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Faultes escaped in the Printinge.

Leaf.	Page.	Line.	Faulte.	Correction.
2.	1.	9.	it byngeth.	they bynge
2.	1.	32.	is	are
3.	2.	18.	hell heare & se	hel doth heare & see
5.	2.	24.	Sinonides	Simonides
5.	2.	26.	Memoura.	Memnona
6.	1.	3.	Hebrowe.	Hebrowe letters.
6.	1.	4.	Nicostrara	Nicostrata
6.	1.	10.	The	Then
58.	2.	8.	inuocate	inuocation
58.	2.	12.	easely beguiled	easely beguiled
58.	2.	12.	therefoze they so-	ner appeare to the
58.	2.	23.	the	to
58.	2.	24.	be donne	be
103.	1.	22.	Babilonians	Babilonians were
104.	2.	14. 15. 16.	He that hathe	He that had much
			much doth not	hathe not aboute,
			abounde, & he y	daunce, & he that
			hath little lac	had litle hath ne-
			keith nothing	uerthelesse.
		6.	he wil not one-	he wil require not
			ly be honoured	only to be honou-
				red.

If in any other place (gentle Reader) thou finde any letter or woordes wantinge, misplaced, or superfluous, I praise thee, amende it, these in perusinge the Booke here and there, I founde faultie, and the residewe (if there be any) I praise thee correcte.

FINIS

Edelstein Collection



The Conclusion.

ginnings, consummation, middle, and revolutions of times, the course of the yeare, the dispositions of the Starres, the natures of livinge Creatures, the anger of beastes, the force of the windes, the thoughtes of men, the differences of plantes, the vertues of rotes, and finally I haue learned al the thinges which be hidden and unknowen, for the Artificer of all thinges hath taught me wisdom. The Diuine wisdom neuer faileth, nothinge escapeth it, nothinge augmenteth it, but comprehendeth al thinges. Understande you therefore now, that there needeth not muche labour in this place, but Faith and Praier: not the studie of longe time, but humblenes of Spirite and cleannesse of Harte: not the sumptuous furniture of many bookes, but a pure vnderstanding, and made fitte for the truthe as the keye is for the locke: for the great number of bookes chargeth the learner, instructeth him not, and he that followeth many authours erreth with many. All thinges are contained and taught in the onely volume of the holy Bible, but vnder this condition & they be not perceaued but by them which are made cleare: to others they be parables, and darke made faste with many seales. Praie then to the Lorde God in faith doubtinge nothinge, that the Lambe of the tribe of Iuda maye come, and open to you the sealed booke, whiche Lambe alone is holy and true, whiche alone hath the keye of knowledge and discretion, whiche openeth and no man shutteth, whiche shutteth and no man can open. This is Iesus Christe, the worde and sonne of God the father and blessed wisdom, the true Pastor made man as we are, that he might make vs the childern of God as he is, whiche is blessed for ever. But leaste that thozow vsing more wordes I shoulde declame as it is saide, beyonde the hower, let this be the ende of our Oration.

FINIS.

Whither then renne you headlonge, which seeke know-
ledge of them, whiche haue spent all their life time in
searchinge it, & haue lost time and labour, and coulde not
finde any truth: O yee soles & wicked ones, which setting
apart the gistes of y^e holy Ghost, endeouour to learne those
thinges of faithles Philosophers, & masters of errorrs,
whiche ye ought to receiue of God, and the holy Ghoste.
Will you beleue that we can gette knowledge out of the
ignozaunce of Socrates? lighte out of the darkenes of A-
naxagoras? vertue out of the pitte of Democritus? pru-
dencie out of the madnes of Empedocles? pietie out of the
funne of Diogenes, sense out of the p^reuitynes of Carnea-
des and Archesilaus, wisdom out of wicked Aristotle &
faithlesse Auerroes? belæse out of the superstition of the
Platonickes? you erre very muche, & be deceaued by these
whiche haue ben deceaued. But descende into your selues
you whiche are desirous of the truthe, departe from the
cloudes of mans traditions, and cleaue to the true light:
beholde a voice from Heauen, a voice that teacheth from
aboue, and sheweth you moze clearly then the Sunne,
why are you your owne enimies, and prolonge time to
receaue wisdom: heere the oracle of Baruch: God is as he
was & no other shalbe esteemed with him, he hath founde
out all manner of learninge, and hath geuen to Iacob
his childe, and Israell his beloued, geuinge Lawes and
commaundements, and ordayning Sacrifices: after this
he was sene on the Earth, and was conuersant wth
men, that is to saie, takinge fleshe, and with an open
mouthe teachinge those thinges, which vnder darke que-
stions he hath taught in the Lawe and Prophetes. And
to the ende that you maye not thinke, that these thinges
be referred to diuine thinges onely, and not to naturall,
heere what the wise man witnesseth of him selfe: It is he
that hath geuen me the true knowledge of those thinges
whiche are, that I might know the dispositions of the co-
passe of the Earth, the vertue of the Elementes, the be-
ginninge,

not learned, but of shepherdes of husbandmenne, and of
 Idiotēs that became passingly wel learned in al thinges.
 Salomon in one nights dreame was replenished with the
 wisdomē of all thinges aboue and beneth: and also with
 the prudēcy of executing matters, so that none was com-
 parable to him. And al these menne were mortal euen as
 you be, and sinners also. Perhaps you will saye that this
 hath chaunced to a very few. And a few childerne of God
 coulde attaine to it whome righteous *ſouē* hath loued: or
 resplendēt vertue hath brought to heauen. But despaire
 not, the Lords hande is not shortned to all them whiche
 cal vpon him, which serue him faithfully. Anthonie, and y
 barbarous Christian seruaunt, obtayned the knowledge
 of diuine things thozow the prayer of thre daies, as Au-
 gustine witnesseth. But you which cannot together with
 the Prophetes, with the Apostles, & with those holy men
 beholde those thinges with a cleare and pure vnderstand-
 ing, seeke ye to haue vnderstanding of them which haue
 sēene them with cleare sighte: this waye remaineth to be
 searched for (as Hierome saith to Rufinus) to the end that
 which the spirit hath taught the Prophetes and Apostles,
 shoulde be sought by you with the studie of learninge, of
 that learning I meane which is taught in Gods Word,
 & with a vniuersal consente of the Church approued, not
 that whiche hath bene inuented by the wittes of men, be-
 cause that doth not lighten y vnderstanding, but maketh
 it darke. Where we muste haue recourse to Moses, to the
 Prophetes, to Salomon, to the Euangelistes, and to the
 Apostles, which shininge with al kinde of learning, wis-
 dome, maners, tonges, propheties, oracles, miracles, and
 holines, haue spoken of diuine thinges from God himself,
 and of inferiour thinges aboue men, and haue brought to
 open light all the secretes of God & nature. For al the se-
 cretes of God and nature, al the manner of customes and
 lawes, al the knowledge of thinges present, passe, and to
 come, are taughte in the holy Scriptures of the Bible.

The Conclusion of the worke.

Wherfore *Dya* *Asses*, which are now with your
 Childern vnder the commaundement of *Christ*
 by his *Apostles* the messengers and readers of
 true wisdome in his holy *Gospel*, be you lewised from the
 darkenes of the flesh and bloude, if ye desire to attaine to
 this diuine and true wisdome not of *y* tree of the know-
 ledge of god & ill, but of the tree of life, the traditions of
 men set aparte, and euery search & discourse of the flesh &
 blond whatsoeuer it be, whether it be conuersaunt in the
 reasons of talke, or in the consideratton of causes, or in *y*
 meditations of workes & effects, now entring not into *y*
 scholes of *Philosophers* and *Sophisters*, but into your
 selues, ye shal knowe all things: for the knowledge of all
 things is compacte in you, which (as the *Academickes* co-
 fesse) the holy *Scriptures* do so witnes, because *God* crea-
 ted al things very good, *y* is to say in *y* best degre, wher-
 in thei might abide: euen as he than hath created trees ful
 of fruittes, so also hath he created the soules as reasonable
 trees ful of formes & knowledges, but thoro^w the sinne of
 the first parent al things were reueled, & obliuion the mo-
 ther of ignoraunce strept in. Set you than now aside, which
 may, the veyle of your vnderstanding, which are wrapped
 in the darknes of ignoraunce. Cast out *y* drinke of *Lethe*
 you whiche haue made your selues droncken with forget-
 fulnes, a waite for the true light you which haue suffered
 your selues to be taken with vreasonable sleepe, & forth-
 with when your face is discovered ye shal passe from the
 light to the light: for (as *Iohn* saith) ye are annoynted by *y*
 holy *Ghoste*, & haue knowne al things, & againe ye neede
 not to be taught of any, because his annoynting teacheth
 you all thinges. It is he alone that geueth speache and
 wisdome. *Dauid*, *Esaie*, *Ezechiel*, *Hieremie*, *Daniel*, *Iohn*
Baptiste, and many other *Prophetes* and *Apostles* were

the Image of Christe with the eares of an Ass: a witness hereof is Tertullian: wherefore let not Bishops and Ministers disdeigne nor repute it to their shame if amonge those Gyauntlike Elephantes of Sciences they be Asses and so are called, neither let the Christian people wonder, if amonge those Prelates of Churches & expert Doctors, the better learned one is, the lesse he be esteemed amonge the reste, for the songes and harmonies of Nightingales belonge not to the eares of Asses, and it is in a Proverbe that the vnpleasaunte and vtunable coringe of Asses doth not agree with the harpe: and yet the beste pipes be made of the bones of Asses, if the marrowe be taken out of them, whiche beinge blowen do very muche surpasse and excell the sweetest soundes of euery harpe and harmonie: so these religious idioles do surmounte and exceede al the wzangling & babling Sophisters with their alike noise. So we reade of some Philosophers of the gentils whiche came to see Anthonie to dispute with him, and beinge conuincid by him in fewe wordes departed with shame and bashfulness. Wee reade also that a certayne simple Ideote ouercame and brought againe to the Faith a very well learned and a subtil Hereticke, whom the best learned men and Bishops whiche were assembled at the Counsaile of Nice with a longe and difficulte disputation coulde not ouercome. He beinge afterwarde demaunded of his friendes howe he had yelded to the Ideote or vnlearned man, for so muche as he had resisted so many of the beste learned Bishops, he aunswared that he had easily geuen the Bishops wordes for wordes, but that he coulde not resiste this Ideote whiche spake not according to mans wisdom, but accordinge to the spirite.

The

builders of the citie of Rome by a shee Wolfe, when they were layed in a wode to the entente they shoulde perishe, I passe over the miracles of the Dolphines, and the acknowledged pleasures, and acquitted good turnes of the Lyons. I speake not of the Beare of Daunia, and the Ore of Tarentum bothe tamed by Pythagoras, and very many suche like: but that whiche surpasseth the admiration of all monsters, Ammonius of Alexandria, a great Philosopher in his time, master of Origen & Porphyrie, is reade to haue had an Asshe hearer of his wisdome, fellow scholer with them. Wee knowe also by the sacred Histoꝛie of the Bible, that an Asshe sometime was endewed with y^e spirit of propheticie: for when Balaam a wise man and a Prophet went forth to curse the people of Israell, he sawe not the Angel of the Lord, but the Asshe sawe him, & with a mans voyce spake vnto Balaam that rode on him. So saie I, the simple and rude idiote doth oftentimes see those things, whiche a Schole Doctoure corrupted with the traditions of men cannot perceiue. Is it not true that Sampson with the cheeke bone of an Asshe, strake and slew the Philistians: and beinge thirstie, he prayed to the Lorde, who loosened a tothe in the iawe of the Asshe, and cleane water ranne out, which when he had droncken, his spirites and strength were refreshed: Did not Christe, in the mouthe of his simple Asses and rude ideotes his Apostles & Disciples, ouercome and strike all the Philosophers of the Gentiles, and Lawiers of the Jewes, and ouerthrewe, & caste vnder foote all mannes wisdome, drinckinge to vs out of that cheeke bone of his Asses, the water of wisdome and euerlastinge life. By these thinges then whiche are already said, it is moze manifest then y^e sonne, that there is no beaste so able to receiue diuinitie as the Asshe, into whome if y^ee shall not be tourned, y^ee shall not be able to carrie the diuine misteries. In time past emonge the Romanes the proper name of the Christians was that they shoulde be called Asinarij, and they were wonte to paint

Cornelius Agrippa

of Chrifte, and honoured with the signe of the crosse: for Chrifte ascendinge to Jerusalem to triumphe for the redemption of mankind, as the Euangelists witnesse, rode vpon this beaste, as this was foreshewed in a greate mysterie by the Dreacle of Zacharie, and it is read that Abraham father of the elect, rode onely vpon Asses, so that this olde Prouerbe emonge the people is not spoken in vaine, whiche saithe: that the Ass carieth mysterie, wherefore I wil now aduertise you famous professors of sciences, naye rather Cumane Asses, that if the vnprofitable burdens of humane knowledges be not set aparte, and that Lyons bozowed skinne put of, (not of that Lyon of the Tribe of Iuda, but of him whiche goeth about howlinge, and seekinge whome he may deuoure) yee be not tourned againe into bare and mere Asses, that yee be vtterly and altogether vnprofitable to carrie the mysterie of diuine wisdom: neither had that Apulcius of Megara, euer bene admitted to y^e holy mysterie of Isis, if first he had not of a Philosopher ben tourned into an Ass. We reade the miracles of diuers beasts, y^e an Elephant wrote the Græke letters, and Plutarch writeth of an other beinge riual of fellow louer with Aristophanes the Grammarian, y^e was inamored of a mayden called Stephanopolides, and in the same authour, we reade of a Dragon that loued a maiden of Etholia, and that this beaste saued his nourisher, and many beleued that he ran to him, whose voyce he knewe. And in Plinie we reade, that a Serpent called Aspis, was accustomed to come daiely to a certayne mans table, who after he had perceiued that the hoste his sonne was slaine by one of his dogges, for the punishmente of friendly hospitalitie disteyned, he slewe the dogge, nor euer after for shame came to that house againe. The same authoure saithe: that a panther thanked a man for bringinge her whelpes out of a ditche, and bringinge him out of the deserte, set him in the beaten waie. It is wryten also in Histories, that Cyrus was nourished by a Witche, and the
builders

little digression, but not from the purpose: for the Doctors of the Hebrewes say that this beast is an example of fortitude and strength, patience, and clemencie, & that his influence dependeth on Sefhiroth, whiche is called Hochma, that is to say, wisdom. For his conditions are very necessarie for a disciple of wisdom, he liueth by little forrage, & is contented therewith whatsoeuer it be, he can very well endure penurie, hunger, labour, stripes, rechelesnes, and very wel sufferinge all persecution, of a very simple & poore vnderstanding that he cannot discern from thistles, of an innocent and cleane hart, & without choler, hauing peace with al liuing creatures, & he is paciēt, bearinge all burdens on his backe, for a rewarde of which he wanteth lice, he is seldome sick, & liueth longer then any other beast. The Ass as Columella saith, doth many laboures about his part, because he easily breaketh the earth with the plough, & draweth many heuy cartes. Moreouer almoste the ordinarie labour of this beast is to drawe in milles, and grinde corne, euery countrie needeth so necessary an instrumēt as the Ass is, which conveniently can drawe with his necke & carrie on his backe into the citie many necessaries. What auailable messenger y^e Ass is in Augurie, Varro witnesseth of. C. Marius, who in time paste subdued the South and the North, at the length declared an enimie to his countrie, and persecuted by Scylla, with the counsaile, by guide of an Ass he escaped the threatninges of Scylla, and had an Ass the causer of his flight, and saltie. And in the olde Testamēt God so honoured an Ass, that when he commaunded euery firste begoten to be slaine for sacrifice, he fauoured Asses and men alone, grauntinge that man should be redeemed for price, and that a sheepe should be chaunged for the Ass. Christ would that this beast should be a witness of his natiuitee, and hereof is a stedfast saie, and in him he would be saued from the handes of Herode, and the Ass also was consecrated by the touching of the body

tristake Abraham was cast also into a fornice by y Caldees: So the Apostles and disciples of Chyiste, and infinite martires witnesses of Chyiste, his Diuinitie were kille also with diuers tormentes. And all these were put to death for no other cause, but that they thought more holily, then those wise menne of the worlde. Beholde those whiche in suche wise in pouertie of spirite, in puritie of hart and in the peace of conscience are younge babes and humble, ready also to shedde their bloude for the truthe, these I saye be they to whome alone that true and blessed wisdom is geuen, whiche bringeth vs into the fellowship of the blessed Goddes, and maketh vs like to them. As Chyiste plainly teacheth vs this, sayeing: Blessed are the poore in spirit, for theirs is the kingedome of heauen: blessed are the cleane in hart, for they shall see God: blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called the childerne of God: blessed be they which suffer persecution for righteousnes sake, for theirs is the kingedome of heauen: It is better therfore and more profitable to be Idiofes, and knowe nothinge to beleue by Faith and charite, and to become next vnto God, the being lofty & proude through the subtilties of sciences to fall into the possession of the Serpente. So we reade in the Gospel, howe Chyiste was receiued of idiofes, of the rude people, and of the simple sort, who was contemptuously reiected, despised, and persecuted euen to the deathe by the highe Priestes, by the Lawiers, by the Scribes, by the Maisters and Rabbines: for this cause Chyiste himselte also chose his Apostles, not Rabbines, not Scribes, not Maisters, not Priestes, but vnlearned parsons of the rude people, boyde well neare of al knowledge, vnskillful, and Asses.

A Digression in praise of the Ass. Cap. 102.

But lest that some man may falsly accuse me, because I haue called the Apostles Asses, we wil discourse in fewe wordes the mysteries of the Ass, makinge a little

But nowe after that the skilfulnes of the tongues, eloquence, and the number of authoures come to their olde state againe, and sciences growe in vse, the quietnes of the Church is troubled, and newe Heresies arise. Neither is there any kinde of menne lesse meete to receaue Christian doctrine, then they whiche haue their minde seasoned with the opinions of Sciences. For they are so stiffe and obstinate in their opinions, that they leaue no place for the holy Ghost, and doe so assure themselves, and truste in their owne strength and proper witte, that they yelde to, nor allowe no truthe: but that whiche they can shew with sillogistical reasons: and they skorne and dispise those thinges, whiche they cannot searche out or vnderstande by their owne strength & industrie. And therefore Christe hath hidden this from the wise and the prudent, & reueleth it to little children, that is to say, they which are pure in spirit possessing no treasures of sciences, which are pure in hart, defiled with no opinions of sciences, which are peace makers, not folowers of other men, to the intent to learne, not contentious, nor ouerthrowing the truth with wrangling sillogismes, & which suffer not persecution for truthe and iustice: * whiche are holden for

Asses, and beastes of those contentious Sophisters, which are drawn thoro the scholes, lifted out of the pulpits, driuen out of their studies, sometimes accused for Hereticks, and oftentimes threated daunger of life, and with cruell tormentes sometimes put to deathe. * So in time passe was Socrates poysoned in Athens. Anaxagoras condemned to die. Diagoras accused of a heynous offence, but he escaped deathe almoste present with speed flight. Amonge the Prophets of the Hebrewes, also, Isaye was cut in peeces, Hieremie stoned to death, Daniel condemned to the Lyons, Amos kilde with a clubbe, Micheas caste downe headlonge from a steepe place, Zacharie slaine at the Altar, Helias persecuted by Iezabell, whiche also slew many Prophetes: And that holy Pa-

worshipping them vnder diuers likenesses. As Vulcane
 amonge the Egyptians, whereas he was firste a Philoso-
 pher, and referring the beginnings of nature to the fire,
 he afterwarde was worshipped for the God of fire: and
 Esculapius (as Celsus saith) because he somewhat more
 subtilly practised Physicke which was yet rude, was for
 cause canonised. And this is that edificatiō, and no other,
 of sciences: whiche that auncient Serpente the shaper of
 such Gods, promised to our first parents, saying to them:
 ye shalbe as Gods, knowinge the Good and the euill. In
 this Serpente lette him then auauante, that glozieth in
 knowledge. For none can possesse knowledge without
 the faupure of the serpente, whose doctrines are nothing
 but elusions, and the ende is alwaies naught, as it is al-
 so growen to a Prouerbe amonge the people: all wisemen
 are madde, whereunto Aristotle accozdeth, sayinge: that
 there is no greate knowledge without mixture of mad-
 nes, and Augustine witnesseth, that many for the desire
 of knowledge haue losse their witte, neither is there any
 thinge more contrary to Christian faith and religion,
 then knowledge: and do lesse agree togeather. For we
 know by the Ecclesiasticall histories, yea taught by expe-
 rience, how sciences wente to wracke when the faith of
 Christe wared stronge, so that the greatest & better parte
 of them vtterly perished, for those most mightie Artes of
 Magicke departed in suche wise, that not the signes of
 them remaine, & of so many sortes of Philosophers, scarce
 one Peripateticke hath remained, & the same not perfecte.
 Neither did the Church stande in better state, & in more
 assured quietnesse, then when all these Sciences were
 brought into a straight, when Grammar was not but
 vnder Alexander Gallus alone, Logicke in the handes of
 Petrus Hispanus, Laurentius Aquilegius sufficed for Rhe-
 toricke, a breuiarie of times was sufficient for Histories,
 the Ecclesiasticall computatiō, for the Mathematical dis-
 ciplines, & for all the reste Isidorus alone was sufficient.

farthermore that at home and privately the husbands should dispute with their wives & children among themselves of the holy Scripture, and that the one and the other should searche, and geue sentence. And the counsaile of Nice ordained in his Decrees, that no Christian should be without the holy booke of the Bible. Understande ye then that there is nothings in the holy Scriptures so harde, so profounde, so difficulte, so hidden, so holy which appertaineth not to all them that beleue in Christe: * nor that hath in suche sorte bene committed to these our Masters, that they ought & make hide it from the Christian people * but rather all diuinitie ought to be common to all beleuers, and to every one according to the capacitee, and measure of the gifte of the holy ghoſte. Wherefore it is the dutie of a good doctor to distribute to every man, smuch as he is able to receiue, to one in milke, to an other in stronge meate, and to beguile no man of the sode of necessarie truthe.

Of Masters of Artes. Cap. 101.

Finally that at length I maie come to my self againe, I haue hearde of those things, whiche haue bene hitherto spoken from the beginninge, that Sciences & Artes are nothing els, then traditions of men, approued by vs for the god belaeſe towardeſ them, & that all these do consist of no other thing but of doubtfull things and opinions, by apparaunt demonstrations: and that all are not so vncertaine as deceptfull, as also wicked: Wherefore it is altogether wicked to beleue, that they can bring vnto vs any blessednes of diuinitie, in the time past this was the superstition of the Gentiles, which with deatne honoures worshipped the inuentours of things, & them whiche they saue to surpasse others in any Science or Arte, and placed them in the number of their Gods, dedicatinge to them Churches, Altars, and Images, and

thereof, and not to differ a straws breadth from it. For
 this cause it is commaunded in the old Testament: these
 wordes shalbe in thy harte all the daies of thy life, and
 thou shalt tell and commaunde thy children & pephewes
 to kepe and put them in vze, thou shalt muse vpon them
 sittinge in thy house, and goinge thozow the streate, sle-
 pinge and wakiinge, and shalt binde them for a token in
 thy hande, thei shalbe, and shal moue befoze thy eyes, and
 shalt wozite them in the haunce of the doze, and vpon the
 dozes of thy house. So Iosua reade all the wordes, and
 those thinges whiche were woziten in the volume of the
 lawe befoze all the multitude of men, women, children,
 and straungers. And Esdras brought the booke of the lawe
 befoze all the multitude of men and women, and therein
 reade openly in the streate to al them that coulde vnder-
 stande: and Christ comaundeth his Gospel to be preached
 to euery creature thozow out the whole worlde, and that
 not in darknesse, not in the eares, not in secrete, not in
 chambers, not to any Masters and Scribes drawe aside:
 but openly, in the lighte, vpon houses, to the people, to
 the multitude: for so saith he to the Apostles: That which
 I speake to you, I speake to all men, that which I speake
 to you in darknes, speake you in lighte, and that which I
 tel you in your eares, preache vpon the houses, and Peter
 in the Actes saith: We hath charged vs to preache to the
 people. And Paule commaundeth that children should be
 brought vp in Christes commaundementes, & that more
 is Christe blamed his disciples for bidding little children
 to come vnto him, whose simplicitie & humilitie, as they
 which haue not their minde preuented with any naughtie
 opinions, nor swollen by with any knowledges of men,
 teacheth it to be so necessarie, to the hizer of Gods worde,
 that except one become as a childe, he is altogether vn-
 meete for the kingdome of God. For this cause Chryso-
 stome in a certaine Homelie willeth, that children aboue
 al thinges should be occupied in the holy Scriptures, yea
 further,

Of heauen highe, on twise two goodly steedes he carried
rode,

And flashinge aie the firie leames, did make nowhere
abode.

But went through *Greece* triumphauntly, and through-
out *Elis* streates,

And cald him selfe a God: O witleffe wighte whiche fla-
minge heates

Of airie fire, and thunder did set fourth in semblaunt
shewe,

VVith brasse & course of fower footed steedes

Hath not Ecclesiasticus spoken hereof, when he saith:
what is that which hath bene, that which hath ben made?
what is that whiche hath bene made: that which is to be
made. There is no newe thing vnder the sunne, nor any
man can saie: Beholde this is newe, for it hath bene al-
readie in times paste befoze vs. There is no remembꝛance of
things past, neither thei which shalbe in y^e latter daie, shal
remember the thinges which shalbe hereafter. And a lit-
tle after he saith: The learned & the ignoꝛaunt also shall
die: what then shall we here saie: but that all Sciences
& Artes are subiecte to death & forgetfulnesse, neither for
euer shall they remaine aliuie, but togeather with death
they shal passe to death, forsomuch as *Christe* saith: That
euery plante whiche the heauenly father hath not plan-
ted, shalbe rooted out, and caste into euerlasting fire, it is
farre from that science auaileth to immortalitē, but the
woꝛde of *God* alone abideth for euer. The knowledge
whereof is so needeful to vs, that he that despiseth it, that
estemeth it not, and that heareth it not (as the woꝛdeit
selfe witnesseth in the holy Scriptures) *God* will sende
vpon him cursinge, damnation, and euerlastinge iudge-
mente. We ought not then to thinke, that it belongeth
onely to diuines, but to euery one, man & woman, olde
and younge, and all men accoꝛdinge to the grace of capa-
cité geuen to them, are bounde to haue the knowledge

Cornelius Agrippa

* Monkes, * and the holy doctrine of holy Fathers, of di-
uine matters, he is safe, which knoweth all these things,
and more, if there be any remaininge, yet he knoweth
nothings, excepte he know the will of Gods worde, and
execute thesame: he that hath learned all thinges, & hath
not learned this, he hath learned in vaine, and knoweth
all thinges in vaine. In the worde of God is the waie,
therin is the rule, therein is the butte or picke, whether
he ought to go that will not go astrate, and touche the
truth, all other knowledges are subiecte to time and soz-
getfulness, and not onely these sciences and Artes, but
also these letters carracters, and tongues, whiche we
vse, shall perishe, and other shall arise, and peradventure
they haue more then once bene extinguished, and often-
times haue come to lighte againe. Neither hath there
bene alwates one manner of Orthographic, noz like with
all men, or in one age, and the true pronuntiation of the
Latine tongue at this date is founde no where, and the
auncient carracters of the Hebzewes are losse, and there
is no remembzance of them, but they which be vled now
were founde out by Esdras, & their tonge was corrupted
by the Caldees, the whiche well neare hath hapned to all
tongues, that there is none at this date which knowled-
geth or vnderstaundeth his antiquitee, newe wordes al-
waies springinge by, and the olde decayinge, and these
againe restoared to theire former vsage: so that there is
nothings stable and of continuance. Finally the sentence
of Terence is, that nothings is nowe spoken which hath
not bene spoken befoze, and so perhaps nothing is done,
whiche hath not bene done befoze, yea furthermoze al for
the moste parte (emonge whiche Volaterrane is) woulde
that the gun, which of the moste parte of men is thought a
newe inuention of the Germans, was vled in olde time:
and this they proue with the Verses of Virgil:

I did eke *Salmon* see enduring dire tormenting rappes
VVhilst counterfaieted he the flames of *Joue* and crash-
ing clappes. Of

To knowe all
things without
the woorde of
God, is to know
nothinge.

All tongues
corrupted.

same amongst them doth witnesse, that oftentimes they die sodainly. The Diuines crynge out preache vnto vs the commaundementes of God and holy doctrine, but in their liuinge they differ very farre: and had lieffer seeme to knowe then loue God: * and verely were it true that many of them also vnder the profession of Diuinitie did not defende the doctrine of y^e Deuil, suppressing and condemninge the veritie of Gods worde. * He then whiche knoweth al other thinges, to speake and write well, perceaueth the nature of a Verse, the course of times, the waies of reasoninge, the ornaments of speache, the coloures of Rhetozicke, and remembzeth many thinges, the proportions and summes of numbers, the harmonie of al tunes, and measures of dauncinge, the measures of all quantities, the inflexion & reflexion of the sunne beames, the situation of the earth and sea, the greatnes of al buildings, diuerse workings of ingines, the bickeringe in warres, the trimminge of the grounde, the takinge, feeding and fattinge of beastes, birdes and fishe, and every kinde of countrie trade, every industrie of handicraftes, and artificers, paintinge, or engrauiing, soundinge, hammeringe and hewingge, factoringe and sayling, the course of the starres, & the influences vpon these inferiour bodies, the wittie foreshewinges of destinies, and what soeuer diuinations there be of thinges hidden and to come, the vnpreignable & moze then Magicall monsters of the Artes Magicke, the secretes of the Cabalistes, & the causes of al naturall thinges which are aboute the highest seates and natures, the reformation of maners, the diuerse gouermentes of a common weale, houtholde instruction, the remedies for diseases, the vertues of medecines, the knowledge and the mixtures of them, the delicate dressinges of meates, to alter the kindes of thinges, and out of them al to drawe the life of the worlde. Let him know also bothe lawes, the tragicall pleadinges, of aduocates, * the wranglinge of the Sorbonistes, the Hypocrisie of the

Monkes,

bly the Poete had lietter to halte in his life then in his
 Verse: the Historiographer leaueth in memorie, and put
 teth in wryttinge the deedes of Kinges and peoples, and
 the order of times: but hath no regarde of his owne life:
 and if he haue, he will not, or he is ashamed to confesse it.
 The Oratoure abhorreth more the rudenes of speache,
 then the defozmitie of life. The Logitioner had rather to
 denie a maniffest truthe, then to yelde to his aduersarie
 in one Syllogisticall cōclusion. The Arithmetritians, and
 the Geometricians number and measure al thinges, but
 they make no accompte of the numbers and measures of
 soule and life. The Musicians also entreate of soundes &
 songes, dispisinge the manners and discor'daunces of the
 minde: as Diogenes Synopeus was wonte to reyzous
 them, sayinge, that fitly they made the stringes agree to
 the Harmonie: but they had the manners of y^e minde dis
 cor'daunt and without order. The Astrologers do behold
 the heauens and the sterres, & do pzognosticate to others
 what shall happen in the world: but they do not consider
 that which dayly hangeth ouer their heades. The Cosmo
 graphers geue notice of Countries, of the fourmes of
 Mountaines, of the courses of Riuers, of the limites of
 Regions: but they make a man neuer the better, nor the
 wiser. The Philosophers with greate auantinge do
 searche out the causes and the beginninges of thinges,
 but God the Creatour of all thinges they neglect & know
 not. Among Princes and Magistrates there is no peace,
 and one for a lighte gaine seketh an others destruction.
 The Physitions cure the bodics of the sicke, and neglecte
 their owne soules. The Lawiers very diligente in the
 lawes of men, do transgresse Gods commaundementes:
 wherefore it is growen to a Prouerbe: Neither the Phi
 sition liueth well, nor the Lawier dieth well, because Phi
 sitions be the most disordered sorte of men, & the Lawiers
 be the naughtiest men that liue, and that we dayly see,
 and one Baldus an expositour of the Lawe a man of great
 fame

them, and to keepe the god, and to proue the spirites also, whether they be of God, and in them to be able to render an accompte of all thinges, & to reprove the gaineſaiers, that in this wiſe beinge made ſpirituall we maie iudge all thinges and be iudged of none. But the truth and vnderſtandinge of theſe Scriptures (I meane Canonically) dependeth vpon the onely authoritie of God reuelinge the ſame, whiche cannot be comprehended by any iudgement of the ſenſes, by any compaſſing reaſon, by any ſillogiſme of demonſtration, by any ſcience, by any ſpeculation, by any contemplation, and finally with any force of man, ſauinge by the onely faith of Jeſus Chriſte poured into our ſoule from God the father by the holy ghoſt. Which truely is ſo much the more higher and ſtable then al the credulitie of mens knowledges, by how much God him ſelfe is higher and truer then men: but why ſaie I truer? Saie rather God alone is true, and euery man a liar: then all that whiche cometh not from this truth, is errour, as that, whiche is not of faith, is ſinne. For God alone hath in him ſelfe, the ſountaine of truth, fro which it is neceſſarie that he drawe, which deſireth the true doctrine: ſeing that any ſcience is not, nor can be had of the ſecretes of nature, of the ſeuered ſubſtaunces, nor of God the authoure of them, excepte it be reuealed from aboue. For heauenly thinges are not touched with the ſtrength of men, and naturall thinges at euery inſtaunt flee from the inwarde thought, whereof it cometh to paſſe, that the ſame which we beleue to be y knowledge of theſe thinges, is falſet and errour, which Iſaie doth reprove in the Philoſophers and wiſe men of the Caldees, ſayinge to them: Thy wiſdome and thy knowledge is that which hath deceaued thee, thou haſte failed in the multitude of thy inventions. The Grammarian is very haedfull that he offendeth not in his talke, and that he utter not a rude & barbarous worde, but in the meane ſpace he doth not deale regarde the diſhoneſtie, and the finnes of his life, ſembla-

then all the insight of mans wit: for it hath one constant, plaine and holy meaninge, in which alone the truth doth consist, & in which it fighteth & vanquisheth. But other Moral, Mystical, Cosmological, Typical, Anagogical, Tropological, & Allegorical meaninges which are without this, with whiche many doe depaunte it with sundrie & straunge coloures, can rightly, and truly teache vs some things, and perswade also to the edification of the people, but they cannot proue any thing or repugne or reprove to establishe the authoritie of the Worde of God. For let one bringe in controuersie of these senses, let him also cite what substantiall authour soeuer he like therupō, let him alleage an interpretoure, let him cite a glosse, let him alledge the exposition of all the holy Fathers, all these thinges doth not so binde vs, but that we maye saye the contrarie. But of the letter of y^e Scripture: of the draught and order thereof, bondes are made, whiche noman can bzeake, noman can escape: but that dashinge and dissoluinge all the force of argumentes, dothe enforce him to say and cōfesse, that it is the finger of God, that man neuer spake in this manner, y^e he speaketh not as y^e Scribes and Phariseis do, but as one that hath the power. But the authoures thereof inspired from aboue haue with moste holcsome authoritie made vs a Canon, the magnificence whereof is suche, that wee oughte to beleue all thinges that are therein, and whatsoever he hath pronounced and taught, this without any retraction is holden sure and holy. As Augustine hath sayde hereof, that he gaue this onely honoure to those bookes, whiche be called Canonickall, that he moste constantly beleueth that none of the writers of them haue erred. But that to the other he will not geue credit, how much doctrine & holines so euer they haue in thē, except it be proued with euidēt reason out of Gods worde, that it is not unlike to be true. Unto these Christ sendeth vs teaching y^e we should search the Scriptures. The Apostle comaundeth vs to proue al things by them,

of Sophistrie, which doth not shewe the truthe, but a certaine image therof: and iudgeth what talke possesseth the truthe not in apparaunce and counterfeit coloure, but in effecte and reason, therein euery Arte of deceit and lyes is surmounted, neither argumentes, nor sillogismes, nor any subtilties, of Sophismes can stande againste it. He y deliteth not his minde therwith, or disagreeth from it, he as Paule saith is proude and knoweth nothing: Wherefore it behoueth vs to trie by the Worde of God all the disciplines, and opinions of sciences, as golde is tried by the touche stone, and in all thinges to flie thither as to a mosse stiffe rocke, & out of that alone to seeke for the truth of all thinges, and to iudge of all doctrine, of the opinions and expositions of al men, * and that we reade not by the doctrines, by the gloses, by the expositiōs, or by other sayings of men, although they be most holy and beste learned, the I meane which speake either without or againste the authoritē of Gods Worde, * For as Gregorie saith, whatsoeuer hath not authoritē from thence, is as easily confuted as proued, but no schole of Philosophers, nor the scholes of any schollers haue taught vs the knowledge of this worde, but God alone and Iesus Christ thow the holy Ghost in these Scriptures which are called Canon, to the whiche accoꝝdinge to Gods commaundemente nothing may be added nor taken away. For who soeuer shal do it although he were an Angel of heauen, he is abandoned to the Deuill, and accursed by the Lawe of God. So great is y maiestie, so great is y power of this Scripture, that it alloweth no straunge expositions, no gloses of men nor Angels: neither suffereth it selfe to be bowed to the opinions of mens wittes as if it were of waxe, nor after the maner of mens fables suffereth it selfe to be transfoꝝmed or chainged into diuers senses as it were some Poetical Proteus, but sufficiente of it selfe, doth expounde and interprete it selfe, and iudging al men of none is iudged. For the authoritē therof is greater (as Augustine saith)

certaine authoure, haue not ben receiued by the fathers, noꝛ approued by y^e Church. In the meane season I speake nothinge of the false Prophetes, whiche haue crepte in, prophecyinge foꝛ vaine gloꝛies sake those thinges which the holy Ghoste hath not taught them, but certaine lyes, not herde of whiche are not after the truthe of the Scripture, they bzing in sectes not foꝛ the vnitée of the spirit, noꝛ foꝛ the peace of the Church, and making themselves as it were the counsellours of God thozowe a rashe presumption, dreade not to take the Wordes Testamente in their mouthe, and to wꝛite prophetes, and Gospels, all which are either hereticall oꝛ not vsed opely in y^e Church, noꝛ put into the holy Canon, as it is manifeste of the Canons of the Apostles. But the songes of Salomon were not put into the holy Canon of the Hebrewes, befoꝛe they were coꝛrected and approued by the Prophete Isaye. And thus by these thinges it is easily perceiued, that the true diuinitée, that is to wit, the holy Scripture is founde deꝛiued of many volumes, and after a soꝛt vnperfecte, and very fewe of many remaine true and certaine, whiche as bookes of life do make vp the holy Canon.

Of the VVoorde of God. Cap. 100.

Bholde ye haue nowe harde hoꝛe doubtfull, hoꝛe double, how vncertaine, hoꝛe ful of daunger al doctꝛines are, that asmuche as is in them we are constrained to be ignoꝛaunt, where the truth resteth, yea in diuinitée, excepte there be one whiche hathe the keye of knowledge and discretion (foꝛ the armarie of the truthe is locked, and hidden vnder diuers misteries, and shut vp also from the wise & holy men) by the which we might enter into such a great, and incomprehensible treasure. And this onely keye is nothing els, then the Word of God, this alone decerneth euerye signification and kinde of woꝛdes, & what communication proceedeth from y^e Arte

cen de, and abide in him, this is the Sonne of God, which Baptiseth in the holy Ghost, and can likewise communicate him to others. Wherefore (as Simonides saith) God alone hath this honour, that he is supernatural, and so we may truly say: Christe alone hath this honour, that he is a diuine, notwithstandinge let no man thinke that the Scriptures of the olde Testament, after that the Gospel by them was brought to light with the diuine birthe of Christe, are for this cause feeble and deade, for they alwayes liue in great authoritie, by them the Apostles proued their doctrines, and without their testimonie haue spoken nothing: Christ sendeth vs to search them, whose Gospel doth not vndoe these Scriptures, but hath fulfilled them euen to the leaste tote and point. But hereof we will more largely discourse beneth. This moreouer is also to be considered, that the holy Scripture it selfe doth want in many volumes, whiche easely by it selfe is perceiued. For Moises citeth the booke of the warres of the Lorde: & Iosua, the booke of the iuste: Hester, the booke of the thinges worzhie of memoize, the booke of the Machabees alleageth the holy bookes of the Spartiates, & Paralippomenon maketh mention of the bookes of the lamentations, the bookes of the vision of Samuel, the bookes of Nathan, of Gad, of Semeia, of Haddo, of Ahia Silonites, and of Iesus y^e Sonne of Hammon Prophets. Iudas alleageth in his Canonick Epistle the booke of Henoch. The booke of Abraham the Patriarcke is cited of menne worzhie of credite, all which haue perished and are founde nowhere. And moreouer all they whiche be reade at this daye are not indifferently approued. For Dionysius alleageth the Gospel of Bartholomewe, and Ierome maketh mention of the Gospel of the Nazarites, as Luke in the p^reface of the Gospel saith that many haue taken in hande to write the Gospel, al whose bookes are losse, and are not to be found againe, and many of them, because they haue ben corrupted by Heretickes, or els published without the title of a

should die the day following, whose death was prolonged
 fifteen yeres after. Likewise many other prophetes haue
 failed, and al their prophecies are some taken away, or
 suspended. The Apostles also and the Euangelistes haue
 failed, Peter failed when he was reprovod by Paule. Ma-
 thewe erred whē he wrote that Christ was not yet dead,
 when the speare opened his side. But this defecte or fay-
 linge is not the defecte of the holy Ghost, but either of the
 Prophete, not well perceyvinge what the spirite telleth
 him, or y^e vision sheweth him, or by some alteration made
 in those thinges of which he prophecied, wherof it com-
 meth to passe, that the sentence of the oracle is either al-
 tered or deferred. Hereof it commeth to passe, that all the
 Prophetes and writers in some thinges appeare lyers,
 accordinge to the Scripture that saith: every man is a
 liar. But Christe alone God and man was neuer founde,
 nor shalbe founde a liar, neither shal his wordes be chaū-
 ged, or faile, who onely is without lie and error, he hath
 neuer vttered vaine oracles, as he hath said: Heauen and
 earth shal perish but my wordes shal not perishe: and be-
 cause all truthe commeth thozowe the holy Ghost, Christ
 alone doth assuredly possesse this holy spirite, and shal not
 departe from him, but rest in him. It is not so of others:
 for the spirite came vpon Moises, but in the striking of the
 rocke he was taken away. He came vpon Aron, but in the
 sinne of the calfe he departed. He came vpon Anne their
 sister, but in the murmuringe against Moises, he left her.
 He came vpon Saul, David, Salomon, Isay, & others, but he
 continued not in them. Neither be the Prophetes alwaies
 Prophetes: nor alwaies see, nor alwaies foretel, nor a cōti-
 nual habit is prophecie, but a gift, a passion, & a spirit that
 passeth, & being there is none, which doth not offede, there
 is none from whom the spirite doth not depart, or at the
 lesse wise forsaketh him for a time, sauing from the onely
 sonne of God Iesus Christe, of whome therefore it was
 sayde in Iohn: Upon whome thou shalt see the spirite des-
 cende,

together receiued in the vniuersal Church by one whole and stable consente, confirmed with miracles, monsters, wonders, and with all kinde of holinesse and daunger of life, and with the testimonie of the bloude shedde for vs. We haue Moises, Iob, Dauid, Salomon, and many other Canonical writers & Prophetes of the olde Testament, Doctours of this propheticall diuinitæ. The Doctours of the newe Testament be the Apostles, and Euangelistes, & although al these were replenished with y^e holy Ghoste, notwithstandinge all did in some place swarue from the truth, and in that they were liers, they made no lye wittingly noz craftly, for to saye, this, is a moste dannable Heresie, and greater, and moze dangerous then the Heresies of Arrius and Sabellicus, turninge vpset downe the authoritæ of al the Canonically Scripture: notwithstandinge in this so greate an erreure in time passe was that greate, and holy Ierome, disputinge against Augustine of the reprofe of Peter: for Ierome said y^e Paule lied craftely, which if it would haue ben graunted, & such a lye shoulde haue bene admitted in the holy Scripture, incontinently (as Augustine saith) al the certaintæ of y^e holy Scriptures shoulde faile. Unto whome Ierome acknowledginge the erreure and perceiuinge the truthe, after many contradictions, and defenses of his erreure yælded in the ende, that then whiche I saie, that y^e holy writers haue in some place after a certaine sorte ben liers, I wil y^e it be vnderstoode, not y^e they haue willingly erred, but y^e either like men they haue ben deceiued, or chaunging y^e will of God haue reuolted. So Moses failed, who promised the people of Israel to bringe them out of Egypte, & to leade the into y^e lande of promise, & truely he brought the out of Egypt, but to the lande of promise he brought them not. Ionas failed for telling y^e Ninuites there destructiõ within the space of xl. daies, which notwithstanding was deferred, Helias failed foreshewing the miseries that should happē in y^e daies of Achab, which also were prolonged vntil the death of Achab. Isay failed foreshewing Ezechias that he

shoulde

phetied, when he was Bishop of that yeare. And hereof
 also y^e Mecubales of the Hebrewes haue presumed to w^rite
 of the skilfulnesse howe to prophetic. I passe ouer those
 thinges whiche the diuines with deepe contemplation of
 the vnderstandinge do intreate of the xxxij. pathes, and
 those whiche Augulline toucheth of degrées, Albert of the
 receipts of formes, of the which he sheweth seuen kindes
 in sleepe, and so many appearaunces in watche. Of whiche
 this one thing we will admonish you to be considered: that
 not alwayes the diuine powers come outwardlye to be
 seene of the Prophetes, or to speake with them, but very
 oftentimes those thinges are caused inwardly, that is to
 say, when the minde of the Prophete doth receiue the di-
 uine light: the shining wherof dispersed with his beames
 thoro^we the middell of all thinges, euen vnto this grosse
 body, doth make the very senses partakers of his felicitée,
 and passinge inwardly from the vnderstanding thoro^we
 the reason and imagination, & vniuersally thoro^we the
 whole soule, euen vnto the instrumentes of the senses
 doth in them lye couered, as the night or light, or vision,
 or talke that moueth every sense with his own condic^o:
 and that truly hath chaunced to many Prophets, to some
 in their watche, to some in their sleepe. So wee reade in
 Plato and Proculus of Socrates, whiche saye that he was
 not onely inspired by intelligible influence, but also
 by voyce and communication: not withstandinge these
 thinges chaunce sower in dreames: but of this we haue
 sufficiently spokē. It is moze then time that we retourne
 to our pourpose. Propheticall diuinitée therefore is that
 which by the inspiration of the light teacheth the stedfast
 wo^rde of God: but the authoritée and argumentes with
 which his truth is established, are not the decrees of men,
 not the vse of longe time not the fained deuises of wise-
 men, not the princely ordinaunces of sectes, not Syllogi-
 mes, not Euthymemes, not Inductions: not Obligations,
 not insoluble consequences, but diuine oracles agréeinge

falleth vpon men, & that they be in bed, then openeth he
 their eares, and teaching, instructeth them with doctrine.
 And this as the fourth kind of visions is called the night
 vision. There are yet two other kindes of prophetic, one,
 whiche is receiued with expresse wordes, in which kinde
 Moses in the mounte Syna, Abraham, Iacob, Samuel, and
 many other Prophets of the old Testament, were made
 famous and instructed: in the new law the Apostles, and
 al the Disciples of Christe, were taughte with a true and
 liuely voice by Christe. An other kinde of Prophetic hap-
 neth thoroowe the mouing of the spirit, that is, when the
 soule is attached by some diuine power, to him then lin-
 ked, & seuered from the liuinge man, and is replenished
 by him with wisdome and knowledge, beyonde all mans
 wit and strength, whiche attachement of the soule oz in-
 spiration, procedeth not onely from an angelike power,
 but oftentimes also from the spirite of the Lorde, as it is
 read of Saul, that the spirit of the Lorde entred into him,
 and propheticd, and was chaunged into an other man, &
 reckoned emonge the Prophetes. And in the Actes of the
 Apostles the holy Ghoste entred into the baptized in a
 flame of fire, and this spirite oftentimes also rauished me
 subiecte to sinne, and many Poetes of the gentiles, as
 Cassandra, Helenus, Calchas, Amphiarus, Tiresia, Mopsus,
 Amphiloachus, Polybius of Corinth, In like maner Gala-
 nus the Indian, Socrates, Diotima, Anaximander, Epime-
 nides of Crete. Semblably, the wise men of the Perseans,
 the Brachmanni of Asia, y Gymnosophistes of the Ethio-
 pians, the Prophets of Memphis, y Druides of the Frēch-
 men, and the Sybilles were replenished with this spirite.
 Before whiche propheticall attachement of the spirit there
 oftentimes go certaine ceremonies, and also to execute y
 authoritie of ones duty, & the communion of holy thinges
 do helpe very much: as the Scripture doth geue example
 of Balam, & in an other place of the application of Ephod:
 and the Euangeliste witnesseth of Caiphaz, that he pro-
 pheticd,

vision, as Augustine upon Genesis, and Origen against
 Celsus, do largely discourse of these things: An other vi-
 sion there is wherein the hinder partes of God be seene:
 that is to saie, when with cleare sight the creatures be
 perceaued, whiche be the hinder partes & effectes of God,
 by the knowledge of whiche the creatoure shaper of all
 things, and the firste cause which maketh all things is
 knowen, as the wise man saith: by the greatnes of the
 image and the creature, the Creatour of them may be
 knowen. And Paule of the same saith: the inuisible things
 of God are vnderstode made by them whiche haue bene
 made: mozeouer the Peripateticke haue in vse a certaine
 manner of speakinge, that they whiche argue from the
 effectes to the causes, are saide to reason a posteriori, that
 is, of the latter. Moses had bothe these visions, the holy
 Scriptures witnesssing the same, for of the first we reade
 that Moses saue the Lorde face to face: of the other we
 reade that God saide vnto him: Thou shalt see my hin-
 der partes, and accordinge to this seconde vision Moses
 made the Lawe, and appointed sacrifices & ceremonies,
 and created an Arke, and in them he comprehended other
 mysteries, & al the secretes of the woorkes of God and na-
 ture, after the moste diligent example of the whole vni-
 uersall: and this vision also is deuided in two partes: for
 either it beholdeth the creatures in God himselfe, and is
 called of the diuines the moznyng vision, or seeth God in
 his creatures, and is called the nighte vision: There is
 mozeouer an other certaine propheticall vision, that is to
 saie, that whiche chaunceth in dreames, as we reade in
 Mathewe, that the Angel appeared to Ioseph in his sleepe:
 & in an other place, that the wise men were admonished
 in their sleepe when they had worshipped Christe that
 they should retourne into their countrie an other waie.
 There are also in the old Testament many examples ther-
 of: & finally Iob declareth what manner of vision this is,
 where he saith: In the feare of y night vision, when sleepe
falleth

kindes in the holy Scripture, according to the diuers dispositions of the Prophetes in receauinge, for we reade of some that saw God or the Angels in the forme of a man, others in the likenesse of fire, others in the likenes of the aire and the winde, others in the likenesse of a riuer and of water, others in the likenesse of birdes, others in the likenesse of pretious stonnes & mettals, others in the likenesse of letters and carracters, or of a hande that writeth, others in the sounde of a voice, others in dreames, others in a certaine spirite abidinge within them, others in the efficacie of vnderstanding, wherefore the holy Scripture termeth al the Prophetes, seinge. So we reade: the sight or vision of Isaie, the vision of Ieremie, the vision of Ezechiell, and of others. And in the newe lawe Iohn saith: I was in spirite at that daie of the Lorde, in the whiche I beinge carried sawe the throne of God. And Paule witnesseth that he sawe such thinges as are not lawfull for a man to speake: and this sighte or beholdinge of many is called a rauishinge, or a traunce, or a spirituall death: for then there is a certaine seperation of the soule from the bodie, but not of the bodie from the soule. Of this death it is saide: man shall not see God and shall liue: And in another place: In the Lordes sighte the death of his sainctes is pretious. And yet it is moze plainely expresseed by the Apostle, where he saith ye be deade, & your life is hidden with Christe, he then must die this death that desireth to enter into the holy places of propheticall Diuinitie. And the beholdinge of this heauenly vision is of two sortes: the one, with the which God is scene face to face, and then the Prophetes see (as Paule saithe) such thinges as are not lawfull for a man to speake, & such thinges as the tongue of man and Angels is not able to expresse, nor penne to write. For it is a certaine touchinge and vnion of the diuine substance, and a beautifyinge of the pure and seperated vnderstandinge without any image or semblance, and therefore the diuines interprete this a Meridional

receaued and beleued in him. Neither is there any that can declare those thinges whiche belonge to God, but his owne worde, for who els hath knowen the Lordes meaning: or who els is made his counsailloure, but the sonne of God, the worde of the Father: Hereof we wil speake, but first we will entreate of Prophetical Diuinitie.

