearing.

A Knight of most Banners.

No Esquire shal haue aboute two pair of Roabs, either by guift, by buying, or in any other manner.

For an Esquire.

50

Boyes or Lads, shall haue but one paire of Roabes yearely.

For Boyes.

No Gentlewoman, except she bee a *Chastellaine*, or Lady of two thousand pounds in Lands, or more: shall haue aboute one paire of Roabs yearely; but if two paire bee permitted her, shee must not then vse any more.

For Gentlewomen.

No

For wax Torches.	No Cittizen, or Cittizens wife, neyther any Esquire or Clearke, except hee be in preferment, or in a Parsonage, or in a greater condition, shall wear or carrie any Torch of wax.	two thousand poundes <i>Tournois</i> , and a boue, may make Robes of more then xii. Sols, and nine Deniers <i>Tournois</i> , the Elle of <i>Paris</i> , and their Wiues of 16. Solles at the most.	Cittizens of good valie, and their wiues.
Orders for dyet in feeding.	None shall addict themselves to great feeding, but of two meats only, and one kind of fat pottage, without any fraude, and in the least eating, to vse one kinde of meat, and some one other choyse dish. If it be vpon fasting dayes, he may haue two Pottages made with Herings, and two other like Meats. One manner of Flesh, shall also serue for one Dish only, and likewise one kind of fish, without any other fraud. Grosse flesh also shall be accounted for good meats, and we do not allow Cheefe for a seruice, except it be made into Paste, or boyled in water.	And these Ordinances are commaunded to be kept, by all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Prelates and Clearkes, and by all maner of people that are in the faith with vs, and vpon the Faith which they are bound to keepe. So that al Dukes, Earls, Barons and Prelates, that dare contradict this ordinance, shall pay an 100. poundes <i>Tournois</i> , as a due punishment, and shall stand bounde to keepe the establishment heereof in their subiectes, of what estate or condition soeuer. And in such manner, that if the Lord of any Royaltie doe make offence heerein, he shall paie fiftie pounds <i>Tournois</i> . And Knightes & their followers 25. poundes: Deanes, Archdeacons, Priours, and other Clearkes, that held dignity, 25 poundes <i>Tournois</i> . And if Lay-men offend, of what estate soeuer they be, if valewing a thousand pound of <i>Paris</i> mony, they shall pay fiue and twentie poundes each man. And if of lesser value, they shall pay an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> . Other Clearkes, that are without dignities, and haue no Parsonages, offending against this ordinance, shall pay each man, an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> , and so for others.	Penalties enioyned vpon breach of these Ordinances. Dukes, Earles &c.
For fasting dayes.	None shall addict themselves to great feeding, but of two meats only, and one kind of fat pottage, without any fraude, and in the least eating, to vse one kinde of meat, and some one other choyse dish. If it be vpon fasting dayes, he may haue two Pottages made with Herings, and two other like Meats. One manner of Flesh, shall also serue for one Dish only, and likewise one kind of fish, without any other fraud. Grosse flesh also shall be accounted for good meats, and we do not allow Cheefe for a seruice, except it be made into Paste, or boyled in water.	And these Ordinances are commaunded to be kept, by all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Prelates and Clearkes, and by all maner of people that are in the faith with vs, and vpon the Faith which they are bound to keepe. So that al Dukes, Earls, Barons and Prelates, that dare contradict this ordinance, shall pay an 100. poundes <i>Tournois</i> , as a due punishment, and shall stand bounde to keepe the establishment heereof in their subiectes, of what estate or condition soeuer. And in such manner, that if the Lord of any Royaltie doe make offence heerein, he shall paie fiftie pounds <i>Tournois</i> . And Knightes & their followers 25. poundes: Deanes, Archdeacons, Priours, and other Clearkes, that held dignity, 25 poundes <i>Tournois</i> . And if Lay-men offend, of what estate soeuer they be, if valewing a thousand pound of <i>Paris</i> mony, they shall pay fiue and twentie poundes each man. And if of lesser value, they shall pay an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> . Other Clearkes, that are without dignities, and haue no Parsonages, offending against this ordinance, shall pay each man, an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> , and so for others.	Lots of Royalties.