Of Prophetical Diuinitie. Cap. 99.

Euen as propheticie is the speache of the Prophetes, so Diuinitie is nothing els but the traditio of Diuines, that is to saie, of them that speake with God: for euerie one that shall remember any propheticie, or els interprete it, he is not worthwith a Prophete, but he, that in heavenly thinges with the knowledge of godlinesse is endewed with vertue, and holines, which speaketh with God, and on his lawe both thinke daie, and night: for in this wise Iohn the authoure of the Apocalips, in the letters of Dionysius was named Theologus, that is, a deuine, that is to saie, of his talking with God: to whome the truthe saithe: he that heereth you, heereth me: he that despiseth you, despiseth me: which word was not spoken to our Pastors, not to the contentions Theosophistes, not to the sellers of indulgences, but to the true Deuines, to the Apostles, to the Euangelistes, and to the messengers of Gods worde, which saie: I dare not speake any thing, which Christe dothe not through me. The holy doctrines then of these diuines, of faith, and pietie, are Diuinitie. To theire wordes and writings credite is geuen, as to thinges grounded not vpon the contentions of syllogismes or opinions of menne, but vpon sounde doctrine (as Paule saith) inspired from aboue: not after the manner of the Philosophers gotten by diuidinge, defininge, copoundinge, nor contemplatinge, but with a certayne essential touching of diuinitie, comprehended by a cleare vision in the heavenly lighte: of which vision we finde very many kindes

as they are men, they also suffer humane things, in one place they erre, in an other they write contraries and repugnances, oftentimes they disagree from themselves, in many things, they go besides the marke, and every man seeth not all things. For the holy Ghost alone hath the full knowledge of heavenly things, which distributeth to every man after a certaine measure, reservinge many things to him selfe, that alwaies he maie have vs his schollers. For we all (as Paule saith) knowe not noz Prophecie but in parte. All this interpretinge Divinitie then consisteth in the libertie of the spirite, and is a certaine wisdom seperate from the Scripture, in the which it is graunted every man to abounde accordinge to his sense, by those manifolde expositions, which we have recited, whiche Paule in one worde termeth misteries, or speeches of misteries, where he saith: The spirite speaketh misteries. Wherefoze Dyonisius calleth this Mistical and Significatiue Deunitie, entreated of by these holy doctors in great volumes, *but sometimes not without many errors. * Neither doe you beleue them in all things, for many of them have persevered in many erroneous opinions touching Faith, which have bene reproved by the Church for Hereticall. As it is manifeste of Papias Bishop of Hieropolis, of Victorinus of Poitiers, of Hiereneus of Lions, of Sainte Cypriane, of Origen, of Tertullian, & many other, whom it is manifestly knowne that they erred in faith, and their opinions condemned for Hereticall, although they be canonised for Saints. Here notwithstandinge it is needefull to have a higher spirite to iudge and decerne, whiche is not geuen vs by men, noz by flesh and bloude, but is geuen from above by the father of light, for none without his light can truly speake any godly thinge. And this light is Gods worde, by y which all things are made, geuing light to every man that cometh into this worlde, & geuing them power to be made the sonnes of God: to all them I speake that have

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Cornelius Agrippa

beside whiche there are yet two other, the one of whiche referringe al thinges to the chaunge of times, alteration of kingdomes, & to the restitutiones of times, is soz that called Typica, whersin excelled Cyrillus, Methodius, and the Abbot Ioachim, and of them of our time Hyerome Suanarola of Ferraria. The other searcheth out in the holy Scripture, the powers and vertues of the vniuersall and sensible worlde, of all nature, and of the frame of the worlde, which exposition they thereof cal Phisicall or Natural, in this excelled Rabbi Symeon, Ben Ioachim, which wrote vpon Leuiticus a very large volume, wherein wel neare discussinge the natures of all thinges, he sheweth howe Moyse accoordinge to the agrément of the triple worlde, and the nature of thinges ordained the Arke, the Tabernacle, the Vessels, the Vestures, the Rites, the Ceremonies, & the other Mysteries to appeale God, & the heauely powers, & hath ordained mā to declare y^e likenes of these thinges, & many Cabalistes folowe this opinion, y^e is to saie, they which entreate of Bresith, that is to saie, of thinges created. For they whiche reasoninge of Mercana, that is, of the iudgement seate of God, by figures, by reuolutions, by Symbolike reasons do referre all thinges to the principall him selfe, these searche out the Anagogicall sense. These then are the fixe moste famous senses of the holy Scripture, the Authours of which, the Expositours, and all the Interpretours, with a common name be called Diuines. Of this sorte amongst vs were Dyonisius, Origines, Policarpus, Eusebius, Tertullian, Irenæus, Nazianzenus, Chrysostome, Athanasius, Basile, Damascen, Laëtantius, Cyprian, Hierome, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregorie, Ruffine, Leo, Cassiane, Barnard, Anselme, and many other holy Fathers, which were in time passe, and also some other of latter yeares, as Thomas, Albert, Bonauentura, Egidius, Henry of Gaunte, Gerson, & many other: * but farre inferiour to the auncientes. * Pot. withstanding all the interpretinge Deuines, soz somuch

fermed the possible vnderstanding with which although we do not thoroꝝly vnderstand such things as the Prophets write, and as they which haue seene the secretes of God, yet the gate is opened vnto vs, that by the consoꝝmitæ of the truth perceaued, to our vnderstandinge, and by the lighte, whiche lightneth vs out of the opened entrailes, we are much moze certaine then we should be by the apparaunt demonstrations, diffinitions, diuisions, & compositions of Philosophers, and it is graunted vs to reade, and vnderstande not with our eies and outwarde eares, but to perceauē with better senses, and the vailē takē awaie and y face vncoverēd to receauē in truth from the maroꝝwe of the holy Scriptures, which they haue wꝝiten vnder coueringes, that with perfect eyes haue beheld it, which was hiddē from the wise men of this woꝝlde, and from philosophicall knowledges, and wē set holde on that with so greate a iudgemente of certaintæ, that al doubtē is laide aside. And soꝝ so muchē as this truthe lieth manifoldē hiddē in the holy Scripture, soꝝ this cause the holy and spirituall menne haue made diuers and sundꝝie expositiones of the holy Scripture: soꝝ some goinge a softe pace vꝝo the barke of the letter, bꝝyinginge the Scriptures to agræment, & expoundinge one woꝝrde soꝝ an other, wꝝestkinge some sense by y order of woꝝrdes, by Etymologies, by proprieties & significations of woꝝrdes and other like things, do searche out the truthe of the Scripture, whiche therēfoꝝe they call the literall exposition. Some other referre what thinges soeuer are wꝝiten to the busines of the soule, & to the woꝝkes of iustice, the exposition of whiche soꝝ that cause is called moꝝrall. Some by diuers tropes oꝝ figures tourne it to secretes of the Church, the sense of whiche is called Tropologicall. Some geuen to the contemplation of heavenly life, referre all thinges to the mysteries of Goddes glorie, and this exposition they call Anagogicall. And these be the foure expositiones of the Deuines exercised in the Church,

beside

and fagotte, or priuely with poison to take him out of the worlde: for this they haue emonge the secrete misteries of Religion: if there be any that to theire Religion breache sclaunder, which is lawfull & honest, geuing him poison in secrete, they bereue him of life, to the end that the order shoulde not be defamed, when publikely he were punished. * But leauinge to speake of this let vs now passe to the true diuinitie: and this also is deuided in two partes: for the one is Propheticall, the other Interpretatiue. We will firste speake of the laste.

Of Diuinitie Interpretatiue. Cap. 98.

The Diuines Interpretatiue suppose, that as thorow the bountie of nature, Grapes, Oliues, Corne, Hempe, and many suche like growe & are ripened, of whiche finally with the witte and ayde of men, wine, oyle, breade, cloth, and so the other workes of nature are complete and perfourmed. Semblably also the worde of God very obscure and hidden is geuen to be expounded with our interpretations, not by our forces and inuentions, as if the worde of God, like y^e workes of nature had neede of our healpe, but by y^e self same holy spirit of these holy Scriptures: who distributeth his gistes to every mā accordinge as he listeth, and where he will, making some Prophetes, some interpreters of Prophetes. This Diuinitie than of interpretinge heavenly thinges, dothe not procede after the manner of the Peripateticke, by defining, or deuiding or cōpounding, for none of these waies belongeth vnto God: for so much as he cannot be defined, deuided, or compounded: but there is an other waie to know him, whiche is in the middle betwene this and the propheticall vision, whiche is an equalitie of the truthe with our purged vnderstanding, as the keye is with the locke, whiche as it is most desirous of all truthe, so is it apte to receaue al intelligible thinges, and therefore it is termed

But the moste ambitious emonge them are they whiche attribute to themselues the ornamente of schole doctrine & Eloquence, these in cryinge (in declaiminge I thought to saie) singe poemes, tell Histories, reason opinions: they cite Homer, Vergill, Iuuenal, Persius, Titus Lilius, Strabo, Varro, Seneca, Cicero, Aristotle, and Plato. And in steede of the Gosple and the worde of God, they speake mere trifles, and wordes of men, preaching a newe Gospel, counterfeitinge the worde of God: whiche they set forth not for loue, but for gaine, and monie. Liuinge not after the truth of the worde, but accordinge to the pleasure of the fleshe, and when in the daie time with diuerse erroures they haue spoken in the pulpitte of vertue the nighte after in priuate places they become Venus souldiers. And this is their waie, thoroowe whiche they go to Chyrise. Finally when vices are to be reprovod, it is a wonder to see them with what sclander of tounge they chase, with what insolencie of gesture they rage, with what filthinesse of speache they barke, with what vnshamefastnes of voice they exclaime, as if Chyrise woulde not haue the trumpetoures of his worde to be fishers drawinge on the righte side with a gentle nette, but Archers and cruell Hunters persecutinge on the lefte side: And also as they are not men, & subiect to these vices or greater whiche they reprove, or at any time haue benne, or yet maie be made subiect, so these fishers of men, whose tounge is in steede of a nette, y thei maie drawe the wicked to saluation, they are become also hunters of good men to damnation: their mouth is as it were a bowe of leeing, and their tongue is a wounding arrowe. * But this sufficeth whiche is already spoken, for it is daungerous to rephende the with so bolde a manner of talke: because they be wonte, as often as they be angred, to conspire togeather, to bring them in iudgement before their Inquisitours, which reprove them, and constrain them to saie the contrarie, sometime to chasten them with fire

Idoles of their fantasies, and thoughtes of the heavenly
 thinges, and with the crookednesse of their opinions they
 rente our Sauoure Chyſte in peeces, and attire him in
 diuers maskeries of sophismes, and with their foliſhe
 ſuppoſitions do faction and vnfaciō him vnto what forme
 they liſte, as it were an image of ware, ſo that there doctrine ſeemeth to be nothinge els but mere idolatrie. * I
 ſpeake not of other their Heresies, and controuerſies
 aboute the Sacramentes, Purgatorie, Soueraintie, the
 Popes commaundementes, and their obligations, in-
 dulgences, Antichriſte to come, and many other like in
 which they declare their foliſh wiſdome, and with the
 preſumptiō therof ſwollen and puffed vp with pride like
 the Giauntes which are mencioned in fables, heapinge
 vp questions vpon questions, and argumentes vpon ar-
 gumentes, pronouncinge their ſentences againſt God:
 vpon whole wickednes the wrath of God will deſcende
 from heaue. * The others, which reach not ſo high, make
 hitoriſes of Saincts, choping in ſome lie vnder the colour
 of godlines, they bringe falſe relikes, they forge miracles,
 and feigne ſuch things as they terme examples, pleaſant
 or fearefull fables, they number prayers, they weigh me-
 rites, they meaſure ceremonies, they ſell indulgences, they
 diſtribute pardons, they ſell their good woorkes, & deuoure
 the ſinnes of the people thoroꝝe begginge. And as it
 were with a certaine lawe they tell of appearaunces, of
 coniurations, and of the aunſweares of deade, and out of
 the bookes of Tundall, or of Brandarius, or of Patricius,
 taught in a denne vnder the earthe they playe tragedieſ
 of purgatorie, and comedieſ of indulgences, in the pul-
 pit as it were in a ſtage, & tranſforming themſelues with
 ſo warrelike a boldnesſe, with ſo Thraſonicke a boſting,
 with ſo arrogaunt lookes, with a chaunged countenance,
 with ſtreached armes, with many kindes of geſture: as
 the Poetes deſcribe Protheus, with vaine woordes and
 with the voyce of Stentor, they thunder to the people.

ciente, and professinge with coloured titles a detestable doctrine with diuers manners of expoundinge, as it were deuised Laberinthes, doo againste righte and reason take vpon them the name of holy diuinitie by theste and robbrie, and abusing the names and ordinaunces of holy doctours haue raised by sectes, as in time past it was sayd in the Church: I holde with Apollo, I with Paule, and I with Cephas, pretending their studies, by whose meanes they haue ben trayned by in learninge and swearinge to obserue their masters traditsons do dispise all other, not consideringe what is sayde: but who sayeth it. * For this cause no deuine can now be truely called learned, but he whiche hath the swozne to that secte, and holding it faste with his teeth doth not stilly defend it, and in euery place maketh a shewe, and hath in his mouthe the name & signe thereof, and vaunteth to be saluted, and preferred with the title thereof, as Thomist, Albertist, Scotist, and Occanist. For it is not honest that a pure Christian shoulde be called with so many names, for so muche as that surname maye be common with them to Bowchers, Cokes, Bakers, Tailours, Barbers, Watchemen, to fowle stuttes also, and to all the ignorant sorte. * Furthermoze these folowers are deuided into many partes emonge themselves, for some of them, whiche haue a profounde wit, and will seeme better learned then the Prophetes, and Apostles, presume also that they are able with their Syllogismes to finde out, and declare suche thinges as are beleued by faith alone, and with vaine questions they reason of deuine thinges: and with monstrous boldnes they contende, oftentimes with diuers absurde opinions, as when they distinguish the deuine Essence from the Relatiues, some in dedde, others onely in reason, some facion and make infinite Realtees (as they saye) like the Idees of Plato: others againe denye them, and laughe at them, mozeouer then this they inuent so many monsters of God, so many diuers formes of the diuinitie, so many

they will geue euill language and call theeASSE, as one which vnderstandeth not that which is hidde in the letter: but as a Serpente feedeth on the earthe alone: so that there is none emongest them accounted for deuines, but suche as can brawle apace, and dispute againste euery matter proposed, readly to inuent, and find out new vnderstandinges, and to make so greate a noyse with monstrous wordes, that not for the hardnes of the matter, but for the straungnes of wordes they be vnderstode of no man. And than these be called subttill, angelike, seraphike and deuine doctoures, when they haue handled the matter so, that they cannot be perceiued, then the multitude of the auditours, rushe aboute them, whiche beleue whatsoeuer they haue spoken, is let from the most hidde misteries of diuinitie: and sweare to folowe the wordes of their maister, and beleue that it is impossible to knowe that, whiche they knowe not, and are in suche wise entangled in the opinions thereof, that they cannot be conuincd by any cotrary reasons, nor content themselves with any Scripture, but like Anteus doe endeavour to renew their strength, in the bosome of their mother, whers they were begoten, and demaunde succoure of their doctoures,

Than hastneth faste the rauen to her younge
 Forsakinge courtinge steede, and cruel hownde

And of the carkeise parte to them shee bringes.

This therefore is the foode of rauen olde

VVherwith when nest she builds, she feedes her self.

Hereof it is come passe, that the highe science of schole diuinitie is not free from erroure and naughtinesse, so many sectes, so many Heresies haue y wicked hypocrites, & bare bzayned Sophisters brought vp: whiche, as Paule saith, preache Christe not for god will, but for contentio, so that there is sooner founde concord emonge Philosophers then emonge deuines, which with the opinions of men, and fresh errours haue abolished al the glozie of an-
 cient

the greate, & many other, as Iohn Scot a doctour of subtil
vnderstandinge, but ouermuche enclined to contention.
Hereupon Scholasticall Diuinitie in the end by little and
little was turned to Sophismes, whilest y these deuine
Sophisters of latter time, and Hukelsters of Gods word,
whiche be not deuines excepte the title be bought, of so
high a Science they haue made a certaine Logomachie,
that is, an vndiscreate altercation, goinge from schole to
schole, mouinge questions, forging opinions, and wrong
the Scriptures with intricate wordes geuinge them a
contrarie sence, redier craftly to deceiue, then plainely to
trie out the truthe, they haue also presumed to inuente
infinitse seede plottes of brawlinge, with the whiche they
minister matter of contention to the wranglinge So-
phisters, whilest that they drawe out the sozmes, whilest
they call the voyces Generals and Specials, whilest some
sticke to the thinges, some to the names, and that whiche
they take from one, they ascribe to an other, some take
this indifferentlye, and euery one endeuoureth to finde
somethinge, wherewith to confirme his Heresie. And in
this manner (whiche Thomas Aquinas doth also lament)
to laugh at and mistruste that inuiolated faith of oures
emonge the wise men of this worlde, whilest that they
regarde not the Canonisall Scripture of the holy Ghost,
they haue piked out very many apte questions to dispute
vpon diuinitie, in the whiche they exercisinge their wit,
and consuminge their time haue placed all the doctrine
of diuinitie in them alone, against which if any wil resist
with the authoritie of the holy Scriptures, fourth with
he shall here saie: the letter killeth, it is deadly, it is vn-
profitable, but they will saye that we ought to search out
that whiche lieth hidden in the letter, afterwarde they
hauinge recourse to interpretinge, to expoundinge, to glos-
singe, and to allegisinge, do rather geue it some other
sence, then the proper meaninge of the letter, if thou in-
stantly require an aunswere, and be earnest vpon them,

perite at these wordes was very angrie, and manaced that he woulde procede against me, as a supporter of heretickes: but I ceased not to defende that sely soule, and finally thozowe power of the lawe I deliuered her false from the mouthe of that Lion, & so that bloudy Doncke stode ashamed in the pzesence of al menne, and by reason of his crueltée fozeuer infamous, and not onely he but also the vniuste accusers whiche defamed the woman were condemned in a great some of mony to the chapter of the Church of Mentz, whose subiectes they were.

Of Scholasticall Diuinitie. Cap.97.

LAtly it resteth to speake of Diuinitée. But I wil let passe the Diuinitée of the gētils, woziten in time past by Muscus, Orpheus, and Hesiodus, the whiche, it is manifest, that it is altogether poetickall and fabulous: Eusebius, Lactantius and other Christian Doctoures haue ouerthzowen this long sence with very stronge reasons, neither will I speake of that of Plato and other Philosophers all which we haue shewed befoze to be the masters of erroures. But in this place my communication shalbe onely of Christian diuinitée: it is certaine that this dependeth vpon nothinge, but the belæse of the teachers thereof, for so much as it cannot chaunce vnder any Arte. But let vs speake firste of Scolasticall Diuinitée, whiche doctrine was firste made by the Sorbonistes of Paris, with a certaine mixture of Goddes worde, and Philosophicall reasons, facioned like two bodyes, as if it were of the Centaures kinde. Mozeouer also it is woziten with a certaine newe kinde of teachinge contrary to the vse of the auncientes, by i ziese questions, and subtile Syllogismes without any eloquence, notwithstandinge otherwise very ful of iudgement, and vnderstanding, the authours thereof, and they whiche excelled therein, were the Master of the sentences, Thomas Aquinas, Albert surnamed the

he replied againſt me, leaſt he might ſeeme to haue ſpo-
 ken vndiſcreetly, he vouched a reaſon out of the moſte ſe-
 cret places of the mallet of witches, & out of the groundes
 of Peripateticke Theologie, ſaying, that this was true be-
 cauſe witches were accuſtomed to ſacrifice their children
 to the devil aſſone as they be bozne, and alſo becauſe ma-
 ny times they were wonte to conceiue by ſpirites tranſ-
 formed into the ſhape of a man, whereof it commeth to
 paſſe that the naughtineſſe is deepe rooted in this childe,
 like a diſeaſe, that commeth by inheritaunce, I then ſayd
 vnto him, O wicked father doeſt thou ſtudy diuinitie in
 this ſort: doeſt thou with theſe forged deuiliſhes draw poore
 gillies women to the racke: doeſt thou with theſe deceit-
 full ſentences iudge others to be Heretickes, thou thy ſelf
 with this opinion being not inferiour to the Heretickes
 Fauſtus and Donatus: be it as thou ſayeſt, doeſt thou not
 make the grace of baptiſme vaine: and the Prieſte ſhall
 ſay in vaine, departe thou vncleane ſpizite, geue place to
 the holy ghoſte, if the childe for the ſacrifice of the wicked
 mother ſhoulde remaine in the power of the Deuill: And
 alſo if thou wilt defende their opinions, whiche con-
 feſſe that the ſpirites whiche accompanie with women can
 engender, certes none of them, that affirme this, hath at
 any time ſo much doted, that he beleued that thoſe devils
 together with the ſtollen ſeade do put parte of their na-
 ture in the creature, but yet I wil tel thee (ſayde I) accor-
 ding to our beleefe: that by the proper nature of our hu-
 manitie we are all bozne of one maſſe of ſinne and euer-
 laſtinge curſe, children of perdition, children of the devil,
 children of Gods diſpleaſure, and inheritours of hel: but
 thoro we the grace of baptiſme Satan is caſte out of vs, &
 we are made a new creature in Jeſus Chriſt, from whom
 none can be ſeparated but by his owne ſinne, muche leſſe
 an others deede can endamage him. Nowe thou ſeeſt how
 ſufficient this iudgemente is, not grounded vpon Lawe,
 boyde of reaſon, and hereticall in vouchinge: the cruel hi-
 pocrite.

quisitoure thereby getteth no smal praye, and finally the
 onely accusatton, denuntiation, or suspition of Heresie or
 sozerie be it neuer so light, and the citation of the Inqui-
 sitoure bzing infamie with it, whose honestie is not sa-
 ued, excepte monte be geuen to the Inquisitoure, and yet
 this is some staine. With this cautel I remember whilest
 I was in Italie, manye Inquisitoures in the Duchte of
 Milan troubled many moste honest Matrones, and these
 of the nobleste in the countrie, & pzeuilly got muche mony
 of the fearfull and affrayed women. At length when the
 deceipte was discovered, they were greuously punished,
 and scarcely escaped the blocke and the fire. * I could recit
 to you in this place that moste subtil, and moze them Sco-
 tificall inuention of that famous Hoochstrat, and other
 my mates of Coleine, vled in the inquisitio of the Jewes,
 and all that Tragedie of Capnion, and the warre of ten
 yeares, in the whiche all the name, reputatton, and do-
 ctrine of our Masters of Coleine receiued remedeles da-
 mage, if these this were not very wel knowen to al men,
 and with the triumphe of Capnion the Hiskoze were not
 cleare to y time to come. * I had in time past, whē I was
 Aduocate, and Counsellour of the common wealth of Me-
 diomatrix, a very greuous contentton with an Inquisi-
 tour, who beinge a wicked man drewe a poze woman of
 the countrie, for certaine vaine, and moste vnjust accusa-
 tions to his bocherie, and to an vnfit place, not so muche
 to examine her as to tormente her: when I had taken in
 hand to defende her, and had declared, that in the things
 donne there was no signe or token, that coulde cause her
 to be tormented, he stoutly denyinge it sayde, one thinge
 there is whiche is sufficient enough, for her mother was
 in time pastte burned for a witche, nowe when I replied
 and gaue him to vnderstand that this article was imper-
 tinente, and that it ought also to be refused by the office
 of the iudge for so muche as it was the dede of an other
 alleaging to him reasons & Lawes for the same, sodeinly
 he

the Catholike falthe, or to declare him an hereticke: for he is not an hereticke which is not bnaduised, nor he ought to be called a maintainer of Hereticke, which defendeth a man voyde of offence, and not condemned of Heresie, y he be not deliuered to be rente in peeces before the iudgement seate of corrupt inquisitours, yea rather of rauening Woulkes, and into a dangerous place. And albeit it be expressely provided by the Lawe that the Inquisitours haue no power, nor any iurisdiction to proceede vpon any suspicion of Heresie, defence, receipte, or fauoure, where & when it is not manifestly knowne, that there is expresse Heresie & evidently condemned, not withstandinge these bloudthirsting vultures, beyod the priuiledges of the office of Inquisition to them graunted, against the Lawes & Canons do intermedle with y iurisdiction of ordinaries, vsurping the authoritae of Bishops vpon such thinges as are not hereticall, but onely displeasaunte to godly eares, or sinfull, or in some other maner erroneous about Heresie, & do shew most cruel rigour towarde the poore womē of y cuntrye, which being accused or appeached of witchcraft, or sozterie, oftentimes without any lawfull iudgements foreknowen, are by them put to cruel and terrible tormentes, vntill that they be enforced to confesse that they neuer thought, they maye haue wherewith to condemne them, and then truly they suppose that they do the partes of Inquisitours, when they cease not from their duty, vntill that the sely woman be burned, or hath gilted the Inquisitours hande, wherfore he taketh pity on her, & deliuereth her as sufficiently purged by tormentes: for oftentimes the Inquisitour can change the payne of the body into the punishment of the purse, and apply it to his office of inquisition, wherof there groweth vnto them no small gaine, and they haue not a few of these sely women that are constrained to pay them a yerely pension, to the ende they maye not be againe punished. Furthermore when the goddes of Hereticke be confiscated, the In-

terruptinge him with greate noyse and angrie cheekes
 they saie, that he hath not to doe with bachelours, & scho-
 lers in the chayze, but with Iudges, in the iudgemente
 seate, that there he maie not strive and dispute, but must
 answere plainely, if he will stande to the decree of the
 Church of Rome, and to reuoke his opinion, if not, they
 shewe him sagottes & fire, sayinge, that with Heretickes
 they may not contende with arguments and Scripture,
 but with sagottes and fire, and enforce the man not con-
 uicted of any obstinacie, nor taught better doctrine, to
 denie by othe his opinions againste his conscience, and if
 he will not doe it, they deliuer him into the handes of the
 temporall iudge to be burned, sayinge with the Apostle:
 Take a wate mischiefe from among you, so great in time
 passe was the gentlenesse of the Church, & the clemencie
 of the Bishoppes, as Gratian hath written in the fourth
 distinction of Consecration, that they did not put them
 to deathe whiche fell againe to Iudaisme, nor punished
 blasphemers: and Berengarius fallinge againe to abomi-
 nable Heresie, was not onely not put to deathe, but also
 not depriued of the dignitie of an Archedeacon. But
 nowe a dayes he that hath fallen into a very little er-
 rour, is condemned moze then to deathe, and sometimes
 for eery small offence is by these inquisitours deliuered
 to be burned: peradventure this seuerer punishment is ne-
 cessary and profitable to the Church, so that in the meane
 while, brotherly loue faile not, the inquisitours of heresy
 are sometime wicked themselves, and may be heretickes,
 whiche thinge gaue occasion to Clement to make a newe
 decree, inquisitours then ought to dispute againste here-
 tickes not by darke arguments, & brawling sillogismes,
 but by the worde of God vpon the Catholike faith, and
 to conuince an hereticke by the holy Scriptures, after-
 wards accordinge to the instructions of the Canons, and
 the constitutions of the holy counsailes to ende the mat-
 ter, and to bring him for whom Inquisition was made to
 the

bolce, haue climbed to so highe degree of dignitie, they haue there withal such a mischieuous boldnes, that some time they dare condemne Princes, and without the determination of the counsaile, and without declaring the cause do condemne them to die: & thus they be authoures of chaunginge the states in Kingdomes, they in the meane season beinge puffed by with pryde thzough their robberies, and thæueries.

Of the Inquisitours Arte. Cap. 96.

Vnto this companie also belonge the Inquisitours of Heretickes, of the order of preachinge Fræers, al whose iurisdiction although it ought to be grounded vpon deuine doctrine & the holy Scriptures, yet they do moste cruelly exercise all this Arte accordinge to the Canon Lawe, and decrees of the Popes, as if it were impossible that the Pope should erre, neglectinge the Holy Scripture as it were a deade letter, and shadowe of the trathe: and whiche is moze, as they saie, do caste it farre of as the shielde and rampire of Heretickes. Neither do they allowe the Traditions of auncient Doctoures & Fathers, sayinge, that they maie be deceaued and deceane, but they do geue leauell to the Church of Rome alone, which, as they saie, cannot erre, whose head is the Pope, and to the stile of the Romishe Church, as to the marke of faithe, demaundinge nothinge els, when they make Inquisition, but that the offender beleue in the Church of Rome: whiche if he shall affirme, forwth with they saie, the Church of Rome condemneth this proposition either hereticall, or sinnesfull, or offensive to godly eares, or derogatiue from the Ecclesiasticall authoritie, and immediately they compel him to recante and reuoke that which he hath spoken. But if the parson for whom Inquisition is made, do than goe aboute to defende his opinion with testimonies of the Scripture, or with other reasons, in-

The order of making Inquisition.

naughty practises of Aduocates are instructed and maintayned: whiche do so muche binde their reputation with the famous memoire of those Lawiers thozow euery periode, and (as they terme them) Paragraphes, as though the veritie consisteth not rather in reasons, then in confused testimonies drawn out of the vile multitude of very obstinate and triflinge parsons, emonge whome is so much deceipte, wꝛangling, and discorde, that he which disagreeth not from others: he that knoweth not how to gaine saie other mens woꝛdes with newe opinions, and bringe all apparante thinges in doubt, and with doubtfull expositions to applie well inuented Lawes to their deuises, is accompted little or nothing learned. For this cause all the knowledge of the Lawe is become a naughty counsaile and a deceiptfull nette of iniquite: these be the polices, these be the Artes, with whiche at this daie Christendome is gouerned, with which Empires, Kingdomes, and Souerainties of the people be established: and of these knaues there be chosen Officiales, Senatoures, and Presidents of the Parlamentes of Kinges and Princes, as if they whiche haue bene hitherto vnrighteous Aduocates, shoulde be better Judges, & in the ende suche as these are become head rulers of Realmes. These also be to be dread of their Kinges, as in time past Titanes were of Iupiter. Finally from them come these goꝛbellied Chauncelloures of Emperours and Kinges, and these Secretaries clad in Purple, to whom all matters of waight be committed: which sell and compell men to buy of them al things, placardes of the Prince, giffes, benefices, offices, dignities, letters of the Prince, and writes, moꝛeouer righte, iustice, lawe, equite, and honestie. Accordinge to whose iudgment the friends and enemies of Kinges be reckened, with whome accordinge to their pleasure they sometimes make league, and some time make moꝛtall warre. And when they from moꝛtall base estate, by meanes of a most couetous selling of their

voice,

patiently suffer, forsomuche as they seeme to haue gotten credite, licence, and power to doe all thinges thorow the Apostolike and imperiall authoritie. And emonge them they be the chiefest, which know beste to trouble the place of iudgement, to cause cotrouersies, to confounde causes, to forge false willes, obligations, supplications, and writes, to know also excellently to deceaue, beguile and when it is needefull to forswear, & write false. To dare to doe all mischiefes, and suffer not themselves to be ouercome by any in imagininge deceiptes, wiles, craftes, malicious altercations, snares, entrappinges, subtile practises, encombrances, controuersies, circunventions, Scylles, & Charibdes. Furthermore no Notarie can make so sure an instrument, as they terme it, but that it is necessarie to goe to lawe a freshe, if any aduersarie will goe aboute to disanull thesame. For he will saie either that there is some thing lefte out, or that there is falsset, or deceipte, or els he will late some other exceptio, to impugne the credite of the writinge, or notarie. And these be y remedies of the lawe, whereunto they teache contentious parsons to stie: these be the watches, vnto whiche, they saie, that the lawe geueth succour, excepte there be some that had lietter fight then striaue. For he shall haue so much lawe, as with his power he shall be able to defende, wherefore the lawe saithe: that we cannot resiste them that be stronger then vs.

Of the knowledge of the Lawe. Cap. 95.

Hether doe these moste Huge Ciuantes also loke, which contrarie to the ordinance of Iustinian haue made so many great and infinite volumes of Glosses, commentaries, and expositions, euery of them interpreting diuersly one from an other. Furthermore they haue brought forth with moste vnhappy fruitfulnessse so manykozmes of opinions, and so many annotations of moste subtile counsailes, and cautels, with whiche the

A v

naughty

reiptful cōtrouerſie. To alledge the Lawes in ſuch wiſe,
 that eq: ite is turned topſit turuſe, to entangle the au-
 thorities of the glossers in ſuche ſozte, that the meanings
 of the lawe, & the minde of the lawemaker is ſubuerted.
 To crie out with a loude voice, to be ſhameleſſe, preſump-
 tuous, and clamorous and obſtinate in pleadinge is in
 this Arte of greate importaunce. And he is accompted
 the beſte Advocate, whiche allureth moſt to variaunce, &
 puttinge them in hope to overcome, perſwadeth them to
 goe to lawe, and incenſeth them with wicked counſailes,
 which ſeeketh for appeales, whiche is a notable tangler, &
 author of variaunces, whiche with the bablinge & force
 of his tongue can prate of euery thinge, & alſo can make
 one cauſe better then an other with the conueighaunces
 of iudgements, and by this meane to make true & right-
 ous thinges appeare doubtfull & naught, and with their
 armes to banniſhe, deſtroye, and ouerthrow iuſtice, with
 whome:

*Thei which are
 emōg vs termed
 petie foggers
 haue this vice
 of Advocates
 engraffed in the
 which either of
 wante of Cli-
 entes inceſe the
 poore and ſelie
 men of the coun-
 trie to goe to
 Lawe, and hea-
 ring their cau-
 ſes, affirme the
 to be good. ſup-
 plying the place
 of counſaylours,
 and rayſing vp
 for the valewe
 of a ſwillinge
 great contenti-
 ons, do make of
 a ſirie ſparkle a
 burning flame.
 I woulde not
 haue this to be
 thought ſpoken
 of the Attorneis
 of Englande.*

Nought els is Iuſtice but a publike meede,

The lawe is ſolde, whiles golde the iudge doth feede.

But the thinges alſo which are not, that is to witte, the
 ſinall ende of thinges and ſilence, they ſell for monte, for
 as none of them ſpeaketh without his fee, ſo he holdeth
 not his peace without rewarde, after the example, as I
 thinke, of Demosthenes, who when he had demaunded
 Aristodemus a maker of Enterludes, howe muche he had
 receaued for playinge in an Enterlude, he answered a
 talente: but I ſaide Demosthenes haue receaued moze to
 hold my peace. For the tongue of pleaders is ſo damager-
 able, that if it be not bounde with giftes, it cannot be
 choſen but that it will hurte.

Of the Arte of the Notarie and Proctour, Cap. 94.

NExt vnto theſe the Proctoures and Notaries come
 in place, whiche they terme Tabelliones, all whoſe
 iniuries, damages, naughtines, & fallctes we muſt
 patiently

For we had, the paine of which being put thereto, the light & sweete yoke of Christe is become much more greauous then all the reste, and the Christians are enforced to liue rather after the order of the Canons, then after the Gospell. The whole knowledge of bothe Lawes is occupied aboute nothinge but transitorie, scaille, sittinge, and haine thinges, worldly affaires, entercourses, enmitities of the comons, aboute the murders of men, robberies, theftes, spoiles, factions, cōspiracies, wronges, and treasons. Moreover then this periurics of witnesses, falsifications of Notaries, collusions of Aduocates, corruptions of Iudges, ambitions of counsaillours, rauenies of presidentes by whome widowes are oppressed, poppils hndowes, good men exiled, poore men troden vnder foote, innocentes condemned, and as Iuuenall saith:

The crows vnharmed scape, the doves be vexed sore.
 And blinde men haue altogeather prepared for themselues, & incurred those thinges which thei haue thought themselves able to eschewe by the meanes of the Lawes and Canons, because these Lawes and Canons come not from God, nor be addrested to God: but are deriued from the corrupte nature and witte of men, and are inuented for gaine and couetousnesse.

Of the Arte of Aduocates. Cap. 93.

There is yet an other exercise of the lawe, which they terme the Arte Placitatorie, or els Aduocatorie, as they saie, very necessarie, a moeste auncient Arte, and full of deceptes, craftely set out with a colour of perswasion. Whiche is nothing els, but to know how to entreate the iudge gently with perswasion, and to know howe to vse the lawes at their fantasie, or els inuentinge Clases, and commentaries, to make & unmake all lawes accordinge to their pleasure, or to auoide them with all manner of subtill Argutes, or to prolonge a deceptfull.

Take after in the firste of the Decretals made by that tra-
 rant of Popes Boniface the eight, and loke what he saith
 in the Prologue, and in the first chapter De immunitate
 Ecclesiarum, neither dothe that mooste arrogante lawe of
 Clement: Pastoralis de senten. & re iudicata, with the ex-
 traugant of John the xij. whiche beginneth, Ecclesia
 Romana, and an other of the same upon nations. And
 the extraugante of Boniface the eight; Vnam Sanctam
 Finally of the compilatio of Gratian come to my minde,
 the Cap. Si cuius dist. 14. the cap. Si omnis dist. 18. the
 cap. Sic omnes. the cap. Enumero, the cap. In memoriam,
 the cap. Si Romanorum dist. 19. the cap. Omnes dist. 22.
 the ca. Elib domino dist. 60. the ca. Constantinus dist. 96.
 the cap. Quando dist. 86. with the Glose thereupon, the
 cap. Si Papa dist. 60. There are mozeouer beside these,
 the cap. Cuncta. 9. q. 3. the cap. Conquestus. 15. q. 6. the cap.
 Sunt qui. 23. q. 5. omnium & q. 8. the cap. Omni. 30. q. 1.
 cap. Omnia. He that will diligently examine those Ca-
 nons, & others like, shall perceave what these great, mar-
 ueilous, and hidden misteries are, whiche some Popes of
 Rome do fructifie in their Canons, turninge also the
 thinges whiche are spoken els where in the holy Scri-
 ptures, and sometimes counterfattiinge them, and with
 these their deuises likening & applyinge them. Fro hence
 sprange those Concordances (as they terme them) of the
 Bible, and of the Canons. Mozeouer then this so many
 titles of robberies, of clokes, of indulgences, of bulles, of
 confessionals, of pardons, of rescriptes, of testamentes,
 of dispensations, of priuileges, of elections, of dignities,
 of prebendes, of houses, of holy Churches, of liberties, of
 the place of iudgement, of iudgements, and of such other
 like thinges, finally the whole Canon Lawe is of all the
 most inconstaunt, & moze mutable then the Chameleon,
 and moze intricate then Gordians knotte, and that same
 Christian Religion, at the beginnunge whereof Christe
 toke awaie ceremonies, hath nowe moze then euer the
 Jews

that whiche is an other mans, that he cannot commit for-
 mony, that he cannot dispence against his bowe, against
 his othe, against the Lawe of nature, and none may saye
 vnto him, why doest thou this: & also that he can as they
 saye for some greuous cause dispence againste al the new
 Testamente, and to drawe not onely the thirde part, but
 also the soules of the faithfull into hell. That the dutie of
 Bishops is not nowe as it was in time past to preach the
 worde of God, but with buffets to confirme childerne, to
 gene orders, to dedicate Churches, to Baptise belles, to
 hallowe Altars, and Chalices, to blesse Vestments and
 Images, whiche esteeme their wittes more meete for
 higher matters, & leauing y charge to certaine Bishops,
 which haue nothing els but the title, go in ambassade to
 Kinges: they be presidentes of their Oratories: or attend
 vpon Queenes: excused for a sufficient great, & weightie
 cause not to serue God in Churches, so that they royally
 honour the Kinge in the Courte. Herof these cautes take
 their beginnings, by meanes wherof at this daie with-
 out simonte Bishopricks, and Benefices, be bought and
 solde, and mozeouer what faires and markets soeuer be
 in pardons, grauntes, indulgences, dispensations, & such
 like manners of robberies, by whom also there is a price
 set in the free remissions of sinnes geuen by God, & there
 is founde a meane to gaine by the punishmentes of Hell.
 Furthermoze that false donation of Constantine proce-
 ded from this lawe, albeit in effect, & with the testimonie
 of Gods worde, Cesar cannot leaue his charge, neither
 the parson of the Clergie ought to vsurpe the thinge that
 belonge to Cesar, but of infinite lawes of ambition, of
 pride, & of tirannie: I will onely declare vnto you some,
 that purchase credence to them, whiche I haue alreadye
 mentioned: Searche out therefore, if ye please in the
 auncient Decretals, the Cap. Significasti. Sec. and the cap.
 Venerabilem de elec. the cap. Si summus pontifex de sen-
 tentia excomunic. the cap. Inter coetera de offic. iudi. ordi.

that he go to the paynes of hell: grauntinge also to them that be signed with the crosse, that at their prayers they maye take three or foure soules out of purgatoꝝpe whiche they like, which erroneous & intolerable temeritie, I wil not say heresie, the schole of Paris did then openly detest & reprocue, but peradventure repenting at this day, y they had not interpreted that Hyperbolicall zeale of Clement with some godly inuention, that the thinge might rather flourish then perish, seinge that for their affirming or denyng, nothing is altered in the dedde & authoritie of the Pope, whose Canons & decrees haue in such sorte bounde al diuinitie, that no diuine be he neuer so contentious darcth to determine, no not imagine, or dispute any thinge contrarie to the Popes Canons without protestatio and leaue, as Martial singeth of Rufus:

What euer *Rufus* saithe he pardon doth obtaine,

If laugh he do, if weepe, if speake, if tongue refraine,

If suppe he do, affirme. denie, aske, all is one,

If he be not forgeuen, his tongue will quite be gone.

Furthermoze we haue learned out of their Canons, and decrees, that the patrimonie of Christe is Kingdomes, Castles, Donations, Foundations, Riches, & possessions, and that Empire and rule, belongeth to the Priests of Christe, and to the Prelates of the Church, & that iurisdiction & tempozal power is the sword of Christ, and that the Person of the Pope is the rocke beinge the foundation of the Church, that the Bishops are not onely the Ministers of the Church, but also heades of the Church, and that the euangelicke doctrine, the seruencie of faith the contempte of the worlde are not onely the goodes of the Church, but reuenues, tenthes, offeringes, collections, purple, misters, golde, siluer, pearle, possessions, & monie: and that the authoritie of the Pope is to make warres, to breake truce, to breake othes, & to assoile from obeiſſance, & of the house of prayer to make a den of thienes, & so the Pope can depose a Bishop without cause, y he can geue
that

force of the Law & Justice doth not so much depend vpon
the Lawes as vpon the honestie and equitie of y^e Judge?

Of the Canon Lawe. Cap. 92.

From the Ciuill Lawe proceeded the Canon or the
Popes Law, which to many may appeare most holy,
so wittily it doth shadow y^e precepts of couetousnes,
and manners of robbinge vnder the coloure of godlines.
Albeit there be very fewe things therfit ordained apper-
teyninge to godlines, to religion, to the worshipping of
God, and to the solemnité of the Sacraments. I wil not
speake of some which are contrary & repugnaunte to the
word of God. Al the residue are nothing but cōtentions,
stiffes, pride, pompe, meanes to gaine and get, and y^e de-
crées of the Popes of Rome, to whom the Canons be not
sufficient, which were in time passed made by the holy fa-
thers, except they continually adde to them new decreés,
strawes, extrauagants, declaratiōs, and rules of chaun-
cery, so that there is no ende nor measure of making Ca-
nons, which alone is the ambition & desire of the Bishops
of Rome that is to say, to make newe Canons, whose ar-
rogancie is growen so farre, that they haue commaunded
the Angels of heauen, & haue presumed to robbe & bzing
their hottie out of hel and to put in their hand among the
spytes of the deade: & on the Lawe of God, also they haue
sometimes exercised their tyrannie, interpretinge, decla-
ring, & disputinge: to the ende that nothinge might want
or be derogated from the greatnes of his power. As it not
troue that Pope Clement in that leaden bul, which at this
day is yet kept in Vienna, in Lemosin, & in Poitiers, in the
coffers of priuileges, commaundeth the Angels of heauē,
that they shoulde bzinge into everlasting ioyes the soule
of him that vseth to go in pilgrimage to Rome for indul-
gences, & there dying, beinge deliuered out of the paynes
of purgatozy: sayinge mozeouer: we will not in any wise

A wicked por-
don of Pope
Clement.

It y

that

demaunded at Rome the Pretourshippe, the whiche he
administred, & at length was knowe, it was iudged that
none of those thinges shoulde be altered, which he being
a seruaunt did in the couering of so great a dignitee. And
In an other place an olde man of the countrie for the au-
thoritée of the Emperour is so much worshipped, that the
lawyer woulde that men should argue with his wordes.
Paulus also y best learned in the Lawe of them that were
emonge the Romaines saithe that at this day, for the vse
of Emperoures, if a candlestickke of siluer be reckoned
emonge siluer, that it is vnderstode siluer, and not house
holde stuffe, because erreure maketh Lawe. The same he
openly confesseth of the Lawes and decrees of the senate,
that a reason cannot be geuen of all thinges, which haue
benne ordained by our elders. Hercof then we knowe
that al the knowledge of the Ciuill Lawe depedeth vpon
the onely opinion and will of menne, without any other
reason vrginge and enforcinge to be so, then either the
honestie of manners, or commoditie of liuinge, or the au-
thoritée of the Prince, or the force of armes, whiche if it
be the preserueresse of good menne, and the reuengeresse
of wicked men, it is a good discipline, finally it is a moste
wicked thinge for the naughtinesse whiche is done when
the Magistrate or the Prince neglecteth it, suffereth it, or
alloweth it. But that moze is, the opinion of Democri-
tacles was that all Lawes were vnprofitable and super-
fluous as they which were not made neither for good, nor
ill menne, for asmuche as they haue no neede of Lawes,
and these be made neuer the better for them. Further
moze Cato confesseth in Liuius that vneth any Lawe can
be made, whiche to all menne maye be profitable and fit
y whiche very often it doth not happen that equitee fight
toth with the rigour of the Lawe. Aristotle also defining
equitee, calleth it the correction of a righteous Lawe, in
whiche pointe he faileth, because it is made generally. Is
it not then sufficiently declared by this alone, that all the
force

by succession made their Lawes, all which were afterwarde written in the booke of Papyrius, from whence the Ciuill Lawe of Papyrius took name, after these the Law of the 12 Tables came abroad, In like manner the Law of Flavian, the Lawe of Helian, the Lawe of Hortensius and the Law of Honorarius of the pretor. Moreover there were made the decrees of the people, the decrees of the senate, the Lawe of Magistrates and custome, and finally all the authoritie geuen to the Prince to appoint Lawes: I will not speake of those innumerable Lawiers the most parte of which are written in the seconde Lawe, De origine iuris. They which haue gonne aboute to bringe the Ciuill Lawe into one volume, of these C. Pompeius did firste attempte this, afterwarde Caius Caesar, but bothe preuented by the Ciuill warres and vntimely death could not atchieue their purpose. At the length Constantine renewed all those aunciente Lawes, and Theodosius the younger reduced them into a booke called after his name: lastly Iustinian made the Code which at this daye is in vse. All the authoritie of the Ciuill Lawe is in the people, and in the Prince: and the Ciuill Lawe is nothinge else but that which men will do with a common consent. For this cause Iulian saith, that the Lawes binde vs for no other cause, but that they haue ben approued by the iudgemente of the people, which with a common consent hath transferred all Empire and power to the Prince: wherefore if any thinge please the people and the Prince, this then standeth in force bothe by custome and ordinaunces of the Lawe, although there appeare erreure or falsset, for common erreure maketh Lawe, and the matter iudged, trouth. Which Vlpiane hath taught vs in these words, to wiet, that he ought to be taken for a free man of whom sentence hath benne geuen, although in effete he be a libertine, that is, of a bonde man made free, because the matter iudged is taken for truthe. The same also saith that one Philip a Barbarian, who ran from his mayster,

What the ciuill Lawe is.

prouide for himselfe with the losse of an other. Roman is
 bounde to an impossible thinge. When it must needs be
 that I, or thou be confounded, I will chuse rather that
 thou be confounded then I. And many such like things,
 whiche afterwarde were writen among the Lawes. Fi-
 nally the Lawe of nature is that wee shoulde not dye for
 thirte, for hunger, for colde, and not to hurte our selues
 with watchinges, and labour. Whiche abandoninge all
 the repentance of Religion, and the woorkes of repen-
 tance, dothe appointe the pleasure of the Epicure for the
 chiefest felicitie. Afterwarde the Lawe of Nations arose
 from whence warre, murder, bondage were deriued, &
 dominions separated. After this came the Ciuill or Po-
 pular Lawe, whiche any people maketh peculiere to
 himselfe: from whence haue growen so many debates
 emonge menne, that as the lawes do witnes, there haue
 ben made moze businesses, the there be names of things.
 For whereas men were prone and enclined to discorde,
 the publishinge of iustice whiche was to be obserued by
 meanes of the Lawes was a necessarie thinge: to the end
 that the boldenes of naughty men might in suche wise be
 bziyled: and among the wicked innocencie might be salve,
 and the honest might liue quietly emonge the dishoneste.
 And these be that same so notable beginninges of the
 Lawe, wherein there haue benne almoste innumerable
 Lawemakers: Of which Moses was the first, who wrote
 Lawes to the Jewes, at the very same time that Cecrops
 gaue Lawes to the Egyptians: Pheroneus after these was
 the firste, that gaue Lawes to the Gretians: after him
 Mercurie Trismegiste gaue Lawes to the Egyptians, after-
 warde Dracon and Solon to the Athenians, Licurgus to
 the Lacedemonians, and Palamedes was the firste, that
 made Lawes of warre, to iudge an hoste. Romulus was
 the firste that gaue Lawes to the Romaines, whiche were
 called Curiatee. After whome Numa Pompilius made
 Lawes of Religions, and other Kinges of the Romaines
 by

graunt, to punish, to forbid, the whiche dignities there is founde no office more great: and Pomponius in y^e Lawes defineth, that it is the gift and inuention of God, and the determination of all wise men: bicause these aunciente Lawe makers, to the end they might purchase authoritie by theire decrees emonge the ignoraunte people, they made semblante that they did as they were taught by the Gods. So made Osiris the Egyptians beleue that he receiued them of Mercurie, Zoroastes the Bactrians, & Persians of Oromasus, Charinundas the Carthagians of Saturne, Solon y^e Athenians of Minerua, Zantrastates the Arimaspians, of a god deuine power, Zamolxis the Scythians of Vesta, Minos the Cretensians of Iupiter, Licurgus the Lacedemonians of Apollo, Numa Pompilius the Romaines of the Nimph Egeria. Beholde nowe y^ee perceiue howe this knowledge of the Lawe presumeth to beare swaye ouer all other Artes, and exerciseth tyzannie, and howe preferringe it selfe befoze all other disciplines as it were the firste begotten of the Gods doth despise them as vile and vaine, although it be altogether made of nothings els but of fraile and very weake inuentions and opiniōs of mē, which things be of all other the weakest, and is altered at euerye chaunge of time, of the State, and of the Prince, whiche tooke firste beginninge of the sinne of our firste parent, whiche was cause of all our miseries, From whence the firste Lawe of corrupt nature proceeded which they terme the Lawe of nature, whose notable decrees are these: It is leessull to resistte force with force, he that breaketh promise with thee, bzeake thou promise with him, It is no deceipte to deceiue him that deceiueh. A gileful parson is not bound to a gileful parson in nothing. Blame with blame may be requited. Malefactours ought not to reioyce of iustice noz faithfulness. Inurie is not donne to him that is willinge. It is leessull for them that traficke to deceiue one an other. The thinge is so muche woorthy as it maye be solde for. It is leessull for a man to prouide

glasse, and that siluer and brasse shoulde not be esteemed as they were befoze. But of these thinges we haue sufficiently spoken.

Of the Lawe and Statutes. Cap. 91.

IT remaineth nowe to speake of the knowledg of the Lawe, which auanteth y^e thoe alone knoweth to make difference betwene true & false, iuste & vniuste, honest and dishonest, of which facultie at this day the Pope and the Emperoure be chiefe heades and rulers, which bothe that they haue al the Lawes layd by in the cheste of their breste, to whom wil alone serueth for Lawe, with the arbitermete whereof they presume to iudge and rule all Sciences, Artes, Scriptures, Opinions, and the workes of men whatsoeue they be. For this cause Leo the Pope straightly commaunded all Christian people, that no man in y^e Church of God should presume to iudge any thinge, nor any man, to iustifie, nor to discusse any matter: but by the Authoritæ of the holy Counsailes, Canons, and Decretals, whose heade is the Pope: and also that we cannot vse the determination of the beste learned menne, of all the holiest deuines, but so farre forth as the Pope dothe permit, & shall authorize by his Canons: And in an other place the Canon dothe forbidde, that no other volume or booke be receiued by the deuines (yea throw out y^e whole worlde saith he) but the same, which is allowed through out the Romishe Church by the Canons of the Pope. The like Lawe the Emperoure pretendeth to haue in Philosophie, Physicke, and other sciences, grauntinge no authoritæ to any knowledg, but so muche as is geuen them by the skilfulnes of the Law, wherunto (as he saith) if all Sciences and Artes that are, be compared, they are all vile & vnprofitable. For this cause Vipiane saith: the Lawe is King of al thinges bothe humane and diuine, whose vertue is (as Modestine saith) to commaunde, to graunt,

waetrie, noz a moste sharpe, noz most blunte qualitee, but indifferent, and light in touchinge, & after a sozte tender, oz at the least not harde, not vnpleasant, but after a sozte swæte in taste, sozte in smell, delectable to the sight, pleasant and iocunde to the hyzinge, large to the imaginatiõ: I maie say no more, & yet there be thinges greater then these: but I deme this Arte (for the familiaritee whiche I haue with it) especially woorthie of y^e honour, with which Thucidides defineth an honest woman, sayinge that shee is beste, of whose praise oz dispraise there is very litle communication. This onely I will saie, that the Alcumistes be of all men the naughtiest, for wheras God commaundeth that man should eate bzeade with the sweate of his browes, and in an other place he speaketh by y^e Prophet, thou arte blessed, and shalt prosper because thou shalt liue by the labour of thy handes, these men beinge despisers of Gods commaundement, & of the promised blessednes, farre from labour, and (as it is sayde in womens worke, and in boyes pastime they go about to make mountaines of golde. I do not denie that of this Arte many most excellent workemanshippes had theire beginninge. From hence came the temperatures of Asure, of Cinnaber, of Sinople, of Purple, and of that whiche they call muscicall golde, and of other coloures, we are bounde to this Arte for latten mettall, for the mixtions of all mettals, for the fastninges of them together, for the tryings of them, and for their separations, the inuentions of the gunne a fearful instrument belongeth to this Art, from this came the moste noble Arte of glasse makinge, whereof one Theophilus hath writen a very godly booke. And Plinie declareth that in the time of Tiberius the Emperour the temperature of glasse was inuented, whereby it was made softe, and flexible, but thereof the shop was abolished by Tiberius, and also that the Artificer of so greate an industrie (if Isidorus be credible) was put to deathe, and that was done, leasse that golde shoulde be lesse esteemed then

this Arte: which thing hath induced many to beleue that al the bookes of that Arte were but of late yeares inuented, to the which opinion the obscure names, & vsed by no other, of Giber, Morienus, Gilgils, and others of that sort purchase great credite, & also the vnapte termes of things which they vse, the grosnesse of sentence, and the corrupt manner of searchinge the causes and natures of thinges. Yet there are some whiche thinke that the skinne of the golden fleece was a booke of Alcumie w^riten v^po a skinne after the manner of the auncients, wherein was contelned the knowledge to make golde: as it is read that Dioclesian, when he had searched with great diligence, caused al the bookes of this sorte to be burned, which were amonge the Egyptians, which were said to haue bene most skilfull in this Arte: least that the Egyptians heapinge v^p riches, and trusting in the aboundaunce of golde, mighte sometimes presume to make warre against the Romans, and that afterwarde this Arte was alwaies accompted mischeuous and forbidden by the publike edict of Cæsar: but it should be ouer longe to recompte all the foolish misteries, & vaine riddles of this Arte, of the grene Lion, of the fugitiue Harte, of the flaying Eggle, of the dauning fowle, of the Dragon deuouringe his taile, of the swollen tode, of the crows head, and of that blacke, whiche is blacker then blacke, of the scale of Hermes, of the dirte of foolishnes, (of wisdom I should saie) & of infinite like trifles: Finally, of y^e onely blessed thing alone, besides which there is no other thinge, yet to be founde in euery place, the subiecte of the most holy stone of the Philosophers, I meane, y^e is to saie, I haue almost rashly vttered the name of the thing, wherby I should be a sacrilege & forsworne, yet I will speake it with circumlocution, but somewhat moze obscure, that none but y^ege beginners in the Arte, & they which be trained v^p in the misteries thereof, maye vnderstande it. It is a thinge, whiche hath substance, & not ouermuch fierie, noz altogether earthly, noz simple watrie,

The Philo-
sophers stone.

sell their soule, and that transfozmation that they go a-
 bout to make in mettals, they proue it in themselues,
 made now of Alcumistes, Cacochimickes of Phisitions,
 fewterers, of sopemakers, meate sellers, a laughinge
 stocke to the people, a manifest foolishnes, & a mase game
 to the multitude, and they that in their youth haue despi-
 sed to liue in a meane estate, subiecte all their life time to
 the deceiptes of Alcumistes, being now waren olde men
 are compelled to begge in great pouertie, and beinge in
 so great calamitoe, in steepe of fauour and mercy they re-
 ceauie contempte, and skorne, oftentimes constrained tho-
 rowe pouertie do degenerate to naughtie Artes, to cou-
 terfainte monie, and other falsifications, and therfoze this
 Arte was not onely bannished by the ciuill lawes from
 the Romane publike weale, but also by the Canon de-
 crees, was forbdoden in all the Christian Church. But if
 also at this daie al they which without y singular graunt
 of the Prince do exercise the Arte of Alcumie, were ban-
 nished out of the Realme & Prouinces, puttinge thereto
 the confiscation of their goodes, and the punishment of
 the bodie, doubtlesse we shoulde not haue so muche coun-
 terfette monie, wherewith at this daie well neare al men
 are beguiled with the greate detrimente of the common
 wealthe. For this cause I suppose that Amasis in time
 paste kinge of Egypte made a lawe, whereby euery man
 was constrained to render an accompte to a Magistrate
 appointed for that purpose, with what handicrafte or oc-
 cupation he mainteyned him selfe, and he that did not do
 it death was his punishment, I coulde saie moreouer ve-
 ry many things of this Arte, (yet not very much against
 me,) if I had not swozne, (as they are wonte to do which
 receauie orders) to kepe silence. And this silence is so con-
 stantly, and religiously obserued of the auncient Philo-
 sophers and writers, that any where there is founde no
 Philosopher and faithfull wriiter of approued authoritoe,
 that in any place hath with one worde made mencion of

Cornelius Agrippa

Which maketh proufe, and wonders greate
in trewe effect to founde.

But with some experimentes of Whisicke, with Ceruse,
with read paintinge, with Stibium, & with Sope, & suche
like paintinges womanlike coloures and smeringe of old
ruines: and such as the holy Scripture termeth, whozish
ointments: they gather vp monie to furnish their shoppe
of Alcumie, wherfoze it is finally growen to a Proverbe:
every Alcumist is a Whisition or a Sope maker, they en-
riche with wordes the eares of men that lightly beleue,
to the ende y^t they maie empte their purses. And to whom
they promise riches, of them they aske monie. Hereby
it is manifestly perceaued that this Arte is of no price,
but to be great trifles, & vaine deuises of a pœuish minde.
Not withstandinge they finde men very desirous of so
great felicitie, whom they with a marueilous witte per-
swade that they will get greater riches in Hydrargirie,
then nature geueth in golde, and whom they haue already
deceaued thre or fower times, they alwaies beguile
againe vnawares with new sights: & through this mon-
struous trumperie they enforce them to blowe the fire at
the forname mouthe, & there is no sweeter madnes then to
belæue that a stedie thinge can be made to flæ, and a flæ-
yng thing, stedie: so the warste coles, sulphure, ordure,
venims, & bzines, and every harde paine is to you more
pleasant then honie, vntil that after they haue consumed
and turned into ashes all their possessions, marchaundise
& patrimonie, whilest that they pleasauntly doo promise
rewardes of longe labour, Golde to growe, & perpetuall
health with youth, when they haue a longe time spent
their substance, then they beginne to wære olde, aged,
pœzely apparailled, hunger staruen, alwaies smellinge of
sulphure, besmered with coles, and paraliticke thozowe
the continuall handlinge of quicke siluer, riche onely in
the droppinge of theire nose, but as concerninge other
thinges so miserable, that for thre halsepence they will
sell

their tongues, teeth & bellies armed, yet not their purses, but we haue sufficiently spoken hereof, wherefoze let vs now passe from Cokerie to Adgeberica, that is, to the Alcumistes kitchin, which consumeth no lesse substance then the thzote.

Of Alcumie. Cap.90.

ALcumie then whether it ought to be termed an Arte, or a counterfaiſte colouringe, or a pursuite of nature, is doubtlesse a notable and a suffered deſceipte, the vanitie whereof is easely perceaued in this, that it promiſeth the thinges whiche nature in nowise can abide, nor attaine, whereas not withstandinge no Arte can surmounte nature, but dothe imitate, and followe it aloofe of, and the foze of nature is farre stronger then of Arte.

An Arte that good men doo mistrust
an Arte of many hated.

It causeth vsers of the Arte
of all men to be hated.

So many liers there appeare
so many false are founde:

That they do aie themselues beguile
and others eke confounde.

Whilſt that thei go about to alter the kindes of things, and suppose to fozege (as they saie) a certaine blessed ſtone of Philosophers, with the whiche like Midas all bodieſ touched, become sodainly Golde & Siluer: Moreouer they endeouore to make a certaine quint eſſence to come downe from the high & inaccessible heauen, by the means wherof they promiſſe vs not only moze riches then Creſus had, but also expellinge olde age do promiſſe vs youth and continual health, and almost immoztalitee togeather with great substance.

But yet emonge them all
there is none founde,

perour also is saide to haue ben of so vn honest a life, that he commaunded meate to be brough accoꝛdinge to the order of the Alphabete, and foꝛ the space of thꝛee daies together he sate at the table eatinge. And moꝛeouer (what offence is moꝛe wicked) whereas God and nature haue pꝛouided vs meate and dzinke foꝛ consideration of health and strength, we contrariwise abuse those diuerse dzesinges of meates foꝛ pleasure, and we gluttonously deuoure moꝛe meate then our bodies are able to receaue, gettinge thereby incurable diseases, wherfoꝛe we plainly perceauē that to be true whiche Musonius saithe, the seruauntes moꝛe then the Masters, the countrey men moꝛe then the Citizens, the poꝛe moꝛe then the riche, and al they which vse the grossest meates be harder, stronger, mightier, and better enduringe labours, & lesse weried, and very seldome sicke, neither is there any that is moꝛe greaued with these greate sicknesses, that is to saie, the Dropsie, the Goute, the Hoꝛpew, the Colicke, and suche like, then they which dispising comon fare liue by daintie meates, & contrariwise they whiche we see content with simple fare be healthiest. With him also agreeth Cornelius Celsus, who saithe that meane fare is holesomest, the heapinge by of tastes pestilent, and al sauced thinges are vnholosome foꝛ two causes, because moꝛe is consumed by reason of the swētnesse, then is necessaric, and it is with moꝛe difficultie digested. Moꝛeouer many men and very substanciall authours haue blamed these pꝛouocations of gluttonie, and the artificial pleasure of meates, but there are some which vnder the name of Religion do not onely detest gourmandise and superfluitē, but also absteyning from flesh do blame some meates, which God hath created to be eaten: but they are able to dzinke moꝛe wine then the Epicures, wherein (as the Apostle saith) is luxuriousnes, sayinge that they absteyne and faste, when they haue filled themselues with all kinde of fishe, and with the beste wines, foꝛ which they carrie about their lippes, their

Before his face full furnished
yet doth he still complaine,
Of hunger crauinge meate at meale,
the foode that would sustaine.

V Whole housholdes, townships, Shyres & Realmes
suffice not him alone,

The more his pampred panch consumes
the more it maketh mone.

And as the sea receiues the brookes
of all the earthly Realmes,

And yet is neuer satisfied
with all the foreine streames.

And as the fell and raueninge fiere
refuseth neuer woode,

But burneth faggottes numberlesse
and with a furious moode.

The more it hath the more it still
desireth euermore,

Encreasinge in deuouringe through
encreasment of the store.

So wicked *Eristhons* mouth
in swallowinge of his meate,

VV as alwaies hungrie more and more
and longed aie to eate:

Meate tolde in meate, and as he ate
his panche for more did freate.

There were in time passe emonge the Grekes, & after-
warde emonge the Romanes wrafflers very greate eas-
ters, but their infamie at the length was exceeded by no-
ble men and Emperours: for Albinus who ones gouer-
ned the Realme of Fraunce, deuoured at one supper a
hundredeth Peaches, ten Pompons, five hundredeth Figges,
and three hundredeth Oysters: and Maximinus the Empe-
rour, who succaded Alexander Mammeeas sonne, did eate
in one date fiftie pounce of fleshe, & dranke an Amphore
of wine: which is a measure of vs, gallons. Geta the Em-
perour

*A french Kinge
a notable glut-
ton.*

the common weale they deuoure, and consume all these liuelode so many kindes of dishes are founde out nowe a daies, so many sauces for meates, so many orders, rules, and ceremonies of tables, that the costliest banquettes of the Asians, Milesians, Syberitans, Tarentins, and beside this of Sardanapalus, Xerxes, Claudius, Tiberius, Vitellius, Heliogabalus, Galene, Emperours & others of those auncient gluttons (al which as y^e Historians declare passed other nations & men in delices, superfluitie & pleasure of y^e throte) shalbe altogether vile, vnpleasant, & rusticall, if they be compared with these our preparations of banquettes. Furthermore it seemeth that nothinge is donne with the delicatenes of meate and drinke, excepte there be also so greate abundance that causeth lothesomnes, and which is enough to make Hercules drunken, who oftentimes was carried and dranke in one Shippe, & with sacietie of meate fill Milo the Crotonean, and the glutton of Aurelian, the one of whiche was accustomed to eate a hundred loaves of bzeade beside other meates, the other deuoured in one daie at the table of Aurelian the Emperour a whole Booze, a hundred loaves of bread, a shepe, and a rostinge pigge, and afterwarde dranke in a funnel more then a Whale coulde haue drunken: these thinges are nowe a daies much vbled with vs in these vplandishe publike banquettes, and dedications of Churches, and other of their feastes, ye woulde saie that they offered sacrifice vnto Bacchus, all thinges are there in suche wise distained with furie, bloud and many mischicuous daedes of gourmandise and drunkennesse, ye may there see also the banquettes of the Centaures, from whom none departeth without a scarre, and excessiue eatinge, like to that whiche Ouide wryteth of Erisisthon.

Twoo Notable
gluttons.

Anon before him comes what euer liues in sea, in lande

And aire, yet crieth he for more,
and though the dishes stande

taught the science of cokerie in y^e Citte out of which ones in time past Philosophers were commaunded to depart as corruptours of youth, & so with his doctrine he infected the world. Plinie also most sharply termeth it y^e deapest goulf of prodigall parsons: Finally there were so many instrumentes of the throte, so many prouocations of luste, so many sortes of meates, that at the length it was needefull to byidle with lawes the pompe of the kitchen. For this cause those auncient lawes concerninge sumptuous fare were ordained: that is to saie, the law Archiam, Fannian, Didian, Licinian, Cornelian, the lawe of Lepidus, the lawe of Antius Restio: but also Lucius Flaccus and his companion censours, displaced Durionius out of the Senate, because being tribune of the people he wente about to fordoe a lawe whiche was made to cease the costes bestowed vpon bankettes, for Durionius very impudently wente vpon into the pulpit to speake these wordes: The byidle is laide on you Citizens which in no wise is not to be endured, ye be bounde and tied in the bitter snare of bondage, for there is a lawe published that willethe you to be sparinge and sober: wherefoze let vs disanull that government couered with the ruste of vnplesaunt oldnesse: for to what ende haue we libertie, if they whiche will, cannot spende their owne: There were also many other edictes all which be now abolished, & taken awaie: In so much that there was neuer any age that with greater pompe and excessse hath seed and cherished the carkeis then this our: by reason thereof (as Musonius saithe, and after him our Hierome) we trauaile both by sea & lande, and with the labour of all our life we take paines that Muscadell, Wine, and all pretious meate maie enter in to our throte: there are so many distailinge houses nowe a daies emonge vs, so many hosteries, so many fauernes of gluttons & queanes, where men are made vnthristie thoroow gourmandisinge, dzunkennesse, and carnal pleasure, that oftentimes not without greate hinderance of

Coquerie and seasoninges of meates. Of the Grækes Pantaleon, Mithecus, Epiricus, Lophon, Egesippus, Pazamus, Epenetus, Heraclides the Syracusan, Tindaricus, the Syconeian, Symonactes of Chios, and Glancus, the Locrenian, of the Romans Cato, Varro, Columella, Apicius, and of them of late yeares Platina. But the Asians were alwayes in these things so luxurious and intemperat, that their name passed in to the surname of garmands & gluttons, which thereof we call Aletes: From hence as Titus Livius receiveth, after the victorie of Asia fozeine superfluitie entred into the citie of Rome: and it was the firste time that bakets began to be prepared with greater diligence and coste, then besoze: then the cooke whiche the auncientes helde for a moste vile slaue began to be esteemed, vsed and pyssed, and comminge out of the kitchin altogeaether bathed in brothe, besmored with sotte, with pottes, platters, pefle, moztter, and spit entreth into the scholes, and that which firste was a utle service, began to be accompted an honourable Arte: all whose studie is to geate from all partes delicate dishes, and in all places to seeke out diuers kindes of meates to satisfie greedy gluttonie, many of which sozte Gellius reciterh out of Varro, that is to saie, the Perocke of Samos, the Woodcocke of Phrighia, the Cranes of Malta, the Goate of Ambracia, the Tunte of Chalcedonia, the Lamprey of Tartesia, the Fish Asinellus of Pessimus, the Oysters of Tarentum, the Scalloppe of Chios, the Fish of Helops of Rhodes, the Goldnie of Cilicia, the Nuttes of Tasia, the Dates of Egypte, the chestens of Spaine, all which maners of eating haue ben founde out for the vnfatiable lasciuiousnes of excesse and superfluitie. Apicius moze then all others haue vsurped y glozy and fame of this arte, that of his name (as Septimus Florus testifieth) with a certaine Philosophical imitation the surname of cookes is deriued, whereby they be called Apiciani, of him Seneca hath writen in this manner, saie-
 ing: Apicius liued since I could remeber, who publikey
 taught

diseased to liue according to the lawes of nature, as they liue, their pursē woulde feele the smarte therof. Of these dietes speaketh Ambrose in this manner: The preceptes of Physicke are contrary to the diuine state, which drawe men backe from fastinge, they suffer men not to watch, they withdrawe men from settinge of the minde on meditation: and so he that putteth himselfe into the handes of the Physitian, abandoneth himselfe. And Bernarde writing vpon Cantica, saith: Hippocrates and Socrates teache to saue soules in this worlde: Chriſte and his disciples to destroye them, which Master of these two wil ye folowe? He maketh himselfe manifest that reasoneth, this hurteth the eyes, this the heade, this the stomake: all manner of pulse is windy, cholee oppzesseth the stomake, milke hurteth the heade, the bzeast bzoketh not drinkeing of water: whereof this commeth to passe; that thou canste scarcely find any thing to eate in whole riuers, fields, gardens, & cellars. But put the case that these wordes of Ambrose & Bernarde be spoken to Monckes & to no men els, whiche peraduenture ought not to haue so great regarde of their health as of their profession: And it is not vnfitting, that ciuil men together with y regard of their health should be delited also with varietye and daintines of fare, and meates, the firste Physicke that cureth by diete doth promise, the seconde Coquerie doth perfozme, whiche is the knowledge to dresse meates and drinckes. Therefore Plato calleth this the flatteresse of Physicke, and many accompte it part of dietinge Physicke: albeit Plinie, Seneca, and the residue of the schole of Physitions doe confesse y diuers diseases are engedzed thozow the varietie of deintie meates.

Of Coquerie. Cap. 89.

Coquerie is very profitable, and honest, if so be that it passe not the bowndes of discretion. And this consideration also hath moued excellent and moske continent men, that they were not ashamed to write of

King of Aragon in time paste hired two very cunninge
 Doctours of Physicke with great expende, for horses and
 Dogges, and commaunded them that they shoulde with
 al diligence searck, out what remedies, and what maner
 of curinge did agree to al the infirmities of beasts, which
 they doing, made a very profitable booke of these things.
 Iohn Ruel of Paris, did the like of late yeares a man very
 well learned in bothe tonges, and a notable Philosopher,
 who gathered a piked volume of the diseases of Hozles,
 and their remedies, out of most auncient Authours, as
 Apfirchus, Hierocles, Theomestus, Pelagonius, Anatolius,
 Tiberius, Eumelius, Archedamus, Hippocrates, Hemerius,
 Africanus, and out of Emilius the Spaniard, and Litorius
 Bonauetanus, profitable to al hozleleaches with the great
 commoditie of the common weale.

Of Dietinge Physicke. Cap. 88.

That parte of Physicke whiche cureth by diete, is yet
 remayninge, wherein Aesclepiades befoze others
 was chiefe, who hauinge for the moste parte taken
 away the vse of receites, reduced the whole Arte of Phi-
 sicke, to the order of feeding, to the quantite, and nature
 of meates, and to the seasoninge of them, from whom o-
 ther Philitions do not altogether disagree, but in this
 maner supposing that one standeth in neede of an other,
 feedinge sometimes of medicines, and the same likewise
 of the order and measure of feedinge: for this cause they
 commaunde, forbid, refuse, and blame meates & drinckes,
 whiche God hath created, & prescribe them rules of diete,
 not able to be obserued: and what meates they will not
 haue others to taste, themselves deuoure as pigges do
 acornes: and the rules which they prescribe to others the
 firste of al transgresse themselves not so muche of negli-
 gence as of a set purpose. For if they were bound to liue
 accordinge to these their dietinge decrees, they shoulde
 greatly empaiue their health: and if they permitted the

diseased

Of the Anotomist Arte, or cuttinge of menne by
Phisitions. Cap. 86.

YEt Anatomic doth surmount this Arte in cruelty, an open bocherie of Phisitions & Surgeans, whereby they haue with moſte cruel tormentes diſmembred the malefactours that were condemned to dye openly, ſometime aliue, and bzeathing. But nowe a dayes become ſomewhat more gentle for the reuerence of Chriſtian religion, firſte ſlayinge the man with theire owne hands, or of the hangman. With this crueltie they afterwarde cut open the liueles bodye, and tearinge aſunder mans bodye do ſearche, and conſider the placing, order, meſure, worke, nature, and ſecretes of euery member, to learne thereby howe and in what places they ſhould cure with this cruell diligence noleſſe wicked, then horrible and abhominable ſpectacle.

Of the Craſte or Science of curinge brute beaſtes.
Cap. 87.

There is mozeouer another praetiſſe of Phyiſicke that is called curinge of cattal or beaſtes, which healeth the diſeaſes of brute beaſtes muche moze certaine and profitable then the other, inuented, as it is ſayde, by Chiron, and made famous by Columella, Cato, Varro, Pelagonius, and Vegetius moſte worthy wryters. Yet theſe ringed Phisitions do not onely accompte it a ſhame for them, but alſo be altogether ignoraunte thereof and diſpiſe theſame, they are very nice, and as it were the lapwinge be delited with nothing but mans ordure. Wherefore if any man aſke them a medicine for his Aſſe, or Dre, he ſhall immediately receiue diſpleaſure in ſteede of a remedie: as yf it were theire dutte not onely to cure men, but other liuing creatures alſo, eſpecially them which be profitable vnto menne, for whiche conſideration Alphonſus

Surgerie is not yet spoken of, which is an other parte of Physicke, that cureth the diseases of the body which are in the fleshe the practises whereof be apparaunte and sure remedies, for the counsailes of other Physitions be vncertaine. The Surgeans see and feele what they do, and accordinge as neede requireth they change, laye to, and take away: this emong all the Artes of Physicke was the firste that came in vse. For when men in time paste made warres emonge themselves: and wounded one another, they beganne to seeke remedies to heale their woundes. For they beleued that one man coulde cure the woundes that an other had genen. But they supposed that other infirmities, and paynes of the inwarde partes as engendred thozowe the anger of the Goddes were not to be cured with naturall vertues. The first inuentoure then of Surgerie was Apis Kinge of Egypte, or as Clement of Alexandria wil, one more ancient then he called Mizria sonne of Caine, nephew of greate Noë. But Esculapius was the firste that wrote of Surgerie, Afterwarde Pythagoras, Empedocles, Parmenides, Democritus, Chiron, & Peon were excellent therein. Plinie saith that the firste whiche practised it in Rome was one Archagatus of Peloponesus, and that for the crueltie of cuttinge and searinge, he was commonly called a wounde maker, and that the name passed afterwarde to executioner, and finally that men waxed altogether weery of the Arte and disanulled it. Surgerie then is famous for the authoritie of excellent men nolesse then if they were the doinges of other Physitions, but infamons for the filthines of poysonous mattier and blouddy crueltie.

Armoniacke, noz the liuer without saunders: What if we wante Bdellium, cannot the græses of the entrayles be healed: maye not the heade be cured without muske and amber: noz the stomake without masticke and cozall: If these straunge medicines were cōuenable to our bodies, without doubt nature whiche prouideth for all thinges shoulde haue brought to passe, that they should also grow abundantly with vs. Did not our foresathers liue without them and more healthfully: These then be the trifles of sluggish Phisitians, whiche seeke not to know our medicinal things, & the inuentions of y^e Apotecaries which seeke not for the common sautie, but for the profit of their trade, makinge vs beleue that all thinges of greate price can helpe vs and none els, whom Ieremie doth therefore reprove: Is there no rosen in Galaad, or is their founde no Phisitian: Nature bringeth forth and tempzeth her hearbes in euery Countrey, Region, Nation, Climate, Aire, and Age: we graunte that is true, and that some things haue more vertue in one place and time thē in another, notwithstanding they worke the same effectes in euery time and climate, accordinge to the proper temperature of men, admit that those rare and pretious things be of greater force then our hearbes: but we ought to beleue that thei are not holsonie, but for the men of that climate, for whom they are created and brought forth. But there are moreouer the rauintes of the Phisitians which perswade vs that certaine monstrous medicines, & differinge from the vse of Phisicke be muche auailable, and that without them we cannot be in health prouinge their saygned diuises with the destructiō of miserable menne. For this cause thei put in medicines, Vipers, Serpents, and al venemous Wormes, and if they wante remedies, thei put mans greace in oyntementes, & with a græuous offence of nature they geue men mans flesh to eate, prepared in spices whiche they call Mummia.

discourse a little of the falsification of pretious things that serue for medicine which oftentimes be counterfacted with so much deceipt, that they deceiue also experte and wise men: and it shoulde be muche available to the good state of men and the common wealth vtterly to forbidde all straunge and fozeine medicines, whiche mozeouer with so greate a price haue benne broughte into the realme by theuisme marchauntes to the damage of the common wealthe, and to abate the Phisitions pride, and to hold the Apotecaries noses at the grindstone, & to prescribe them a lawe, such a one, as Nero (at that time when he gouerned well) is reade in time paste to haue made in Rome, wherewith they were compelled to vse onely such medicinable things, as our climate broughte for the, for asmuche as these do better agree to the nature of euerye of vs, they be also muche moze fresher, better chosen, and maye be had with lesse difficultie and expence, and with less daunger then the fozeine, whiche for the most parte be suspected bicause thei be very oftentimes falsified, counterfected, or refused, or kept too close in the ship, or weate in y^e pumpe, or rotten thoro'w age, or not gathered in due season and place, whereof oftentimes greate daunger is like to ensue, for coloquintida not ripe, draweth out blood and killeth: and that which groweth alone, and by it self, is poyson. Semblably Agaricke masculine is deadly, and that whiche is olde is perillous, Scamonie is altogether falsified, and likewise the earthe called Lemnie, and the faithfulness of scales is worne awaye. Nowe I beseeche you what neede we vse these fozeine things, if our countrie bringe forth the samie things, or of like vertue? Is it not a great folly to go rather to India, for that which we haue at home: supposinge that our countrie and sea is not sufficient: & preferring fozeine things before them of our countrie, sumptuous before thursty, and difficult & brought euen from the fardest partes of the worlde, before them y^e maye easily be had. Cannot the Splene be cured without

swade vs that they will make a Medecine which agreeth
with euery nature: as they haue determined of y^e making
of triakle, of the fable of Tyrus, and of that lectuarie of
Mithridates, nothing els is made but that poetical Chaos:

A rude and vndisposed heape,
and nothinge els but euen:

A heauy lumpe and clotted clod,
of seedes togather driuen.

Of thinges at strife emonge themselues,
for wante of order due:

VVherein one body hote and colde,
and moyst and dric renewe

A combrous fight, —————

But be it, that there haue bene certaine profitable medi-
cines made and diuised by the ancient Physitions, which
we maye receiue as thinges proued, yet they differ farre
from that true methode, and condemned by the Physitiōs
themselues enforced througħ their owne conscience so
to doo, and altogeahter reiected of Plinie, of Theophraste,
of Plutarch, and Hippocrates, Galene, Dioscorides, Eristra-
tus, Celsus, Scribonius, Auicenna whose wordes it were
too tedious to write in this place: and not onely by these
ancients, but also of many Physitiōs of fresher memorie,
emonge which Arnolde at Villa noua saith in his Apho-
risms: where simples maye easily be had it is deceipte to
vse compowndes. But now a daies thei dispising altoge-
ther and not knowing simples, no receiptes be made but
by these two famous Pillers of Potecaries, and treasure
of spicers, painted Antidotaries, and golden titles of Me-
sue and Nicholas, and herof it commeth to passe, that whi-
less these Physitions attendinge their owne leisure doo
put the liues of men in the Potecaries handes: and they
without learninge, and without knowledge geuing cre-
dit to ignorant marchauntes for the auaille of their shop
doo mingle thinges toggether, and muche more daunger
commeth of the medicine then of the disease. But let vs

ashamed to treade in other mens steppes, prouue experimētates by killing this man & that man, and learne their Arte with our daungers, wherewith they gaine by our life, & prolonge mens diseales, which might be cured in a very short space, & oftentimes thei encrease it for greater gaine: Wherefoze the Egyptians prouidinge for this deceipte, appointed that the Physicians should cure the bodies of the diseased within thre daies to the daunger of the sicke, and after thre daies to their owne perill.

Of the Pothecaries Arte. Cap. 84.

They call also Potecaries & Medecine makers their Cookes, whose titles (as y^e Prouerbe is) haue remedies, & their boxes, popson, or (as Homer singeth) Of mingled Medecines many are holsome, and many noysome, with the which when they wil not do vs any hurte they enforce vs to buye our death with a great summe of monie: whilest they ministringe to him one thing for another, or els makinge a Medecine of rotten, stale, and mouldie dragues do oftentimes geue a deadly drinke, in steede of a holsome Medecine, whilest that they buye plaisters made longe befoze, collyrics, oyntments, lectuaries, and other Medecines, made of the refuse & filth of spices, and to no other ende but for the gaine of their Shoppes, and not knowinge to make a difference betwene al these thinges, they beleue the rude marchauntes corruptinge all thinges with deceiptes, & sophistications. I could here declare their damnable discordes of the knowledge of simple Medecines which they vse, & their errours aboute the names of things that appertaine to Physicke misvnderstode by them, and most wickedly vsed, the which beinge very many, Nicholas Leonicensus hath declared in a large volume. I let to sprake of the monstrous confectiōns, and mixtures of many and straunge thinges, with the which whilest they confounding all thinges wil per-

sicke, but they will do this for recompence to the ende that they maie be in credite, & casely atchieue their wicked purpose. And shortly after he addeth, whereof arise many deceiptes in Testamentes, and aduoutries also in the houses of Princes, as that of Eudemus was euident in Liuia the wife of Drusus the Emperoure: these be the wordes of Plinie. Socrates also in Plato would not that there should be many Physitions in a Citie. And now we adoes also it should be profitable for the common wealth, to haue very fewe Physitions or none at all, & that there were a lawe to punish the moztall mischiefe, as well of their ignoraunce, as negligence. For it a deadly offence, & it maketh no matter, whether thow wante of knowledge, or negligence, folly, or malice, vncarefully, or diligently, the Physition in steede of medecine, hath ministred popson, and brought man in daunger of his life, and that the Physition should not (as Plinie saith) escape cleare without punishment, for killinge of a man. Which truly to them, is one selfe and common honour with the hangman, that is to saie, to kill menne and to be recompenced therefore: and these men and none els be rewarded for murder, for which the law hath appointed a punishment to all other men, and hath pardoned and forgeuen none. Yet this difference there is, that the Hangeman or Executioner, killeth not the malefactours but accordinge to the sentence of the Judge, but the Physition againste all iudgement slayeth also the gillelesse. Wherefore not vnauaileably the ordinaunces of the Popes, do forbidde the Clergie to practise Physicke, for somuche as the Arte of Physicke is so blouddie a thinge, that if it be lawfull for Priestes and the Clergie to plate the Physitions, they maie also plate the Hangemen. And that is to be thought wisely donne of Portius in time paste when he forbade the Physitions, as well because they alwaies gaue the same of this Science with some straungnes, as especialy because whilest that they bringing no newe thing, are

Difference betwene a Hangman, and a Physition.

into whose handes, what noble men & potentates soeuer had chaunced, escaped, & all the commons, and rude sorte perished, or were in great daunger. Wherefore it is now an easie thinge to perceauē that this shoppe Physicke, wherein the fortune of the Physitian can do more then learninge, is altogether or for the moste parte deuinatōrie, and therefore worthe to be banished farre of, and condemned as venemous, and murderous. Wherefore the Romans, in time paste vnder Cato the Cēsoure, banished all Physitions out of Rome and al Italie, hating their mortall lies, & crueltie, that is to witte, because thei slewe many more, then they healed: also because thei, being very well skilled in makinge poisons, mighte easely be moued with hatred, ambition, or gaine, to minister poyson in stēde of Medecine, and when they haue agreed for a summe of monie they sell mens liues: as the Physition of Pyrrhus did, whether he were Timocaris, (as Gellius writeth) or Niceas, as some other recompte, who promised Fabritius, that he woulde kill his Master with a Medecine: whiche mischieuous acte Fabritius detestinge, aduertised Pyrrhus by a letter, albeit he was his enemye, that he should beware of the Physition, of whome Claudian speaketh in this manner:

The Romans euer hated haue
the workers of all ill:

Fabricius him to Pyrrhus sente,
that promise made to kill

VVith poyson rancke his master, in
detestinge his entent,

VVhom with fierce fight he did assaile
and not about he wente

To ende the warre through cursed deede
of seruauant

After the same facion Cato in Plinie writeth to his sonne of the Græke Physitions, sayinge: they haue swozne amonge themselues to kill all the Barbarians with Physicke,

But these Phisitions of shoppes do not onely passe vpon them, but also laugh them to skorne, callinge them simple men whiche studie to knowe simples. I therefore disswade no man not onely to aske counsaile of these Phisitions, but also to follow their Steppes, them I meane, which cure by simples. But I aduise them to flée and banish the awaie these keepers of shoppes no other wise then Inchauntes, & Witches, whiche with their monstrous confections make marchaundise of our infirmités, & caste lottes for our life. For sithens it is necessarie that compounde Medecines be made of many sundrie and contrary kindes, it is impossible or at leastwise very difficulte for the Phisition to appointe any certainté in them, but by opinion alone, supposall, & conecture: & sithens there be oftentimes innumerable things, euery of which by himself semeth to be of sufficient strength & vertue, against any grieffe: The Phisition maketh a hochpot of such things, as happe, & chaunce, shall then presente to his memoize, or els whereunto he shalbe inclined by any other inward or hidden instinct. Whereof it cometh to passe, that that compounde Medecine taketh vertue, & effect, not so much from the power of the simples whiche go into it, as from the happie or unhappie intent of the Phisition, as farre as he is induced with a certaine hidden influence, either naturall, or celestiallyl, or Deuillish, or aduenturous rather to chouse these then other. And this is that, whiche is commonly saide, and they themselues do confesse that one Phisition hath better lucke then an other, and very oftentimes the ignoraunt is happier then the learned. But whiche is more, I haue seene, & knowne a Phisition a man singularlie learned so unhappie, that of many sicke parsons very few or none escaped aliuie out of his hádes. I knewe also an other scarcely a smatterer in learninge, whiche happely healed well neare all his patientes, and many also which were lefte by others as passe hope of recouerie. I remember also that I haue reade of a Phisition,

Cornelius Agrippa

diuersities, & proued also of what vertue they be in sicknesses, and other chaunces, dothe without rewarde geue to euery man vndoubted remedies. The chiefest Physitions also confesse, that they haue learned many moste excellent remedies of women, & woorthie to be put in their booke, and as it were, singular thinges lefte to the posteritee, as that Medecine whiche Auicen comendeth taught him by a woman against the head ache. But if it be true that the medecine, which ought to bringe a temperature of health, doth consist in the propoztion and temperature of thinges togeather, aswel emonge themselues, as especially also with the quantities of the bodie, whereunto they be attributed, & this hath bene a moste diligent care in propoztioninge, and temperinge Medecines, by iuste and harmonicall weightes, leauinge these to the posteritee, to be propoztioned to diseased mens bodies, what presumption, and saucinesse is this not onely to alter these thinges, but to put to them also, or vtterly to despise or not to know them? Whereof it cometh to passe, that like as the iuste temperature of Medecine oughte to bringe health, so the disagreement therof bringeth grieffe, feare, sharpnesse of sicknesse, and other while death, & therefore an olde wise of the country, dothe moze saulfly cure with a Medecine made with one, or two hearbes of the garden, with y^e worke of nature, then that Physition with his monstrous, and sumptuous receiptes made with a doubtfull coniecture. There haue bene in time passe many and moste excellent Philosophers and Physitions of that opinion, that is to saie, that we shoulde not practise Physicke but with very simple thinges. For this cause searchinge out and prouinge the forces of simples, they haue lefte to vs, which come after, notable booke, as that whiche Chrysippus wrote of the Colewortes, Pythagoras of the hearbe Squilla, Marchion of the Radishe, Diocles of the Rape, Phantias of the Nettle, Apuleius of Betaine, and many other auncientes of other thinges.