One manner of flesh in one dish only, and so of fish.	It is ordained by our declaration; concerning that which hath bene spoken of Garments, that no Prelates or Barones, how great soeuer the person be, shall haue any Robe belonging to his body, valuing more then 25. Sols <i>Tournois</i> , the <i>Paris</i> Elle. The Wiues of Barons also, according to the same rate.	And these Ordinances are commaunded to be kept, by all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Prelates and Clearkes, and by all maner of people that are in the faith with vs, and vpon the Faith which they are bound to keepe. So that al Dukes, Earls, Barons and Prelates, that dare contradict this ordinance, shall pay an 100. poundes <i>Tournois</i> , as a due punishment, and shall stand bounde to keepe the establishment heereof in their subiectes, of what estate or condition soeuer. And in such manner, that if the Lord of any Royaltie doe make offence heerein, he shall paie fiftie pounds <i>Tournois</i> . And Knightes & their followers 25. poundes: Deanes, Archdeacons, Priours, and other Clearkes, that held dignity, 25 poundes <i>Tournois</i> . And if Lay-men offend, of what estate soeuer they be, if valewing a thousand pound of <i>Paris</i> mony, they shall pay fiue and twentie poundes each man. And if of lesser value, they shall pay an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> . Other Clearkes, that are without dignities, and haue no Parsonages, offending against this ordinance, shall pay each man, an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> , and so for others.	Knightes. Deanes, Archdeacons, Priours, Clearkes. Lay men of account.
The price of Cloth by the Elle of <i>Paris</i> .	Earles and Barons shall giue no Liueries to their followers, to cost more then 18. Sols the <i>Paris</i> Elle.	And these Ordinances are commaunded to be kept, by all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Prelates and Clearkes, and by all maner of people that are in the faith with vs, and vpon the Faith which they are bound to keepe. So that al Dukes, Earls, Barons and Prelates, that dare contradict this ordinance, shall pay an 100. poundes <i>Tournois</i> , as a due punishment, and shall stand bounde to keepe the establishment heereof in their subiectes, of what estate or condition soeuer. And in such manner, that if the Lord of any Royaltie doe make offence heerein, he shall paie fiftie pounds <i>Tournois</i> . And Knightes & their followers 25. poundes: Deanes, Archdeacons, Priours, and other Clearkes, that held dignity, 25 poundes <i>Tournois</i> . And if Lay-men offend, of what estate soeuer they be, if valewing a thousand pound of <i>Paris</i> mony, they shall pay fiue and twentie poundes each man. And if of lesser value, they shall pay an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> . Other Clearkes, that are without dignities, and haue no Parsonages, offending against this ordinance, shall pay each man, an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> , and so for others.	Lay men of lesse value. Clearkes without dignities.
Liueries for Seruants.	Bannerets and Castillians, shall haue no Garmentes for their bodies, costing more then eightene Sols the <i>Paris</i> Elle, and their Wiues at the same rate; theyr followers at xv. Sols the Elle.	And these Ordinances are commaunded to be kept, by all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Prelates and Clearkes, and by all maner of people that are in the faith with vs, and vpon the Faith which they are bound to keepe. So that al Dukes, Earls, Barons and Prelates, that dare contradict this ordinance, shall pay an 100. poundes <i>Tournois</i> , as a due punishment, and shall stand bounde to keepe the establishment heereof in their subiectes, of what estate or condition soeuer. And in such manner, that if the Lord of any Royaltie doe make offence heerein, he shall paie fiftie pounds <i>Tournois</i> . And Knightes & their followers 25. poundes: Deanes, Archdeacons, Priours, and other Clearkes, that held dignity, 25 poundes <i>Tournois</i> . And if Lay-men offend, of what estate soeuer they be, if valewing a thousand pound of <i>Paris</i> mony, they shall pay fiue and twentie poundes each man. And if of lesser value, they shall pay an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> . Other Clearkes, that are without dignities, and haue no Parsonages, offending against this ordinance, shall pay each man, an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> , and so for others.	Lay people of all degrees.
Bannerets & Castillians.	Squires, the Sons of Barons, Bannerets, and Castillians, must wear no Robe of greater price, then xv. Sols the Elle of <i>Paris</i> .	And these Ordinances are commaunded to be kept, by all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Prelates and Clearkes, and by all maner of people that are in the faith with vs, and vpon the Faith which they are bound to keepe. So that al Dukes, Earls, Barons and Prelates, that dare contradict this ordinance, shall pay an 100. poundes <i>Tournois</i> , as a due punishment, and shall stand bounde to keepe the establishment heereof in their subiectes, of what estate or condition soeuer. And in such manner, that if the Lord of any Royaltie doe make offence heerein, he shall paie fiftie pounds <i>Tournois</i> . And Knightes & their followers 25. poundes: Deanes, Archdeacons, Priours, and other Clearkes, that held dignity, 25 poundes <i>Tournois</i> . And if Lay-men offend, of what estate soeuer they be, if valewing a thousand pound of <i>Paris</i> mony, they shall pay fiue and twentie poundes each man. And if of lesser value, they shall pay an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> . Other Clearkes, that are without dignities, and haue no Parsonages, offending against this ordinance, shall pay each man, an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> , and so for others.	Imposition of the fines and forfeits.