But

dotus and Strabo testifie) refused all Phisitions: and they brought them that were sicke into the market place, and into the streates, to the ende that they, whiche were attached with the like sicknesse, and had escaped, or knewe an other to haue escaped, might counsaile them with the remedies which they haue proued vpon themselues: supposinge; (whiche Cornelius Celsus doth also affirme) that there is nothing moze auailable to the trade of Phisicke then experience, wherein it is manifestly seene, that the beste learned men haue benne oftentimes ouercome by an olde wise of the Countrie, and shee with one roote or hearbe alone, hath atchieued suche thinges, as the beste Phisitions of all, coulde not do with all their pretiouse Medecines, done exactly with studie and diligence. For whilest they go about to cure diseases with intricate and monstrous mixtures (whereas nature hath brought forth so many plaine remedies, which should suffice) confounding them by a cōpounde collinge of diuers thinges, they be leade rather by coniecture, then by cause, or reason, & make the whole Arte of Phisicke nothinge els but chaunce and coniecture. But this knowinge the force and qualittē of one plaine medecine, doth cure harde diseases with sounde and approued vertues of nature. They on the other side, thozow pretious thinges brought from the farthest partes of India, or from the Gades, do promise & sell health to others: perswadinge them that nothinge els but thinges of great price can helpe. Nature doth not onely promise, but also restore health with our owne countrie hearbes very easie to finde, and little esteemed, which every man maie lightly haue growyng in his garden. Furthermoze these with a presumptuous rashnesse, and bablinge gaily set forth, hauinge learned it out of deceitfull booke, & painted Codicils, vse the hardest trade of Phisicke to gaine by. This hauinge behelde and learned all the plantes growinge in the earthe, and fieldes, their colours, formes, saours, smellinges, and diuersities,

Cornelius Agrippa

and greate expences, either than, or shortly after, euen in the presence of Physitions, he must die. What confidence shoulde we than haue in Physitions, if (as Hippocrates him selfe saithe) their experience be vncertaine: What certaine thinge can Physitions promise, if that be true which Plinie writeth, that no Arte is moze vncostante then Physicke, nor whiche oftener is chaunged: There were many nations in time paste and at this date are, which liue without Physitions, which not withstandinge we see lustie, when they are at the pittes byrincke, and to liue aboute a hundzeth yeares: contrarywise that these nice people, whiche liue with the labour & promises of Physitions, for the most parte, doo ware olde, and die in the flower of their yeares: & which is moze, that the Physitions themselues are sicke, moze than other mē, and almost continually, and die befoze their naturall time. For this cause that Lacedemonian made aunswere to one that saide vnto him, hast thou no sicknesse: no, because I doo not vse the Physition, and he replingeing againe, thou arte an old man, answered he, because I neuer vsed the Physition, shewing that there is no other waie moze certaine for health and olde age, then to be without Physitions: But if a man saie, that many haue benne recouered by the meanes of Physitions, we will answer him contrarywise that many haue died, whom Physicke hath nothing profited, and we will late to his reproche that verset of Ausonius sayinge:

By fatall chaunce he did escape,
and not by Phisickes healpe.

For in time paste the Arcadians did not vse Medecines, but (as Plinie saithe) they vsed milke of the spryng time, because than, moze then at any other season, hearbes are full of iuyce, & the fruitefullest fieldes serued for Medecines: but befoze the rest they chose cowes milke, because they ate all kinde of hearbes. The Lacedemonians also, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, & the Portingals (as Herodotus

thy house in order, for thou must die . For this cause Ra- The wicked
 fis, who doubtlesse not onely knewe the foolish beliefe of counsaile of Ra-
 the sicke, but also the contentious ignorance of the fis.
 sitions, prouiding not vnwisely for bothe, that is to saie,
 for the patiente and the Phisition, counsaileth in his A-
 phorismes, that one Phisition alone ought to be chosen:
 because, saith he, one mans errour causeth no great infamie:
 and the profite whiche one man doth to the diseased,
 is commended: but he that shall vse very many Phisitions,
 incurreth into an exceedinge greate errour: these be
 the wordes of Rasis. That auncient inscription of a tombe
 doth witnesse this: Many Phisitions slewe him: and that
 Greeke Proverbe: The accesse of many Phisitions killed
 the diseased: That sayinge also of Adriane the Emperoure
 lpyng at the pointe of death: The rable of Phisitions
 hath destroyed the Prince. Wherefore there is no counsaile
 more profitable for the preseruinge of life & health,
 then to abstaine from Phisitions. For thanke God for
 the health of bodie, and not the Phisitions, and for this
 cause, A sa Kinge of Iuda was rebuked by the Propheete of
 the Lorde, because in his sickenes he sought not y^e Lorde,
 but trusted in the Phisitions Arte: to whose counsailes
 they whiche geue credence, wil neuer be whole: for there
 is no life more miserable then that, whiche is guided vnder
 the hope of their healpe. I put the case that the Phisitions
 knowe, and I would to God they knew al the vertues
 and operations of the Elementes, rootes, hearbes,
 flowers, frutes, seedes, of liuinge creatures also and minerals,
 and of all thinges, whiche nature the mother of them
 hath brought forth, yet they cannot with all these
 vertues not onely make man immortall, but whiche is
 lesse, not alwaies cure him that is sicke of euery lighte
 disease. How often hath not y^e medecine preuailed, which
 should haue preuailed, and whiche should purge, hath not
 purged: how often hath the diseased fallen sicke, & gonne
 to Phisicke estones, & at the length after many troubles,

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judge they than doe stande at contention aboute the sicke mannes bedde , as though they haue benne hired not to cure, but to dispute, and that the diseased , to whome (ac-
cordinge to the Græke verse of Menander , whiche in English is: The bablinge Phisition is as it were a sicknes to the diseased) well neare al communication is greuous, hath the moze néede of their reasoninge, then of their Phisicke , and when they haue like schollers cited certayne Aphorismes, for an ostentation , whiche onely they haue readye at all times for euerye pourpose, and called vpon Hyppocrates, Galene, Auicen, Rasis, Auerrois, their Reconciler, and other of their Goddes , whose names and titles serue them in stéede of learning to purchase credit, and reputation of knowledge emonge the ignoraunte people, they haue for a space benne at daggers drawinge touchinge the causes, signes, dispositions, humours, and critical dayes, but without discussinge their controuersie, at the length, they conclude with a very slender ordinaunce, concerninge the applying of the remedie, which sought to be the heade and tayle of all the matter : and as there is a mutuall enmitée emongest them, none of them beinge willinge to make their secretes common (as they terme it) to their enuiers , as if they shoulde lose that whiche they haue taught vnto others, they haue recourse to the common methode, whiche if it disapointe them, they repayze to practise, as to the holy anker, to the ende, that whom reason restoreth not, rashnesse maye further, sayeing: that it is better to proue a doubtfull helpe, then none at all : or els leaue the diseased when they cannot helpe him , and that continuall feeblenesse (as Ecclesiasticus saith) dothe gréeue them: sayeing that Hyppocrates forbade medicines to be giuen to desperat parsons: or if they be somewhat religiose , they referre the disease to some saincte, they appoint y last receit of al which is this. Take a notarie, and seuen witnesses, put thereto a Priest with holy water and oile, asmuch as is néedefull, & leaue
thy

fresh vapours of pestilence, and that moze is, if one bidde a Physitian to a feast, whilest he is at dinner, he wil talke of nothings but of ordures, vaines, sweatinges, corrupted bloude, vomiting, and of the flowers, and will entreate of the fallinge sicknesse, of leprosie, of botches, of scabbes, and of the plague, and with the filthines of his communication, he will cause al menne to lothe the banquet, well furnished with veray daintie dishes. Use also a Physitian, in ciuill consultations, and ye shall finde no man moze sonde and folishe then he, and that perchappes aswell because the doctrine of Physitions (as their reconciler saith) consisteth not on vertues, noz good conditiōs, as especially because (as the same saith) euery Physitiō, which is honeste by nature, oughte to be ill conditioned, and I knowe, that in many cittes, it is prouided by publike decrees and ordinaunces, that Physitions maye not be receiued into counsaile, noz beare office, peraduenture not so much because they be folishe, vayne, and stubbozne, as because they be alwayes vncleane, and so contagious by reason of the continuall handlinge of sickemen, and ordure, that they doe not onely infecte them whiche approach neare to them, but the seates also, and likewise the marble stoanes as Lucilius preatelle hath writē of a certaine Physitian in a grēke Epigramme, translated into latine by Ausonius, and may thus be inglisshed.

Alcon, in Phisicke skilde, laste day did touche
 The signe of *Ioue*, and though he marble were,
 By him he wronge enduerde. Beholde to daye
 From auncient temple out he borne is
 Although a stoane and eke a God he be.

But when they assemble these colledge together to trise out that, whiche the diseased bathe pissed or shiten the nighte befoze, and as it were the iudges of the Lacedemonians called Ephori to giue sentence of life and death, it is a marueilous thinge, but muche moze to be lamented with how many miserable altercations without any

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exercise is in stincking and filthie places, occupied in vile cares, and vncleane skill, for infamous gayne sake they alwayes stande about sicke miennes takefes and pispots, and like the lapwinge a filthy birde, doe bulde their neste of mannes ozdure. Doe you not daylie see howe they go about the Citie with ringed fingers, and dirtie gownes, with a sadde countenaunce, and alwayes pale, and with a quicke pace, for hope of veray vile gayne, renne from one Apothecaries shoppe to an other, seekinge and begging, if in any place a man wil offer them vaine, or a boll of ozdure to loke vpon, & as the hooded vultures are beste nosed about deade bodie, so these mē, are best nosed of al about excrements: which they say: Hippocrates was wont also to taste, that thereby he might the better perceiue the nature of the sicknesse: whiche thinge also many doe attribute to Esculapius: who for this cause was of Aristophanes called Scatophagos, in whiche worde they be signified, whiche feede vpon the superfluités of meates, whiche name afterwarde was derliued to all Phisitians, in suche wise, that wee call them Scatophagians and Scatomanters, that is, ozdure eaters, and lookers on ozdure. For this cause Scatomâcie, Oromancie, Drymimancie, be called the diuinations or Prognostications of Phisitians, gathered by ozdures and vaines. Wherefore emonge many nations, these seruil Phisitians were in time paste reputed infamous, and moze then that, (as Seneca testifieth) it was accompted a very greate infamie to seeke the seruice of a Phisitior, and at this day also, many people doe exclude Phisitians, Midwives, and executioners from their tables and bankets, or els they geue them meate and drinke in dishes, and cuppes aparte from the other: wherefore a man maye here haue indignation againste that detestable custome of many Princes, which allowe, these pestilente menne not onely to come to their bedde side in the morninge, but to their tables also, beinge infected with the dayly visiting of the sicke, and with the
fresh

whiche oftentimes chaunceth, than they put the faulte to the weakenes of nature, to the extremitie of the sicknes, or to the unrulinesse of the patiente, and that the remedies of their Arte doth not extende to this secreete of cruel nature, and that they be Physicians, not Gods, that they can heale the curable, but not to restoare the deade to life, and that they cannot minister nothing to the sicke, but what experience hath taught them, and with these wordes also they be high minded in vnprosperous chaunces, & mozeouer they accused them that died, of disorder, and there with al they wilbe payde, when with their receipts they haue killed them, which without them might haue liued, spoylinge the sicke at one instaunte of their fame, monie, health and life, hauing in the meane while a false conscience: as well because their erreure, (as Socrates saith) is couered in the earth, as especially because the countrie of the dead is irremeable, that they cannot retourne, which they deceiuing with vaine wordes, and infecting with noysome medicines, do depriue of life before their time, leaste that they accuse them of extortion, and murder. Furthermore Physicians oftentimes be contagious, and stinking by reason of vaine, and ordure, bepissed, and betheten, and filthier then midwiues, hauing all their senses infected, whilest that with their eyes they behold most filthy and stinking thinges, with their eyes and nose they receiue the belking of sicke men, their fartinge, their bzeathing, blowing, and stinking of their bzeathe, they taste firste with their lippes and tounge, blacke and deadly drinckes, with their handes they stirre ordure and excrementes, and daye and night they haue in their fantasie, the ouglie images and ghosts of the sicke, and innumerable murders do trouble their conscience: and finally all their studie, talks, reason, communication, minde, and wit, is conuersaunte aboute nothinge but naughtie, filthy, and lothsome thinges, and horrible kindes of deathe and diseases: and all their

despised: they hide also the small knowledge that they have,
 or they will not utter it, as though the reputation of the
 science were to teach noman, and so enuyinge others do
 also disapointe our life of other mens goodnes. They are
 mozeouer very superstitious, arrogaunte, of a naughty
 conscience, proude, and couetouse, hauinge alwayes this
 Prouerbe in their mouthe, take, whilest he feeleth greife,
 makinge also that to ake, whiche is whole, if they thinke
 it will tourne them to profit, as we reade of Peter of Ap-
 pona (whom they call their attonemaker) who readinge
 Physicke in Bononia was so couetous, and arrogaunte,
 that goinge to anye place oute of the Citie to visite siche
 parsons, woulde not be hired vnder fiftie ducates a daye:
 and beinge on a time sent for to Honorius then Pope, he
 conenaunted to haue foure hundzeth ducates a day. Pin-
 darus saith also that Esculapius father of Physicke was by
 Iupiter striken with lightninge for a due deserte of coue-
 toulnes, because wickedly and to the damage of the com-
 mon wealthe he had practised Physicke. And if by anye
 chaunce the diseased shal happely recouer in their hands,
 they reioyce without measure, noman will be able to set
 fourth the glozy of so great a miracle. They will say that
 he hath raised Lazarus from death, y he gaue him his life,
 that he is bound to thanke them that he is a liue: & by and
 by, (attributing that to themselues, which belögeth onely
 vnto God) they auant that they haue drawn him out of
 hel, & say, that no rewarde can conferuaile their deserte.
 Some of the haue ben in such wise puffed by with pride,
 that they suffered themselues to be worshipped for Gods,
 & caused themselues to be called Ioues, as Menecrates the
 Syracusane Physitian, who is reade to haue woziten on a
 time to Agesilaus King of Sparta in these wordes: Mene-
 crates Iupiter sendeth græting to King Agesilaus, but A-
 gesilaus, laughinge pziuely at his folly, aunswared in this
 wise: Agesilaus desireth health to Menecrates: But if any
 vnhappy diseased parson die in y hands of the Physitians,
 whiche

A proverbe.

A deare Phis-
tician.

fluffed, these be his wordes. He was taught perhaps by
 the example of Esculapius, whome the auncient fables do
 recozde to haue bene the firste finder out of Physicke, be-
 gotten of the minde of Iupiter, and by the life of Sol sente
 downe on earthe. But Celsus confesseth, that he was a
 man, but receiued into the number of the Gods. Many
 other affirme that he was begot in fornicatio of a comely
 queane called Coronides, of whom oftentimes the Priestes
 in the Temple of Apollo toke armozous delites, whiche
 saigned him to be sonne of their God. All doubtles do
 herein agrée, that this God Esculapius was so wicked, &
 he needed the lightning of Iupiter to chastice him, of whō
 Lactantius writeth in this wise to Constantine the Em-
 perour: Esculapius also bozne not without the wickednes
 of Apollo, what did he at any time worthye of diuine ho-
 nours, but that he healed Hippolitus? Surely he died ho-
 nourably, because he deserued to be slaine with lightning
 by God: these be his wordes. But to tel the truth, Phisiti-
 ons be the wickedest, the contentiouse, the enuious, &
 the falsest men of al other. For al do in such wise disagrē
 amonge themselues, that there is founde no Phisitiane,
 who, without exception, addition, or chaunginge, dothe
 approue the medicine appointed by an other: but rather
 doth not speake il of them, and sleaudeer them, to the end
 that he may not seeme to be the better Phisition, if he shal
 not speake amisse of the good counsaile of an other, or els
 not adde any thinge to them, whiche oftentimes also be
 too many, wherfoze finally the enute and disozde of Phis-
 itions is growen to a Proverbe. For whatsoeuer one
 alloweth, the other skozneth, neither is there certaintie
 amonge them, but all their promises be vaine trifles, and
 mere lyes: for this cause when the common people will
 shewe any that lyeth shamefully, they saye to him: thou
 liest like a Phisition. And the greatest labour of their
 wittes is occupied in this, that in diuising new matters,
 the good workes of the auncientes may be neglected and
 dispised:

A proverbe.

handes, that is grieuouſly ſicke, and ſhall knowe that the diſeaſe is perillouſe, and the ende therof vncertaine, then he creeperh in with theſe ſubtilties: with a rough countenance he preſcribeth rules of diet, he commaundeth vnaccuſtomed thinges, and forbiddeth him his ordinarye meats, he blameth that which is geue him, he threatneth him death, he promiſeth him life, and demaundeth greate rewardes. If he doubteth of the ende, he counſaileth him to cal to together his companie and demaundeth a mate, that he maye cure the diſeaſed with moze ſuertie, or els, as oftentimes it commeth to paſſe, that he maye kill him moze warely leaſte that an other comming in place, who alone reſtoreth the ſicke man to health, maye take from him his reputation, prayſe, & gaine alſo. If any miſhappe ſhall befall to the patiente, or els if contrary to his expectation thoſe we manifeſt ignozaunce he ſhal deprive him of his life, than he doth colourably excuſe himſelfe in ſaying that it proceeded either of the ſtrangling renning of h reume, or of ſome other like ſodaine accident, and remediles chaunce, and he ſharply rebuketh the diſobedience of the patient, or the negligẽce of the keepers, he blameth them of his companie, or putteth the fault in the Apothecarie: and in this manner he maketh men belieue, that no ſicke man dieth but thoſe w his owne faulte, and that no man can be reſtored to health, but by the meanes of the Phiſition. But wil alſo proue this to be true, that Phiſitions moſte commonlye be naught, and that with their

*The wordes of
Peter of Appona*

owne teſtimonies. For Peter of Appona, their attorne maker ſaith that the Arte of Phiſicke is aſcribed to Mars, which is the hatefuller of all the Planetes and which is the authour of ingratitude, brawlinge, and of all iniquities and naughtinneſſe. And therefore Phiſitions for the moſte parte be ill conditioned, aſwell for the influence of Mars and Scorpio, as eſpecially becauſe, as he ſaith, they toke beginning of a vile and a barraine blocke, waringe afterwarde proude and ſpitefull, when they were well ſtuffed,

him medicines, take pilles, be letten blond, let clifters be made, let pitche clothes be made, let ointments be made, let plaisters be made, let bzothes be geuen him, let things be geue him to chaw, let gargarismes be made, let little bagges be made, let perfumes be made, let pleasant meat be geuen him, let sirupes be geuen him, let water be geuen him, let triacle be geue him: and if the disease be not vehement, and the patient somewhat delicate he wil provide for pleasaunte thinges, and with greate authoritae doth commaunde that all suche thinges shoulde be donne whiche he thinketh acceptable and pleasaunt to women & effeminate men, and when he hath laide him vpon a softe hedde, he endeoureth to bring him a sleepe with droppes of well water fallinge into a basen, sometime he ministrereth the sicknesse with rubbinge, sweatinge, and cuppinge: sometime he restoreth the ensebled sicke man with bathes, delicate meate, and with the change of the aire: and that he maie be accompted of greate authoritae, and also be wondred at, obseruing howers he causeth natural alligations & bindinges to be tied about his necke, and dothe not minister medicines and dzinkes but by the Mathematicall Ephimerides. They presume also to beare rule ouer the Apothecarie, & biddeth him to compownde al things in his presence, and maketh as though he chose the best dzogues, although oftentimes he cannot discern vnder counterfait from the true, and knoweth not the things by their names. If the sicke parson be riche, or of greate authoritie, than to the ende that he may haue more gayne and reputation, he prolongeth the disease asmuche as he maye, and doth not restore him to health but by little & little, albeit he can at ones dzine awaye the disease with one medicine, and otherwhile he bringeth the man to extreme daunger of his life, encreasinge the disease with his medicines, to the ende that than he maye be sayde to haue deliuerd him from a most greauous and dangerous sicknesse. And if at any time a sicke man happen into his

of Arte and rules; but the practise accordinge to Physicke is a chaunce. Lette aduenturous sicke men nowe go, and geue credits to perillous experimentes and to chaunce, but so pleasaunt (as Plinie saith) is euery mans swatnes of hope alone, that euery one is beleued y^e professeth him self a Physitian, whereas there is no greater daunger in any lœsing. Hereof it commeth to passe that diuers times health is there soughte, where death is, for he is thought the beste Physitian, whom the Apothecarie, which is partaker of his gaine, dothe commende, who practiseth deceipte with him to beguile others; whose seruantes the Physitian doth also binde vnto him by giuinge them monie, whiche exercisinge the office of bawdes, & praylinge him doo preferre him to the pituous sicke men very excellent also is that Physitian, whiche is clad in braue appa-
 ralle, hauing ringes on his fingers glimeringe with pretious stoanes, and whiche hath gotten authoritæ, fame, and credence for hauinge bene in farre countries, for hauinge made longe pilgrimages, or for beinge of a diuers Religion (as a Iewe or a Marane,) for hauinge a very effectuall vnshamefastnes of face to deceaue, and an obstinate manner of auanting with stiffe lies, that thei haue great remedies. Which hath also won him y^e credite of a learned man for standing alwaies in cõtention, & for hauing cõtinuallly in his mouth many wordes halfe Græke & barbarous; & for reckening vp many names of their authors, & being in this maner instructed moze thẽ with a leaden grauitæ, & as it were with a Souldiers boldnesse, wth this Hipocritie, he then taketh in hand to practise Physicke. First he visiteth the sicke, he beholdeth y^e water, he feeleth y^e pulse, he loketh on the tonge, he gropeth y^e sides, he loketh on the ordure, he wil knowe his maner of diet, and searcheth also if there be any things moze secrete, as if by these he weigheth the Clementes, and as it were trieth in a balance the humours of the patiente, & lyeth a pace: afterwarde with a greate auanting he preserbeth him

The manner of
 Physitions when
 they visite the
 sicke.

foz a God, hath not onely differed in many thinges from other, but also fallen into a foule erreure. Foz in his booke of the nature of a childe, he saith: A birde is engendred of the yolke of an egge, but he hath nourishmente and encreasinge of the white, that is in the egge: whiche Aristotle proueth to be false in his booke of liuinge creatures, and in his booke of the generation of liuinge creatures disputinge against Alcmeon, who was of Hippocrates opinion, he concludeth thus: The originall of the birde is in the white: the meate commeth from the yolke thozowe the nauell, to whiche opinion Plinie dothe also agree, sayinge: the birde taketh his bodie of the white liquor of the egge, whose meate is in the yolke. Is not that Aphorisme of Hippocrates false? A woman hath not the Goute, except her flowers faile: where as many women haue the Goute, which haue their flowers.

Of Phisicke, that consisteth in practise. Cap. 83.

The whole Arte of Phisicke mozeouer is builden vpon no other fundation, then vpon false experimentes, and fortified with the light beleefe of the Sicke, no lesse venemous then beneficiall, so that oftentimes, and well neare alwaies, there is moze daunger in the Phisition, and the medicine, then in the sickenesse it selfe, which thing the very chiefest in this Arte do freely confesse, that is to witte, Hippocrates, sayinge: that this Arte is harde, and deceaueth the Phisition in proufe. And Auicen saithe: that oftentimes the faithe and hope of the patient towardes the Phisition, and the medicine, is of moze force then Phisicke togeather with the Phisition: and Galene affirmeth that a Medecine can hardly be founde, which maie healep muche, and that at one very instant dothe not hurte in some thinge: and an other of them I wotte not who, saithe, the knowledge of Phisicke is pleasaunt, and of al other thinges, which consist

best vnperfect for generation, and that the sēde of bothe,
of the man and the woman doth make a liuing creature.
But Aristotle will, that the bodie of liuinge thinges be
engendred firste of all of bloudd, and immediatly to be
nourished, and that the naturall humoure is engendred
of bloude: Hippocrates contrarwise saithe, that the
bodie of liuing creatures be first engendred of the foure
humours. Many Arabians also haue supposed, that per-
fecte liuinge creatures may be engendred without the
coniunction of male and female, & be brought forth with-
out sēde: and therfore they saide that the matrices were
not necessarie but by accidente. But to entreate of the
original causes of diseases, Hippocrates placeth them in
the breathe without the spirite. Hierophilus in the hu-
mours: Erasistratus in the bloudd of the Arteries, Ascle-
piades considereth them of the indiuisible partes recea-
ued into the inuisible pores of the bodie. Alcmeon of the
abundance or wante of the powers of the bodie. Diocles
of the vnequalité of the bodily elementes, and fetchinge
of the breathe. Strato beleued that all diseases came onely
of superfluité, rawnesse of the stomake, and of the coru-
ption thereof. They likewise disagree in the alteration of
the meate. For Hippocrates, Galene, and Auicen, do af-
firme that the meate is digested in the stomake by heate.
Erasistratus will that this be donne in the belly. Pliston-
icus, and Paraxagoras saie, that it doth not onely digeste,
but putrifie also: But whiche is moze Auicen, and his ex-
positours, Gentiles, and Iames of Forline, not without a
notable error do teache that ordure is engendred in the
stomake: Asclepiades and his followers do suppose that
meate is not digested, but is deuised rawe thoroowe out
all the bodie, and furthermoze they saie that the learning
of all the auncientes is vaine, and superfluous. I speake
not of h iudgements of waters, not yet perfectly knowe
of them, and the pawsinges of the pulses not to be com-
prehended. Hippocrates mozeouer whom they worship
for

glozie of the Arabians encreased so muche, that to very many they seemed the first finders out of this Arte, and without doubt it seemeth that they made strive for it, if the wordes which they vse grounded upon the Græke & Latine, did not declare an other originall of this Arte. For this cause the volumes of Auicenna, Rasis, and Auerrois haue benne receaued in like authoritè with the bookes of Hippocrates, and Galene, and haue gotten so great credite, that if one presume to heale an other without their opinions, he seemeth manifestly to endamage the common saultie of men. And although these sectes of Whisitons be fewe, yet there is no lesse contention, and diuersitè of opinions emonge them, then emonge the Philosophers. For hire with what foolish and vaine reasons they dispute of Sperme, whiche is the naturall humour whereof all liuinge thinges be engendred and fourmed: Pythagoras saide, that it is a skomme or froth of the profitabest blouddes, or els the profitabest supersuite of meate. Plato said: that it was a rennyng downe of the marowe of the backe bone, because their backs & reynes doe ake, which vnmeasurable vse the acte of generation. Alcmeon affirmeth it to be a parte of y bzaine, because the eyes of them that fulfill the fleshly lustes, doe ake, whiche are partes of the bzaine. Democritus saith: that it is a thinge that commeth from all partes of the bodie, and Epicurus will that it be taken from the bodie and soule. Aristotle saith, that it is a superfluitè of blouddie nourishment, whiche is laske of all digested in the members. Others thinke that it is bloudd boyled and made white thowwe the heate of the stonnes, moued onely by this reason, because they, whiche vse the pleasures of loue moze then their force can endure, doe boide droppes of bloude. Whoeuer Aristotle and Democritus saie, that the seede of a woman auaieth nothinge to generation, and that they boide no seede, but a certaine particular sweate. Galene saith, that they boide sperme, al-

*The opinions of
philosophers
touchinge the
Sperme.*

Hippocrates more then others reduced the whole Arte of Physicke to the knowledge of causes, and signes, to the qualitates of thinges, and to diuers plights and likinges of bodie. But because this secte hath to do about words, rather then aboute the thinges themselues, I confesse it is not the meanest parte of naturall Philosophie, yet not very necessarie to cure the diseased, I will not saie hurtfull, as that whiche referreth mens faultie and health to certaine wretched Sophismes, rather then to pure Medicines, with whiche diseases maie be cured: and busied in scholerlike Syllogismes, ignoraunt of desertes, wooddes, and gardens, dothe not knowe hearbes, and medecine: wherefoze Serapion confessed that this Rational Physicke belonged not to the Arte of healinge maladies. There is then an other secte of Physicke altogeather gainefull and seruill, whereof Physitions vntill this daie haue their name. For this cause they call it Operatiue, that is workinge, deuiding the same into Empericall, & Methodicall, hereof in this place we haue to speake. Wherefoze they call it Empericall, that is to saie, that consisteth in practise, of experimentes, the heades whereof were Serapion, Heraclides, and both the Apollonij: whom afterwarde of the Latines Marcus, Cato, C. Valgius, Pomponius, Lencus, Cassius Foelix, Aruntius, Cornelius Celsus, Plinie, & many other followed. Of this Hierophilus the Chalcedonian, made afterwarde the Methodicall, that is, compendious to learne by, and by longe experience the mistresse of all thinges, reduced it to certaine rules, whiche afterwarde Asclepiades, Themistion, & Archigenes did approue with moste stronge argumentes: But Thefillus the Italian was he that brought it to perfection, who (as Varro saithe) disanulled all the opinions of them whiche were befoze him, and as it were with a certaine doggish madnesse enueighed against al the Physitions of the time passe. After these very many barbarouse Philosophers of fozeine nations wzote thereof, emonge whome the

glozie

grosse. And this is the magnificence of the Herauldes, wherewith by auncient custome of times they repute themselues great men, because it is lawfull for the, without punishment, to depraue the worthiest.

Of Physicke. Cap. 82.

BUt now let vs passe from warrefare, and nobilitie to Physicke, whiche also is a certaine Arte of man- slaughter altogether seruill, although it presume to passe vnder the title of Philosophie, & aboute the know- ledge of the lawe, both seeke to haue the nexte place to di- uinitie, wherefore there is a greate contention betwene Physitions and Lawiers. For the Physitions argue in this manner: Seinge that there be three kindes of godes by order, of the Soule, Bodie, and of Fortune: the diuine hath charge of the firste, the Physition of the seconde, the Lawiers of the thirde, for this cause they will that the Physitions haue the midle place aboute the Lawiers, in so muche as the strength and health of the bodie is better then the riches of Fortune. But there was a certaine Mayor of a Citie, whom I know not, that made an ende of this matter in variaunce, with a preatie and pleasant demaund. For he asked of them that were in strife, what vslage & order was obserued in carpyng men to the Gallowes, whether wente befoze, and behinde the theefe or the Hangeman? And when they answered that the theefe wente befoze, and the Hangeman nexte, he gaue sentence, sayinge: the Lawiers then go befoze, and the Physitions come after: reprocuinge in this manner their notable robberie, and rathe murders. But returne we to Physicke, which hath many sectes: for there is one, which they call Rationall, or Sophisticall, or Dogmaticall, and this haue Hippocrates, Diocles, Chrysippus, Caristi- nus, Paraxagoras, and Horosistratus followed, which Ga- lene, a longe time after these, did approue: who following Hippocrates

The controwersie of Physitions and Lawiers, touch- inge their pre- heminance is ended by the pleasant iudge- ment of a cer- taine Mayor.

to thy charge, put any burdeine vpon thee, and aske thee any monie: if thou shalt offende in any thinge, looke to be chastised by Cæsar, and noman els, in all dishonestie that men shall committe, I will that thou be their iudge & discloser, whether they shall be priuate men or officers: that which thou shalt saie and affirme for truthe, no man shall reprove for false, I will that al wates and places be free and open to thee, thou shalt haue authoritèe to eate & drinke at the tables of Princes, thou shalt yearly haue wages of the common treasure to finde thee, & thy householde: let her be preferred befoze other women, whiche thou shalt take to thy lawful wife: he whom thou shalt reprove, & cal infamouse, let him be wicked & infamouse, thou being Heroe shalt haue authoritèe to beare armes, badges, names and ornaments, which be conuenable for a Kinge: do what thou wilt in euery place and countrie where thou comest. If any shall do thee wronge, let his head be cut of. Lastly Charles the Great, when he had translated the name of the Empire to the Germans, after the Saxons, & Lombardes were vanquished, beinge called Cæsar & Augustus, gaue them this honour, sayinge: My Souldiers ye shall be called Heroes, the companions of Kinges, and iudges of offences, liue ye hereafter boide of labour, counsaile Kinges in the publike authoritèe, reprove dishonest things, fauour women, heape orphans, let not Princes misse your counsaile, and aske of them meate, drinke, and monie: if any of them shall denie it, let him be vnrenowned and infamouse: if any shall do you iniurie, let him knowe that he hath offended the Emperours Maiestie: but ye shall forsee that ye distaine not so great an honour, and so great a priuiledge, gotten by the great labour of warre with dronkenesse, railing, or with any other vice: to the ende that that which we haue geue you for glozy, redounde not to punishment, whiche we will for euer reserue to be geuen you by vs, and our successours Emperours of Rome as often as ye shall transgress.

*The honour
which Charles
the Great gaue
to Heraldes.*

gers sent to entreate of warre and peace, whiche neuer were Souldiers, haue this office. But the Pruilleges and the offices of Heraldes whiche were manye hundred yeares passe do continew vntill this daye.

Father Bacchus was their first creauncer, who, when he had conquered India, he created them with these words: I do now discharge you from the labours of warre, I will that you be called old Souldiers, and Heroes: your office shalbe to prouide for the comon weale, to chastice offenders: to praise good men, and from other duties ye shalbe free in all places, & to what countrie soeuer ye shal come, Kinges will geue you meate, drinke, & clothe, you shalbe honoured of euery man, Princes will presente you with giffes, and geue you their garmentes, let your wordes and deedes be one, you shall abhorre lies, you shall iudge traitours, and pronounce them infamouse, which ill entreate women: it shalbe lawfull for you to go thoro' out al the world, and your passage and abidinge shalbe safe. If any shall do iniurie to you, or any one of you in worde or deede, he shalbe stricken with a sword. Alexander the Great, a longe time after put to the pruilleges of these Heroes, that they might weare Golde, Purple, Skarlet, and coate armour, and also beare armes, & royall badges in what coaste and countrie so euer they were. He willed moreouer that if any had beaten or wronged them in worde, that he should lose his goodes & his heade. In this wise Eneas declareth that Thucidides, Herodotus, Diodorus, Megasthones, and Xenophon do write the same. Thirdly, Octauian Augustus when he had framed his Roman Monarchie, he honored them with this law: What euer thou be, that shalt serue with vs in Warres ten yeares space, so that thou shalt be .xl. yeares old, whether thou haste serued on foote, or on horse backe, hereafter be thou free from warre, be thou Heroes and an olde Souldier: let no man forbide thee the Citie, the Create, the Temple, lodging, & his house: let noman laie any blame:

The creation of Heraldes by Bacchus.

A lawe made by Octauiane Augustus for Heraldes.

makinge Iupiter the ruler therof. In redde thei expounde
 wꝛath and reuengement, for the Seignourie of furliouse
 Mars. The yelowe coloure of golde is dedicated to the
 sonne, and thei say, that it signifieth desire and mirth, for
 the price of his mettal, & for the most cleare shining of the
 sonne. They assigne purple and grene to Venus, and thei
 say that purple signifieth loue taking pleasure in roseall
 coloure, but the Frenchemen woulde haue it to impozte
 subtiltée of treason. Græne by the consent of al men both
 signifie hope, because when the fieldes waye græne, men
 hope for fruit. The white coloure is attributed to y mone,
 which although it be simple without mixture, yet easilye
 taking al mixture, they wil that it signifie purenes, plain-
 nesse, aptnesse. Al the other mingled coloures they attri-
 bute to Mercurie, who as he is wandzing and vnconstāt,
 so do they declare the varietée of the minde. For ashie co-
 lour, as nighest to blacke, signifieth trouble of minde: car-
 nation as of bloude letten, secrete greise of the minde, or
 hidden thought: but yelowe, cleare, or darke, like leaues
 when they fall, and witheringe herbes, desperation and
 suspition. It shoulde be longe to rehearse the clatteringe
 toys that they sayne of the humours, complexions, and
 the times of the yeare, of the monethes, and dayes, of the
 angles of the worlde and windes, of the signes, planets,
 plantes, soanes, of the Sacramentes and Mysteries of y
 Churche: all draloe well neare the whole Apocalyps by
 force to these fables: and this is that Heroical Philosophy
 of the Heroical Herald. I would here haue made an end
 of this matter, if I had not remembꝛed that I had passed
 ouer the originall of the Heraldes, and therefore I
 thinke good to forgyne it to this discourse: Eneas Syluius
 would haue the Heralds to be so called of Heroes. Heroes
 were olde Souldiers: which alone ought to be Heralds, &
 so this duthe worde Herald signifieth, that is to saie, an
 olde man in armes, or els an olde Souldier. But now we a
 dayes certaine meane men, Embassadoures, and messen-
 gers

wise not to be admitted. In y^e number of these be Connies, Wants, Frogges, Locustes, Pise, Serpents, Saiepeges, Scolopenders, by whiche it is supposed (as Plinie saithe) that people haue sometimes bene dzinen awaye, & Cities destroyed, and for the same causes also we wil very gladly graunt to them gnates, pynses, flies, and if they will botches, bleanes, biles, pestilence: for with these in time past was Egypt scurged vnder Pharao vnd Moses: and at this daye also they be accompted more Noble then other, which are garnished with y^e Frenche pokes. Where be of the also which set in their Shildes, Swords, Daggers, Halberds, Ares, Hagbuttes, Towers, Castles, Ingins, Fiers, and many other instruments of homicide, and destruction. Furthermore the ensignes of the Scythians was in time past lightninge, of the Persians a bowe & quowers, of the Corallans, wheelles. Likewise emonge the Heathen Gods Iupiter chose lightning, Neptune the triplet or thed mace, Mars the Haueling, Bacchus the Spere wrapped in Bowes, and iupe, Saturne the sieth. And euery one of these badges of armes accordinge to the expression of his cruclty, rauine, violence, manhode, rashnesse, and other vertues of Nobilitie, as the Herauldes do appointe, are supposed some nobler then some. And the tergates that want them & do expresse milder things, as trees, flowers, starres, & suche like, as Apolloes harpe, Mercuries rodde, or be parted with the onely varietie of coloures, be much more latter, & lesse noble then the firste, because it is not thought that they haue not ben gotten with any martial prowesse, or with any other skil of bloodshedde or death, yet it is a marueile to see with what a folishe wisdom these Herauldes of armes do play the Astronomers, Philosophers & deuines in these matters, whilest they attribute the duskie and blacke colour vnto Saturne, ascribing to it for that cause, constancie, silence, and patience: they will mozeouer that the blew and asure coloure signifie saithe, or after the opinion of the Frenchemen ielouisie

*A noblenesse
more the beastly*

*What is mente
by the coloures
in armes.*

From hence came mozeouer that noble Arte and Philosophie of Heraldies, very much occupied in appointing and geuing the creasts of Noble men: to whom it is an hainous and infamouse thinge to beare in armes any beaste that carieth burdeins, or Calfe, or Sheepe, or Lambe, or Capon, or Hen, or Gowe, or any suche beastes or birdes, whiche are necessary to men, for seruice or vse: but al men ought to begin the badges of their Nobilitie with cruell and greedy beastes. In this wise the Romans chose them the Eagle the greediest of all birdes, the Phrygians the Sowre a hurtful beaste, the Thracians, Mars, the ancient Gothes, the Beare, the people Alani that inuaded Spaigne, the Catte a greedy and craftie beaste: the olde Frenchemen, the Lion, the Saxons also the same: but afterwarde the Frenchemen that inhabited Fraunce toke the Loode, the Saxons, the Horse a warrelike beast. The Fleminges beare the Bull in token of valtauntnes and hardines. The ensigne of King Antiochus was an Eagle y helde a Dragon in his clawes, of Pompei, a Lion with a sword, of Attila, a crowned Genet. And y Romans the selues, whiche were saued by Geese that watched in the Capitoll againste the Frenchemen, coulde not be moued for so greate a benefit receiued to beare a Gowe in their ensignes. Perhaps there be of them, which beare in their armes a Cocks and a Goate because they be proude and lecherouse: which be the especial endowmentes of noble men. For the same cause they beare the Beakecocke for pride: and the Lapwinke, which seemeth to haue some royall thinge, and weareth a crowne: neither doth it en damage Nobilitie, that he maketh his neste in ordure, for in time past Vaspasiane the Emperour also toke tribute of vrine, saying: That the saour of gaine did not stincke. Many small liuing thinges mozeouer haue a prerogatiue in these armes, if so be they teach some destruction, otherwise

*Beasts infamous
in armes.*

*The Romaines
saued by Geese.*

léeful to entrappe tyzauntes, that it was léeful to deceine them, very honest to kil them, and also to poyson them, as Tiberius the thirde Emperoure after Iulius Cæsar was slaine: but albeit poysoning hath euer ben detestable, yet the woꝛld déemed that to geue life wherwith he was killed. The holy Scriptures doe witnesse the same in Eglon, in Sisara, in Holofernes, whome Aioth, Iahel, and Iudith slewe: whiche was léefull euen in the presence of God, to shake of the yoke of bondage with the deathe of tyzaunts for their misdeedes, and al they by whose pꝛowesse the afflicted people were deliuered, be honoured in the holy Historie of the Bible for the Ministers of God. But now we doubt not that Nobilitée is naught, not so much for vñe, & custome, as for nature: for emonge birdes, and fourfooted beastes, none els haue the pꝛerogatiue of Nobilitée, but suche as are not so enuious as hurtfull vnto other liuing creatures and to men themselues, as Eagles, Vultures, Falcons, Hawkes, Kauens, Kites, Owriches, the fabulous Harpies, Griffons, Hermaydes, and suche like monsters. In like manner Tigers, Lions, Woulfes, Lizards, Beares, Boares, Dragons, Serpents, & Toades. Of trées there haue ben fewe or none accompted Noble, and dedicated to the Heathen Gods, but they which haue ben either barraine, or bringe forth no fruite for men to eate, as the Oke, the trée called Esculus, the Beeche, the Baye, the Myrtle. Emonge stoanes not marble, not them wherewith men builde, not them y^e grinde coꝛne be accompted y^e noblest, but they that be pꝛetious, as Diamonds, Rubies, Pearles, and suche like, and bringe no commoditie vnto men. And so in Mettals, Siluer whiche causeth very much mischiefe, and Gold moꝛe hurtful then Iron, be moꝛe esteemed and accompted the beste, for whiche the people fight one with an other with many slaughters and losse of mans bloude.

tained to glory, and no otherwise then ancient Giants
do glory in their offences, and for so much as like devils
of hell they seeke on every side to do harme, than they are
thought chiefely to do good, whan onely they cease to do
harne, endeuouringe to feare all men and to be loued of
noman, layinge in a parte with all naughty and wicked
men, and do spoile and oppresse such as committed them-
selues to their custody: neither is there any kinde of men
more pestilent to Cities then these Nobles, whiche plea-
singe themselues do alwayes swel with a prowde numde
as though they were more Gentlemanlike then others.
Of which for this cause Aristophanes hath not cofarled
amisse, sayinge, that Lyons ought not to be nourished in
a Citty, but if they be brought up: wee muste do as they
will haue vs. The Swissers in time past being oppressed
by these mens Tyrannie slewe their Nobles, and roted
al their progenie out of the countrie, with this notable
murder of Nobles, they haue gotten a name renowned
for their prowesse, togeather with libertie, wherin they
haue happely ruled & raigned more then foure hundzeth
yeares vntil this daye, and haue alwayes hated this ge-
neratio of Noble men. None were once more acceptable
to the people, nor reputed woorthier of greater rewards,
then they which had slaine tiraunts, together with their
complices and maintainers, and also their innocent chil-
derne, mozeouer the Lawiers teach that sometimes they
which haue not offended may be righteously put to death,
if that be available to the common wealth, as when a ty-
raunte is slayne, to murder also his childeen, because no
newe tyrannye may sprynge vp: as the Greekes, after
the destruction of Troye, slewe Astyanax the sonne of
Hector, to the ende that there might remaine no occasion
to make warre eftsones. Let vs peruse the Historiogra-
phers of ancient time, Titus Liuius, Iosephus, Egesippus,
Quintus Curtius, Suetonius, Tacitus, Serenus, Tranquil-
lus, and the residue, & we shal finde that it was alwayes

*The swissers
slewe their
Nobles.*

*They whiche
haue not offen-
ded may some-
times be put to
death.*

into them with greate authoritie: as
 If damned dice the Father doth
 delite, the galante sonne
 VVill playe, and make the squared boanes
 on plained borde to ronne.

These be the godly vertues of Gentleme. But they haue
 moreouer certaine other Artes of Nobilitie, in the which
 they beinge warste of all, endeouore that they maye
 seme to be good and honest men, and appeare honourable
 for their wisdom, liberalitie, godly zeale, and iustice, thei
 shewe themselves so gentle, pleasaunt, and courteise in
 language, & notable in the dissimulation of all vertues:
 they make their wordes more caulme then oyle, & they
 be darter, they dayly make sumptuous bankets: and rea-
 son very franckly of the publike wealth in their talke and
 communication, and geuing eare to other mens opiniõs,
 do therby get them the fame of wise and woorthy men in
 the counsailes of Princes: and do wrongfully take the
 same of liberalitie of couetousnes, whilest they be like li-
 berall thæues do take from one that whiche they geue to
 an other, which the ancientes write also of Scylla, whilest
 they goinge about to enriche one with the wronge of an
 other be alwayes poore themselves, for al their continual
 robberies. Wherefore they seeke for the name of iustice &
 godlines, whilest they willingly take in hand to defende
 poore mens quarrels, and maintaine their causes against
 the richer sorte, but they onely helpe these eppressed par-
 sons, vntil they haue empted the wealthy mens powches.
 Neither do they minde to profit the poore, but to hurt the
 riche, whiche is easier for euery of them to do then to do
 good, and oftentimes with this shadowe of righteousnes
 and godlinesse they claime to themselves so great a liber-
 tie, that they do wronge to Cities, & to the greatest per-
 sonages, and trouble them with common enmitie: and of
 whome for the authoritie of the Lawes noman may hope
 for pardon, these vnder the pretence of Nobilitie haue at-
 tained

Cornelius Agrippa

from doubtful countries, and ouerwhelmed with a thousande offences moſte haynous, and notwithstanding (on Gods name) we muſt praiſe and extol this their Nobilitée, which hath had ſo diſhoneſt beginnings. Some bozne of Whores and Harlottes, do cloke this ſhame with fables, as we reade of Meluſina. There be of them whiche haue had other wicked beginnings, inceſte, deflourings, rauifhinges, aduouenteries and ſuch like. In this wiſe Baldouine for graunting his daughter Iudith to Charles the balbe was created the firſte Earle of Flaunders. Like wiſe y^e Marquesſes of Piemont, that is to wit, of Mountefarrate, Salutia, Senc, & many other were created by the Emperour Otho, in conſideration of one of their daughter, whiche he defloured. For Kinges and Emperoures were wonte ſometimes to auance their wzonges to honoure with ſome title of dignitée, which they be not able to reuenge without great ſhame. There are mozeouer foure principall pointes, in whiche al their felicitée doth conſiſte: The firſte is their extorcion, where with againſt al right and equitée, they hold, take and poſſeſſe: the other is voluptuousnes, wher with they accuſtome themſelues in all kinde of luxuriousnes and ſenſualitée: the thirde is liberty, where with the lawes neglected, they enuironed with the force of violence, do al thinges as they liſte: the fourthe is ambition, where with they puffe d by do ſeeke aboue their eſtate and condition, for higher promotion with al kinde of wickedneſſe. Finally the ſufficiencie of all gentlemen is herin declared, if they can hunte, if they haue bene damnably taught in diſiſinge, if they ſhewe the ſtrength of their body with greate quaffinge, if they declare the ſtrength of nature by the often uſe of Venerie, if they ſpende franckly and luſtely, if they geuen to pride, to exceſſe, and to all intemperancie, and enemies of vertues, do forget that they were bozne and that they ſhall dye. But they be muche moze noble, if this wickedneſſe ſhall deſcende from the Fathers to the childerne, & enter
into

to decaie againe thoroꝝwe some slaue of harlotttes and Lecherie. It should be ouer longe in this place to reckon by the beginntnges of all kingdomes, and to range thoroꝝw al the histories of antiquities. I haue els where described in a larger volume, this thinge which I haue here bziely touched, I haue by pcece meale set forth nobilitée in his colours, and proportions, and I haue shewed that there neuer was, noꝝ presently is, any kingdome oꝝ greate dominion in the woꝝld, which hath not begonne with murder of parentes, treason, disloyaltée, crueltée, slaughter, death, & other horrible mischiefes, the very Artes of nobilitée, whereof sith there be such heades, we maie easely perceiue, what other members this beaste hath, and all these readie and exercised to violence, rauine, murder, Huntinge, sensualitée, and to all kinde of dishonestie. He that wilbe Noble, let him firste be a Hunter: this is the firste beginninge of Nobilitée, afterwarde a hired Souler, & let him serue an other for monye to commit murders, this is the true vertue of Nobilitée, wherein if he shall shewe himselte a stronge theefe, there is no greater gloꝝy of Nobilitée. He that is vnmeeete to do these things, let him buy Nobilitée with mony: for it is solde aswell as other things: oꝝ if he cannot do this, let him be the Kings parasite, oꝝ bring himselte in fauour by some other courtly deceipte, let him be baude to the Whores of the Palace, oꝝ make his wife oꝝ daughters comon to the Prince, oꝝ let him fulfil the appetite of Ladies, oꝝ marrie the Kings Concubine, oꝝ take to wife their bastard daughters, this is the highest degꝝe of Nobilitée: for he is made one body with them. These be the wayes, these be the ladders, and these be the steppes, with which, thoroꝝw a short path men ascende to the highest peffection of Nobilitée. But they that wil seme in their kinde moꝝe Gentlemanlike and Nobleste of all others, auant that they are descended of such men, as euery man woulde dispise, that is, straungers, Troians, and Macedonians, wandꝝinge and aꝝinge

Howe a man should be noble.

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he established to him and his posteritie with the murder of Atolde, his Cousin kinge of the Weste Saxons, whose succession remaineth vntil this daie very famous, for notable murders. I speake not of the kingdomes of Burgundie, and Lumbardie, first begon by the farthest people of Germanie, in Fraunce, & Italic, on this side by kinge Gondaicke, on the other side by kinge Alboyne, and afterwarde continued with mosse cruell murders. Let vs behold the mightie kingdom of the Frenchmen, his firste beginniges toke originall of Pharamond, sonne of the Capitaine Morouce, who first cominge out of Germanie into Fraunce, was made the firste kinge of the Frenchmen, passing euery man in crueltie and fiercenesse. This kinges line endured vnto Childericke the thirde, who for negligence in gouerninge the common wealth, & for vnlawful luste towardes Matrones, being driuen out of his kingdom, was enforced to flee into a monasterie of Monkes, Pipine of the elder house succeeding him in the kingdom, which he gettinge to him selfe & his posteritie by treason afterwarde, with the murder of his brother Grifo, established it euen vnto y^e time of Lewes y^e sixt Lotharies sonne, who was poysoned by Blanche his wife for committinge aduoutrie, Hewgh Capete than innadinge the kingdom of Fraunce, a swashbuckler, a cruell man, and a wortheie warriour, who for these Artes, was much esteemed of the people of Paris, otherwise vnnoble and a Bouchers sonne. This man rebelled against Charles the vncle of Lewes, & the true inheritour of the kingdom, hauing gathered a power of naughty knaues, & an armie of wicked theues, he cast the saide Charles in pryson at Orleance, who was yelded into his handes, and enforced him there to die, thus when he had committed this murder against the Kinge, & his Prince, he put on y^e crowne, and hauing chaunged the Boucherie for a kingdom, he and his posteritie afterwarde raigned in Fraunce: whose succession continueth euen to this daie, vntil that it come

Hewgh Capete
a Bouchers
sonne Kinge of
Fraunce.

nearer to our age . In the time of Theodosius the Empe-
 rour , the firste that raigned in Spaigne was Atanaricus
 the Gothe , but at the same time also the people Alani , &
 the Vandales possessed Spaigne. Suitilla was the firste of
 the Gothish kings , that had the Monarchie of Spaigne ,
 whiche , lastly kinge Rodericke , because he had desloured
 Iulia , daughter to the Lieutenant of the prouince Tin-
 gitana , losse , bringinge the Empire of the Gothes to an
 ende , because the Saracines did than inuade Spaigne : af-
 ter ward whē certaine places were recovered vnder king
 Pelagius , than firste they beganne to be called kinges of
 Spaigne , & nomore of Gothes , the title of the kingdome
 remaininge in the Citie of Legio , vntill the time of Fer-
 dinandus the sonne of Sautius , who firste proclaimed him
 selfe kinge of Castell , and after that he had slaine his bro-
 ther Garfia , with that murder he gotte also the kingdome
 of Nauarre . But their brother Ramirus , whom theire fa-
 ther begatte on a concubine , a warrelike and fierce man
 became the firste kinge of Aragon . But Alphonfus was
 the first king of Portugal , begotten by Henry Lotharing ,
 and Tyresia the bastarde daughter of Alphonfus king of
 Castell , a man valiaunt in armes , who in one battaile
 alone ouercame five kinges of the Saracines , for this cause
 the kinges of Portugall beare in their tergates the signe
 of five shieldes : not withstandinge this Alphonfus was
 cruell towards his mother , whom he caste in perpetuall
 prison , because shee married the second time , neither could
 he be turned with any desires of his friendes , nor with
 the threathninges of the Church to set her at libertie . Fi-
 nally all these kingdomes of Spaigne haue bene gotten
 with mischieuous actes , or established with the same pra-
 ctises . The beginnings of the kingdome of England be
 fabulouse : This Ilande was after warde inhabited & sub-
 dued ouer all vnder diuers kinges , & of many Nations ,
 of the Pictes , Scottes , Danes , and Saxons . Lastly it gotte
 a quiete Monarchie vnder William Conquerour , which

Cornelius Agrippa

fourth Monarchie of y^e world toke beginnunge, and not without murder, although this Augustus was accompted the mildest of all other Princes, notwithstandinge he killed a bove & a maide, the childzen of Cæsar his vncke & Cleopatra, by whom he was adopted, and appointed heire in the Empire, hauinge respecte neither to the name, nor to the benefite, nor to the kinned, nor to the childehoode. After this manner the Romane Princes gotte the Monarchie of the worlde, and begate Nero, Domitian, Caligula, Hellogabalus, Galien, and other monsters of crueltie and lewde life, vnder whom the whole worlde trembled: vntill Constantine the Greate, after he had slaine Mezentius, who for his sensualité and crueltie was hated of the Romane people, was declared Emperour by the Senate. This Constantine, when he repaired Bizance, and made it a Citie, contendinge with Rome for glozie, and for that did commaunde it to be called newe Rome, and of his name Constantinopolis, woulde that it shoulde be the seate of Emperours, and brought the Romane Empire to the Grækes, and did consecrate it at Constantinople, as Romulus did at Rome, with the slaughter of the two Licinij, husbände and sonne of his sister, and with the murder of his owne childzen and wife: and the Empire continued emonge the Grækes vntill the time of Charles the Greate, in whome onely the name of the Empire passed to the Germans. But we haue hitherto sufficiently spoken of Monarchies. Lette vs consider the beginninges and endes of some other kingdomes, and we shall finde that they had no better beginninges, nor gotten with lesse abominable vices, nor againe vndonne with lesse sensualité. I will not speake of the murders of Dardanus, & in what manner he being perswaded to commit a mischieuous déede, was the firste Kinge of the Grecians. I will also passe ouer the gouernaunce of women gotten by the murders of men, as the Histozies doe recorde of the Amazones. Let vs passe to latter times, and nearer

erouse pastime allured the women and daughters of the
Sabines dishonestly rauished, and with cruell mariages
coupled to him, and his, and gotten with the slaughter of
their parentes, & husbandes did after this defende them
wth other freshe murders: For notable to refraine from
y^e bloude of his Father enlaue, did cruelly murder Titus
Tatius, a righteouse old man, and a most noble Capitaine
of the Sabines, being partaker with him in his kingdome.
These were y^e beginninges of the Romane raigne, which
gouerned for the space of two hundzeth, fortye and thre
yeares vnder cruel Kinges, and ceased vnder Tarquinius
the proud for the shamefull acte of deslowred Lucrece.
And euen as the successiō of Cain perished in the seventh
generation vnder the deluge of waters: in like manner
also these successours of Romulus were oppzessed in the
seuenth number of Kinges by the insurrectiō of the peo-
ple: & although the Citie of Rome had abolished the rule
of Kinges, neuerthelesse it was not free from tirannie.
For after that the kinges were expulsed, when after the
great commotion of the people, the kingdome was trans-
posed to the heade men of the Citie, one Brutus a noble
man was firste chosen consul of the Romans. This man,
to the ende that he might establishe so great an Empire,
wente about, not onely to counteruaile in murder kinge
Romulus, the firste builder thereof, but to surpassse him al-
so, for somuch as he caused his two Sonnes being youge
men, and so many of the Vitellij whiche were his wiuces
brotthers, to be whipped with roddes, and to be beheaded
in the middle of the market place. And when this Em-
pire had continued a longe time vnder the nobles and
commons by diuers Magistrates, & priuate tirannies, it
ended vnder Iulius Cæsar, a man, it is harde to saie, whe-
ther moze valiaunt in battaile, or corrupte in Lecherie,
and after ward ended estlones vnder Antonie the bonde
flaue of Lecherie, and the whole Empire of the Romanes
passed to Octauian Augustus the Emperoure, in him the

rupte then any woman, whome Arbactus Lieutenant of Media findinge emonge flockes of Harlottes, newe, and he proclaiminge him selfe kinge, transposed all the Empire from the Assyrians to the Medes, and at the length Cyrus brought it to the Persians, emonge whome, his sonne Cambises builder of newe Babylon, hauinge toygned therunto many kingdomes, helde the seconde Monarchie, whiche he defiled with the murder of his brother and sonne: finally it fell to Nurfus the sonne of Ochus, whome, after he was slaine by Bagous the gelded man, Darius the Persian, sonne of Arsous succeeded, firste called Gademanus, who vanquished by Alexander the Greate, togeather with his life ended the Monarchie of the Persians, whiche, the same Alexander beinge accessarie, and a counsaillour of his fathers death, togeather with his aduoutrous mother by meanes of this famous murder, broughte to the Macedonians, and this was the thirde Monarchie, which also failed when Alexander was dead. The fourth succeeded whiche was the Monarchie of the Romains, then the which, there was none mightier in the worlde, but if we beholde the processe of times since the buildinge of Rome, we shall finde that it had his original of wicked beginninges, & very often continued by wicked men, wherefoze we will fetch these thinges farre, and from the firste builders of Rome. The Citie of Rome was firste builded in Italic by two brothers, Remus and Romulus, begotten of an incestuouse Vestal virgin, and nourished by a Harlotte, whose kingdome Romulus, like Cain, defiled with the death of his brother. And for so much as he suffered him selfe to be called the sonne of the Gods, gatheringe a power of wicked attendauntes and promisinge them suretie, rauished the daughters of the Sabines, and geuinge them to wiues suche as they did chouse, begatte Giauntes, I meane, those Kinges and Barons of the Romane nobilitie, feared of all the worlde. And than when they had with deceitfull league, & trayterouse

constauncie of the man, he caused him to be bilde for a Souldier, that afterwarde he mighte go on warrefare, that is, to robbe. Nowe passinge to the Historie of the Gentils, we declare likewise that nobilitie is nothinge els, then rauine, madnesse, robbetrie, thefte, manslaughter, riote, huntinge, and violence spronge in euery place of mosse wicked beginniges, continued by worse, and alwaies to haue had a very dishonest ende: whiche thinge shall manifestly be seene in these sower famousse Monarchies, and afterwarde also in the raigues of other Noble men. The firste Monarchie after the deluge was that of the Assyrians, which Ninus beganne, who firste of all not contented with his owne limites, thzough desire to enlarge his Empire, auauced skanderdes out of his Countrie, and makinge blouddie warre vpon the borderers, subdued al the people of the East, and alwaies encreased the greatnesse of his gottē Empire with freshe victozies, and continual augmentation of sozaine Countries. Asia beinge subdued, & Pontus conquered. After this he slew Zoroastes Kinge of the Bactrians vanquished by him in battaile. Ninus wife was called Semiramis, shee (as Dion the Historian recompteth) desired her husbande to raigne sine dates, which thinge graunted and obtained, shee caused the crowne and robe to be made readie, & sate downe in the royall seate, and commaunded the garde to kill her husbande Ninus, and spoile him of his princely ornaments, who after that he was in this manner murdered, shee succeeded him in the Empire: and not contented with the boundes of the kingdome, soygned Ethiopia to her Empire, shee made warre in India, shee compassed Babylon with a stately walle, lastly shee was slaine by Ninus the second, her sonne, whom shee had wickedly concealed, cruelly caste out to be perished, and incestuously bled. The Monarchie of the Assyrians gottē the Soueraintie by these murders of parentes and kinnsolke, vntill it failed vnder Kinge Sardanapalus a man moze corrupte

*Semiramis slew
her husbande.*

and captiues into Babilon: and eftsones after a long season thozowe the mercy of God retourned to Hierufalem and happely gouerned their common weale for a certain space vnder Prieftes, Noble men, and populare Magistrates, vntil Aristobolus, Hircanus sonne, crowned him selfe kinge, and with the slaughter of his Mother & Brethren restozed the kingdome of the Iewes, whiche afterwarde continuyng by many Kinges, lastly ended vnder Archelaus a proude, & dishonest kinge, when Iudea was made a prouince of the Romaines, & at length destroyed vnder Titus and Vespasiane, all the people beinge scattered abzoade thozowe out all the worlde vntill this daie for a perpetuall bondage. Wherefoze I thought good to take these thinges out of the holy Scripture, to shew that since the beginning of the worlde there hath bene no Nobilitée, which hath not had a naughtie beginninge, yea in the people of God, and that nobilitée to be nothingse els, but the glozie and rewarde of publike iniquité: wherein the moze the life is distained, the nobler it is, the moze mischieuous actes, the moze rewarde and glozie: as Diomedes the pirate pzetely saide to Alexander when he was taken: I, because I robbe with one Shippe alone, am accused for a pirate: thou, because thou doest it with a great nauie, art called an Emperour: if thou were alone, and a prisoner, thou shouldest be a thiefe, if the people obeyed me at a becke, I shoulde be called an Emperour: For as touchinge the cause we differre not, sauinge that he is warste, that taketh moze wickedly, that forsaketh iustice moze contemptuously, and that resisteth the lawes moze manifestly. For them, whiche I flée, thou purfuest: them which I honour, as I maie, thou dispisest, the crueltée of fortune, and pouertie maketh me a thiefe, and thée, intollerable pride and vnsatiablenesse. If my fortune would ware moze sauourable, perhappes I shold become better: but, the moze fortunat thou shalt be, the wickeder thou wilt be. Alexander maruellinge at the

constancie

*The answer
of Diomedes, to
Alexander the
Great.*

the Monarchie of the Israelites in quietnesse, for while he liued his sonne Absolon inuaded y^e kingdome in Hebron, and whē he was slaine, Siba the sonne of Bochra, inuaded the kingdome a freshe. After this in-like maner Adonias sought meanes, & endeouored with all study to attaine to y^e kingdome. But Dauid, beinge aboute to die, appointed Salomon his yongest sonne, begotten on Bethsabe y^e adul- tresse to be his heire, & he was the first y^e had y^e Monarchie of the Hebzeues, which he established with the death of Adonias his eldest bzoother, & likewise after he was made Kinge, he wente out of the right waie after women into fornications, and Idolatrie, forsaking the lawe of God, & his naughtie sonne Roboam succeeded him in the state, a wicked man also, and a sinner against God: and therfore the Monarchie of the people was taken from him, & ten tribes rebelled againste him: and made Hieroboam their Kinge, a most wicked man, of the Tribe of Dan, who pos- sioned all Israel, withdrawinge ten Tribes from God to Idolatrie, erectinge Calues in Samaria, that the blessinge might be fulfilled: saying, Dan is a Serpent in the waie, and a Dragon in the pathe bitinge the Horse heele, that his rider maie fall backwarde. But the Tribe of Iuda rested vnder the seede of Dauid, euen as Iacob blessed it, that the Scepter shoulde not be taken from Iudas, untill Messias came. This Iudas was the wurste of the sonnes of Iacob, and had dishonestly behaued him selve with his sonnes wife, and his childzen were moste wicked and naught: wherefore he had the blessinge of nobilitie in the Scepter of his kingdome, & in the strength of the Lion: at the length also the people of Edom and Lobne, depar- ted from the Kinges of Israel, and created Kinges accor- dinge to their wil and pleasure, as God blessed Esau, that he, as he listed might shake of his yoke. But emonge all the Kinges of Iuda and Israel, scantly fower haue benne founde good. Wherefore when the Kinges were expulsed, the Iewes with all the nobilitie were carried prysoners.

ward they returned againe to Aristocratia, and gouernment of Princes: among whom at the length Abimelech, the bastarde sonne of Hieroboal, of the Tribe of Manasse, after that they had with a soleinne slaughter killed vpon a stoane threescore of his lawfully begotten bzetherne, was the firste that did beare rule in Sicheim. After this when the people of Israel demaunded a Kinge, in the displeasure of the Lorde, they had Kinges geuen them very few good, and many euil. For God was angry, and tolde them, the authoritée of the King, which might take away their sonnes and daughters, makinge them Carters, and Bakers, and accordinge to his pleasure, he mighte take tenthes, and diuide among his seruaunts, fieldes, flockes, sermes, & men and women seruaunts, and the best things that they had, and might oppresse all the people with the yoke of bondage, and as often as the Kinge shall offende, and do amisse, the people shoulde be punished for him. He appointed them a younge man of the Tribe of Benjamin called Saul, to be their King, a mighty man of body, tawle of stature, in so much that he was higher thē al the people by the heade and shoulders, & God made them at afrayde, so that they reuerenced him as the Lordes seruaunte. This man, befoze he began to take rule in hand, was innocent as a childe of twelue monethes olde, and of a passing towardnes, but after that he had gotē h Nobilitée of the Kealme, he became a wicked man, and the sonne of Belial. Wherefoze God tooke awaye the Kingedome from the house of Saul, and gaue it to Dauid sonne of Isai of the Tribe of Iuda. And this man likewise of a shepherd made a King infected with the same pestilence of Nobilitée, became the man of sinne, a sacrileger, an adulterer, & a māslayer, notwithstanding God withdreywe not his mercie from him. At the beginning he raygned in Hebron when Hisboseth the sonne of Saul raygned on the other side of Iordan, finally the kingdome of al the people was assured to him in Hierusalem. Yet notwithstanding he helde not the

made Capitaine ouer the people of Israel, and with many miracles he brought them out of Egypte, and when the people had offended againste God in the golden Calfe, Moses beinge displeased toke to him valiaunte menne the sonnes of Leui, and commaunded them, sayeing: Hange your swordes by your side, and goinge forth and backe, kill eache of you his brother, his friende and his neighbour, and when they had committed this slaughter of about xxij. thousande men, he blessed them, saying: Ye haue to daye hallowed your handes in bloude euerye one of you in his sonne and in his brother, & the blessinge of Iacob, Simeon, and Leui, whiche called them the fightinge vessels of iniquitee, is fulfilled: whose surie is accursed, and obstinate, and indignation cruell. Wherefore the Nobilitie of Israel toke his beginning in this notable murder: for Moses did then appoint them Princes, Capitains, heades of the armis, Tribunes, Centurians, Quinquagenarians, and Decans fierce men, and worthy warriors thozow out their Tribes and kinredes: of which he that seemed to surpasse others in worthinesse and vanesse, to him they attributed the soueraintie and authoritie to iudge. For they had no Kinge, but they were ruled by iudges, of which Iosua a noble mā, a stout, and a warlike conqueroure of Kinges, and fearinge no man, after Moses was the soueraigne, after whose decease thei liued without Prince, vnder Democratia, that is to witte, the gouernance of the people, but falling at sedition, fought emonge themselves, and well nere destroyed the Tribe of Benjamin, that there remained, but sixe hundzeth mē. And bicause they had wrongfully take away thei daughters, they gaue them iij. hundzeth Virgins of the prisoners of Iahis Galaad: to the other tws hundzeth thei gaue leaue to take away by force 5 Virgins of Silo. And after this maner was the blessinge of 5 Nobilitie of Benjamin fulfilled, like to a Moulse, which in 5 mourning getteth his praye, and in the eueninge deuideth the spoile. After

begotten his firste sonne Manasses, beinge puffed vp with
 this casual nobilitie in reproche and despite of his fathers
 house, sayde these woordes not without offence: God hath
 made mee to forget my labours, & the house of my father,
 wherefoze Ephraim the yongeste sonne was preferred
 before Manasses in blessings. Finally Ioseph, albeit he
 was the sonne of Iacob, yet for this estate of nobilitie ha-
 ted of God, deserued not to beare the name of the Tribe
 in Israel, but was geuen to Ephraim and Manasse his
 sonnes. And they had no Prophete in their Tribes, and
 were blessed with the lest blessing of all, that is to witte,
 in the strength and multitude of their familie. The peo-
 ple of Israel dwelt many yeares in Egypt, and they were
 shepheardes in the lande of Gessen, but when they grew
 to a greate and mighty Nation, they became suspiciouse
 and hatefull to the Nobles and Kinges of Egypt: where-
 foze they punished them with harde labours of clate and
 bricke, & in al seruage of labours of the earth, & slew their
 male childerne, dooing the in riuers, that there might
 remaine none of their seede on the earth. Then one of
 these, because he was a goodly childe, was saued by the
 Kinges daughter, who made him her sonne by adoption,
 and called him Moses, because she had saued him from
 dooing. Moses thã wared bigger in the Kings house, &
 beinge instructed in al the learninge of the Egyptians, &
 helde for the Kings sonne, was made mighty, and Cap-
 taine of Pharoes armie against y Ethiopians. He tooke the
 Kinges daughter of Ethiopia, whereupon when he had
 purchased the enie & hatred of y Egyptians, he was con-
 strayned to flee into Madian, where at a certaine well, he
 enterprising warre against the shepherdes of that coun-
 trie for certaine maidens, by that meanes he gotte one of
 them for his wife daughter of a Priest, at the length grow-
 winge in age and wisdom, acknowledging his flocke of
 the nation of the Hebrewes returned into Egypt and y
 Egyptian Nobilitie renounced, he comforted by God was

of them xij sonnes, and was called Israel, which name afterwarde he lefte to his posteritie, that it should be called the people of Israell. Iacob (as I haue saide) had twelue sonnes, to wit, Ruben, Simeon, Leui, Iudas, Isachar, Zabulon, Ioseph, Benjamin, Dan, Nephtalim, Gad, & Asar, after the number of whiche the xij. Tribes of Israel were numbred, But Ioseph, solde by his brethren into Egypt, was instructed in all the learninge of the Egyptians, and became a very conninge interpretoure of dreames, and diuined in a cuppe, he was so skillfull in the science of houskeépinge, that he by the subtilté of his wit, inuented newe Artes to get riches, and to encrease reueneue, for which cause, he beinge very acceptable to y^e King Pharao, was by him made ruler ouer all Egypt, and of a seruant was created a noble man after the solempne maner of the Egyptians. For the King put a Kinge on his finger, and a chaine of gold about his necke, and clad him in purple, & caused him to mounthe into a chariote, a cryer makinge proclamation, y^e euery man should afterwarde reuerence him, as a noble man, and a Prince. The like manner of ennoblinge in al pointes was emonge the Perseans, as it is reade in the boke of Hester, of Mardocheus y^e Hebrewe, auanced by Kinge Artaxarxes. From thence vntill this day this custome of creating noble men hath remained emonge Kinges and Emperours, of whom some buy Nobilitée for monye, some haue deserued it for batwylle, some for poisoning, some for murders. Treason also hath purchased vnto many nobilitée, & hath gotten them riches, as it is writen in y^e Histories of Euthicrates, Phylocrates, Euphorba, & Philagrus. Many haue ben ennobled for flattery, sclaunderinge, false accusation, and deceit: Moze for sufferinge Kinges to take pleasure of their wiues and daughters, haue ben made noble, huntinges, robberies, murders, inchauntments and other naughty Artes haue brought many to promotiō. But let vs returne to Ioseph. Whereas he was mightie in the Kinges house, and had

*Nimbroth firste
buiided Babylō,
he was y cause
of the confusion
of tongues, and
put difference
betweene nobi-
lities.*

ter against God, this man built great Babylon, and was the beginnige of the confusion of tongues, and taught y discipline to rule, and did put difference betwene degrees of Nobilités, honours, dignités, offices, & armes. From thence for the lawes were made against the Commons, bondage & exactions from the people were brought in, armies gathered, and cruel warres made. From the same Cham proceeded Chus, of whom came the Ethiopians, and Mizraim of whom the Egyptians toke their beginning, and Canaan, from whom the Cananites descended, moste noble Nations, but very wicked, outcastes, and accursed of God. At the laste after a longe time passe, God did chose againe a righteous man, Abraham the Patriarke, of whome he raised to him a seede and holy people, whom he made to differ from the multitude of other Nations with the marke of circumcision. This man at the beginning begat two sonnes, one of a woman seruant, which was a bastarde called Ismael, the other lawfully begoten of a wife who had to name Isaac. Ismael became a cruel mā, an archer, a noble man, and a puissant Prince, leauinge his name perpetually to the Nation of the Ismaelites: and God blessed him, & established his Nobilité in robbery, and warfarre, sayinge: his handes shall be againste al mē, and al mens handes shall be against him, and he shall plant his tentes ouer againste his brethren, But Isaac abyding in the iustice of his father, fedde his fathers flocke, & this man begat of Rebecca his wife ij. sonnes Esau, and Iacob. Esau therfore was hated of God, redde coloured, hairy, a hunter, an Archer, a Glutton, and giuen to the bellie, so much y for a meale of potage he soulede his right, he was made a mightie man, and Prince of the Idumeans: receiuinge the blessing of nobilitie in the fatnesse of the earth, and dewe of heauen, in the sword, and puttinge a waye of bondage. But iuste Iacob fleinge to Laban his Uncle, fedde his sheepe, whose two daughters, when for the seruitude of xiiij. yeares he had deserued to marrie, he begat

to oppresse free men created of God, and the childeerne of holy generatiō, with force, rauine, bondage, and with the lawes of iniquitie, vntil that they also despisinge the iudgemente of God, and corupting all fieshe, and defiled with confused luste begot Giances, which the holy Scripture interpreteth great and famous men of the worlde. And this is the true & aptest definitiō of Noble men. For they did oppresse the poore, exalting themselves with robberies, waringe pꝛoude thozowe riches, makinge their names renowned, giuinge them to Countries, Cities, Mountaines, Riuers, Waters, and to the sea, whose first father was Caine cruell by nature, enuious thozow mortall hatred, not amended by Godes correction, a traitour thozow priuie wꝛath, a murderer of his owne bloude, a wanderer & vagabond thozow malediction, adding moze ouer blasphemie to maledictiō. And these are y^e aũcientest & first dignities, these be y^e vertues, these be the pꝛactises, wherewith Nobilitie is commended and set fozthe, the principall worke wherof was that father of Giances, which the Lord destroyed in the great flowde of waters, reseruing Noë alone, a righteous man in the generatiōs of Seth, with his familie, where as he had thꝛee childeerne Sem, Cham, and Iaphet, they when the worlde was renewed after the Deluge, did also bulde Cities like the ancient Giances, and appointed kingdomes: For this cause the Scripture maketh no mention of righteous men frō Noë euen vnto Abraham. For all euen vntill Abraham, were Artificers of Nobilitie, that is to witte, of valiante wickednes, of impietie, of confusion, of power, of warre, of violence, of oppression, of huntinge, of luxuriousnesse, of pompe, of vanitie, and of such like marks of Nobilitie, which y^e sonnes of Noë did set vpon it: in the number of w^{ch} Cham, because he was moze wicked then the rest, & cruel towards his father deserued to haue the first Monarchie Emperesse of al kingdomes. He begot Nimbroth, whom y^e Scripture describeth mighty in earth, and a sturdy Hunter.

proche of vnnoblenes. Amonge the people of Germanie none coulde marry a wife, that had not firſte brought to the Kinge the heade of a ſlaine enimie, and this indignation of deſue honour not giuen to them which had fought valiauntly, induced many againſt their countrie, to ſubuerſe the libertie thereof. Coriolane, the Gracchi, Scylla, Marius, Sertorius, Catiline, & Cæſar be an example hereof. If then wee ſearch the Originall of Nobilitie, wee ſhall finde that it is won with ſhameful treaſon and crueltie, if we behold y^e entrie therof, we ſhal find it to be augmented with hired ſervice in warfarre, and with robberies, and alſo if wee ſeeke the Originall of Kingdomes, and Empires, wicked murderinge of bzothers and parentes, bloudy marriages, and fathers dziuen out of the kingdome by their ſonnes, or Princes ſlaine by them to who thei haue ben ſwozne ſubiectes wil offer themſelues. But let vs a little conſider nobilitie from his beginnunge. To tell the truth it is nothinge els but a ſturddye lewdneſſe, and worſhippe wonne with wickedneſſe the bleſſinge, and enheritaunce of the wurſke childzen. The holy Scriptures, and aunciente & freſh Hiſtozies of countries doo giue vs to vnderſtande that it is true. For whereas from the beginnunge of the creation of the worlde the tranſgreſſoure Adam had engendzed his firſte begoten Caine a husbandman, and an other Abel a ſhepherde, in whome mans familie made two wayes, that is to witte, in Abel of the Commons, & in Caine of the Nobles, who whereas he was proude and cruel according to the fleſh, perſecutinge him after his manner, ſlewe Abel, who was humble accordinge to the Spirite: but the familie of the Comons was renewed in Seth the third ſonne of Adam, Caine therefore was the firſt that by the ſlaughter of his brother gaue the beginnunge to warfarre and Nobilitie, and when he had diſpiſed the lawes of God, and nature truſting in his owne ſtrength, taking rule in hand was the firſt that built cities, ordayned Empire, and began to

*The commons
tooke their be-
ginninge in
Abel and the
Nobles in Caine*

enlarginge of Empire with desire of rule, and possession, with the everlastinge damnation of many soules. For whereas victorie is the ende of al warre, noman can be a conqueroure, except he be a manslayer: contrarywise none can be conquered except he dye amisse. Wherefoze the death of souldiers is most wicked, whileste sinne maketh them a naughty Etitaphe. They which kil, be vntuste, albeit the warre be righteouse. For murderers be not for this cruell towarde them, whome they wickedly murder, but because they haue serued in warres for the loue of gaine and bootye. And if they kill any menne rightfully, they whiche haue slaine them, placinge themselves in the order of executioners haue deserued this degré of Nobilité: and although the lawes do seuerly punish theiues, setters of Houses, and Cities on fiere, robbers, homicides, murderers, suche parsons vnder the pretence of goinge a warfarre be reckened noble and honozable.

Of Nobilitie. Cap. 80.

Nobilité then taketh his beginning of warrefarre, that is to saye, honoz of birtbe worthely gotten by the bloude and death of enimies, approued with the peoples rewarde, and aduanced with publike badges of honours. For this cause arose emonge the Romaines so many sortes of ciuill, mural, obsidional, & naval garlāds, so many warrefaringe giffes, bracelets, launces, bardes, chaines, ringes, images, and pictures, wherewith they commended the firste beginninges of nobilitie. Emonge the Carthaginensians thei had so many ringes giuen thei, as they had ben present at battails. The Spaniards raised by so many Obeliskes about the sepulchre of the deade, as he had slaine enimies. Emong the Scythians thei onely might drinke at a common banket in a broade bol of siluer & golde, thei was carried about, which had slaine an enimie. The Macedonians had a lawe, that they whiche had not slayne some enimie, shoulde go girte with a halter in re-

The rewarde of
warfarre emog
the of Carthage

A lawe of the
Macedonians.

latter pères, Volturius, Nicholas Machiauel of Florence, James Earle of Porcia, and a fewe other. These searching teachers of Arte, are not so perillous as the practisers. Batchelourship, Mastrship, & Doctourship, be not the titles, dignities, and degrees of Scholers, neither do they onely belong to the, which be called Emperours, Dukes, Earles, Marqueles, Knightes, Capitaines, Centurians, Decanes, Standarde bearers, and suche like names of nobilitée sprung of ambition, or iniurie, but theues, spoilers, pillers, murderers, robbers, sacrilegers, fencers, deflourers, halwdes, whozehunters, adulterers, traytours, stealers of treasure and cattall, dicers, blasphemours, poysoners, parricides, burners, pirates, tirautes and suche like. All whiche he that will expresse in one worde, let him terme them Souldiers, that is to saie, in very dede the barbarouse degrees of wicked men, whom a naughtie will, and naughtie minde, stirreth to all mischief: emonge whome a freedome to offende and robbe hath the name of dignitée, and libertée, seekinge on every side to hurte, and hatinge innocencie as a certaine image of death, and as it were be al one bodie of their father the Deuill, whose members they are, whereof Iob saithe: his bodie is like Tergates caste in a moulde, & compacte with scales touching one an other, one is toygned to an other, & the winde entreth not thozowe them: & so cleauinge together they shall not be seperated: they holde together, because they haue assembled them selues againste the Lorde, & against his Christe. Purple, Chains, Ringes, and Miters be not the tokens of warre, but woundes in the breastes, and bodie disfigured with scarres. An exercise toygned with nothinge els but with the death, and griefe of very many men, the destruction of manners, lawes, and godlines, differing altogether from Christ, from blessednesse, from peace, from charitè, from innocencie, & from patience. The rewardes therof, are glorie of nobilitée, wonne with the sheading of mans bloude, & enlarginge

the destruction of the publike weale. Moreover where as the endes of battayle be doubtfull, and fortune (not Arte) geueth the victorie, what doe warlike pollicies, ambushes, and other preceptes of the Arte of warre auail: is not euery Arte vaine, where fortune ruleth: And neuerthelesse the diuine Plato praised this Arte, and commaundeth that childzen shoulde learne it, and as sone as they be of full growinge to be made Souldiers. And the renowned Kinge Cyrus saide, that it was as necessarie as Husbandrie. And Augustine and Barnarde, Catho- like Doctours of the Church, in a certaine place haue ap- proued this, and the Popes decrees doe not disalow it, al- beit Chryste, and the Apostles, be of a contrarie opinton. Notwithstandinge although Chryste disaloweth this, it hath no base degre of honour in the Church, whilest there haue risen so many sectes & orders of holy knightes, al whose Religion consisteth in bloude, murders, robberies, and piracie, vnder the pretence to defende, and en- crease the faith: as if Chryste would haue his Gospel pu- blishe, not with the preachinge of the worde, but with weapons: not with the confession of the harte, and Mar- thidome, but with ostentation and threathinge of wea- pons, with force of armes, slaughters and murders of men. Neither these knightes be not contente to warre against the Turkes, Sarracens, and Danimes, excepte they doe also bringe Paues for Christians against Chri- stians. Finally battaile and warre doe make many Bi- shoppes, and oftentimes they fight for the Papacie, and (as that holy Bishop of Camota saithe) the Pope entred not into Sancta Sanctorum, without the blood of freres: and this is then called the constauncie of Martirdome, when men fight valiauntly for the Papacie with a great slaughter of Christians. Xenophon, Xenocrates, Ono- zander, Cato Cenforius, Cornelius Celsus, Iginius, Vege- tius, Frontinus, Helianus, Modestus and many auncient

*Plato praised the
Arte of warre.*

*Writers of the
Arte of warre.*

Authours haue writen of the Arte of warre: of them of
 Bk ij. latter

ſigne, to marche ſozwarde, to abide the bzunte, to reſiſte the enimies, ſtraightly to purſue them that flee, to cope blowes, to auoyde them that be geuen, oz to warde them with the buckler, and not to paſſe ſoz them, to aſſayle the enimie fiercely, to encourage the hoyle, to ſpurre him, to ſtaie him with the bzidle, to turne him hither and thither, to thzowe dartes, to bzandithe ſpeares, to whirle Jauelines, to inuade the fronte, the backe, and ſide of the enimies accozdinge to time & place, neither to flee but when the victorie is paſte hope: to enſue them that flee, to kill them, to take them, to vnarme them, to ſpoile them, to diſcomfite them, to ſaue their ſouldiers, to muſter them, and renewe the armie, and when victorie is paſte hope, to inflame the minde with hope of reuengment, & other duties whiche belonge to Souldiers. It teacheth alſo to prepare Paues, to builde Fortreſſes, to fortifie Caſtels, to place Garrifons, to make Trenches, to builde Conter-mures, to caſte ditches, to vndermine, to worke ingins, to cull out weapons, to ranſacke walles, to carrie prouifion, to imagine deceypte, to place ambuſhes, & to knowe how to uſe ſundry warrelike pollicies. Furthermoze to beſeige Cities, to hurle dartes, to ſhote of ordinaunce, to ſet Ingins to the walles and pearce them thozowe, to batter Towers, to ſcale the walles, to prepare fire, to raſe ſoztreſſes flatte to the grounde, to ſpoyle Churches, to ſacke Cities, to deſtroie Townes, to waſte fieldes, to ſuppreſſe lawes, to commit aduoutrie with Patrons, to cozrupt widowes, to deſlower maidens, to hurte ſome Citizens, to impziſon ſome, to banniſhe ſome, to ſlea ſome cruelly. Finally all this diſcipline is occupied in nothing els, but in the deſtruction of men, it ſeeketh ſoz this ende, to make ſamouſe ſpoilers of the worlde, and ſturdie Ho-micides, and to tranſforme men into the manners & factions of ſauage beaſtes. Wherefoze warre is nothing els but a common ſlaughter and ſpoile of many, & Souldiers are nothinge els, then hired théeues, and armed to the

BUt now let vs passe from Husbandmen to Souldiers, whiche chosen out of the fieldes, be moze meete for the battaile, as Vegetius saithe: of whome Cato also affirmeth that very valiaunt & worthy souldiers are begotten. And as the holy Scriptures testifie, the firste fighter Caine was a Husbandman and a Hunter. And Ianus and Saturne very warrelike and Auncient Goddes did leade this life togeather with Husbandrie on earth. Wherefoze the Arte of warre seemeth not to be dispised, which as Valerius saithe, wonne the Seigniozie of Italie to the Romane Empire, and gaue to it the Kingdome of many Cities, of great Kinges, and of most worthe Nations, it opened the Straides of Pontus, and the crâkes of the Sea, it broke open the enclosures of the Alpes, & the Mountaine Taurus. Scipio Africanus doth bothe in Ennius, that he opened the waie to Heauen with bloude and slaughter of enimies. To whome Cicero dothe also agré, sayinge: that Hercules by the same waie ascended into Heauen. The Lacedemonians are saide to haue taught this firste: for this cause Hannibal goynge into Italie, sought a Lacedemonian Capitaine of warre. When this is guide and Capitaine, kingdomes & Empires be made, and when this is neglected, the mightiest are brought to vtter ruine. For warrelike Numance, sumptuose Corinth, stately Thebes, learned Athens, holy Ierusalem, and Carthage, whiche endeoured to be superiour to the Romaine Empire, at length also Rome, the mightiest of all, fell in the handes of rashe Capitaines. This Arte written with very muche bloude of mankinde, and with muche moze then were the lawes of Draco, dothe trimly

*The whole Arte
of warre in
briefe.*

in god arate, to inuade the enimie, to pzease on him, to pursue him, to compasse him, to strike him on the righte side, and on the lefte, to fight vnder the Capitaines En-

B k signe,

It had rested within these limites, and not goinge beside did not teache so many monstrouse forges of plantes, and so many straunge grassinges and transfozmations of trees. And also did teache to ioigne Horses with Asses, and Woulfes with Dogges, whereof Mules, & Siskies be engendred, and other monstrouse beastes againste the Lawe of nature. And also it hath taught vs to keepe in cages, in poudes, in parkes, and in closes, those liuing thinges to whome nature hath assigned the Heauen, the Sea, and the Earth, therein to be at libertie, and when they are blinde, or lame to fatten them in the stalle, likewise it is conuersaunt in Hempe, in Woullle, in skinnes, in Silke, and in the thinges which nature geueth for the apparaylinge of men, of so many weauinges, of so many colours, and suche like Artes inuented for superfluitée & pompe alone, and very often also for the destruction of men. Wherefore Plinie doth complaine of Hempe alone sponge of so small a seede, whiche nowe a plante, and afterwarde a saile with a very little gale of winds dothe sayle hither and thither thozowe out the worlde, and doth enforce men to be drowned, & deuoured of sea monsters, as if it were a small matter to die on the lande. I passe ouer a thousande decrees and obseruaunces of Husbandmen, shepherdes, fishers, hunters, and sowlers, not so foolish and ridiculouse, as superstitiouse, and contrarie to the lawe of God: wherby thei supposed that they were able to swage tempestes, to make their corne prosper, to dzue awaie all noysome thinges, to chase Wolves and wilde beastes, to stae beastes that renne awaie, to catche fishes and birdes with the handes, and to charme the diseases of their cattaille, of whiche thinges those wise men which I haue befoze named, haue writen with great credulité, and diligence.

single creatures, he layed burdens vpon wilde beastes as vpon Horses and cattaille, he commaunded fishes of the sea, and Birdes flew to him at his beckinge, and as lone as man was bozne he had the vse and exercise of all his members, and did leade a most happie life without appa-
raile, without houses, without rosted and sodden meate, and without medicines, for somuch as he had them without labour, as that Poete saithe:

The earth to children meate did giue
heate, clothe, and grasse a bedde.

But the offence of sinne, and the necessitie of death hath made all thinges noysome vnto vs, the earth dothe not now bzing forth any thinge without our laboures, and paines: and also it breedeth deadly and venemouse things (as it were openly vpbzaidinge vs that we liue) neither do the other Elementes deale moze gently with vs, the sea ouerwhelmeth many with cruell stormes, and monstrouse beastes swallowe them vp, the aire fighteth against vs with thundzings, lightninges, & tempestes, and the Heauen also dothe conspire to oure destruction with mortallitee of Pestilence. Liuinge creatures also are manifestly our enemies, and man (as the Proverbe saith) *A proverbe.* is a woulfe to man, wicked spirites stande rounde about temptinge vs with diuers snares of sinne, to the ende that they maie draue vs into the darke lodge of punishmentes, to be tormented perpetually with euerlastinge fire and cruell paines. And hereby it is scene that Husbandrie is nothinge els, but a losse of the beste thinges, the inuention of naughtie parsons, and the discommodities of life, with other exercises his adherentes of passuringe, fishinge, and huntinge, to the ende that we might at least wise for a season auoide, or rather mitigate the barrainesse of the Earth, wante of sustinance, and colde, by the wearinge of skinnes, with whiche mans nature is admonished of the necessitie of death. Husbandrie should haue this no small prayse of our necessitie or calamitee, if it had

Cornelius Agrippa

the Husbandmen happie, and Horace blessed. For this cause the oracle of Delphos iudged one Aglaus most happie, who labouring a little ferme in Arcadia, neuer went out of it, & so thozowe very little desire, he had very little trouble in his life. But miserable men, whiche reason so deepely of Husbandrie, be ignozant that this is the effecte of sinne, and cursinge of the great God. For he castinge man out of the Paradise of pleasure, sente him into the fieldes, sayinge in this wise to the sinner Adam: accursed be the earth in thy worke, in labours thou shalt eate thereof all the daies of thy life: shee shall bringe thee forth the thoznes and brembles, and thou shalt eate the Hearbes of the fieldes, with the sweate of thy browes, thou shalt eate thy bzeade, vntill thou retourne to the earth from whence thou were taken. But none do more perccaeue this then Husbandmen, and labourers, whiche whilest they do eare, sowe, harrowe, prune trees, delue, mowe, reape, gather grapes, feede cattaille, sheare sheepe, hunte, and fishe: after many labours this man, hauinge his groundes spoiled with hayle, and tempeste, doth lose his bzeade, that mans sheepe or oren die, or be dzuen awaye by Souldiers, he loseth his hunted beast, an other his fishe, and the wife mourneth at home, the childzen weepe, and all the houtholde is well neare dead for hunger, and againe with an vn Timer hope they retourne to a doubtfull labour. Befoze this curse there needed no artificiall tillinge of the grounde, no pasturinge, no fishing, no huntinge, no fowlinge, for the earth of her selfe brought forth all thinges, continually flourishing, aswel in Winter as in Sommer, with sweetnesse of fruites, with pleasantnesse of sense, and with greentenesse of meadowes. Finally the earth brought forth no hurtfull thinge, no herbe pestilent through popson, no tree vnprofitable thozow barraines, and also the venime of adders, Aspens, and other crapinge wormes was set aparte (as Beda saithe) and man hauinge the soueraintie ouer all thinge

Lions, Paule the Apostle of y^e Uiper. A crowe nowished
the prophete Helias: Paule and Anthonie Hermites, and
a Harte brought Giles meate: Helenus the Abbot com-
maunded a wilde Ass, and the beaste obated him, and ca-
ried the holy mans burden, he also commaunded a Cro-
codile, and he carried him ouer a riuer. Many Hermites
dwelled in desertes, and stode in the dennes and caues
of wilde beastes, not fearing Lions, Beares, nor Ser-
pentes. And so, togeather with sinne, the anoyauce, the
persecution, and the flighte of liuinge creatures entred
in, and the Artes of Huntinge were deuised. For as Au-
gustine saith, vpon the thirde of Genesis, liuinge creatures
at the beginninge were not venemous, vnfriendly, and
hurtfull to mankinde: but after sinne they became noy-
some and vnfriendly, whiche came to passe accoordinge to
Goddess iudgement for a punishment of vnjust rebellion
of the first parentes, as the sentence was geuen by God
to the Serpente, when God saide to him: I will set ha-
tred betwene thee & the woman, and betwene thy seede
and her seede, of this sentence the battaile of huntinge
toke his beginninge, to waete, of men with other liuinge
creatures.