Allowance for Esquires.	Prelates, Earles, Lordes of Royalties, and Castillians, shall giue no Garments to their Squires, valewing more then seven or eight Sols <i>Tournois</i> , the Elle of <i>Paris</i> .	And these Ordinances are commaunded to be kept, by all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Prelates and Clearkes, and by all maner of people that are in the faith with vs, and vpon the Faith which they are bound to keepe. So that al Dukes, Earls, Barons and Prelates, that dare contradict this ordinance, shall pay an 100. poundes <i>Tournois</i> , as a due punishment, and shall stand bounde to keepe the establishment heereof in their subiectes, of what estate or condition soeuer. And in such manner, that if the Lord of any Royaltie doe make offence heerein, he shall paie fiftie pounds <i>Tournois</i> . And Knightes & their followers 25. poundes: Deanes, Archdeacons, Priours, and other Clearkes, that held dignity, 25 poundes <i>Tournois</i> . And if Lay-men offend, of what estate soeuer they be, if valewing a thousand pound of <i>Paris</i> mony, they shall pay fiue and twentie poundes each man. And if of lesser value, they shall pay an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> . Other Clearkes, that are without dignities, and haue no Parsonages, offending against this ordinance, shall pay each man, an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> , and so for others.	For the accuser.
Liueries for attendant Esquires.	Other Squires, that are not household Attendants, but cloth themselves of their owne proper cost and means, shall wear no Garment of more then ten Solles the Elle.	And these Ordinances are commaunded to be kept, by all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Prelates and Clearkes, and by all maner of people that are in the faith with vs, and vpon the Faith which they are bound to keepe. So that al Dukes, Earls, Barons and Prelates, that dare contradict this ordinance, shall pay an 100. poundes <i>Tournois</i> , as a due punishment, and shall stand bounde to keepe the establishment heereof in their subiectes, of what estate or condition soeuer. And in such manner, that if the Lord of any Royaltie doe make offence heerein, he shall paie fiftie pounds <i>Tournois</i> . And Knightes & their followers 25. poundes: Deanes, Archdeacons, Priours, and other Clearkes, that held dignity, 25 poundes <i>Tournois</i> . And if Lay-men offend, of what estate soeuer they be, if valewing a thousand pound of <i>Paris</i> mony, they shall pay fiue and twentie poundes each man. And if of lesser value, they shall pay an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> . Other Clearkes, that are without dignities, and haue no Parsonages, offending against this ordinance, shall pay each man, an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> , and so for others.	Purgation by Oath, before the Lord of the soyle.
Esquires no household attendants.	Clearkes, that make robes for themselves, shall weare none to exceede the price of twelue Solles, and sixe Deniers <i>Tournois</i> , the Elle. But if they be Canons of a Cathedrall church, of fiftene Sols, and no more.	And these Ordinances are commaunded to be kept, by all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Prelates and Clearkes, and by all maner of people that are in the faith with vs, and vpon the Faith which they are bound to keepe. So that al Dukes, Earls, Barons and Prelates, that dare contradict this ordinance, shall pay an 100. poundes <i>Tournois</i> , as a due punishment, and shall stand bounde to keepe the establishment heereof in their subiectes, of what estate or condition soeuer. And in such manner, that if the Lord of any Royaltie doe make offence heerein, he shall paie fiftie pounds <i>Tournois</i> . And Knightes & their followers 25. poundes: Deanes, Archdeacons, Priours, and other Clearkes, that held dignity, 25 poundes <i>Tournois</i> . And if Lay-men offend, of what estate soeuer they be, if valewing a thousand pound of <i>Paris</i> mony, they shall pay fiue and twentie poundes each man. And if of lesser value, they shall pay an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> . Other Clearkes, that are without dignities, and haue no Parsonages, offending against this ordinance, shall pay each man, an hundred Sols <i>Tournois</i> , and so for others.	LIII 4 CHAP.
Clearkes and Canons of Cathedrall Churches.	Cittizens, that may spend the value of	This Law was made and ordained at <i>Paris</i> , in the yeate of Grace, 1294.	LIII 4 CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