The residewe of Hus bandrie. Cap. 78.

BUt now let vs retourne to our purpose, Hiero, Phi-
lometer, Attalus and Archelaus, kinges, haue writen
of these Artes already mentioned, of Husbandrie,
of Pasturinge, of Fishinge, of Huntinge, and Fowling:
Xenophon and Mago Capitaines, & Oppiane the Poete:
Moreouer Cato, Varro, Plinie, Columella, Virgil, Crescen-
tius, Palladius, & many latter then these. Cicero deemeth
nothinge better, nothinge more plentifull, nothinge more
pleasunt, nothinge more meete for a free bozne man then
these. Many haue accompted the soueraigne god, and
chifest felicitie in these. For this cause Virgill nameth

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Some fomic Boare to finde, or Lyon rampinge reade
to rowse.

And they, whiche ought to be the examples of patience,
doe seeke daily, to haue some thinge to conquere, & hunte.
And suche beastes as are free by nature, accordinge to
the lawe be theirs which take them, the tyrannies of the
Pobles haue vsurped them with dreadfull manacinges:
the husbandmen are driuen from their sermes: the coun-
trie men are put out of their tenementes: the heardmen
are shut out of the wodes, and meadowes, & the pastures
may be stoared with Venelson, to seede & delite noble me,
who are allowed to eat it: wherof, if any countrie man,
or husbandman doth tast, he is accused of treason against
the Kinge, and is made a praye to the Hunter, together
with y^e beastes. Let vs diligently reade the things which
are writen, aswell in the holy Scriptures, as also in the
Histoziēs of the Gentiles, where it is not mencioned,
that any holy man, any wise man, or any Philosopher,
hathe at any time bene a Hunter: but very many Shep-
herdes, and some, Fishers. And Augustine saith, that
this is the wurste Arte of all other: and the counsailes of
Elibitane and Orleance, haue forbidden and condemned
this in the Cleregie: and in the Canon lawes, Hunters
are not onely forbidden the aduancemēt to holy orders,
but also are disgraded of y^e highest presthode, which they
haue receiued. In the same it is reade, that Esawe was a
Hunter, bicause he was a Sinner. Neither doth the holy
Scripture, any where take this worde huntinge, in god
part, wherfoze none ought to doubt but that hunting is
wicked, which is reiected & condēned, by y^e multitude of al
holy & wise me. In olde time also, when men liued in in-
nocence, no liuing creaturs flew from them, none hated
them, none hurted them: but al beinge subiecte to him did
obate: the examples wherof are also manifest in the latter
times, in them which did leade an vpright life: how they
ouercame the assaultes of wilde beastes, as Daniel of the
Lions

graue people, did dispise. But after that the Athenians, had broken the lawe, which forbade Hunting, and openly allowinge the Arte with the exercise, had brought it into their publike wealth, then Athens was firste taken. For this cause, I marueile that Huntinge is commended of Plato, the Prince of Philosophers, excepte perhaps, that he commended it for the ende, or for the necessitie or honestie of the enterprize, not for the pleasure: as Meleager slew the Boare which spoiled Calidonia, not for his pleasure, but for the profit of the common wealth, deliuering his countrie of a beaste, that destroyed it. And Romulus chased the Harte, not for pleasures sake, but for necessitie to feede himselfe, and his companions. There is also an other exercise of Hunting, which is termed Fowling, or Birding, of lesse crueltie, but not of lesse vanitie. Herof Fowlers take their name, which truely doe either hunt birds, or by meanes of birds (as the Prophete Baruch saith) doe plaie with the birds of the heauen. It is said, that Vlysses was the inuentour thereof, whome men repute to be the first after was Troye taken, brought into Græce birds for the praye, and taught to Hunt, to the end that they might be comforted of new pleasure to the, whiche felte the losse of their parentes, in the Troiane warre: yet he woulde not, that his sonne Telemachus should vse this exercise. At the length, these exercises (of themselves seruile and base) were so much esteemed, that settinge aside all liberall studies, be at this daie the first beginnings and proceedinges of Nobilitie, and by the meanes of the, men aspire to the highest degree of Nobilitie: & in our time, the life of Kinges & Princes, & (whiche is moze to be lamented) the Religiō of Abbots, Bishops, and other Prelates of the Church, is nothings els but Huntinge: wherein they doe chiefly occupie themselves, & theme their worthines.

Plato commended Huntinge.

Vlysses the inuentour of Fowlinge.

With dastard beastes their mindes are not content, *virgil. 4. Eneid.*
but they make vowes

Huntinge the
beginninge of
tyrannie.

wee reade in the old Testament, that none exercised huntinge, but the Ismaelites, the Idumeans, & Nations, which knewe not God. Huntinge was the beginninge of Tyrannye, because it findeth no Authoure moze meeke then him, whiche hath learned to dispise God, and nature, in the slaughter and bocherie of wilde beastes, and in the spillinge of bloude. Notwithstandinge, the Persiane Kinges had this in estimation, as the very study of martial prowesse, bicause Hunting, hath in it, a certaine warlike and cruell thinge, whilest that the wilde beaste, renninge befoze the Grædie Howndes with spilte blood, & mangled fleshe, doth delite the folowers of the chace, and with greate pleasure, doth beholde a most bitter deathe, as it were a pastime: and in the meane season, the cruell Hunter laugheth, and accompanied with a greate route, as it were one that triumphed, bringeth home the vnhappye praye, pulled downe to the grounde with a greate crye of howndes, or caught in a Snare: where the there is ordained a cruel quartering, with a solemne Chyronomic, or had law & prescript wordes: (neither is it lawfull to do otherwise) the beaste is rente in peeces, a notable folp of Hunters doubtlesse, and a worthy battaile, about which, whilest they are too busie, they, settinge all humanitie apart, become saluage beastes, and through monstrous naughtinesse of nature, are channged like Acteon into the nature of Beasts. And also, very many of them, haue runne into so greate madnesse, that they became enimies to nature, as the Fables of Dardanus do declare. The Thebanes are sayde to haue benne the inuentoures of so vnhappye a knowledge, a Nation notable for deceipte, robberies, and perjuries, discommended for murderinge their parentes, and for dishoneste companie with their kinsfolke, from whome the rules of that exercise were sente to the Phrygians, a Nation no lesse vncleane in liuinge, then they, but moze wolsthe, and vatne, whiche, for that cause, the Athenians, and Lacedemonians, very graue

The Thebanes
inuentoures of
Huntinge.

in them a great commoditie to the common wealth. Furthermore with greate coastes they made fishe pooles and pondes ful of most pretious fishes, of which finally many Princes and families of Rome toke their surnames: as the Licinij, the Murencee, the Sergij, the Oratee. For this cause Cicero called Lucius Philippus, & Hortensius nourishers of fishe, that is to witte of their pondes. Wee reade also that the Emperour Octauiane Augustus was wonte to angle for fishe: and Suetonius writeth that Nero fished with a net of golde hauinge the meshes knit with silke of purple and scarlet coloure. There are not verve many kindes of fishinge for all the fishe that is to be founde is taken with nettes, with the hooke, with the weele, with darts, with the rake, and with pass. But fishinge is lesse commended, because fish is of a harde nourishment, & vnholosome for the body, noz offerred in the sacrifices of the Paganes Goddess. For there is noman whiche euer harde that fishe was Sacrificed.

Fishe neuer sacrificed.

Of Huntinge and Fowlinge. Cap. 77.

Hunting and Fowling, do consist of suche diuises, as fishinge doth: putting moreouer the strength of the body thereto, and diligente searche, and diuers deuises of Snares, Ginnes, and Trappes: vsinge also Birdlime, Egles, Hawkes, Dogges, Greihowndes, and many other fame beastes, meete for rauine and hunting. A detestable Arte, no doubt, a vaine studie, an vnhappie strife, with so many labours, and watches to fighte, & exercise tyzanny against beastes, from nighte to night. A cruell Arte, and altogether tragicall, whose pleasure is in deathe, and bloude, whiche our humanitie ought to eschewe. This Arte at the beginning of the worlde, was the chiefest exercise of moste wicked menne and sinners, for the holy Scripture doleareth that Caine, Lamech, Nimbrot, Ismael, and Esawe were Hurdy Hunters: and

Huntinge of the beginning the chiefest exercise of wicked me.

baggeptie was the Prince of shepherdes, and his sonne Daphnis. Pan also the shepherdes God, and Protheus a shepherde, and a God. And to speake of the Patriarkes, of the Judges, and of some Kinges of the Hebrwes they were the chiefest men emonge them, and most acceptable shepherdes vnto God, as iuste Abel, Abraham father of many nations, and Iacob father of the chosen people. In like maner Moses the law maker and familiar Prophete with God, and King David chosen according to the mind of the Lozde, and also emong the auuncient Grækes every noble man was a sheheard. Hereof they called some Polyarnce, some Polymelee, some Polybutee, that is to wit, giuing them names of the multitude of Lambes, Sheepe, and Dren. So likewise euery man knoweth, that Italic was so called of Calues, which the auuncient Grækes termed Italic, mozeouer were not the one and the other Bosphorus, Cimmericus and Thracius, the sea Egeum, Argos, & Hyppion so called of the passage of Dren, of Coates, of Hozles: And Numidia a countrie of Affrike hathe his name of pastures. The first life of men on earth after the fall of Adam, was of shepherdes, this giueth vnto vs beside diuers kindes of fleash, milke, chæse, butter, to eate: and for apparaile, woll, skinnes, and hides, al doubtlesse aswell very necessary, as also profitable to mannes life: which were graunted to man, but after fall, whereas before God had commaunded him in Paradise to eate the frutes alone, whiche the earth naturally brought forth.

Italic so called of Calues.

Of Fishinge. Cap. 76.

Fishinge had in greate price emonge the Romanes.

Nexte vnto these come fishinge and huntinge. The study of fishinge was in time past emonge the Romanes in so greate price, and estimation that they did sow in the Italian sea, as it were corne in the ground, strange fishes, & not knowne in the sea coste of Italic, brought in shippes from farre countries, supposing that there was

here vnder, what is to be thought of husbandrie.

Of Husbandrie. Cap. 74.

Husbandrie therfore, whereunto pasturing, fishing, and hunting are annexed, was so muche honoured amonge the Auncientes, that the Romaine Emperours and renowned Kinges and Captaines, were not ashamed to labour the grounde, to sowe graine, & plante trees. Dioclesiane employed himself to this, when he gaue by gouernaunce, and Attalus, also when he had lefte the administration of his realme. Cyrus also, that great king of the Persians, was accustomed to auant exceedingly, when he shewed to his friends that came vnto him an orcharde laboured with his owne handes, and trees planted and set by him in a reue. And Seneca planted plainetrees, made pondes with his owne hande, he turned waters, neither was he more willinge in any other place then in the fieldes. Hereof came the surnames of those noble families, of the Fabij, of the Lentuli, of the Ciceroes, of the Pisones, that is to witte, of the multitude of these pulses.

Of Pasturing. Cap. 75.

In like manner the Iunij, the Bubulci, the Statilij, the Tauri, the Pomponij, the Vituli, the Vitellij, the Percij, the Catones, the Annij, and the Capre, were so called of the pasturinge of cattall. Romulus and Remus, builders of the Romaine Citie, where shepherdes, and Dioclesiane from emonge heardmen was called to be Emperour. Spartacus was a pastoure which caused the Romaine power to quake, Paris, and Anchises father to Encas, and the faire Endimion loued. of the mone were shepherdes. Polyphemus also and Argus with the hūdzeth eyes. And of the Goddes also Apollo kept the heardes of Admetus Kinge of Theffalia, and Mercurie the inuentoure of the

Husbandrie in time past great estimation emog the noblest The boasting of Cyrus.

Many noble men tooke their names of pasturinge cattell.

this cause they be the veriest theues in the worlde, and
 rich through the fingers onely, with which they take ac-
 compts of talents and millions, which they haue so clama-
 mie like birdlime, and beset with infinite crooked hokes,
 that all mony how light soeuer it be fleeting, sliding, and
 slippery like adders and eales, touched of these doth stike
 faste, noz can easily be taken awaye. Notwithstandinge
 they be in this lesse hurtful, aswel because they do robbe
 the treasours of none but Kings, Princes, & noble me, as
 also because that which they haue stolen fro thence, they
 willingly spende vpo queans, dise, bankets, buildings,
 and in feeding of parasites, hozles, howndes, and players.
 Whels wayen elder, and wiser ostentines do leaue such
 childern behind them, which unhappily consume al that,
 cuttinge it in many peeces whiche their fathers by little
 and little, and by pece meale haue scratched togeather w
 many peruries, with robberies, with theftes, with dam-
 nable dedes, in feastinge queanige, huntinge, fowlinge
 and attiringe: and omittinge nothings to the accompli-
 shing of their desires. Moreouer also treasourers take v-
 sury, and deferringe paymentes, do constrayne the pen-
 sioners to giue rewardes, they robbe debts, captains and
 they lay their heads togeather, thei make false accompts,
 they counterfaite obligations, and open letters that be
 sealed, and signed with forged scales, they clippe the
 coine, somtimes thei falsifie it with coloured mettal, and
 therefore they are great friendes to the Alchimistes, and
 for the moste parte do professe that arte, or if they wante
 wit, at least wise be fauourers thereof. But for somuche
 as Cicero saith, that marchaundise ought not to be much
 despised, if it be greate and plentifull, bzinginge many
 thinges from all partes, and without vanitie and that
 Marchauntes and treasourers maye then of very good
 right be prayse, if at any time satisfied with gayne, at
 length do employe themselues to till and trime their
 groundes and possessions: and therefore wee will adde
 here

Il got, ill spent.

unlearne and beginne to hate the forepassed sparing, and
 ancient customes of their predecessors: through which
 one thinge, many times cities be come very wicked, and
 wholly defiled with al kinde of fornications, aduoutries,
 luxuriosnesse, and dishonestie. Lyons, and Antwarpe at
 this day very famous saires of Marchaunts doe geue such
 examples. Aristotle also commaundeth, that we must bee
 careful, that the cities be not corrupted with the mixture
 of sozraine thinges, and albeit Marchaunts be necessary,
 yet he woulde not that they shoulde be receiued in the
 number of citizens: which also he doth exceedingly detest,
 because they delite in lies, and in the cities do trouble the
 the markets, there by tumultes, and sowe debats. There
 was mozeouer an ancient law in many comon wealthes,
 that no marchaunte shoulde beare office, and shoulde not
 be admitted into the senate, nor Counsaile. The Mar-
 chauntes trade is altogather condemned by the opinios
 of diuines, and by the Canon decrees, by the authoritie of
 Gregorie, Chrystome, Augustine, Cassiodore, and Leo
 forbid it all true Christians. For (as Chrystome saith)
 the marchaunt cannot please God. Let no Christian than
 be a marchaunt, and if he wilbe, let him be excommunicat-
 ed. Augustine also saith, that marchaunts and souldars
 cannot truely repent.

Of Treasurership. Cap. 73.

Treasurers be not much better then marchauntes,
 a certaine theuſſhe kinde of men, and for the moſte
 part seruil and hired for monie, or els because they
 bestowe their laboure for wages, rude, and slouthful, but
 presumptuous, and shamelesse: they learne nothinge but
 certaine slender knowledges, as it is meete for such men
 to knowe, that is to witte, formes of writinge, of casting
 accopt, but chiefly of robbing, not swlish, but moze witty
 then these. which appertaine to common theues. And for

damage of the whole publike wealth. They disclose to the enimie the secretes of Princes, whiche they haue espied, the counsailes of Citties, and newes of the Countrie, sometimes also for a peece of monie, they lie in waitte to kill Princes, and assaie, suffer, doe, and sell all thinges for the loue of monie. All their trade is nothinge els but lies, dissimulation, cloudes of wordes, pteue searchinge, conspiracie, deceiptes, and open treason. For this cause the men of Carthage appointed seuerall shoppes for Marchauntes, and woulde not haue them to be common with the Citizens: notwithstandinge they mighte freely goe to the market. But they were not suffered to come to the shipdockes, and the secretest places of the Citie, no not to see them. The Greekes did not receaue them into their Citties, but to the ende that the Citizens should be free from suspition of daunger, they appointed y^e market without the Suburbes. Many other Nations did forbid Marchants to come to them, bicause they corrupted manners. The Epidaurians, at this daie called the Raguseans, (as Plutarche witnesseth) when they perceaued their Citizens to be made naughte, through the entercourse and trafficke which they had with the Slaunonians, doubtinge that newe thinges should be stirred vp in their Citie, through the conuersation of Straungers, hauinge corrupted the manners of their Citizens, they did yearly chose a very graue and circumspecte man, out of the whole multitude of the Citizens, which wente to Slaunonye, and bought such thinges, as euery one of his countrie men had giuen him in charge. Plato discommendeth Marchauntes, because they do corrupt god manners, and thinketh god it be prohibited by the lawe, in a well ordered common wealth, lest the foolish fantasies of forayne nations should be brought into the citie, and that no citizen vnder fourtle yeares shoulde traualle into straunge cuntries: and that aliens should be sent home, bicause that through such like infections of Straungers, the citizens do

vnlearned

The ordinance
of the Cartha-
gineans, touch-
yng Marchants.

Marchauntes
after Plato are
corrupters of
good manners.

chauhdiſe, except perhappes he which hath not felte theſe
 damage. And theſe be the leſte miſchiefes, farre grea-
 ter then theſe are behinde. Theſe be they, that bzing in
 hurtfull Marchaundiſe, whiche women and childzen de-
 fire either for ſeldomneſſe, oz recreation, whiche tende to
 no neceſſitie of life, but onely to ſuperfluite, to pompe, to
 beautifyinge, to paſtime, to delicatenelle, and pleaſure,
 bzinginge them in from the fardeſt partes of the worlde,
 as it were ſnares. They yearly ſpoyle Countries and
 Kingedomes of muche monie: they corrupte god man-
 ners bzinginge in ſozaine vices, and takinge awaie their
 countries guiſe, doo ſtudie for newe and ſtrange things,
 and wzappe it in moſte damnable cuſtomes. Theſe be
 they, that makinge felowſhippes doo ordaine ſaires a-
 gainſte honeſtie, dutie, and the lawes, aſſayinge, deui-
 ſinge and ſekinge all thinges, whereby they maie geate-
 ly godes of the multitude, whileſt, whē they haue gathe-
 red monie togeather they overcome ſome, they preuente
 ſome, they feare ſome from buying, by rayſinge the price
 of thinges, and they alone buye all thinges, which after-
 ward they ſell as deare as they liſte. They oſtentimes,
 when they are farre in debte, & haue planted their dwell-
 inge els where, and haue loſte their credite in forſa-
 kinge their countrie, and late oz neuer retourning hame
 doo deceaue their creditours, and make them to diſpaire
 and hange themſelues. Theſe be they that wzappe and
 flaye the Citizens with billes of debte and obligations,
 planting the rootes of their debtes ſo deepe, painefull,
 cruell, and ineuitable, that they cannot be plucked vp,
 but growinge rounde togeather, and cauſinge debtes to
 ſpringe of debtes doo ſtrangle and ouerturne Citieſe, and
 they in the meane while inceſſauntly geuen to blaſtie,
 doo deuoure the ſubſtaunce of all the people, they ſome-
 times clippe the Coyne, but they doo alwaies ſometimes
 raiſe, ſometimes bzinge downe the valewe of the monie,
 as they thinke it auaileable for them, not without the
 damage

place, to sell dearer in an other and about the principall, and he is accounted the beste, which gaineth most, whose proprietie is to lie, to forswear, to deceaue, and beguile, and no kinde of gaine is to them dishonest: but they saie that the lawes do licence them to deceiue such as traficke with them, vnto one halfe of the iuste price, & there is no doubt, but they commit very many shamefull matters, and deceiptes worthy of punishment, seeinge al their life is bente to gaine, lucre, & riches. For none ware wealthy without deceipt, and (as Augustine saith) he that dothe not deceaue, cannot gaine.

The sayinge of
Augustine.

He that doth seeke to sell his wares, and haue the bought, doth prayse them more then he of dutie ought.

And an other Poete saith:

The Marchaunt false, forsweareth God for gaine,
Deseruinge nothinge lesse then euerlastinge paine.

For this cause one buyeth, an other selleth: this man carieth, that man taketh vp: this is the creditour, he is the debitour: this man payeth, that man receaueth: an other writeth the accomptes, but all sweare vntrovely, deceiue, and beguile: & refuse no daunger of the soule, of the body, nor of fortune, so that they be in hope of profite, & do not fauour and esteeme kinred, affinites, and friendship for any faith, but for profite sake alone: and so all men in al ages runne after wealth, and after riches, as if quietnesse from cares, and comfozte of life coulde not be founde els where:

The painefull marchaunt to the fardest Indes his course doth runne,

Through seas, in seeking wealth, through rockes, through heate of scorchinge Sunne.

But there is no man, whiche is ignoraunt, whiche seeth not, whiche seeleth not what deceiptes Marchauntes do committe in woulle, in flaxe, in silke, in clothe, in purple, in pearle, in spices, in ware, in oyle, in wine, in cozne, in horses, and in o ther beastes, finally in all kinde of Marchaundise.

I coulde not but haue spoken it. But I wil late my hands
 vpon my mouth, & adde nothinge els to that I haue spo-
 ken, and therefore passinge now from the Courte, let vs
 examine the other partes of Economic, or ordered house-
 keeping, and the doctrines which we haue saide to be the
 chiefeft emonge the handicraftes, that is, Marchaundise,
 Husbandrie, Warresfare, and the reste.

Of Marchaundise. Cap. 72.

Marchaundise is a very subtill searcher out of prey
 gaines, a very greadie goulfe of manifest spoyles:
 neuer content with enough, but alwayes very mi-
 serable for the desire to gette: many notwithstandinge
 haue supposed this to be no small healpe to the common
 wealth, fitte to purchase friendshippe of sozaine Princes,
 and Aliens, and also much profitinge the private life of
 men, and after a certaine facion necessarie to the same:
 and Plinie demeth that it was sounde out for liuinges
 sake, wherefore many noble and wise men haue not dis-
 spised to practise the feate of Marchaundise, such manner
 of men (as Plutarche witnesseth) were Thales, Solon,
 Hippocrates: but as we doe allowe all Sciences, & Artes
 some for pleasure, some we esteeme for traualle, some we
 learne for vertue and honestie, some we reuerence for
 truthe and iustice, yet although they all be necessarie,
 gainefull, pleasaunt, and laboursome, therefore not ho-
 nest, commendable, and righteouse. In this wise also the
 exercises of Marchauntes, retailers, vsurers, bankers,
 sowkers be necessarie, profitable, & laboursome, not with-
 standinge they are termed seruite, dishonest, & naughtie
 trades of gaine: because not their Artes, but busse de-
 ceiptes are solde and bought, whiche (as Cicero saithe) is
 not the dutie of an honest, plaine, noble, iuste, nor good
 man, but of a naughtie, base bozne, subtill, craftie and a
 willie. For all Marchauntes, and retailers buye in one
 place,

Many noble and
 wise men pra-
 ctisers of Mar-
 chaundise.

mentes of courtly loue. I am ashamed to repozte what secrete dishonesties be oftentimes done in their chābers, when they are married, in the despite of nature, which after that they haue put on their clothes, suppose to haue covered and hidden all thinges, therfoze of what faithe honestie shall we thinke such wiues to be after warde towards their husbandes: ¶ how sorrowful do they make their good husbandes, when continually they obiecte to them their linage, dowrie, beautie, and other mens marriages, and with scoldinge and tauntinge do weary their husbandes, they alwaies lamente, whilest they dispise housholde and temperate fare, and twite their husbandes with the courtly excesse, and beinge enured in pleasaunt fantasies, and gloziouse ostentation, do consume their riches vpon superfluouse ornaments, they bzing houses to ruine, oftentimes they enforze their miserable husbandes to dishonest and naughtie gaires, whom daie and night they seeke to destroe with a thousande deceiptes, with dissimulation, treason, and hipocrisie. I speake not of straunge loues, of hidden aduoutries, of others children put in place of theirs, and issue conceaned of other mens seede: but if they once turne to hatred, they will saigne ielousie or prepare popson: for (as Hierome saithe againste Iouinian) guttes, deceiptes, popsons, naughtie medecines, and Magicall vanities be the familiar Artes of wicked women. In this wise Liuia slewe her husband, whom she hated to the death: Lucilia killed hers thozow ielousie, that woman willingly ministred to her husband popson to drinke, this lewde woman made her husbande madde, geuinge him an amorous drinke. Wherefoze it is saulser dwelling (as Ecclesiasticus saith) with a Lion and Dragon, then with a wicked woman. He that will haue an obedient wife, lette him not marrie a Courtier. She that will haue an honest husbande, let her not wedde a Courtier. But now my communication is too farre gone with my tounge, notwithstanding I haue spoken it, and

Liuia, and Lucilia slew their husbandes.

munication, and oftentimes displeasent to these, that be compelled to heare them. For what shoulde we thinke them to speake emonge themselves so many howers, but foolish & idle thinges: as, how the heare should be dressed, how it should be kembered, how the heare should be coloured, how the face should be rubbed, after what facion the garment should be playted, and with what pompe they should go, rise, and sit, & what attire they should weare, to what persons they should geue place, with how many bowinges salute, what women, and whome they should kisse, or not kisse, what women ought to ride vpon an Asse, horse, seate & be caried in a chariote, or couche: what women maie weare Golde, Pearle, Cozall, Chaines, Ringes hanginge at their eares, Brazellets, Ringes, and Tablets, and other trifles of Semiramis lawes. There be also auncient Matrons, whiche tell, how many wowers they haue had, how many giftes they haue receaued, with how many flatteringe wordes they haue benne wolued: this woman talketh of him whome she loueth, that woman cannot sanctly forbear to speake of him whom she hateth, and euery one thinketh that she speaketh with the admiration of other women, sometimes they mainetaine talke with sonde quippies, or very impudente lies. There wante not emonge them cruell hatredes, & eger brawlinges, malitiouse detractions, backebitinges, false accusatiions, and whatsoeuer be the vices of a naughtie tongue: they haue eyes, they haue countenances, they haue laughers, full of slickeringe enticementes: they haue becks, they haue gestures full of wantonnesse: they haue subtiltees and wordes, with whiche they entice and deceaue their louers, and enforce them to giue giftes: if they haue a ringe, a pearle, an owoche, a pretie chaine, what so euer it be, they gette it with flatterie, or obtaine it with intreatinge, and render for them kisses, kindnesse, entertainmentes, embracings, carnal desire, talkinge together, which be to them common marchandize, & nourishmentes.

Kinges, and Princes, they heape vpon riches equall to Lordes, and builde princely Palaces: whilst in the meane season the noble Courtiers doe spende all their liuelode vpon queans, dise, huntinge, iustinge, feasting, pompes, apparail, and pride, consuminge their landes, castels, possessions, and inheritaunce: whiche then these common Courtiers buye, succeedinge in the place of the nobles, by means of their moste wicked practises.

Of the women of the Courte. Cap. 71.

The women of the Courte haue also their vices. For alwaie we see manie endowed with godly giftes of the body, fayre, preatie, handsome, and comely. Moreouer richely attired in Purple, Golde, Jewels, and owches: but all men cannot see what filthy monsters doe often lurke vnder those faire skinnes. For that cause Luciane very aptly dothe compare them to the Egyptian Temples. For there the Church is very faire without, and also very greate, builte and wrought with costely stonnes, but if thou seeke within for their God, thou shalt finde either an Ape, a Storke, a Goate, or a Catte. So is it of those gentlewomen and Ladies of the Courte, which nourished from their infancie, and tender yeares in lither idelnesse, in daunsinge, and in all superfluitie, & nouelled in most wicked doctrine, of those courtly bookes of loue, and naughtie histories, comedies, nouels, pleasaunt testes, and songes of sensualitie, luste, aduoutries, fornications, and bawdyes, haue sucked as it were of their nurishe moste damnable manners, lightnesse, pride, arrogancie, disdain, impudencie, dishonestie, contention, ouerthwartinge, stubbournesse, reuengment, craft, slinnesse, malapartnesse, pratlinge, saucinesse, and dishonest luste, they haue tounge, to the whiche silence is a paine: they haue mouthes armed for al kindes of clattering trifles, with whiche they vtter idle & foolish communication,

side, & catche it from whom they make no otherwise then the Harpies were wonte to take meate euen out of Phinixus mouth. They reioyce in the misfortune of suche as seek to excel them, they take compassion on no mans miserie, they thinke not them selues bounde to keepe promise with any man, but at their pleasure, they requite no mans kindnesse, but deme enery man a like vnworthy of benefite, or through negligence passe them ouer, some they recompence with hatred: but they faigne loue in hatred, & dissemble choler: they honour and reuerence no parson beside the Kinge and the Prince, but not these doubtlesse, if it were not for feare, or gaine. And when they conuersaunt in treasons, deceiptes, sorowes, and labours vntill they be hoare headed, haue with these painefull and filthy practises gotten great riches, & aspired to highe honours, then they sette no difference betwene right & wronge, that their sonnes maie be heires, not so much of honour, as of rauine, and iniquité.

So doth the *Storke* her young ones feede
with *Lisardes* founde in fielde.

They also seeke the same when flushe
they flee and make them yeelde.

So doth the *Egles* fierce and o-
ther woorthie birdes in woode,

Still hunte the *Hare* and *Goate* and bringe
the praie to nest for foode.

And afterwarde when that the young
be ripe they hast do make,

Vnto the praie, when hunger leane
doth cause their entrailes ake.

As sone as they haue tasted it
when out of egge they rake.

And these be the practises of the common Courtiers, by meanes of which many bozne of base bloude haue benne aduanced to verie great Offices, Treasourthippes, and dignités, & hauinge gotten the nexte authoritie to their

late receiued honour chaunged their manners and forgettinge al thinges past, and waxinge ambitious, do despise their firste offices, alwayes desiringe higher promotion, and ledde with couetousnes do turne all thinges to the praye, and sounde of gayne, nigardes in faithe, prodigal in woordes, at one instaunt courteise and traisterous, darke in talke, and doubtfull like Oracles, whatsoeuer they see, whatsoeuer they heare, whatsoeuer is don, they take al at the wurste, they truste themselues alone, they loue themselues alone, they prouide for themselues, they truste no mans faithe or friendship, they keepe companie with none but for profite sake, they preferre their owne commoditie befoze al things, they despise, like vnfruitful trees, all their friendes, guesstes, kinsmen, and companions, that bzing no gayne, if any of them meete with their olde companions, they passe by them, as if they knewe them not: if any of these craue his fauoure, him they seede plenteously enough with woordes and promises, and promise moze then they perkozme, if he bzinge nothinge, they leaue him without helpe, or els they loose their suite, they sell all their fauoure, they despise all vertue, and disteine other mennes praises with sundrie opinions, and artificiallye do sclaunder euery man behinde his backe, they prayse noman without exception, like as that oratoure saide, I confesse that Iulius Fortunatus is a woorthy man, and it is manifestly knowen that he hath achieved many ballaunte enterprizes, notwithstandinge if I had not knowen the force of his eloquence, I should muche marueile by what meane he escaped iudgemente of bziberie and extorcion. And an other saithe:

A happy man in sonne and wife
was *Prothemus*, in blisse

He had ben, if through *Phocus* death
he had not donne amisse.

Furthermoze they alwayes stande gapinge like Rauins,
for gistes of the Courte, they prole for profite on euery

By these is truly
affirmed the
proverb, *Fumos
vendere, that is,
to sell smoke.*

parties, whilst that to the one side & the other they be vnfaithful: & so much the more they be meete for treasons, as they be accompted lesse suspected for the sayninge of simplicité. And although there be no offence more hurtous then treason, notwithstanding y^e Courtiers haue no other thing more profitable & available in y^e Court to get riches, and dignités, then this, and more grateful and acceptable to Kinges, and therefore they hang about noble mens houses, and they wil knowe the secretes of the house, and for this to be feared. And if they haue bene once partie to any dishonestie, or treason, then they escape, then they loke bigge. For deare he shalbe to Verres, y^e at all times can accuse Verres. Than they purchase a certain acquaintance and familiar friendship with noble men, wherein they trustinge, do easily compass that they desire. And therefore they seeke first to be enrolled among the Courtiers, and that sufficeth them euen without any stipend, for the title alone without wages is gaineful, & hath his pray: moreouer thei do not mistrust to get the fauoure of noble men whatsoeuer thei be, whom they do then allure with flattery, and inforce with humble seruice, & thruste themselues into offices for the respecte of friendshippe or for some other crafte, and they very greedely seeke all suche thinges, whiche others haue forsaken either for feare of dangers, or for impatience of laboures, or for slenderesse of gaine, they watche daye and night, they trauaile into straunge countries, and carrie and recarrie their enterprised embassages, and letters, they attempt and endure great labours, & vndertake to do some thinge worthy of the gaile & galloves, vntil by meanes of these merites they be made secretaries, or haue the office of the seale, or obtaine the keeping of the treasure, or diuers accomptes of the reuenewe be put into their handes. And hauinge escaped the extremities of labours, they will do nomore seruice without recompence: but afterwarde wilbe rewarded for al thinges: and hauing together with their

not onely obaye them, but also pricke them forewarde to all wickednesse: or els doe disswade them, in such sort, that they doe moze instatly prouoke them whilest they alleage very vaine and feeble reasons: to the ende that suffering themselves in this wise to be convicted, may confirme the erreure of princes, which be of light beleefe: so deceiuing the one part and the other, that they cannot be reprehended, but beside this, they deserue thanks for disloyal treason. Such had Fraunces the Frenche Kinge, veray readye to wicked counsailes, which willingly did incense him to all treason and tyranne againste the Emperoure: and in the meane season they are esteemed beste, and faithfull. These be sufficient concerninge the nobles of the courte, of whiche he that shall offende one, is culpable of all the reste.

Of the common or meane Courtiers. Cap. 70.

There be also certaine common Courtiers, men of a lewde minde, whiche in all theire life time haue no authoritie ouer any man, but they delighte to be in continuall subiectiō, these goe from one noble mans house to an other, and holde vp their tales for a dinner or supper liuinge at other mens tables.

And it suppose a souaigne good
to liue by others food.

For that cause they be seruifable to al men, they flatter al men, they playe the parasites with all men, and with all men they endeouour to be al things, counterfayting moze shapies then Protheus did, and turninge themselves into moze formes, to get the fauoure of great men, they bende their minds to espie the communications of the feasters, to haue what to tell afterwarde, and with subtiltie of the soe they search out their secrets, which be at variaunce, and sometime declare them to theire friendes, sometime to their enemies, thewinge themselves friendly to bothe parties,

will scozne all men, he will set naught by all men, he will speake ill of men behinde their backes, he will reprove me openly, he will speake proudly and stately wordes, he will enterprize to doe every thing, to the end that all men maie feare him, he will treade his inferiours vnder foote, he will dispise his equals, he will disdain his superiours, he will not only be honoured, but adozed, and that with spitefull wordes, he swelleth & puffeth by with pride, & earnestly desireth to be of authoritie.

Theire vertue and their chiefest power
is freedome to offende.

He that smileth not on him, & alloweth not every thinge that he doth to be good, although he doth amisse, straighte waies he hath committed a hainous offence, for he shalbe iudged to enuie his fortune, or not to haue respecte to his duty, neither the be these alone malicious to their equals and inferiours, but oftentimes also they are very dangerous to Princes themselues, whom they most wickedly doe flatter vnder couer of truth, prudence, reprove, & counsaile, and many times also they incense them to do horrible actes, euen as in Lucane, Curio stirreth Cæsar,

What hath helde backe and made thy force
so feeble, we complaine?

Didst thou not trust in vs: whilst this
warne bloude doth rule and raigne.

In breathinge bodies of vs all
and whilst these brawnie boanes

Shal able be fel dartes to flinge
wilt thou permit the gownes

Vnnoble, and the senate eke
to take the rule in hande?

The like motioners had Alexander the Great, which incensed him more and more, to warres and slaughters, he beinge of his owne nature fierce. Suche counsaillers also had Roboam the sonne of Salomon: suche also haue the Princes of our time, whiche fulfillinge their desires, do

scoffes hisselfe him out of the place, wherfore not seldome the whole feasting communication doth at that time end in choler, and contumelye, and as it befell in the banquetts of the Centaures, the cuppes and goblets cease not to flie about vntil the bloude runne aboute theire eares. And so oftentimes straungers retourne from the tables of these courtiers with woundes and broken heades, as if they had bene bidden with this condition.

The remnaunt is, ye merrie men
your bodies wel defende

VVith stomake stoute, and ready be,
to fight we do intende.

The chiefest knowledge that these menne haue, is to obserue the most conuenient times to speake with princes, to the ende they may not propoude any thinge to them out of season, & they electe not these times by the starres, by the heauens, or by the Ephimerides, but by bowling, by dining, by bankettinge, by hunting, or by rest, when the kinge is pleasauntly disposed, & hath obtayned his desire in some thinge, and if they knowe any other fauourable times of accesse: than they begin first to spreade rumours of newes, which delite the eares of the prince: afterward by little and little thei procede to that which they desire, hauing the counsaile of Aristotle to Calisthenes his scholar, wriiten in the by nature, exhorting him that he should neuer or very pleasauntlye speake with a kinge, to the ende that at the kinges eares he shoulde be either more false thoroow silence, or more acceptable thoroowe his communication. But if perhaps the Prince or kinge shall at that time make a good countenaunce to any of them, and alloweth that which he speaketh, if he shal saye or do any thinge, which is acceptable, if he hath beleued him in any thinge, if he hath called him into a priute place to talke with him, & hath not don the like to other, he then doubtlesse shalbe greatly esteemed of men, and nowe he wil begin to make al thinges lesfull, he will detract all men, he will

Of the Nobles of the Courte. Cap. 69.

THe people of the Courte is of two sortes: y^e Dukes & Erles be the chiefest, I meane these noble Thra- soes, whiche dote in pride, riote, and pompe, clad in purple, silke, and worke of feathers, in embroidered and golden garmentes.

VVhiche do delite in whoores, in striding, and in steppes they pleasure take:

In strange lookes, and sundrie sortes, of garmentes strange to make:

These tame their strength in Venerie, their throte and tast is daintie, thei every where, desire to go in gorgeous appaile, they fare sumptuously, thei geue and take bankets. Thei oftentimes accopt it an honour, if in a famous bankette at one time, they riottously consume their substance in suche wise, that for the space of a quarter of a yeare after, they impudently go to other mennes tables. About these, from al partes, flocke harpors, pipers, and al kindes of musitions, borders, plaiers, parasites, harlots, belodes, dauncers, hunters, and suche like monsters of men, they see dogges, hozles, goshaukes, sperhaukes, and other birdes of pray, apes, popintayes, and if there be any monsters, and outcastes of nature, beares, lyons, liberds, tigers. Thei communications are mere trifles, & idle fables, they sclander, accuse, disclose secretes, lye, & mingle true thinges with false, these babble muche of howndes, huntinge, of the compasse of the woode, of the daungerous and doubtful dennes of wilde beastes, of the endes of y^e chales: thei make many lies, of hozles, of war- farre, and of wortthy enterprises by them atcheiued. If there be any envious man presente, enterruptinge other mens communication he maketh a noyse, enterringling other trifles, and arrogantly will reckon by his balliaunt deedes, whiche he thinketh, do purchase him prayse: an o- ther oftentimes doth conuicte him of a lye, & with sundrie

mischief more pestilente to Cities, then the Courte of a
 mightie Lozde. When this is moued, as it were a comete
 the messenger of all mischieses, and no other wise then a
 verpe infectiue plague, to euery place where it arriueth,
 bringeth with it a very dangerous destruction: from
 whencesoeuer it departeth, it leaueth vncurable tokens
 of his poyson, as of them whom a mad dogge hath biten.
 A continual dearth of things doth accompany it, whilest
 that euery man endeoureth to gaine thereby, in enhan-
 singe the price of thinges whiche neuer afterwarde with
 great losse can be brought downe: dayntines of face doth
 also accompanie it, wherupon when strange meats were
 brought in, the people began to abhorre their countrie
 fare, and euery where geuinge themselves to feede and
 chearish the carkets, do dishonestly consume their sub-
 stance, Pride also doth accompanie it, which whilest that
 citizens & women going about to counterfeit, & al houses
 taking from thence the manner & faction of their attire,
 do spende al their goodes on apparalle, and pompe. Cor-
 ruptio of maners doth folow, a most pestilent mischief,
 in bringing in very wicked vices. And when the Courte
 departeth from a citie, alas what a filthy taile leaueth it
 behinde: these finde their wiues aduouferers, they, their
 daughters deflowzed, or els carried awaye for hozes, or
 others supplanted children, or their seruantes & maides
 corrupted. What neede many wordes: there is woderful
 great lamentatio, & the whole face of the citie is changed,
 like y face of an harlot. I know a famous citie in Fraunce,
 for this cause so corrupt. y scarcely there is seene any chaste
 wife, hardly mens daughters be married virgins: but ra-
 ther repute it a greate honour to haue ben a hozse of the
 court, and the elder womē are bawdzesses to the yonger,
 and this dishonestie hath so growē in vse, that no shame
 remaineth, and the husbandes themselues do vneth passe
 for their wiues whordome, so that (as Abraham saide
 to Sara) they be well at ease because of them, and liue de-
 litiously for their sake.

gouerne and rule: where desolations, rapes, adulteries, & fornications be the pastimes of Princes & Nobles: where also the mothers of Princes and Kinges, be otherwhile baywresses to their Sonnes: there be stormie tempestes of all mischiefes, and an vnspeakeable wrecke of all vertues: euery honeste man is there oppressed, and euery ribaulde is auanced, the simple menne be laughed to skorne, and the iuste are persecuted, presumptuouse and shamelesse parsons be fauoured. None but flatterers doe prosper there, and whisperers, sleaunders, talebearers, false accusers, complainers, abusers, venemous tongues, supplanters, inuentours of mischiefes, & other pestilent people, whiche professe al kinde of shamefull actes: whose life is wholy boyde of shame, and what naughtines so euer in any place is found in cruel beasts, al this seemeth to be assembled in the route of courtiers, as in one body: there is found the fiercenesse of the Lion, the crueltie of the Tiger, the truculencie of the Beare, & beastely rashnesse of the Boare, the pride of the Horse, the rauine of the Wolfe, the obstinacie of the Dre, the deceit of the Fore, the mutabilitie of the Chameleon, the varietie of the Liberde, the biting of the Dogge, the desperatnesse of the Elephant, the reuengment of the Camel, the fearefulnes of the Hare, the lasciuiousnes of & Goate, the vncleanes of the Sow, the simplicitie of the Sheepe, the follie of the Ass, the scoffinge of the Ape: there be the furious Centaures, & perilous Chimeres, the woode Satires, the filthy Harpies, the dishonest Sirenes, & biformed Scilles, there the horrible Ostriches, there the greedy Griphes, & terrible Dragons, and what straunge and feareful monsters nature euer created againste her will, doe dwell and are scene: there all kindes of vertues endure their tormentours, and tyzauntes: to be short they must abide in wickednesse, naughtinesse or impietie, or departe from the Courte. None but fowles escape vnpunished: let him leaue the Courte, that wil be good. There can chaunce no

wonderfull greate damages by seruauntes : the seruill
 wares wrytten of many hystorographers do witnesse y,
 but namely y Citie of Volinium aboundinge in wealth,
 garnished with customes and lawes, in time passe did set
 forth a lamentable sight of the presumption of seruants,
 which dealinge too familiarly with their seruantes in ge-
 uinge them the bzidle at will, did oftentimes cal them to
 counsailes, at length some of them presumed to enter in-
 to the order of Senatours, shortly after they vsurped the
 gouernaunce of the publike weale, they caused Testa-
 mentes to be wrytten at their pleasure, they forbade the
 bankettes and assemblies of free men, they married the
 daughters of their Masters, lastly they made a lawe that
 their aduoutries in widowes, & vnmarried women should
 be unpunished, and that no virgin shoulde marrie a free
 man, if one of them had not first deflowzed her, after this
 manner a greate riche Citie, whiche was the principall
 towne in Caria, by reason of too much libertie and gentle-
 nesse towardes seruauntes, sustained great iniuries and
 villanie. For, as Aristotle saithe in his Politickes, if the
 correction of seruauntes be taken away, the masters come
 to destruction, as the Hilotes did againste the Lacedemo-
 nians, and the Prenestins againste the Thessalians.

Of Kingly, or Courtly Gouernment. Cap. 68.