¶ Of a Law made by Solon, and the Corinthians; concerning ydle and negligent persons: And such as would weare brane Apparrell, and make great cheare; yet themselues having no goodes or meanes, whereby to maintaine such expences.



He famous Law-giuer of the Athenians, Solon made a Law, whereof it is saide, that Amasis, King of Ægypt, had formerly been the Author,

according as Herodotus reporteth in his Enterpe, and these are the very words of the Law. ἀποδείκνύναι ἕτερος ἐκάστῳ τῶ νόμῳ ἅπαντι τὴν ἀ Αἰγυπτίῳ, ἵερ βίστα. μηδὲ ποιεῖν τὰ ταῦτα, μηδὲ ἀποφαινο τὰ δικαίω λόῳ, ἰθύναδζ δαυάτω. That is to say. That euery one shall yearly declare and shew how, and in what manner hee liueth, euen before the Magistrate: which if he refuse to doe, he shall be punished with death. This Law is recited by Diodorus Siculus; and was also obserued by the Corinthians, as Diphilus saith in his Senaries, alleadged by Atheneus, and traduced by Erasmus in his Adages, whereof the substance is thus.

It was ordained heretofore, as a Law to the Corinthians, that if any one were noted to make great cheare daily, and to spend largely; we are then to enquire of his means, and to demaund of him, if he know what he doth? If we do perceiue, that he hath goods, and that the reuennues of them is sufficient to discharge such expences; we are to suffer his proceeding therein. But if it so fall out, that he spendeth more then his Reuennues will amount vnto: we must commaund him to leaue off such wast, and neuer afterward to doe the like againe. If he refuse, and will not be obedient; he is to be condemned in a great penalty. And if he that hath nothing at all to maintaine him, doe liue excessiue; he is to be deliuered to the Hangman or Executioner, vnder this Oath: * By Hercules. For the presumption is great, that a Man

Herodotus in Enterpe.

Diodor. Sicul. in Lib. 2. de Antiquit. Diphilus in Sen. Atheneus. Erasmus in Adag.

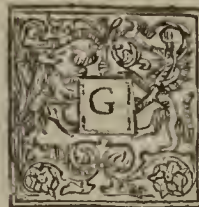
The very words of the Law.

* This was an Oath obserued among our Auncients.

cannot lead such a kind of life; without committing Thefts, and other wicked actions. For it will be necessarily supposed, that hee hunteth in the night time, to catch his prey; that hee hooketh in at houses, or breaketh the walles of them; or else is a complice and Companion with them that doe so, and then hath his share with them. Or else, that hee is a false Witnesse, or false Accuser. All such manner of people are to be chased from our Cittie, as hatefull and abhominable.

CHAP. XXIX.

How excellent a thing Friendship is; What they are, that maybe termed true friends: How many friends a Man ought to haue, and of what condition; with many notable examples thereof.



Old is good, so is Siluer; Kinred & Allyes is good, and Mony is good: but true Friendes are much better, and there is no

comparison betweene them. For all the fore-named things are not sufficient; but must be taken from vs on necessity: but true Friends, in regard of any thing, wherein consisteth the interest of a Friend; will admit no pardon to their purse, nor spare the expences of their goods; yea, feare not to expose their liues to dangers, to take long voyages, on them, to vndergo quarrels, & suites, to embrace voluntary paines, and to imploy the vttermost of their power, for the assistance of a Friend. Spartianus, in the life of the Emperour Traiane, reporteth, that one euening, as the Emperour sate at Supper, they that were admitted to sit at his Table; entred into discourse, concerning the fidelitie of Friends. During this conference, hee told them: That he could not remember, in all his life time, that he euer had any one Friend, which might not haue beene iustly tearmed good, loyall, and sincere. Then they humbly entreated him, that, if it stood with his liking; he would acquaint them with the reason of this his extraordinary happinesse. Whereupon he thus answered. The cause

No comparison with true and faithfull friends.

All worldly things are defectiue, except a true friend.

Spartianus in vit. Imp. Traian.

An extraordinary happinesse in a man.

The answer of the Emperor Traiane.

cause why I haue beene so happy in this matter, was in this respect: that I would neuer admit any Man to be my Friend, if he were couetous, or a Lyer. For in that man, in whom auarice or lying reigneth; neuer can dwell true and perfect friendship.

The coming of King Herod to Rome, and his wordes to Augustus.

King Herod, after that Marke Anthony was conquered by Augustus, came to Rome, and hauing layed his Crowne at the feete of Octauius; with a bold and vndaunted courage, hee spake these wordes. You must know (O Great Augustus) that if Marke Anthonie would haue beleewed me, and not Cleopatra: you should haue made better prooffe, how great an enemy he was to you; and you should well haue understood beside, how loyall and faithfull a Friend I was to him. But he that would rather be gouerned by the will of a woman, then follow those courses which reason commaunded: tooke onely Momy of me, and all his Counsels of Cleopatra. Herod continued yet on further his speeches in this manner. You behold at this instant (quoth he) that my Kingdome, person, and crown, is laid by me at your feet, and I offer them all at your seruice, at all times, and as often as you shall make acceptance thereof. But yet, vpon these conditions (Inuincible Augustus) that you shall neuer commaund mee to heare, nor speake any euill of Marke Anthony, my Lord and deare Friend, although he is dead. For you know right well, that true Friendes ought not to be forgotten, eyther by absence or death. Iulius Caesar held such intire friendship with Cornelius Faber, the Consull, that they passing the Alpes together, and darke night hauing stolne vpon them, they being vnprovided of any other lodging, then a little narrow Grot or Caue in the side of a Rock, which they found out by chance, and Cornelius being then sickely and ill: Iulius Caesar left all the Caue to him, that he might the better repose at his ease, walking himselfe (all the night) in the frost and Snow, without any shelter or conerture to shield him.

The harme of being gouerned by a womans will.

A memorable example of a faithfull friend indeed.

The friendship betweene Iulius Caesar & Cornelius Faber.

Friendship is true and perpetuall, and holdeth no contraction with many persons.

It is also a matter worthy of our knowledge, that friendshippe maketh it selfe true and perpetuall, and ought not to be contracted with many persons, according as Seneca, Writing to Lucillus saith. My Friend Lucillus, I counsell thee to be a Friend but to one, and Enemy vnto none. To haue many Friends, it bringeth with it some kind of importunitie,