It remaineth that bytessy we speake of the Kinges
 houtholde, that is, of the Courte. The Courte then in
 effecte is nothinge els but a colledge of Stauntes, that
 is, an assembly of noble men, and famousse knaues, and a
 Theater of most wicked waiters, a schoole of very corrupt
 customes, and a refuge of detestable wickednesse : where
 pride, arrogancie, bigge lookes, extorcion, sensualitee, riot,
 enuie, anger, surfetinge, violence, crueltie, malice, dis-
 loyaltie, deceipte, malignitee, credulitee, and what vices
 so euer be els where, & most corrupte customes doe dwell,
 gouerne

and alwaies barking. Plautus in Pseudolo doth in these wordes expresse their natures. A kinde of men worthe whippinge, which neuer haue in minde any good thinge: but when occasiō is geuen them, holde, steale, robbe, this is their practise, that thou were better to leaue woulfes emonge shæpe, then these to keepe thy house. And Lucianus in Palinurus saithe: The misrepertes, the robberies, the deceiptes, the renning awaie, the arrogancie, the negligence, the drunkennesse, the gozmandise, the sluggishnesse, the slothfulnesse, the lithernesse of seruauntes to wardes their Maisters are alwaies readie. Hereof is spronge that Prouerbe: we haue so many enimies at home, as we haue seruauntes. But oftentimes we haue not them so muche our enimies, as we make them, when we are proude, couetous, spitefull, and cruell to wardes them, and at home we put on tirauntes mindes, and will beare rule ouer our seruaunts, not as it becometh, but as it pleaseth vs. Of this matter Strophilus the seruaunte speaketh after this sorte in Plautus, in the Comedie Aulularia.

A prouerbe.

The Maisters now their seruauntes doo misuse,
 The seruauntes to obaie them doo refuse.
 So on no side is done that, whiche is righte,
 The nigh olde men keepe all thinges from their sighte.
 And with a thousande keies they faste locke doo,
 Stoore house, kitchinge, cellar, and buttrie too.
 So that, vneth their children they in lette,
 The theuishe and the subtill seruauntes sette
 The doores wide open, with a thousande keyes,
 And closly filch, purloine, and goe their waies.
 They neuer for a hundreth hanginges, will
 Disclose their thestes. So seruauntes that be ill,
 Reuenge their bondage doo, with sporte and plaie.
 I then conclude, if bountie beare the swaie:
 That seruauntes still wil walke in vpright waie.

Many common wealthes in time passe, haue sustained

to wife Faustina daughter to Antonius Pius, was constrained to keepe her being an adulteresse, least he should come in contention for the dowrie and empire. But all these Incommodities happen not so much through the faulte of wiues, as thozowe the errour of husbandes, for an vnho- nest wife is not wonte to chaunce to none, but naughtie husbandes. Of this matter Varro in Gellius reasoneth in this wise, sayinge: The faulte of the wife is either to be taken awaie, or endured, he that taketh it awaie, maketh her more tractable & easie: he that endureth her, maketh him selfe better. Hereof we haue spoken more at large in our declamation vpon the Sacrament of Patrimonte. Beside this also, y bringing vp of childern, hath not turned well to all men, many of whiche haue either an ill name, or disobedient to their parentes, some also hate them, some chaunce foolish and mad, and some blockish, and grosse headed, some runne headlonge into all vices, and spende their patrimonte in riote, in sensualitee, and in dice plaie: some kil the which begat them, as Alcmeon, Orestes, and P. Malleoles, whiche killed their mothers. And Artaxarces Mnemon also hauinge a hundzeth and fiftene sonnes, slewe a great parte of them, which conspired his death. Wherefore very well saithe Euripides, and our Barnarde hath receaued it, that it is an vnknown good to be without children. Augustus also that most happie Emperoure, was oftentimes enforced bicause of his daughter and neece, to vse this verse of Homer.

I would to God, I had nor wife nor childe.

Euripides likewise saithe, in this manner of seruantes: There is at home no greater enimie, nor worse, nor more vnprofitable, then a seruant. And Democritus saithe: A seruante is a necessarie possession, but not profitable. Petrarcha wrote also in a certaine place: I knewe well that I liued with dogges, but I knewe not that I was a hunter, had I not benne aduised. Seruantes be called dogges, because they are snappishe, they be gluttonous,
and

I doo not doubt, but stately *Troye*,
will haue a greuous fall:

And warrelike *Priams* people eke,
and *Priame* shalbe thrall.

But care of people, nor of *Syre*,
nor eke of *Priame* kinge:

Nor brothers, though many of them,
and woorthie in each thinge.

Shall die in handes of foes, so much
doo pinch my pensiffe harte:

As care of thee my dearest wife,
doth vexe and cause me smarte.

I confesse that many troubles and vexations doe accom-
panie naughtie Mariages, such as Socrates sometime de-
clared, continuall care, tormentinge ielousie, perpetuall
quarrels, vpbzaidinge of dowrie, sower lookes of the pa-
rentes: comparison of an other mans mariage, diuerse
expenses, doubtfull endes of childzen, sometime lacke of
them, death of offspringe, a straunge heire, & infinite sor-
rowes: adde hereto no choise of the wife, but to be taken
what euer shee be', whether pleasaunt, or foolish, or ill
mannered, or proud, or fowle, or deformed, or vnchaste,
euery default that shee hath, is knowne after mariage:
but with much adoe or neuer it is redressed. There are
eramples of vnequall mariages: Marcus Cato the Cen-
sour in his time without controuersie, the chiefest of the
Romane common wealth, who vneth had in warre and
peace his equall, when in his olde age he had taken to
wife a younge wenche, doughter of one Salomo a poore
man, and of base estate, shee behauinge her selfe disobedi-
ently did beare no rule in his house. Tiberius hauing to
wife Iulia doughter to Augustus, infamouse for her ma-
nifest adulteries, daringe not to chastice her, nor accuse
her, nor forsake her, nor retaine her, was enforced to goe
to Rhodes, not without blotte of good name, and perill
of life. M. Antonius the Philosopher, when he had taken

He that well governeth his house, is woorthy to beare rule in a common wealth.

Phillip of Macedonie, and Gorgias Leontinus had debate in their houses, therefore the Greekes iudged them vnmeete for publike gouernment. The happiest life.

hath not learned to gouerne his house : nor to beare stroke in the common weale, whiche neuer knewe to gouerne his priuate and houtholde affaires, whiche is the very example and image thereof. The Greekes perceaued this, whom when Philippe of Macedonie endeouored to bringe to atonement beinge at discorde, and Gorgias Leontinus had recited in Olimpia, a booke of the Greekes concozde contemptuously reiecting the one & the other, they laughed them to skorne, because they endeouored to set others at vnitee, whiche coulde not establishe concozde in their owne houses. For Phillippe had at home his wife and sonne at discorde, and Gorgias his wife and maide, wherefoze they thought that whole p̄sumptuouse prouidencie and authozitee was not able to appeale houtholde contention, coulde not wisely conclude outwarde discordes. He then whiche is set to rule a Citie and common weale, if first he know not how to gouerne him selfe, his house, and his substaunce, he vndoubtedly taketh that charge in vaine. This finally is the onely state of life, wherin a man maie leade the happiest life of al, in louing his wife, in bringinge by his childzen, in gouerninge his familie, in sauinge his substance, in rulinge his house, & in encreasinge his offspringe : wherein if any charge and labour happen (for very many do chaunce, and no state of life is without his crosse) verely this onely is that lighte burden, and swete yoke, whiche is in wedlocke : if so be the wiues be suche, whome not auarice, not pride, not deceypte, not fraude, not p̄uith appetite, but God himselte hath ioygned togeather, to the ende that a man shoulde forsake his Father and Mother, Sonnes, brothers, kinsmen, & cleaue to his wife, whose loue ought to surpasse the affection of all other. In this wise Hector seeinge Troye fallinge to ruine, was not afflicted so muche with the thought of his parentes, not of his brethzen, not of him selfe, as of his deare wife. For after this manner he speaketh in Homer.

chaundise, husbandrie, warrefare, Physicke, & pleadinge
be the chiefest, of whiche we will speake hereafter in or-
der. But firste let vs discusse the generall fundations of
Economic.

Of Economic or Priuate Government. Cap. 67.

The whole efficacie of Priuate government standeth in Matrimonte, wherfoze Metellus Numidicus the Censour, when he exhorted the people of Rome to marrie, saide: O ye Komans if we coulde liue without wiues, we al should seeke to auoide y trouble: but because nature hath so taught, that by no meanes with them, nor wout them, we maie liue comodiously enough, we ought rather to prouide for euerlasting saltee, then for fadinge pleasure: these thinges Aulus Gellius recompteth. And truely no house, or houtholde affaire can endure, and be of continuance, without a wife: for without a wife kindred cannot be encreased, nor heire be named, nor enheritaunce be called, nor kinsfolke, nor familie, nor father of the familie can be saide. He that hath no wife, hath no house, because he doth not faste his house: and if he haue, he dwelleth therein as a straunger in an Inne: he that hath no wife, although he be excedinge riche, he hath almost nothinge, which maie be called his, because, he hath not to whome he maie leaue it, nor to whom to trust, all that he hath is in daunger of spoile: his seruauntes robbe him, his companions beguile him, his neighbours dispise him, his friendes regarde him not: his kinsfolke seeke his vndoinge: if he hath any children out of Matrimonte, they tourne him to shame, wherfoze the lawes forbide him to leaue them, neither the name of their familie, nor the armes of their predecessours, nor their substance, and he is also togeather with them put backe from al publicke offices and dignities, by the consente of all lawe makers. For he is vnworthie to rule a Citie whiche
hath

*The exhortatio
M. Numidicus,
to the Romains,*

*The comodities
of a wife.*

filthie of men, whercunto are referred all woorkes that be done sittinge, and handicraftes, whiche consistē in flaxe, woullē, woodde, yron, brasse, and diuerse mettals: seruill obeyssaunces also of barbaras, bainekeepers, hucksters, and diuerse waies to get liuinge & increase substance: whiche appertaine not to the authoritē of governmente, and auaille no deale to the rule of the publike wealth, forcastinge and consideringe no diuine, comely, nor woorthie matter, which are so many, that thei cannot be numbzed, and al these are seruill: many other also be infamouse for the affinitie whiche they haue with vices, as Carters, Mariners, and Inholders, be reputed infamouse for the vice of vnmeasurable talkinge, because they delite in fables and spreade newes, and likewise Barbaras, Bainekeepers, and Shepherdes. For the fable of Midas, and the histozie of Sylla beseginge Athens haue made these infamouse, and the fable of Battus the other. Semblablye Singers, Pipers, Harpers, men hyzed for monie, be infamouse, whiche at bankettes sounde instrumentes of Musicke to delite others, but the Mariners life, as it is the vnhappiest of al, so is it the warste, whose dwellinge place is like a prison, their fare excedinge harde, and the same very filthie, their appaile vile, & summarily they haue an incommoditē of all thinges, perpetuall exile, alwaies wandringe, neuer abidinge in one place, & knowe not reste, euer tossed with the raginge windes, and with the waueringe surges, alwaies subiecte to heate, colde, raine, lightning, hunger, thirste, and vncleannesse. The Syllēs, the Charibdes, the Sirtes, the Symplegades, and so many daungerouse ieopardies of the Sea come nexte vnto these: beside this the tempeastes of the Sea, then the whiche there is nothinge moze fearefull, and horrible, and with al these and many other mischises a continual daunger of life. And whereas shipmen are the vnhappiest of all men, they be therewithal the vngrationist of all parsons. But emonge all these handie craftes, mar-

Infamous parsons.

Mariners bothe vnhappie and vngrationists.

chaundise,

crowe like a Cocks, commaunded the fire, and did many
suche faigned miracles, whiche be falsly affirmed of their
Sainte Fraunces. Richarde Bishoppe of Armashane,
and Mallecolus prouoste of Tigure, and John Bishoppe of
Camota, haue in time passe witten againste these cursi-
ours, & many other haue made mention of them, whiche
did plainely deteate the abuse of this religiose beggerie.
But now let these suffice, to the ende that we maie pro-
ceade farther.

Of Economie, that is to witte, of the ordering of things
concerninge the houshold in generall. Cap. 66.

Vnder the gouernment of the common weale is al-
so contained Economie, whiche is a certaine dome-
sticall common weale, and nothings els but a cer-
taine priuate Monarchie, but there are many kindes
thereof. For one is called kingly, or courtly: an other Sa-
trapticall, or warrelike: againe an other comon, or belon-
ginge to the comunaltie, or els Conuentual, or belonging
to companie, and finally one priuate or monasticke. This
dothe then teache in what manner the wife, the childzen,
the kinnsfolke, the familie, and the seruauntes are to be
gouerned, by what meanes the house and possession is to
be preserued and augmented, and whereof expences are
to be leuied. Moreouer al the subtilties which be in rents,
in monie, in fallages, in tributes, in tenthes, in vsuries,
in aduantages, or ouerplusses, and in traficke, and all
the newe craftes, and inuentions, to finde profit and ad-
uantage. Furthermore of felowshippes also, of agrée-
mentes, of controuersies, and warre, all whiche thinges
because they haue neither measure, nor rule, are called
Anomals. Wherefore Economie, or housholdinge cannot
truely be termed neither Art, nor Science, but a certaine
domesticke or priuate discipline compacted and made of
the opinion, vse, custome, prudence, or rather of the sub-
tiltie

table theues the pray of misgotten goodes, and to beguile rude citisens, ignozaunte people, & superstitious dotinge women of their mony, and by the example of the Serpēt first to allure foolish women, & by meanes of them to finde a way to deceiue men, which whilest they shewe pouerty with a counterfait basenesse of apparaile & crynge lowde do preach that mony should not be esteemed, & that ambitio should be eschued, they care for nothing more then to possesse infinite riches: and for this cause they go about y sea and lande, they enter into al mens houses & shoppes, & do not minister their Sacraments but for mony, they tirānously demaund almesse as if were tribute, they medle with all mens matters, they make vnlawfull mariages, they turne testaments vpside downe, they set men at one that be variaunce, they refozme nunes, but they do al these thinges for their commoditie: these be the frērlike artes, with which many of them haue growen so greate authoritie, that they make the Emperours and Popes afraide, and haue heaped vp more riches then the wealth of marchants & treasures of Princes, & with many thousandes of powndes haue bought Miters, & Chaplets, and with great summes of mony haue aspired also to y Popedome. So great power hath that religious beggerie. And albeit they possesse great masses of mony, notwithstanding many of them make a shew of extreame pouertie, & of perfection more then euangelike, in case they touche not this with their bare fingers, but haue a Judas to carrie their purses, & giue them an accompt, in the meene while they presume to say, as Peter & Iohn did, we haue no golde and siluer with vs. But if herein they did not lye, and their talke were faithful, thei should haue power to say arise, & walke. And togeather with their holy father S. Francess cleane without mony, & vices, did commaunde creatures, & obeyed thē, turned water into wine, passed ouer rivers bye shoed, made wilde wolves tame, staid the chirpinge of swallowes with commaundemēt alone, made a falcon crowe

*Freers thoro we
theire goodes
gotten by beg-
ging haue aspi-
red to the Pope-
dome.*

pardons, and dispensations vnder the pretence of almeſſe
 do prole for profite: & going about the countrie do gaine
 of the ignorant country men, and of the light beleuinge
 women; being superſtitiously aſtonied, a ſhepe, a lambe,
 a kidde, a calfe, a pigge, gamondes of bacon, wine, oyle,
 butter, cozne, beanes & pease, milke, cheeſe, egges, hennes,
 woll, hempe, and gettunge monye of them robbe all the
 world, & in this wiſe loden with fat ſpoiles they returne
 home, where with great ioy their fraternitie doth receiue
 them, & commed them bicauſe they haue ſo religiously be-
 giled the ſimple people, and ſely women, and diuine with
 like craftes of beggerie, and notable ſabtilties of deceits
 to offer very acceptable ſacrifices to God, as oftentimes
 as after this manner they charged with braty, with great
 hinderance of the people, & detrimente to the common
 wealth, do franke and fatten the idle officers of their ſa-
 mille; nothinge at al eſteeming, neglecting, and diſpiſing
 the workes of mercy, vnder the colour of which ſo many
 giſtes are beſtowed on them. Apuleius in his *Aſſe* did in
 ſome paſſ write the fable of them, ſpeaking of the priettes
 of the Goddeſſe Syria: There are beſide theſe innumera-
 ble ſectes of begginge Fræers, & (as they ſay) of Beguardes,
 whiche laying aſide, the holines of their profeſſion, haue
 chaunged godlineſſe for gaine, as if they did to no other
 ende profeſſe religion, then that vnder the title of pouer-
 tie they maye range where euer they pleaſe and with a
 ſhameles face and impoſtunate hipocriſſe to ſcrape mony
 together on euery ſide not to be aſhamed of any diſhoneſt
 gaine, and with marueilous railinges to blaſpheme at the
 people in the Quire, in the ſtreate, in the Church, in the
 ſcholes, in courtes, in palaces, in publike & priuate com-
 munication, in confeſſions, in diſputations, in ſermons,
 from benches, from chears, out of pulpits, and preaching
 places, ſortreſſes of their impudencie, to ſel the marchaun-
 diſe of pardons, to meaſure theiue good dedes with cere-
 monies, & to wyng from marchauntes, ſhurers, and no-

do carrie and recarrie the letters of the enimie. By them sometimes Cities haue ben burned, which Fraunce, and the Citie of Tیره haue of late yeares experienced, sometimes they haue poysoned the water, infected the cozne, and benomed the victuals, and the pestilence beinge dispersed, haue made a greate mortalitie of men. With these

Gyngani be the
beggars whiche
we cal Egyptias

are to be numbred, the people, which are called Gyngani: VVhiche do delite to liue by forayne spoile

It painefull is for them to dwell at home

And they abhorre to knowe their natiue soile.

These beinge bozne in the countrie which lieth betwene Egypt and Ethiopia, and by auncetours descending fro y generation of Chus the sonne of Cham, the sonne of Noe, do euen vnto this day suffer y curse of their grandfather, and wanderinge throughout all the worlde, plantinge tentes without citties the in fieldes, and crosse waies, do get their lininge with these deceites, to wit, with stealing, and robbing, with falsehed and bartring, and delite men also with palmestrie, for the wing things to come.

Volaterranus thinketh, that these be the Vxij, a people of Persia, folowing Scilares, who wrote the Historie of Constantinople. He saithe that Michael Traulus the Emperour attayned his Empire by the prophesie of the Vxij, which secte shattered thorough Mesia and Europe, did generally foretell al men things to come. Polydorus affirmeth, that the be Assyrians and Cilicians. But nowe this plague of vasaunt beggerie doth not onely herberoughe emonge temporall men, and the vilest knaues of lewdest demeanoure, but also it is crepte into religion, emonge the order of Monkes and Priestes.

Beggerie among
Monkes.

From hence arose these sectes of Freres, Monkes, and other wandringe prowlers, in the number of whiche be they, that vnder false shewe of religion, carrying about, (as they say) reliques of Sainctes, or els vnder false hypocrisie, the winge out warde holineste, with many inventions of fained miracles, threating the wrath of the Sainctes, promising

pardons

the Church doze, to the iniure of mans nature, & against the lawes of God, willingly to suffer deadly colds, gnashing of teethe, skorchinge heate, and cruell tormentes, that vntoth they can auoyde death it selfe, then to liue content with almesse in the hospitals of poore people, and cure their griefes. And that which is moze to be detested, beinge in these greuous tormentes, they curse, rayle, vtter spiteful wordes, they are dronken, & so sweare themselves, and other whiles prayinge counterfaitly, settinge at naught, and dispisinge al godly thinges, do not worship Christe with any reuerence: so that they seeme to the beholders not Martyrs of Christ, but damned soules and spirites of hell. There is an other moste wicked kinde of beggers not to be pittied, that is to witte of them, whiche with birdlime, meale, bloude, and cozrupte matier, with cruised woundes, and counterfaiete blisters do peinte themselves full of soares and cankers, diuers faigninge diuers infirmities, with sundrie sleightes do shew themselves miserable to the beholders. Some other there are, whiche vnder the pretence of bowes, and pilgrimages, walke about the countrie, eschewing labour of purpose, thoroze idle pouertie begginge for Gods sake from doze to doze, and these in the meane season will not chaunge their life with Kinges, so that they maye freely wander where they please, and do what euer they thinke good in warre and peace, In al places thei be safe from exactions, from publike subsidies, from bondage, and from al partes and euery where they are free from ciuill correction, they be not apprehended for their fraude, deceite, trumpery, thefte, and iniuries, and as men consecrated to God do passe without receiuinge hurte of any man: and notwithstandinge there ariseth of their order no small inconueniencence, and horrible ribaldries do from thence procede, whileste vnder pretence of beggerie they searche out the secrets of cities, and countries: and whilest thei practised in deceite and craft, and instructed to al kindes of reason

A wicked kinde
of beggers.

Another kinde
of beggers.

*be married and receiue a reasonable
 do wrie of the chiefe rulers of the citie
 who are appointed to redresse enormi-
 ties. Vwhereby it is come to passe that
 there is seene scarcely a begger in a
 whole yeare, and a theefe is as rare
 amonge them as a blacke swane, this I
 thought good to mention in this place,
 to the end that by the godly proceedings
 of the noble Germans we English men
 may be stirred vp to folow their steppes,
 there haue benne available lawes ena-
 cted concerninge floisteringe beggers
 and other poore people, but fewe or
 none are obserued, to the greate rebuke
 of humanitie.*

**strict ordinance touching valiant beg-
 gers, yf any able to labour were found
 to aske almesse, he should be taken, and
 brought into bodage. Christ in the law
 of the Gospel commaundeth, that that,
 whiche remaineth shoulde be giuen to
 the poore, to the end that there remaine
 no begger, nor poore parson amonge the
 people: but that there be an equalitie,
 as Paule writeth to the Corinthians
 sayinge: Let your plenty supply their
 wante to the ende that their plentye
 may supply your pouerty, and let their
 be an equality, as it is writen. He that
 hath muche dothe not abounde, and he
 that hath little, lacketh nothinge: and
 writinge to the Ephesians, saith: Let**

**him that firste robbed, now robbe nomore, but rather let
 him worke that whiche is good in labouringe with his
 handes, that he may haue wherewith to helpe the needy.
 The same also commaundeth the Thessalonians to labour
 with their handes, & to endeuoure to haue abundaunce,
 appointing them as it were a decree, that he which would
 not labour, should not eate: and commaunded, that they
 which did other wise, shoulde be taken from amonge the
 felowshippe of the faithfull, and in the Epistle to Timo-
 thee he condemneth them, which thinke the gaine of beg-
 ginge, a worke of godlinesse. The Canon Decrees of the
 Popes also haue ordayned, that almesse should be distri-
 buted on those poore people onely, whiche cannot labour,
 and doo reckon all other, whiche take almesse, amonge
 theues, robbers, and sacrilegers. By these authours then
 we are taught, that we ought not to haue so greate com-
 passion of pouertie as to deteste and blame beggerie. And
 the artes, which they haue deuised to gaine by begginge,
 are to be hated of all men, whilset that they had licffer at
 the**

be no whoore or lecherouse emonge the sonnes of Israel. And beside this vncleannesse in time past crepte into the Church vnder the shewe of Religion, and did spreade a brode the heresie of the Nicolaites, which to auoide gelosie made their wines common, and taught in a maner after Platose lawe, that they ought to be common. But al such Princes, Judges, and Magistrates, as do maintaine broathels houses, or in any wise do allow them, although they play not the lecherours, & Lord wil say vnto them, as the Psalmist saith: if thou sawest a thiefe, thou wentest with him, and haddest thy part with adulterers: thou hast don these thinges, and I haue helde my peace: thou hast beleued a wicked man, that I am like vnto thee, but I will accuse thee, and wil make thee come befoze my face.

The heresie of the Nicolaites.

Of Beggerie. Cap. 65.

It belongeth to the common wealth and religion, to haue regarde of the poore, and the sicke: to the ende that none thozowe pouertie may offende, & steale, or going about begginge infecte the Citie with pestilence, or perishe for hunger, to the reproche of humanitie. For the whiche cause Hospitales of poore people haue benne ordayned in many places with publike gatheringes of monie, & great deuotion, and dayly enriched with the priuate almesse of wealthy men. For it hath bene alwayes forbidden euen fro the beginninge, and by the lawes of all nations, to begge openly, and go from citie to citie: For in the olde lawe Moses commaunded the Jewes, that there shoulde not be emonge them any poore man or Begger. In the Roman lawes also Iustinian the Emperoure made a

Beggars for sundrie causes are not to be suffered in no place namely in cities, wherefore the Germaines, Politike gouernours of theire publike weale, haue in diuers reformed cities made holsome lawes for the helpe and maintinaunce of the poore, which not able to labour haue a stipende yearely out of the treasure of the citie, and if any handicraftes man driuen to extreme pouertie be not able to buye his tooles, and other necessaries, he comming to the beade officers of the citie shall haue monie sufficiente to supplie his wante, also if there be any vnderwed maiden she shall be honeste.

pell the Priestes to pay them yearely a reueneue for their concubines, and this they do so openlye, that this their marchaundise of women, or bawdzie is growen to a pro- uerbe emonge the people, whiche saye: whether he haue or not, he shal pay a ducate for a concubine, & let him haue her if he will. But in the kingdom of auarice, nothinge is attributed to dishonestie, whereof gaine may arise: I wil not speake of the inuention of sufferance, by the which, payinge a certaine summe of mony to the Bishoppes, the wife in absence of her husbände, without offence of adul- tery (as they say) is licenced to dwel with an other: which thinges be so cleare and manifeste, that we are enforced to be ignozant, whether is moze foolish, the impudency of the Bishoppes, or the pacience of the people: that at the length, the Princes of Germanie, haue bene enforced to reckon these emonge other greuous burdens of that na- tion, by whiche you maye very well perceiue the residue, which are here passed ouer with silence. Such defendours then hath the Arte of bawdzie, and whiche do maintayne the whozthe science, that vntil this day (the moze pity) it is allowed in the Christian common weale, and there are graunted them in Citties publicke Theaters, priuiledges, and wages, whileste this onely weake reason of man, or rather bawdye inuention, striueth againste the lawes of God and his woorde, in which they say, that this is main- tained, to the ende that youth hauinge there auoyded the surie of fleshy lust, may forbeare to attēpt warse things. they say, take whores out of the common wealth, every place would be stouered with fornication, incest, & adulte- ries, no married woman shall remaine chaste: no widowe shall be of perfect honestie: maydens shall be scarcely kepte in salttie: in fine, for this cause thei cōclude, that it is impos- sible for the common weale to be in quietenelle without whores, without whiche not withstanding the people of Israel in time past did mosse constauntly continue many hundzeth yeares, as God commaunded them, Let there be

A weake reason
for maintay-
nance of
whores.

The people of Is-
rael liued many
hundzeth yeares
without
whores.

Abraham was wel vsed. Thesame craffe vsed Abimelech with the Kinge of the Palestines, geuing his wife licence to lie with two Kinges but at diuerse times. Thesame did Isaac the sonne of Abraham: & so likewise the Arte of bawdzie hath ben set forth with the exāples of Sainctes. Furthermoze it hath benne reuerenced and honoured of the Goddes, of noble personages, of lawe makers, of philosophers, of passinge wise men, of diuines, of Princes, and of the veray heades of religion. The God Pan, Mercurie, & the boie Cupide were bawdes, the Baron Vlysses was a bawde, Licurgus the lawe maker was a bawde, & the wise Solon, who firste builde brothel houses, and prouided whores for yonge men. And in our time the Pope Sixtus erected in Rome a notable stewes, the Emperoure Heliogabalus was a bawde, who mainteined in his housecelles of whores, and exhibited them to his friendes and seruauntes. Duer and besides this Quēnes, Princesses, and Ladies be careful of this, and kinges mothers are otherwhiles bawdzesses to their sonnes. Hozeouer the chiefe rulers and officers do not disdaine this office, for in time past the Corinthians, the Ephesians, & Abidens, the Cyprians, the Babilonians, & many other magistrates: whiche in their Cities do builde and maintaine brothels houses, whordinge vp no small profite in their treasure of the gaine of harlottes: whiche is not seldome vsed in Italie, where the whores in Rome paye wekely to the Pope a Giulio, whiche yearely reueneue otherwhiles amounteth to xx. thousande Ducates, and moze, and this office doth so much belong to the Prelats of the Church, that togeather with the reueneues of their benefices they accompte also the tribute of bawdzie. For I haue harde them sometimes make accompt in this maner, sayinge, he hath two benefices, one cure of xx. ducates, an other Prebzie of xl. ducates, & thre whores in the stewes, whiche pay him euery weke xx. Guillies. Neuertheles the Bishoppes and officials are bawdes also, whiche do com-

*Pope Sixtus
built a notable
stewes.*

*Whores paye
tribute to the
Pope.*

now wisdom, now folly: let them forever keepe some thinge of hers whome they loue as it were a sure signe, & testimonie of loue, let them go vnto her thozow her sufferaunce, let them seeke a freshe woman, let them endeavour to winne a stately & noble dame by craft or pōpe: lette them pzeuily renewe the accustomed coniectures.

The lawe of Licurgus, touching vnequal Matrimonie. Licurgus also made a lawe, if any aged man and vnmēte for the acte of Matrimonie, had taken to wife a younge girle of tender yeares, it laie in her power to chuse some able yonge mā to be get her with childe, so that the childe whiche was bozne were affirmed to be the husbandes. Solon also made a lawe, whiche likewise allowed wiues, if their husbandes were not able to fulfill their desire, to pike out one of his kinsmen, of whom thē might receaue that thē lacked & looked for: that was not theretofore reputed an other mans, whiche was bozne. I speake not how many women there be and are knowen now a daies, yea of the noblest, which yearely being great with childe thozow sozaine seede, do make their husbandes beleue that the children whiche be bozne are theirs. And againe after childbirth they haue recourse every other daie to satisfie the Adulterers: worse then Iulia the wife of Marcus Agrippa, which toke no Partner but when the shippe was freight. The holy booke of the Bible also (if it be lawfull to speake it) haue subtelties of bawdrie, as it is clearely seene in the wiues mother of Ruth, and in Ionadab, called in the Scripture a wise man, & in Achitophell a mighty counsaillour. Abraham also whereas he had Sara to wife a faire and younge woman, & were emonge the Egyptians, he saide to her: I know that thou arte a faire woman, & when the Egyptians shall see thee, they will saie: shee is his wife: & they will kill me: & they wil keepe thee emonge them. Saie therfore I besech thee, that thou art my sister, to the ende that I maie be in salstie for thy sake, & for the loue of thee my soule shall liue, and so at the length Sara was taken in Pharos house, and for consideration of her

Abraham

& thei speaking of vertue leade a dishonest life. But often
 times most detestable bawdes and wicked bawdzesses do
 lurke vnder those religiouſe garmentes. The gentil wo-
 men of the Courte, for the moſte parte haue ſuche mini-
 ſters to ſaie ſeruiſe, and vſe their aduiſe in Mariages
 and bawdzies. The Lawes and Canons likewiſe go a
 warrefare in the defence of bawdzie, when in fauoure of
 great men they fight for vnrighteous Mariages, & vndoe
 the lawfull, and whereas they haue forbidden Prieſtes
 honeſt mariages, ſhamefully they are compelled to keepe
 whores: and the lawe makers woulde rather haue their
 Prieſtes keepe concubines with ſclaunder, then wiues
 with honeſt fame: peraduenture becauſe they receaue
 greater profite by concubines: Wherof it is reade, that a
 Biſhop made boſte at a banquet, that he had xj. thouſande
 concubinarie Prieſtes, whiche paide him yearly one Du-
 cate a peece. There was in times paſte, at Rome in the
 temple of Venus, a decree of the Senate engrauen in two
 tables, & the law of bawdzie, very fauourable to bawdes
 & lecherours, which we haue reade in Peter Crinite, wri-
 ten in theſe wordes: In the firſte table were contained,
 I do perpetually allow men ennamored in the daie time
 to behold, to followe, to whiſper, to enter in, to reioice,
 to ſalute, to talke, & requeſte: there ſhall no parſon prohibe
 all theſe commodities from the houſe, hole, garden,
 poſterne gate, & water fall: let them geue counſaile, keepe
 promiſſe, healpe and fauour all men: In the other table
 was wriſen: In the night lette them ſeele the intentes of
 the parſons, let them intermedle othes with lamentati-
 ons, lette them inſtantly allure, lette them ſet a parte al-
 ſhame & feare, let them cloke their ſadneſſe, let them do
 as the time and place requireth, let not occaſion be loſte,
 let letters goe from one to an other: with theſe let them
 earneſtly deſire and craue hope, affection, expectation, ne-
 ceſſitie & pitie, let them temperately vſe guile, violence,
 deceite, and oſtentation: let them haue, conceale, & thewe
The Ciuil and
Canon lawe
maintaine
bawdzie.
A wicked boar
ſtinge of a Bi-
ſhoppe.
Two tables of
bawdzie lawes.

undandA

haue benne made worzshipfull for mariynge the Kinges
 Concubines, and haue bene made head rulers in publike
 offices, by the meanes of these Artes many haue gotten
 many fatte benefices of Cardinalles and Bishoppes, nei-
 ther is there any waie moze gainefull then this. But
 howe muche Religion auaieth bawdrie, the Historie of
 Paulina a moste chaste and honest matrone witten by
 Aegesippus doth testifie, whom the Priestes of the God-
 desse Isis laide vnder a noble younge man in steade of the
 God Anubis. The Tripartite Historie dothe declare al-
 so, what auriculare confession can do herein: I knowe
 many examples whiche hapned of late, if I woulde recite
 them. For Priestes, Monkes, Fræers, Nunnes, & them
 whiche be called Sisters, haue a speciall prerogattue of
 bawdrie, forasmuche as they vnder the pretence of Reli-
 gion haue libertie to go whether they please, & to speake
 with all parsons whosoeuer they be, howe longe and as
 often as they list vnder a shewe of visitation, consol-
 ation, and confession, so deuoutly be their bawdries mas-
 ked, and there are of them, whiche accompte it a greate
 offence to touche monie, yet the wordes of Paule mo-
 ueth them nothinge, who sayeth: It is god not to touche
 a woman, whiche they not seldome seele with vnchaste
 handes, and priuely go to the stewes, and defloure ver-
 tuouse virgins, and widowes, and make their hoastes
 Cowholdes: sometimes also, whiche I my selfe know and
 haue seene, do, (carrie their wiues awate) as Paris the
 Troiane did, & according to Platoes lawe do make them
 common with their companions, and Sacrifice to the
 Diuel the bodie of them, whose soules they should gaine
 to God: and committe many other thinges thozowe a
 furiouse luste much moze abominable then these, whiche
 to offer in wordes shoulde be a thinge vnsemely, in the
 meane season throughly satisfiynge the bowe of chastitee,
 if with horrible wordes they reprove and blame in an o-
 ther luste, luxuriouseste, fornication, adulterie & incest:

*Auriculare con-
 fession fitte for
 bawdrie.*

*The bawdrie
 practises of
 Fræers, Monkes,
 Priestes, Nunnes,
 and such like.*

And scarcely coulde the mouth, and cuppe,
together iustly sincke.

To *Bicias* shee it gaue, and saide,
drinke of this cuppe of wine,

He quickly quafte it, and leste not
of licour any Signe.

Nexste other Lordes of *Tire*, and *Troye*,
came fourth, and *Dido* spente

The night in vaine discourse, and loue
gaue her a curelesse dente.

There are yet very many other practises of bawdzie,
whiche I let passe: but Golde dothe excell them all wher-
with if the Alchimistes (as they promise) were able to
supplie oure wante, they no doubt should be the wor-
thiest bawdes of all: for there is a mosse puissaunt baw-
dzie in Golde and monie:

For Ladie monie geues a wealthy wife, and noble
birthe:

Faith, friendes, well feautred forme, and aie endu-
ringe worldly mirth.

With Golde is the ialous husband pacified, with Golde
the obstinate riuall is appeased, with Golde the watche-
full keepers are ouercome, with Golde every gate is o-
pened, with Golde every chamber is entred, with Golde
barres, stonnes, and the indissoluble bondes of Matrimo-
nie are broken in peeces. What marueile is it, that for
monie Virgins, Maidens, Maies, widowes, & Punnes
be solde, if for monie Christe him selfe were solde? Fi-
nally many thoro we this guide and capitaine of bawdzie
haue from mosse base estate, climbed in a manner to the
highest degre of Nobilitie. This man hath made his
wife the Kinges concubine, and hath benne one of his
preute counsaile, that man, his doughter, and hath benne
created Earle: this man hath procured some Married wife
to fulfill the Princes desire, & worthis of large stipende,
so with is become the Kinges Chamberlaine: some

*Laundresses and
begger women,
vse oftentimes
bawdie practi-
ses.*

time paste become now olde bawdie pedlers, and doo ea-
sily allure soft maydens with these trifles, and take oc-
casion to speake vnto them: to whome also laundzesses be
a helpe, which freely maie enter into the house, and in the
absence of the mothers, carrie with them the daughters
and the woman seruauntes to washe: there be also beg-
ger women, whiche stande at the gates for deuotion of
Almesse, they bzing and recarrie embassages and letters
full of bawdzie.

And carrie giftes vnto the wife
whiche the aduoutrer sendes.

*Runninge with
great Horses fit
for bawdzie.
Lini. Lib. 1. Dec.*

Howeouer also the valiaunt exercises of Noble men are
mœte for bawdzie, as runninge with horses, whiche be
commonly called tournamentes, and warlike pastimes,
by the policie of whiche Romulus in time paste carried a-
waie by force the Sabine women. Howe many times
also hath huntinge accompanied the Adulteries of noble
and mighty men in the preuie places of wooddes: This
hath Virgill verie well wziten in Eneas and Dido, when
occasion was taken of the absence of his companions fro
the oportunitie of the chace. Iupiter also vled shepherdes
for bawdes. The Citie of Venice also doth testifie, what
commoditie mariners bzing to bawdzie: and semblably
delicate dishes of the kitchine, and sumptuose bankets
attende vpon bawdzie, as Virgill featly declareth in his
Enecades:

Lib. 4. Enea.

*Mariners mini-
sters of baw-
dzie.*

VWhen men from meate began to rest,
and trenchers vp were take:

Great bolles of wine alonge they sette,
and crownes on them they make.

Then did the Queene a goblet aske
of golde beset with stone:

And filde the same with wine and saide
take in good parte, for none

Vnwelcome is, then sipped shee
a little of the drinke:

tinge of beautifuyng, where with they make the damnable marchandise of Harlottes more saleable: and therefore the holy Scripture termeth them ointmentes of whores, and with these many other receites, which prouoke to lawlesse luste, by the meanes of such like things, Ouide auanted that he toke his pleasure nine times: and Theophrastus hath lesse writen that there is founde a certaine Hearbe, whiche extendeth the strength to the thre score and tweluth carnall incounter. And to tell the truth there is no bawdrie more meete and convenient, then that which is handled vnder the pretence or colour of Physicke, for there are no houses so close, no Whorneries so stronge, no prisons so well kepte, whiche do shut out the bawdie Whisitation: by whome (as Plinie witnesseth) adulteries haue benne committed, yea in the houses of Princes, as of Eudemus with Liuia the wife of Drusus, and of Vectius Valentinus with Messalina, wife of Claudius. And Aristippus maister of the Cyrenaickes, forbiddeth that none should thinke Philosophers vnprofitable for bawdrie, who beinge often conuersant with other suters in the house of Thais the famousse strumpet, made his boaste that he onely had Thais at commaundement, whereas other were at her commaundement: and whilest other consumed their substaunce vppon her, he toke his pleasure for nothinge. After this sorte the harlotte had that Philosopher for her bawde, by whose erample and authoritie she allured all younge men vnto her: neither was Aristippus content, to shewe him selfe a bawde to a whore, but also began publikely to teache sensualities, and transposed them out of the stews into the scholes. Very many handicraftes moreouer supplie the place of bawdrie, emonge whiche embroderte, spinninge, knittinge, sovinge, and other womanlike exercises be chiefe, vnder the colour of which whilest that bawdresses carrie aboute flare, threede, headbandes, cawles, garters, girdles, purses, gloues, of younge whores in time

Bawdrie vnder the colour of Physicke is the beste.

Aristippus his auantinge.

Handicraftes for the most are necessarie for bawdrie.

Cornelius Agrippa

VVhich promisse doth to loose and binde
the mindes of menne with charmes,

VVhich shee doth please, and eke on some
to sende full manie harmes.

Lucane also speaketh hereof in this manner :

Loue not by chaunce allotted vnto me hath perste
my harte,

By charmes of *Thessall* Dames whiche worke my
woe, and cause my smarte.

And in Horace, *Candidia*, in *Apuleius*, *Pamphile* inchaũ-
tresses, binde their louers, and in the *Tragicall* comedie
of *Callistus*, *Celestina* the baudresse enflameth the maiden
Melibea. To these are added witchcraftes, charmed
drinckes, and amozous poctions, but verie perilous, that
oftentimes in steede of loue, they bzinge death, or some
greuous sickenesse. Thozow the drinke of these died
Lucullus, and *Lucretius* also, but in space of time he losse
his witte and vnderstandinge. It is wriiten of a certaine
woman, whiche with an amozous drinke killed a man,
whome the *Arcopagites* pardoned, because she had com-
mitted it by reason of loue: but there is no Arte more
meete for balwdrie then *Phisicke*, which easely obtaineth
carnal desire of what maide soeuer she be, whilest that it
promiseth to restore virginitee at the time of *Marriage*, to
let the pappes frō growinge great, to keepe y belly in one
state, geuing remedies to cause barrainesse, wherby plea-
sure mate be taken saldy & for a longe season, *Sine quassata*
spina conceptum semen eycere docens, as *Lucretius* saithe :

Idq̄, sui causa consuerunt scorta mouere,

Ne complerentur crebro, grauidaq̄, iacerent.

Et simul ipsa viris Venus vt concinnior esset.

By the whiche onely benefite of *Phisitions*, many *Ma-*
trones, *Maldens*, and courtly Dames, do with saltie
take delite: the starchinge of olde ruines, and other coun-
terfette colouringes of shameles women, which are wri-
ten & taught euery where in bookes of *Phisicke*, entrea-
tinge

The death of
Lucullus and
Lucretius.

Phisicke of all
other Artes
meetest for
balwdrie.

whereof Eliane maketh mention, was so feruently loued of an Athenian yonge man, y when he coulde not buye it for mony, died by it: Terence also in Enochus bzingeth in a yonge man enflamed to lust, when he had seene a table, wherein was described, howe Iupiter descending in a golden shower desfloured Danae: and therefore Aristotle not without a cause doth appointe an open punishment for painters, whiche set suche thinges befoze the eyes of the multitude, thozowe whiche carnall lust is set on fire. And not without deseruinge the wise man saithe, that the Artes of paintinge and engraunge were inuented for the temptation of mens soules, to deceaue the ignorant, and to corrupte mans life. Powe the Astrologers, the Palmesters, the Geomancers, the Interpretours of Dreames, the Fortune tellers, the Sothelaters, the Augures, and other soztes of diuinours come in place, all whiche doinge the duettie of bawdes, with their craftie deuises, and deceites of subtil sinesse do promise vnhonest loues, and oftentimes purchase them, make moste wicked mariages, and moze then often do turne matrimonie into adulterie. Of these bawdes not onely women, but whiche is moze shamefull, men also do aske aduise touchinge their loues and mariages: and conceiue an hope to obtaine the mayden whome they loue, and accordinge to their counsaile, not so fonde as wicked, do lincke or exempte them selues fro wedlocke. Many mozeouer haue benne induced to so pœuishe incredulité, that they beleue loue maie be caused & constrained by meanes of Astrologicall images, and obseruations of howers: as Virgill, Catullus, Ouide, Horace, Lucane, and many other bablinge Poetes haue witten: and the Astrologers them selues no lesse Fabulouse then Poetes, haue witten rules in their bookes of Elections, with whiche one seruice of bawdris, al Astrologers, & diuinours make no small gaine: nexte vnto which Magicke dothe present her selue as healyer.

A younge man died for the loue of a Picture.

Aristotle thinketh good that Painters be punished, whiche make lasciuious Images.

Other Artes tendinge to the perfection of bawdris.

other: emonge which notwithstanding Iohn Boccace passing al the rest, hath wonne himselke the pꝛize oz palme of bawdes chiefe in those bookes, whiche he entituled Le cento Nouvelle: whose examples, & doctrines, are nothinge els, but very subtill deceites of bawdzies. Powe when a shamefast, and feareful woman ful of honestie & religion shoulde be assaulted: howe great helpe do the subtilties of Logicke then giue to bawdzies, the fable of Mirrha in Ouide doth manifestly declare. Emög the Mathematicall disciplines also, the plaies of Arithmetike are fit soz bawdzies: & Musicke is not y^e lest seruaunt of bawdzies, which inflaming seruent desire with the sweetnes of voyce, peſtilent songes, and pleasaunt harmonie of instruments, dothe soften the minde making it effeminate, distaineth manners, and moſte strongly, enkindleth the affections and desire of fleshly lust. Nexte after this cometh in place the commoditie of daunsinge, where it is lawfull soz one to speake freely with his beloued, to touche, to kisse, to grope with vnchast handes, whom he lusteth, and oftentimes goeth into a corner. The Geometricall Architecte also hath in bawdzie wherewith to be occupied, who with a ladder made of ropes, oz with some other climbing engine goeth in the night thozowe a gutter oz windswe to companie with his Ladye, and with counterseite keyes & such like, as Dedalus wrought soz Pasiphae, doth please aduoutrous inclinations. In pictures also, women which cannot reade, do geather more by them, then other see in wꝛiting, whileſt that in their chamber on euery side they beholde lasciuious and wanton things to pzouoke them, and no lesse the mind is corrupted by the eies, then by the eares, soz these do so much perce the minde as the other, & do no lesse allure men to fleshly luste with wanton images, then with the pzesence of thinges: herof doth testifie Venus Gnidia, y^e woꝛke of Praxitiles defloured in y^e tēple, and Cupide wrought by the same engrauer, corrupted by Alchida a pong man of Rhodes: and the image of foꝛtune,

whereof

Logicke helpeth
bawdzie.

The Mathematicals available
to bawdzie.

Daunsinge pro-
feth bawdzie

meete

Geometrie is
for bawdzie

Paintinge cau-
serb fleshly luste.

armarie of Venus, and practising bawdye turneth al chastitie vplet downe, and corrupteth the good disposition & manners of youth. Wherefore the Poetes haue alwayes bene the chiefest bawdes, of the whiche number emonge the auncientes they were beste learned, whiche we haue befoze recited in the whorish Arte: Callimachus, Philetus, Anacreontes, Orpheus, Pindarus, Alceon, Sappho, Tibullus, Catullus, Propertius, Virgil, Ouide, Iuuenall, Martiall, And there are at this day Poetes, which write most pestilent verses. After these the Oratours clayme not the lowest place emonge bawdes, the Artificers of deceitfull flatteries and persuasions, and this is the happiest bawdyesse, to whome the Goddesse Persuasion is fauourable. Yet the Historians stande aboue these, they especiallve, which haue writte histories of loue, of Lancilot, Tristram, Eurialus, Pelegrinus, Calisthus, & such like, in which maidens from tender yeares be instructed, and accustomed to fornication and adulteries. There is founde no stronger ingine to batter the honestie as well of wedded wiues, as the chastitie of vnmarried maydes and widowes, then the reading of wanton histories: there is no woman of so good disposition, that herewith is not corrupted, and I woulde thinke it a miracle, if there be founde any, either woman or mayde, of so perfecte chastitie or honestie, whiche with such readings and histories of straunge lust, is not oftentimes enflamed euen vnto fury. And notwithstanding y damsell, which in these bookes is very well learned, & can aptly tell euery one of them, & of their doctrine can trimly talke a long time with their suters, she onely is esteemed a good courtier. There haue bene many bawdy Historiographers, whose names are little knowne: many famous writers beside haue endeouored the same, as emonge the of latter time, Eneas Syluius, Dante, Petrarcha, Boccace, Pontane, Baptiste of Campofregoso, and an other Baptiste of the Albertes a Florentine, Peter Hede also, & Peter Bembus, James Caniceus, & James Calandra of Mantua, & many

Oratorie necessarie for bawdyrie.