which must needs (of it selfe) diminish friendship. For, if we consider the liberty or freedome of the heart; it is a matter impossible, that one onely thing should conforme it selfe, to the conditions of many: much lesse, that manie can bee satisfied & contented with those of one alone. Cicero and Salust were two Oratours, the most renowned among the Romaines; and yet deadly Enemies to each other. Cicero had all the whole Senate as his fast Friendes; and Salust (throughout all Rome) had no one but Marke Anthony only. Vpon a day, some cause of quarrell or contention happening between these two men, & words on cyther side entercoursed: Cicero, in great anger and disdain, spake thus to Salust. How darest thou any way contend with me? What power art thou able to raise against me? Full well thou knowest, that in all the City of Rome, thou hast but one Friend onely, and that is Marke Anthonie; and I haue no Enemy, but he onely. Wherunto Salust thus answered: Thou gloriest thy selfe (O Cicero) in hauing but one Enemy onely, and tauntest mee, because I haue no more but one Friend onely. But I hope (the help of the immortal Goddes assisting) that this one enemy of thine, shall be sufficient to ouerthrow thee; and this one onely Friend of mine, will bee enow to warrant me from all harmes, and to defend me in all mine affaires. After these words passing thus betweene them, within some very few daies: Marke Anthony declared the friendshippe which he bare to the one, and his hatred against the other. For, he caused Ciceroes Head to bee smitten off, and exalted Salust vnto great Honors.

Many do commend themselves, and hold it as a great glory to them, to haue multiplicity of friends: but, when they haue well surueyed, to what end this abundance of Friendes serueth; they shall finde their help to no other effect, but onely to eate, drinke, walke, sport, and prattle together. Not to succour one another with Monies in their necessities; or to lend any fauourable assistance in nauailes; nor to giue reproofe of such vices, as may (perhaps) too much abound on either side. For where true and intimate friendship is mutually embraced: neyther my friend to me, or I to him, ought to vse any dissimulation,

The freedom and liberty of the heart.

The enmity betweene Cicero and Salust, two famous Oratours.

Cicero his wordes to Salust.

Salust his answer to Cicero.

An euident prooffe of Friendship and hatred.

The end and effect of hauing many Friends.

The Office and duty of true friends one toward another in aduersity or prosperitie.

Friendship ceaseth not after death.

Of electing one friend among many, and the danger therein.

The principall conditions which ought to be in a friend.

on, or to conceale one anothers faultes and vices, which we may euidently see in each other; that amendment may ensue vpon friendly admonishment. There is no riches or treasure in this world, that equalleth the worth of a true and loyall Friend: because, when a Man hath a faithfull Friend: he may safely discover the secrets of his hart vnto him; recount his passions; trust his honor in his brest; yeilde his goods to his keeping; receiue succour from him in his trauailes; have counsell and comfort in perils; he will reioyce in his prosperities, and greeue when any inconueniences doe afflict him. Finally, I conclude, that hee will neuer cease friendly seruices to him during life, and mournfull complaints for his misse, after death.

Being then to make choise of a friend, and of no more then one, euerie Man ought to bee very carefull, that he bee not deceiued in his election. For many times it falleth out, that such as vse but slender consideration heerein: doe but bestow their friendship on him that is ouer-couetous, impatient, a pratler, contentious, arrogant, and presumptuous; yea, and in such sort, that it is more safe for him to entertaine a knowne enemy, then such a halfe-harted Friend. Among other conditions, which ought to be in him that is elected as a Cordiall Friend, these are the principall. He must be humane of nature; of stout courage in trauailes; patient in iniuries; honest in dyet; modest in talke; graue in counsell and aduise; and (aboue all) constant in amitie, and faithfull in secrecy. We may vndoubtedly accept such a man for a friend, whō we know to be prouided of these qualities: but if he be defectiue in any one of them; we are to shun his society, as a pestilence. For we hold as a thing most certaine, that the friendship of a fantasticke and variable Friend, is worse then the hatred of a discovered Enemy. Wee may assuredly trust our hart in the hands of the one; but we shal hardly defend our liues, against the trecheries of the other.

CHAP. XXX.

¶ Of many very strange and merueilous things, recorded by diuers good and credible Authours, and here collected together in one Chapter.

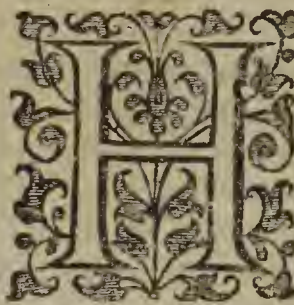
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Herodotus writeth, that the Sunne did two seueral times, set and hide it self, in that place which at this present, is the East. *Seruius*, the Commenter vpon *Virgill*, saith, that the Army of *Xeuxes* being vnder full sail, did drinke dry the Riuer *Symoenta*: and the like is recorded (by *Herodotus*) to be done on the Riuer *Scamander*. *Pliny* writeth, that the great or formost Toe, of the right foote of King *Pyrrhus*; gaue present helpe to such that were pained with the Spleene, and that it could not be burned (with the rest of his body) in the Obsequies. *Caelius Rhodiginus* affirmeth, that Elephants haue sometimes beene knowne to write. *Milo* the *Crotoman*, as *Aulus Gellius* auoucheth, did breake a great Iron Chaine into diuers pieces, with his hands onely. The hart of *Aristomenes*, was found to be all hairy. Many Oblations and Sacrifices of of Beasts, were found to haue no harts in them. *Pliny* reporteth (if it be a matter to bee credited) that *Lelia Cossuria*, being a Woman, was turned into a Man, vpon the day of her mariage. The blacke Statue of *Memnon* deliuered an audible voyce, at all times when the mouth thereof was touched with the beames of the Sunne. The Ants in *India*, are greater then Foxes. In the second *Punick* Warre, an Oxe was heard to speake, and saide to *Cneus Domitius*: Take thou heed o Rome! The Partridges in *Paphlagonia*, haue two harts in their bodies, according to *Theophrastus*.

The *Babylonians* being great Hunters, when they are in some Forrest, or place of solitude, where they haue no means of boyling their meat: they set an Egge vp on end in the Sand, which they turn and

Herodot. in Enterpe.

Seruius in Comment. Virgil.

Herodot. in lib. 7. Plin. in Lib. 9. Cap. 7.

Coel. Rhodigin. in Lib. 12. cap. 3.

Aulus Gellius. in lib. 15. ca. 16. Valer. Max. in tit. de Mirac.

Cicero in Lib. de Diuinat.

Herodot. in Lib. 3.

A Rhod. in Lib. 5. Cap. 12.

Theophrast. in Lib. 7. Cap. 17.

A. Rhod. in Lib. 7. Cap. 1.

and rowle about, vntill it bee baked by continuall turning.

Diodor. Sicul. in Lib. 4. Cap. 18.

The Tortoises in the *Indian* Sea, are so great, that the people Saile in their shels on the Riuers, euen as well as in little Cock-boats, according to the report of *Diodorus*: *Nilus* falling from the hie Mountains, yeeldeth thereby so great a noise, that it maketh the Inhabitants of those places, to bee starke deafe. The Sonne of *Cræsus* beeing dumbe by Nature, seeing a Souldier of the *Persian* Troopes, that would kill his Father; yet hee not knowing him, as hee offered hie Weapon to his throat, hee cried out a-

Cicero in Somn. Scipionis.

lowd in this manner, *Oh doe not Kill the King.*

Aulus Gellius. in lib. 4. Cap. 9

In *Selencia*, after that the Romaynes had ruined the Temple, there was found a narrow strait passage, which the Diuines of *Chaldea* had formerly stopped vp: but when by Military Engins it was opened, there yssued foorth a deadly vapour, which infected from thence (being in *Persia*) so farre as to the Gaules. In the City of *Hermynia*, the people worshipped a Bull, that changed his colour euery houre in the day.

A. Rhod. in Lib. 7. Cap. 2.

Macrob. in Lib. 1. Cap. 27.

FINIS.



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A Table of all the feuerall Bookes and Chapters, with
their perticuler Arguments, contained in
this Volume.

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Cap: 18 Of Feasts and Bankets used in An- cient times, &c. Cap: 19 Of many men that by their Prodigal- ity, made expence of a' their faculties in short space. Cap: 20 The magnificent triumph of Antigon- us Epiphanes, for his victory against the Macedonians. Cap: 21 That Gold and Siluer were not fre- quent among our reuerend ancestors, &c. Cap: 22 How commendable it is to speake the truth, and how hateful a vice lying is, &c. Cap: 23 What a benefit the inuention of let- ters was to man, &c. Cap: 24 How and with what instrument our Auncients wrote, before Paper was knowne, &c. Cap: 25 Of the first Libraries in the Worlde, &c. Cap: 26 The Interpretation of the Imperiall Titles, heerebefore giuen by the Roman Emperors, &c. Cap: 27 What benefit Musicke bringeth vnto a Commonwealth, &c. Cap: 28</p>	<p>Of Gold, the properties and excellencie thereof, &c. Cap: 29 How Mines of Gold are to be found, &c. Cap: 30 Whence Gold proceedeth. And of vi- sions that are seene in Mines. Cap: 31 The interpretation of these three words, Democratia, Aristocratia, & Monarchia, &c. Cap: 32 That Monarchy ought to be prefer- red before Democratic or Aristocra- tie. Chap: 33 Of the Vertues and secret proderities of the Nutmeg, &c. Chap: 37 A Paradox, maintaining war to bee much more famous and honorable then peace. Cap: 38 Of the Indian Beare, &c. Cap: 39 Of a Lady of Swetia, that was con- ceiued with child by a Beare, &c. C: 40</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">The Ninth Booke.</p> <hr/> <p>OF the Great Turkes Court, nowe called the Court of the Great Sig- neur, &c. Chap: 1 Of the lawfull meanes, whereby to compasse the esteeme of being truly va- liant. Chap: 2 Of those meanes which Princes ought to obserue in his Attendants. Chap: 3 Of Wisedome, Prudence, and Pollicie. Also a consideration of the matters in- cident to State. Chap: 4 Certaine general rules for the enstru- ction of such as desire to manage state, that they may deale therein with lesse danger and difficulty, &c. Cap: 5 Other general rules for yong Statists, as what he is to consider in himse fe, in his Prince, and in the matters that are to be consulted. Chap: 5 What a Counsellor ought to consider in his Prince, &c. Cap: 7 What a Councillor is to consider in the matters which are to be consulted. C: 8 For the better instruction of a yong Councillor, a matter of State is deba- ted, to wit; What is to bee considered, touching the maintenance of a Ciuill war, in a forren countrey. chap: 9 Of wicked Po'icies, &c. Cap: 10 Of Love and Hatred, Amity, and Enmity, &c. Cap: 11 By what meanes the natures of Ami-</p>	<p>ty and Enmity, are said to proceed from the Celestial Influences, &c. Cap: 12 Whence it ensueth, that a way of like length being not plaine and euen, see- meth more short, and is lesse offensue, then that which is euen. Cap: 13 Of the excellency of Memory, &c. Cap: 14 How the Memory may be both offe- ded and comforted, &c. Cap: 15 How the auncient Prouerbe is to bee understood, That a bad man may bee a good King. Cap: 16 Whether Constantine were the first Christian Emperor, or no. Cap: 17 Who they were, that first discovered the people cald Cynocephali men hauing heads like to Dogs, &c. Ch. 18 Of Omphale, a Lady of Lydia, who by the helpe of other women, attained to the command of that Prouince. Ca: 19 A notable stratagem, performed by Melanthus the Athenian, being in sin- gle combat with Xanthus, Lord of the Boctians. Cap: 20 The politicke deuise of Anaximenes, of Lapuscum, which he used to Alex- ander the Great. cap: 21 An excellent example of double dea- ling in a Wife towards her Husbande, &c. Cap: 22 The rebellion of the first slaues, and of Drimacus their Captaine. Cap: 23 At what time Cookes (in daies of An- tiquity) began to grow in estimation. Who were the first that beganne to use multiplicity of meates: And of many Gurmands and grosse feeders. Cap: 24 Of those causes wherby the life time of Men or women are lengthned or shortned. Ca: 25 Of Lawes and Ordinances appointed by our auncients, against excessiue fee- ding and Apparrel. Cap: 26 The Oraimance of Phillip le Bel, &c. Cap: 27 Of a Lawe made by Solon, concerning negligent and idle persons. chap: 28 Of the excellencie of friends and friend- ship, &c. Cap: 29 Of many mirueilous things, recorded by very credible Authours. Cap: 30</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">FINIS.</p>
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