Certaine histories more meete for bawdyrie then Oratorie.

Wanton histories muche hurtfull.

A goodly courtier.

ceites, willnesse, sinesse, and craftes thereof are suche, that no pen can write noz any witte is able to counteruaile. And albeit this Arte hath very many professours of bothe kindes, yet it hath made very few perfect masters: and no maruaile. For lithe that there ace so many sortes of ba wdzies, as of artes and disciplines, therefore without the knowledge of al thinges it cannot be brought to perfection. It behoueth then that a perfecte and absolute ba wde and ba wdzesse be skilled in all thinges, and not to looke vpon one discipline alone, as vpo the North starre, but that he vnderstande all, whiche professeth that arte, whereupon all other disciplines do attende and wayte. For all sciences do as it were serue ba wdzie. For first of al Grammar, the discipline oz science to write and speake geueth amozous letters: & teacheth them to speake with fayned salutations of loue, prayers, lamentations, and flatteringe wordes: many examples of whiche haue lefte vnto vs of the latter wryters Eneas Syluius, Iames Caniceus, and many others. But there is an other kinde of Grammer, of the manner and waye to write secretly, as wee reade in Aulus Gellius, of Archimedes of Syracusis: Of the whiche cunninge a fewe yeaeres paste Trithemius Abbot of Spanheim, wzote two wittie volumes: the one he entituled Polygraphia, that is, manifolde wryting, the other Steganographia, that is, secrete wrytinge: in this seconde booke he hath taught so sure and secrete customes and manners to discouer the conceites of the minde, how farre so euer it be, whiche neither the ielousie of Iuno, whiche knoweth al thinges, neither the straight keeping of Danaes maye resiste, nor the watchefulnes of Argus with his hundzethe eyes maye espie. An Arte doubtlesse not so needefull for Kinges, as mooste commodious for ba wdes and all louers. Nexte to this Poetrie commeth in place, which with wanton rithmes, fables, and pastoral songes of loue, Epigrams, letters, instructions, comedies, and dishonest verses, taken out of the mooste secrete

A ba wde must be skilled in all thinges.

Grammar required in ba wd. i. e.

secrete wryting

Steganographie a marueilous kinde of wrytinge but not commonlye knowne.

Poetrie needfull in ba wdrie.

armarie



hatred cruelly to murder their own sonnes. And in these latter times, many other women haue reuenged the lecherous life of the husbandes vpon the childerne: and of most gentill mothers became most cruel Medeas, furious Althees, and vnmercifull Heristillees.

Of Bawdrie. Cap. 64.

Becaue thozowe the mocion, counsaile, & meanes of Ruffians, or Bawdes and bawdzesses, whores, and whoze hunters for the moste parte doe commit their mischeiuous deedes, let vs prosecute the Arte of Bawdzie. For as brothelrie is the Arte of abandoninge the proper chastitie to all men, so Bawdzie is the arte of assaultinge and makinge common an others chastitie: whiche is so muche greater then the woorthie Arte, as it is wickedder: so muche stronger, as the thinge is accompanied with the garde of many Artes: but so muche more pestilent as it comprehendeth many disciplines of other artes, and sciences, which creeping in like spiders, draweth out all Artes and disciplines, what venime so euer is in them, with whiche they weaue their weapons. Not suche as the cobwebbes are, which letting birdes escape, take nothings but flies, nor also suche as these greate nettes of hunters be, whiche take the greate beastes and let escape the little and craftier vermine: but knitteth snares so stronge and so sure, that there is no mayde, nor wife, so simple or aduised, so constaunt or obstinate, so shamefast, or fearful, so great or little, which, if she once giue eare to the bawde, is not by and by taken, and entrapped. The subteltie is suche, which no womans wisdom can withstande, from whose snares no maiden, no matrone, no widowe, no not the blessed Punne can escape harmeless. Whose vnarmed fight vanquisheth the chastitie of manye more women, then anye armie at any time howe greate so euer it were. The falsstes, de-

C c

cettes,

pylles, suche as were in time past Mithridates in Pontus, Annibal in Capua, Cæsar in Alexandria, Demetrius in Græce, Antonie in Egypt: Hercules ceased in times past from his labour for Iole: Achilles refused to fight for the loue of Brises: Circes stayed Vlysses, Claudius died in prison for Virginias sake: Cæsar was retained by Cleopatra, and the same woman was the destruction of Antonie.

The holy Scriptures doe declare, that for the fornication of the sonnes of Seth with the daughters of Caine well neare all mankinde was destroyed by the floude: for the outragiousnes of fornication, Sichen, the house of Emor, and wel neare al the Tribe of Beniamine were broughte to ruine, howe often were the people of Israel striken, and brought into bondage for the fornicatio of straunge women: And mozeouer what great mortality was made by pestilence, famine, and the swozde for the onely adultery of King Dauid: For the laweles loue and rauishing of women, The Thebans, the Phocenses, and the Circeans were banquished and conquered, and the Peloponensiane warre (as we haue sayd) was enterprised by Pericles, and with x. yeares warre Troye was rased to the grounde, with a very great damage to al Græce and Asia: For the like causes, Tarquinius, Claudius, Dionysius, Hannibal, Ptolomee, Marcus Antonius, Theodorus, Gothus, Rodoricus, Longobardus, Childericus the Frenchman, Aduince laus the Boemiane and Manfredus the Neapolitane, suffered death & a destruction of their contrie. For the cause of Cana Iulia daughter to the gouernoure of the prouince Tingitana beinge defloured by King Rodericus, after the Gothes were driue out, the Saracens possessed the whole country of Spaine. These wiues Clitemnestra, Olimpia, Laodicea, Beronica, Frigiobunda, & Blanch both Quænes of Fraunce, and Ioane of Peaples and many other being wroth for the fornication of their husbandes, slew them. The same cause procured Medea, Pogne, Ariadna, Althea, and Herestilla, the motherly loue beinge chaunged into hatred

language, doth detest her with infinite railing & scanda-
 lous wordes. The vnadulsd Spaniarde is vnpatient in burning loue, verye madde, with troubled lasciuious-
 nes he renneth furiously, and with pitiefull complaintes bewayling his seruent desire, doth cal vpon his ladie and
 worshippeth her, at length being wahren ielous doth either
 kill her, or hurting her, maketh her common for euery man for
 mæde: if he be constrained to despaire to enioye her, he tozmenteth
 him selfe exceedingly, and choleteth to dye. The lasciuious
 Frenchman endeoureth to serue, he seeketh to pleasure his
 woman with longes, and disportes, if he fal in ielousie, he
 sozowfully lamenteth: if he be deceiued, he reuileth her: he
 thzreatneth reuengment, and offereth violence: if he obtaine
 her, at length he dispiseth her, and falleth in loue with an
 other: The colde Germane is enflamed by little & little: being
 enamored, he instauntly requireth wth Arte & enticeth her with
 gifts: being in ielousie, he doth withdrauwe his liberalitie: being
 depzriued of his expectation, he esteemeth her not, hauing
 obtained her, his heat allwageth. The Frenchman saigneth to
 loue, the Germane cloketh his loue, the Spaniarde perswadeth
 him selfe that he is loued: the Italians cannot loue withyut
 ielousie. The Frenchman loueth a pleasaunte wenche, although
 she be fowle: the Spaniarde esteemeth a faire woman moze
 then any other, although she be rude: the Italian had lieffer
 haue a womã that is somewhat feareful: the German coueteth
 her that is somewhat hardie: the Frenchman thozowe obstinate
 loue becommeth of a wise man a fole: the German after that
 he hath spent al his substaunce in loue, at length he is made
 wise, but too late. The Spaniarde for desire to please his
 beloued woman attempteth great enterpyses: the Italian to
 obtayne his lady, putteth himselfe in very greate daungers.
 But which is moze the greatest menne also snared in the
 passions of these loues, and lusses, not seldome do little
 esteeme and waigh many woorthy enterpyses.

The manner of the spaniarde.

The ielous spaniarde killeth her whome he loueth in his ielousie.

The manner of the Frenchman.

The Frenchman in ielousie lamenteth.

The manner of the Germane.

The German in his ielousie withdraueth his liberalitie.

What women the Frenchman, Spaniarde the Italiane and the Germane chiefly esteeme.

willet that after straight punishment they shoulde be
 beheaded, but nowe adayes they are burned: which luxu-
 riousnes Moses hath thought meete in his Lawes that it
 be rotted out with cruel punishmentes: and Plato forbid-
 deth it his common wealth, & cōdemneth it in his lawes.
 The auncient Romaines also (as Valerius and others tes-
 tifie) did very seuerely punish it. Examples hereof were
 Quintus Flaminius, and that tribune which Celius slew,
 but hauinge respect to honest eares, let vs leaue to speake
 of this monstrous lust, and beastly vncleanesse, and re-
 tourne to whores. For this sensualitie is nopsome to all
 men, and there is none whiche sometimes hath not felte
 the fiere thereof: but after one sorte the women be enfla-
 med, after an other the men: after one sorte yonge men,
 after an other, old men: after one facion the comminalty,
 after an other, the nobles: after one manner the poore, af-
 ter an other the riche, and that whiche is most to be won-
 dred at, according to the variety of nations and contries,
 after one manner the Italians, after an other the Spa-
 niardes, other wise the Frenchemen, other wise the Ger-
 mans: the flaminge fiere of lawlesse lust in suche sort chu-
 singe diuers manners of madnesse according to the differ-
 rence of euery kind, age, dignitie, estate, and cuntry: the
 loue of men is very feruente, but that of the women is
 very obstinate: the loue of yonge men is wanton, and of
 old men to be laughed at, the poore endeuoureth to please
 with humble seruice, the rich with giftes, the comminal-
 tie with bankettinge; the nobles & gentlemen with glo-
 rious sightes, and plaies. The witty Italian dissembling
 his loue assaileth the womā beloued with a certaine pre-
 pared wantonnesse, he prayseth her in wrytten Verles,
 and preferringe her before all other doth extoll her to the
 heauens: if a ielouse man obtaine her, he shutteth her vp
 perpetually, and setteth watchmen to keepe her, as if she
 were a prisoner: if he disapointed of his loue shalbe in de-
 spaire euer to winne her, geuinge him selfe to reprocheful
 language

*The manner
 of al sortes
 of men in
 pleasinge
 their Ladies.*

*The manner
 of the Ita-
 lian in win-
 ninge his
 Ladye.*

*The Italian
 in his ielou-
 sic keepeth
 his Ladie
 vnder locke.*

sicke. Antiphanes, Aristophanes, Apollodorus, Calistratus haue mozeouer writen bookes of whores: but perticular- ly Cephalus the oratoure hathe writen the prayles of the harlotte Lais, and Alcidasius wrote in commendation of Nais a woman of the same profession. Of dishonest loues haue writen aswel Grækes as Latins, Callimachus, Philotes, Anacreontes, Orpheus, Alceon, Pindarus, Sappho, Tibullus, Catullus, Propertius, Virgill, Iuuenall, Martiall, Cornelius Gallus, and many other, which haue not onely shewed themselues Poetes, but balodes also: but Ouide in his heroicall Epistles and in his writings to Corinna: but especially in his bookes of the arte of loue: which moze trully he should haue entituled of the art of whozedome, or bawodrie: for the publishinge of whiche bookes, because he had corrupted youth with his vnchaste instructions, he was woꝛthely bannished by Octavius Augustus as farre as Moscouie. Archilachus the Lacedemonian also caused in times paste all bookes of loue to be burned: and notwithstandinge this Arte is now a dayes reade of vs: and schole masters reade it to their schollers, and doe expound it writinge thereupon very wicked commentaries: but which is moze, I haue newly seene and reade a booke written in the Italian tongue, intituled La Cortigiana, and printed in Venice, a Dialogue of the Arte of Whores, most dishonest of all others in both Veneries, most woꝛthy to be burned togeather with his authoure. I leaue here to speake, and that aduisedly of the abhominable lecherie of the Sodomites: albeit the greate Aristotle dothe commende it: and the Emperour Nero did honour it with publike matrimonie, at that time, wherein Paule the Apostle writinge to the Romans threathned for these things the displeasure of almighty God. For the Lord wil raine vpon them snares, that they maye not escape, fiere, sulphure, and the sprit of stormes shalbe part of their cuppe. The Emperoure commaundeth that the lawes shoulde arise, and iustice shoulde be armed againste those: and

for all. Did not Ladislaus kinge of Polande, after he had taken Beatrice to wife, by whom he had the Kingdome of Hungarie, at length abandoninge her, toke in her place a Frenche concubine: Did not Charles the eighth, kinge of Fraunce forsakinge Margarite the daughter of Maximilian the Emperoure take a waie his wife by force, and soygned her to him in Matrimonie: whiche woman after him Lewes the twelste, forsakinge his wife in like manner, toke in mariage, the Bishoppes and Archebishops consentinge thereunto, and helpinge him, to whome it seemed good, that they shoulde moze esteeme the lawes to winne Britaine, then the lawes to obserue lawfull matrimonie. And at this present I vnderstande, that a certaine kinge is perswaded I know not yet what he is, that it is laefull for him to dismisse his wife for moze then xx. yeares, and marrie a concubine. But lette vs retourne to whores and speake moze of them, their Artes whoso desireth to knowe, that is to witte, after what sorte they do abandone their chastitee to every man that will companie with them, with what wanton lookes, with what manner of countenaunce, with what gesture of bodie, with what swæte and flatteringe wordes, with what dishoneste handlings, with what apparayle and outward polishinge they entice lasciuiose persons, and other wiles & deceites of the whoreshe Arte, lures, snares, & craftes, let him seeke them in comicall Poetes. But he that desireth to knowe with what facion, with what delectation, with what earnest lookinge, with what talke, with what kisses, with what cullinges, with what kindnesse, with what touchinges, with what gentle pressinges, with what rubbinges, with what wresslinges, with what lyinge, with what wzinging, with what mouinges, with what thrusting, with what enterpayninge, with what prolonginge of pleasure, with what turninge backe, with what renewinge the whoreshe pastime should be accomplished, he shall finde it witten in booke of Phisicke.

tyzed, but not satisfied. To whome we make adioygne of
 fresher memozie Ioane the renowned Quéene of Naples,
 and many other Quéenes whiche were queanes, & court-
 ly callets, if it were no daunger to name them, although
 they be very well knowen by common repozte, not with-
 standinge in this pointe differinge from other whozes,
 that contrary to Heliogabalus lawe, not in cōmon strewes
 as that Emperesse Messalina: but in chambers secretly do
 accomplishe their desire, and as it were in a pzeuie place
 do plate the whozes. Wee maie also annere to this
 place bothe the Iulias, the daughter and nice of Octavius
 Augustus, Populca, and Cleopatra Quéene of Egypte,
 and other moste notable whozes: and recite also very
 auncient examples of the fleshly luste of Semiramis the
 Monarke, and Pasiphae: the firste of whiche burned in so
 greate desire: that not onely shee did sollicite and procure
 her owne Sonne to fulfill her inordinate luste: but also
 was enamored of a Horse, and vsed him in stēde of a
 man: the other wife to Kinge Minos vnderlaide herselfe
 to a Bull. Wee will not here make a reherfall of famous
 strumpetes: but this is not to be concealed, that carnall
 copulation with whozes and adulterers hath engendred
 vs personages of greate bzuite and renowne, as Hercu-
 les, Alexander, Ismael, Abimelech, Salomon, Constan-
 tine, Clodouee Kinge of Fraunce, and Theodoricke the
 Gothe, V William conquerour, Raimire of Arragon. But
 of the Kinges, that raigne and gouerne at this daie, ve-
 ry fewe are borne of leefull Mothers, and the lawes of
 Matrimonie are so little esteemed emonge them, that
 they at their pleasure do deuorze, chaunge, & exchaunge
 their married, lawfull and very wiues: and semblably
 they soygne and reioygne their Sonnes, and Daugh-
 ters in so many Mariages and Matrimonies, that we are
 constrained not to knowe whiche is their true and law-
 full Matrimonie. There are many examples hereof, but
 some, which haue hapned a fewe yeares past, be sufficient

*A matter
 vnlkely not
 withstan-
 dinge men-
 tion hereof
 is made in
 Authoures,*

called husbande of all women: noꝝ of Sardanapalus the Monarke of the Babilonians, and of other most mightie defendours of queanes in number infinite: and the Emperour Proculus also gote no small glozie by this Arte, who (as his Epistle to Metianus doth testifie) of the hundredeth Sarmatian maydens, whiche he toke, did the firste night bereue x. of them of their virginitee, and deflowred the residue within xv. daies. But that is muche moze which the Poetes speake of Hercules, that he made fiftie maidens, women in one night. Theophrastus also a substantiall authour dothe recompte, that there is founde a certaine Hearbe in India of so great vertue, that one after he had eaten it, fulfilled Venus pleasure thzee scoare and ten times. Mozeouer then this Sappho the poetresse ennamozed with Phaon, and Leontinum Metrodus concubine very well learned in Philosophie, did not a little set foꝝ the this Arte: in so muche that shee wꝛote booke againste Theophrastus, in the maintenaunce of whoze dome againste Mariage. Emonge these is Sempronia nūbred passingly wel skilled in the Græke and the Latine. Neither is Leena the Concubine of Aristogenes the Athenian, to be ouerpasse in this plac, ea woman of moste constant faithe: who beinge tormented by tirauntes, to the ende shee might bewzaie her frinde, with obstinate silence endured all tormentes. Mozeouer Rhodope the whoze, fellow seruante, and companion with Clope the fable teller in time passe made this Arte notable, whiche gote so muche ritches with her bodie, that shee builte a Piramis the thirde in order emonge y marueilous sightes of the woꝛlde. Thais of Corinth cometh nexte after this, who beinge famouse foꝝ the singularitee of beautie, vouchsaue not to receaue none but Kinges and Princes. But Messalina wife of the Emperoure Claudius chesly honored this Arte, who visitinge the stewes, did excede the noblest wenche of the companie in the daie, and nighte moze then xxx. times, and so departed from the menne

A constant
Concubine.

Rhodope
famous
whoze.

by an othe, that they shoulde accomplishe this pleasure: oftentimes also he redēmed whores of all the bawdes that were, and did set them at libertie, emonge whome it is reade that he redēmed one very faire and beautifull whore for xxx. pounce waight of siluer: it is also reported that on a daie he wente to al the Harlotttes that were in the place called Circus, in the Theater and Amphitheater, and in all places of the Citie, & gaue to eache of them a Ducate. Sometimes also he assembled together in the common Palace al the whores from the place called Circus, from the Theater and Amphitheater, from exercise, and from all places and baines, and there he made vnto them an Oratton, as it were vnto Souldiars, callinge them his fellowe Souldiars, and disputed of the kindes of figures and pleasures, and after the Oratton, he caused thre Ducates to be geuen to eache of them, as if they had bene Souldiars. And he did not onely graunte pardon, but libertie also to the Romane Patrones that woulde become whores: and appointed salarie and wages for whores out of the common treasure. Also he published certaine amorous and whorish decrees, and commaunded them to be called Semiramida after the name of his mother or wife: he inuented mozeouer other kindes of sensualitie, in the which he surpassed the measures of one Cirena a very vnhonest woman (which being called Dodecamechana, because she had deuised twelue measures in the Venerian acte, by the which her friende might take greater pleasure, was surnamed the goulfe of vnlesfull luste) and did passe all the Auncient Tribadens, Hostiens, Aphiens, Spinetriens, Galualadens, Casaritens, and other women of dishonest places. I let passe Iuda the Isralite a Patriarke and a whore hunter, and Sampson iudge of the people of God, who had no wife but queanes: and Salomon the mosse wise Kinge of the Jewes, who, as it is said, had flockes of queans almost innumerable: I speake not of Cæsar the Dictatour a very worthe man for this

*Whoores
the souldiers
of He-
liogabalus.*

*Vvhoores much reue-
renced in
Greece.*

*Vvhoores
praised to
Venus for
the Corin-
thians.*

*Aristotle
did sacris
fice to a
whoore.*

*A damna-
ble custome
of the Babi-
lonians.
The strump-
pet Aspasia
and her wo-
me causers
of the Pe-
loponensian
warre.*

*The moste
filthy vsa-
ges of He-
liogabalus.*

It also with libertie geuen vnto common women. And
whozes were had in so greate reuerence in Greece, that
when Perles made warre againste the Grækes, the
whozes of Corinth wente to praye in y^e temple of Venus
for the saluetie of Greece. The Corinthians also had this
custome, that when they would make humble request to
Venus for any thinge, that was comitted vnto whozes.
There were very many temples for whozes builded in
Ephesus: and an other famous one did the Abidens erect,
which by the meanes of a whoze recovered their losse li-
bertie. Furthermoze the wise Aristotle doubted not that
whozes were worthe of diuine honours, when he did
sacrifice to Hermia his womā, as to Ceres of Eleufis. The
invention of this Arte is attributed vnto Venus, whiche
therefoze was reckened in the number of the Goddesses.
For the beinge vnchaste, and occupied in all Luxurious-
nes, taught the women of Ciprus to please menne with
their bodie for monie. Whereof grewe a custome in Ci-
prus as Iustine dothe recompte, that befoze the time of
Marriage their maidens were set open to euery man that
came by the sea side to gaine their dowrie: and to paie
the first fruites of their chastite to Venus. The Babilo-
nians also, as Herodotus testifieth, obserued a custome,
that they, whiche had consumed their substance, should
procure their daughters to get monie with their bodie.
And Aspasia Socrates his strumpette, as Atheneus wit-
teth, filled all Greece with whozes: for whose loue, and
her women seruantes rauished by the Megarensians, as
Aristophanes saithe, Pericles made the Peloponensian
warre. The Emperour Heliogabalus did much comende
this whozish Arte, who as Lampridius testifieth, ordai-
ned stewes in his house for his Friends, Clientes, and
Seruantes: and made them a very great bankette of vry-
sortes of meates: but vnder condition y^e they which were
bidden shoulde at euery dishe that came to the table vse
the companie of women and washe: & they were bounde
by an

and Religion, yet they are overcome with ambition, and referre all the manner of their ordinance to very arrogant titles, and glorie to be called Paranimphes, that is, mediators in Marriage betwene man & wife, Rectors, Guardians, Presidents, Priours, Vicars, Prouincials, Abbotes, and Generals: that no kinde of men seemeth to be so desirous of the chiefest place, as this.

Of the whoorishe Arte. Cap. 63.

Moreouer then this, because among the Egyptians the firste authours of Religion, there coulde no Priest be made, which had not bene firste instructed and trained in the Sacrifices of Priapus, and it is receaued in the Romishe Church, that he whiche hath no stones, cannot be Pope, and they whiche wante their stones, Eunuches, & gelded men are forbidde to be made Priestes: and commonly we see wheresoeuer these sumptuous Churches and Colledges of Priestes and Monkes are, for the most parte there be at hande brothell houses: and also very many houses of Nunnes and Beguines be as it were private stews of harlottes, whiche we know also that Monkes and religious persons (least their chastitee should be defamed) haue oftentimes maintained in monasteries vnder a Monkes hode and mans apparail. I thinke it not against order in this place to ioygne a discourse of the whoorishe Arte, the whiche many passinge wise men haue thought not onely profitable, but necessarie also for the gouernance of a well framed common wealth. For that Noble Solon, whiche made lawes to the Athenians, and iudged by the Oracle of Apollo one of the seuen sages (as witness Philemon and Menander) prouided for yonge men boughten harlottes, & was the first that dedicated the temple of Venus Pandemus of the imprisonment of women whiche were in the stews, he ordained brothel houses, he made a lawe, and established it also.

Solon a
maintayned
of brothels.

called sauinge either at Rome, or at Ierusalē. If I should write the errours & vanities of these men, all the skinnes of Madian woulde not suffice: of them I speake, whiche haue professed Religion not for godlinesse sake, but for loue of the bellie, haue put on a hode. They are rauening Wolves vnder lambes skinnes, and vnder the coates of sheepe do in their hartes carrie the subtletie of the wolfe: and do in suche sorte dissemble the skillfulnes of their deceite, that they seeme to professe nothinge els, but a certaine comicall Hypocrisie, and a mere gaine masked in the image of holinesse, whilest with pale countenauce, they counterfaite fastinge, and hauinge alwayes teares in a readinesse they drawe deepe sighes from the harte: and wagging their lippes do feigne to saie prayers with an ordered pace, and caulme gestures:

V With bowed head do looke downe to the grounde.

They chalenginge to them selues modestie, do openly professe vnder their colourable habite, humilitée, and vnder the cowle hanged at their necke, holynesse: but within haue detestable manners: & albeit sometimes emonge these thinges they committe the horriblest sinnes that maie be, notwithstanding they are salfe, and do remaine conquerours, resistinge all the sharpe dartes of fortune with the cowle as it were with a bucklar, & assured from all worldly daungers, and ciuill trouble do eate idle breade, & begged in steele of that whiche is gotten with labours, sleepeinge at ease and without pensuenes, and yet they thinke that this is the Cuangelike pouertie: to liue in idelnesse, and beggerie, by other mens labours. And where as they professe greate humilitée goinge in a vile habite, bare legged as ruscals, netted as platers, girded with coardes as thēues taken: with shauen heades as ideotes, in their hodes made with eares & beset with belles much like to foolles, and maskers on Shrofftetues daie, and do auauante that they haue taken vpon them al other signes of infamie & vilenesse, for the loue of Christe

punishment whome dishonestie of life hath made infamous: whom debte and shamefull pouertie doe compell to begge, when they haue spent their substance vpon hoyses, in dicinge, and vpon the throte, and whom wyltiringe, hope of idlenesse, and vnpatient desperation of decciued luste, or youth put to wronge either by a wicked stepdame, or an vniuste gardian haue driuen hither: the rable of all whiche is linked together with fained holinesse, with a hooded habite, and with valiaunt beggerie, and with that greate sea, wherein together with other fishes dwell Leuiathan and Behemoth, vnmeasurable Whales, beastes, and creeping worms, whose number is infinite: from whence leapte out so many Stoicall Apes, so many presumptuous monie askers, so many cloked beggeries, so many hooded moisters, with beards, with eardes, with leather girdels, with sakes, with *The attire* corded shoes, with wooden shoes, with bare legges, at *of Freers.* tired in browne, in blacke, in grate, with the vppermoste besture white, with diuers colours, with many skinnes, with garmentes of heampe, netted, cloked, girded, breached, and a greate companie of other suche players, who when they haue no hope remaininge touching worldly thinges, for the habite of their monstrous apparail diuine thinges are put into their handes, and at this date in many countries they alone vsurpe the holy name of Religion, and doe boaste that they are the companions of Christe, and fellow mates of the Apostles: whose life oftentimes is moste wicked full of conetousnes, of luxury *The anatomy* rousnes, of gluttonie, ambition, of vndiscretnesse, of *ting of* knauerie, and stozed with all kinde of mischief, but al *Freers.* waies vnpunished for the pretence of Religion. For they are defended with the priuiledges of the Romish Church, and are exempte from the iurisdiction of all Churches, to the ende they maye commit many knaueries and ribauldries without daunger, and albeit they can euery where cause others to come in iudgemente, yet they cannot be

not murmured againste vs, but againste the Lorde God. He shall not therefore remaine vnreuedged of the Lord, whiche hathe resisted againste Goddes minister and his Church. Dathan and Abiron withstode Moses, and the earthe swallowed them alie. Many togeather with Chore conspired againste Aaron, and they were consumed with fiere. Achab and Iesabel persecuted the Prophetes, and the Dogges deuoured them. There wente for the childzen to skorne Eliseus, and Beares did rente them in peeces. Kinge Ozias presuminge to vsurpe the Priesthode againste the Prieste, became a leaper. Saul because he presumed to doe Sacrifice contrary to y wil of Samuell heade of the Priestes, was at one selfe time de- priued by God from the royall vnacion and from the sprit of prophetic, and geuen to the wicked sprite. It is a Pagens proprietie not to beleue the holpe Scripture, and a wicked thinge to dispise Goddes ministers.

Of the Sectes of Monkes. Cap. 62.

There are also in the Church people of diuers sortes, Monkes, Frærs, and Heremites, whiche were not in the olde Testament. The Church also was without them at that time, wherein it was beste, and not entangled in so many rites of Ceremonies. The whiche at this daie doe onely chalenge to them selues the name of religiouse parsons professinge streight rules of livinge, and moste holy offices, bearinge the names of laudable men and moste holy fathers, as of Basile, Barnarde, Augustine, Benedicte and Fraunces, and suche like, but nowe a daies there are fewe or none good emonge them: *but of the wicked the number is great. For hither they flocke as to a refuge of al wicked men, whom soeuer the conscience of mischieuous deedes dothe put in feare: whiche for the punishmente of the lawe were salfe in no other place, whiche haue committed offences worthe of punish-

*Wicked
men become
Monkes and
Frærs.*

punish-

sters they ought to be, but vnder the sword of ambition, vnder the sword of couetousnesse, vnder the sword of condemnation, and extortion, or rauine, vnder the sword of naughty example, vnder the sword of bloude, & murder, wherewith they are armed against al truthe, iustice, and honestie.

All kingdomes force decaies, if that
respekte of honestie

Begins to breake due customes, and
doth cause truthe downe to lie.

A freedome to offende there is

whiche hated realmes maintaine,

And measure of the sword is gone

whiche quite shoulde sinne with paine.

It is not leelull without punishment to gaine saie their decrees & ordinaunces, neither to withstande their carnal appetite, except a man be ready to suffer Martyrdome for Christe, this shalbe to be burned for an Hereticke, as it chaunced in time paste to Ierome Sauonarola a diuine of the preachinge order, and a man whiche had the spirite of Prophecie, who was burned in Florence, & to many other godly Martyrs of late time. But because all power is god, whiche commeth of God, from whome all thinges come, and all good thinges, and albeist sometime they are euill to them that vse and endure them, yet they are alwayes good to the whole worlde, he so prouidinge, which bleseth well our euils. For God hath sente tyrauntes ouer vs for the multitude of offendours, and the sinnes of the people cause that an hypocrite hath the gouernemente. It is then a worthy and a iuste thinge to obeye him, whiche hath benne appointed Bishop in the Church by God, and not to contrarye suche a one in any thinge. For he that dispiseth to obeye the Bishop and Gods minister, dothe not contemne him, but God, as he speaketh of the dispisers of Samuell, sayeing, they haue not dispised thee, but me. And Moses saith againste the murmuringe people, you haue

*Ierome Sa
uonarola a
freere burn
ed at Flo
rence.*

Cornelius Agrippa

And scarcely can retain their teares:

V When nothing worthy is of teares.

For they eat the sinnes of the people: they be attired, fedde, and liue riotously by them. They haue very effectuall titles for their vices, and nothinge can be objected againste them, whiche they do not very stedfastly excuse, and defende with the example of some Saincte. For if they be imbrayded for their ignozaunce, and lacke of learninge, they will saye: that Chyriste did chuse suche Apostles which were not masters of the law, nor scribes, nor at any tyme haunted Scholes, nor Sinagoges: if the barbarousnesse of speache be imputed to them: they will alleadge Moses, whiche stammered, and Ieremie, whiche coulde not speake: & Zacharie also because he was dombe, was not excluded from priesthode: and also if they shalbe reprovued of ignozaunce in the Scripture, and of infidelitie, or erreure, or heresie, they will saye: that Ambrose beinge not yet a Chyristian, but a gentill, was chosen Bishop: and that Paule not onely of an infidell, but also of a persecutour was called to be an Apostle, and that Augustine also was sometime a Manichie, and that the Partye Marcellinus in his papacie did offerre incense to Idolles. And when they shalbe reprovued for ambition, they will geue vs for example the sonnes of Zebede: if of fearefulness, fearefull were Thomas and Ionas, the one fearinge to go to the Niniuites, and the other to the Indians, if of disloyaltie, Peter added periurie to disloyaultie: if of fornication, Oseas embraced a harlot, and Samson also: if of strikinge: if of manslaughter, if of the Arte of warre, Peter cut of Malcus eare: Martine was souldiare vnder Iuliane, and Moses slew an Egyptian, and hid him in sande. In so much that it maketh no matter among them, what manner of man he be that is made a Prieste, and then it behoueth that every man put his necke vnder the sworde of these masters, I saye vnder the sworde, not vnder the sworde of the Worde of God, whose keepers and Ministers

onely, when they casting vpon others the burdens of Religion, and the worde of the Gospel, which is the proper dutie of Bishops, & busied in makinge particular lawes, do take the profite of the Church being at once both idle and wicked: and bicause (as they say) the pontificall seate dothe either receiue Sainctes, or make Sainctes, for this cause they beleeue that euery thinge is leefull to them: so that impudently and very wickedly they abuse the holy Scriptures with dishoneste pleasure accozdinge as they like: as we reade an example in Crinitus of Pope Bonifacius the eighte of that name againste Cardinall Porchetus. This is that Bonifacius, termed the great, bicause he made thre greate and worthy thinges, the first was, that hauinge deceiued Clemente, with a false oracle, persuaded him that he shoulde be Pope: the seconde, that he made the sirte booke of the Decretales, and affirmed the Pope to be lord euer all: the thirde, he ordayned the Iulianus, the selling of Pardōs, & was the first that streitly chased them out to Purgatorie. I let passe these other matters of y Romish Bishops, such as Pope Formosus was, and nine after him did very abhominablely gouerne the Church: I speake not of these latter sorte, of Paulus, Sixtus, Alexander, Iulius, famous disquietours of Christendome. I ouerpasse Eugenius, who for his othe brokē with the Turke, set al Christēdome in many most mortall batailles, as if promise shoulde not be kept with an enemie. Euery man knoweth with howe greate damage of the Christian cōmon wealth Alexander the sirt poysoned Zizimus brother to Pazaipha king of y Turkes. And more ouer the Popes Embassadours (as the Bishop of Camota saith, & is most manifest by cōtinual proufe) do other while make suche spoyle in Provinces, as if Satan were sente from the face of God to scourge the Church, they disquiet and turne the earthe vpsēt downe, that they maye seeme to haue that whiche they ought to heale, they be gladdē, when mischiefes are don, reioycinge in wicked thinges.

Pope Bonifacius author of three wicked actes and therefore was called the great.

Eugenius broke league with the Turke. Alexander the sirt poysoned the King of the Turkes his brother.

gnat thoroowe their teethe, & swallowe downe a Camell, they scumble at a strawe and leape ouer a blocke, blinde guides, false and deceitfull, the generation of Vipers, skowred cuppes, whited sepulcres outwardly the winge holines in their Bitters, in their cappes, in their rochets, in theire apparayle, in their hodes: within they are ful of filthines, of hypocrisie, of iniquitie, whoze hunters, dailers, stage players, baudes or whare marchāntes, disers, glutons, drunkardes, paysoners, whiche (as Iohn Bishop of Camota doth wel note) haue climbed and ascended not by the vertue of theire merites, but either by filthy flattery, or by gistes, or by the fauour of Princes, or by force of armes to Priesthoodes, Benefices, and Bishopricks, or vnder the colour of Hypocrisie haue gotten these dignities, heaping by riches for their priuate vse, of y^e goodes of the Church, which belong to the poore, building faires and markets in the almesse of oure parentes consuming them afterwarde vpon hoyses, in disinge, huntinge, in all luxuriousnes, and dishonestie.

They doo delite in horse and hownde,
and grasse of sunnie felde.

They make commotions emonge the people, they bere kingdomes, they make warre, they pul down Churches, they bulde Palaces: they go in garmentes of purple and golde to the great hinderance of the common people, in famie of Religion and intolerable burden of the common wealth: whiche Saincte Barnarde of Cleare vales in the oration that he made to the generall Councell at Rheims in the presence of the Bishop of Rome, defined not hired men in stæde of sheperdes, not Wolves in stæde of hired men, but the Diuel in stæde of Wolves. And also the Romishe Bishop (wheresof that holy Bishop of Camota doth complaine) is very greuous and intolerable to all men, whose pompe and pride no tyraunt at any time hath surpassed: and notwithstandinge these doo auante that the State of religion, and the Church doth depende vpon the

The pride
of the Pope
intollerable

only

and life, able to render an accompt of euery thinge in
 sounde learning: but after that the auncient ordinauntes
 of fathers fell by little and little from their maiestie, and
 the late spronge Popishe Authozitie with damnable cu-
 stome waxed stronge, many suche Bishoppes & Apostles
 haue climbed vp to the seate of Christ, like to the Scribes
 and Phariseis in time paste, whiche saie vpon Moses his
 chaire, whiche saie and doe not: laiesing greuous burdens
 vpon the shoulders of the people, and yet they will not
 wagge theire finger, they are hypocrates and doe al theire
 workes, that they maie be seene of men: shewing their
 religion in enterludes, they couet the chiefest places in
 quire, in the Sinagoge, in the Scholes, and euery where
 in the streete, they wilbe called Rabbi, Masters, and Do-
 ctours: they shut heauen gates, and not entring in them-
 selues doe also keepe other oute: they eate vp Widowes
 houles, makinge longe praers, goinge about the sea and
 the lande, they leade away and steale yonge childerne, to
 the ende that hauinge founde one proselite or one newe
 conuerted they may increase their wicked number, and
 that they past recovery and condemned to the fire of hell,
 may with their inuentions, and pzeceptes destroy others
 togeather with them, and corrupte the moste holy lawes
 of Christe: not esteeming the true temple of God, and the
 liuely Images of Christe and the Aultars of the peoples
 soules doe with a greedy eye regarde golde and offerings,
 doing very light thinges, and as it were contrary to the
 lawe, doe euery daie diligently inuente newe thinges of
 tenthes, of collections, of offerings, and almesdeedes,
 & straightly doe ordaine the lawes of ceremonies, tithing
 corne, beastes, mony and the least thinges in valew also,
 mintes, anise seede, cumine, and for these in manner of
 dogges barking out of the pulpit doe strue with the peo-
 ple. But doe vtterly neglect the weightiest and the beste
 workes of the Gospel, of the lawe, & of Christian righte-
 ounesse, iudgemente, mercye, and faith, they straigne a
 gnat:

towe their teeth and swallowe downe a Camel, & when
 the peace of the Church is troubled to strive about them,
 whereby the anoye of schisme doth moze endomage, then
 rebuke auarie. The Romaine Bishops might haue taken
 away many mischises, and haue kept the Church quiet
 and sounde, if they had suffered the leuen of the Greekes
 & the Chalice of the Bohemians. Neither are these things
 of greater importaunce, then that, which Innocentius the
 eight, (as Volaterrane saithe) graunted to the Danes, that
 they might Sacrifice the Chalice without Wine.

Of the Magistrates of the Church. Cap. 61.

There are mozeouer in the Church Magistrates, &
 diuers sectes of men, partly for the beautifyinge of
 Religion (as they say) partly for keepinge an order
 in holy thinges, lest there growe a confusion. But what
 so euer is don in the Church either for ornament, or for
 the edification of Religion, aswel in chusing Magistrates
 as in appointing ministers for y^e church, except it be done
 by the instincke of the holy spirite, who is as it were the
 soule of the Church: is vaine and wicked. For who so
 euer shall not be called by the sprite of God to the greate
 office of God, and to the Apostolike dignitie as Aaron
 was, and he that shal not enter thozowe the gate whiche
 is Christe, but by some other place shall climbe into the
 Church thozowe the windowe, thozowe the fauoure of
 men, thozowe voices bought, thozow the rule of princes,
 verply he is not the Vicar of Christe, and the Apostles
 but a thefe, and a robber, the vicar of Iudas Iscarioth and
 Simon the Samaritane. For this cause the aunciente fa-
 thers concerninge the election of prelates (whiche thinge
 the holy Dionysius calleth the Sacramente of naming or
 appointment) did so straightly ordayne, that the Bishops
 and Apostles, whiche did gouerne the ministeries in the
 Church, should be named men most perfect in manners

euen vntil the Scribes and Phariseis, and so after wards
 in the Church that whiche was done by the Apostles,
 Euangelistes, Bishoppes, Priestes, and Doctours, that
 they mighte beautifie it as it were the spouse befoze the
 husbände with certaine Godly ceremonies, trim rites &
 institutions. They whiche came after, haue ordained ma-
 ny Statutes and Decrees, accordinge to the imbecillitie
 of men. But that which is wonte to happen oftentimes,
 that that which hath bene provided for a remedy tendeth
 to anoyauce, so it doth befall that whilest these Lawes
 of ceremonies did encrease the Christians were at this
 daie burdened with moze ordinaunces, then in time past
 the Jewes were, and that which is moze to be lamented,
 when they are not good nor euil of themselues, the people
 doth moze trust in them, & obserueth them moze straight-
 ly, then the commaundementes giuen them from God,
 whilest our Bishoppes and Priestes Abbotes & Monkes
 make semblant as if they saw it not, which in the meane
 season do chiefly prouide for their pañche. And albeit ce-
 remonies haue caused no Heresies contrary to the faith,
 yet they haue broughte in innumerable sectes into the
 Church, and haue ben the seedes of the greatest schismes.
 For this cause the Greeke Church was firste seuered
 fro our, because she did not consecrate in vnleuened bread,
 but in leuened, whereas notwithstandinge wee confesse
 that shee dothe truely consecrate. Afterwarde also the
 Church of the Bohemians reuolted, because shee did com-
 municate the Euchariste vnder bothe kindes. But if, as
 the Apostle saithe, circumcision be nothinge, but the kee-
 pinge of Gods commaundementes: so the ceremonies al-
 so are nothing, but the obseruation of the precepts of the
 Church. It is therefore ill donne euery where to parte
 the vnion of the Church, and to deuide the body of Christ
 for euery smal and slender cause, whiche nothing empat-
 reth the Christian faith, and that for the whiche our Sa-
 uour imbraldeth the Phariseis, to streigne a gnatte tho-

*Ceremonies
 the cause of
 sectes.*

*The cause
 why the
 greekish
 Church is
 seuered
 from ours.*

Do you bringe me encense from Saba, and Cinamon from
 farre countries: Pour burnt offerings and Sacrifices
 do not delite me: And againe by the same he saithe: these
 wordes saithe the Lorde: gather togeather your burnt
 offerings, with your sacrifices, and eat fleshe, because
 I haue not hereof spoken to your Fathers, and in that
 daie wherein I broughte them out of Egipte, I did not
 commaunde concerninge burnt offerings nor sacrific-
 ces, but I enioygned them these wordes, sayinge: Heare
 my voice, and I wilbe your God, and you shalbe my peo-
 ple: walke in all my waies, in all the thinges that I shall
 commaunde you, and it shall turne you to good: And a-
 gaine saithe the Lorde by the mouthe of Isaie: thou haste
 not offered vnto mee the sheepe of thy burnt offeringe:
 nor hast thou made me lighte in thy sacrifices: thou haste
 not serued me in thy sacrifices, nor haste endured any la-
 bour in the encense: neither hast thou bought me encense
 with monie, nor haue I desired the fatnesse of thy sacrifi-
 ces, but with thy sinnes thou haste come in my pre-
 sence. Upon whome therefore shall I loke (saith he) but
 vpon a humble and quiete manne and that feareth my
 wordes: For the fatnesse, & the fleshe shal take thy sinnes
 from thee: the fasting which I haue chosen saith the Lord
 is this: vndoe the knotte of vnrightheousnesse, dissolue the
 bondes of violent bargeninge: suffer the trauelours to
 reste, & cut in peces al vniuste writinge. Giue thy breade
 willingly to him which is hungrie: and receaue the
 straunger into thy house, which hath no lodging. If thou
 shalt see one naked, clothe him, and despise not them that
 be of thy blonde: then thy mourninges light shall bzeake
 out, & health shal soone grow vnto thee: iustice shall go be-
 fore thee, and the glozie of God shall compasse thee about.
 And when thou callest vpon mee, I will soorthwith aune-
 sweare thee, beholde I am present. I denie not that which
 Moses and Aaron did in times past in the Sinagoge, and
 by succession other Bishoppes, Judges and Prophetes,
 euen

and they that will worſhippe him, muſte worſhippe him
 in Spirit and truth. Some Pagane Philoſophers alſo
 knewe this: for this cauſe Plato in the reuerence of the
 great God willeth that all outwarde ceremonies ſhould
 be taken a waſe: and Hermes to Eſculapius ſaith: This
 thinge is like to ſacrilege, when thou praieſt to God, to
 burne incenſe, and ſuche like thinges. For he wanteth
 nothinge, whiche is all thinges, and in him all thinges
 are, but we geuen thanks oughte to worſhippe him.
 Theſe be the greates incenſes of God, when menne geue
 thanks to him. Furthermoze we haue nothinge, whiche
 we maie make moze acceptable vnto God, then prayſe,
 glorie, & thanks geuinge. Let none objecte in this place
 the Sacrifices of Moſes lawe, and the rites and ceremo-
 nies of the ſame, as who ſaith God were delited in them.
 He did not bringe them out of Egypte, to offer ſacrifice
 vnto him, and burne incenſe, but hauinge forgotten the
 idolatrie of the Egyptians to hire the voice of the Lorde,
 and to obaye him in ſaith and iuſtice for their ſaluacion.
 But in that Moſes ordained ſacrifices and Ceremonies
 for them, this he did to pleaſe their infirmitie and hard-
 neſſe of harte, pardoninge their errour, that he mighte
 withdraue them from diſhoneſt thinges, leaſt that after
 the manner of the Gentiles they ſhoulde doe ſacrifice to
 Devils, and not to God. For the thinges were not prin-
 cipally graunted, but accordyng to the conſequence of ſe-
 quell: and that lawe coulde not binde him otherwiſe, but
 as farre forth as it was allowed by the conſente of the
 people. And Moſes when he was minded to giue theſe
 lawes of Ceremonies, he gotte the voices of the Elders,
 and the people, to the ende he mighte haue them moze
 ſubiecte to him: & therefore that lawe mighte be chaunged
 accordyng to the chaunge of times and thinges, and in
 time to come vtterly diſannulled. But the lawe of God
 whiche was giuen in Tables of ſtone, is perpetuall: for
 ſo ſaide the Lorde by the mouth of Ieremie: to what ende

vvh Mo-
ſes orday-
ned Sacri-
fices and
Ceremonies
for the *Iſ-*
raelites.

Cornelius Agrippa

in encensinge, in sacrifices, in gestures, in pretiouse pictures, in choise of meates and fastinge, and such thinges obserued with greate admiration and veneration of the ignoraunt people: and of men whiche haue no respecte of any thinge, but of suche as they haue befoze their eyes. Numa Pompilius was the firste that commaunded ceremonies to the Romans, that vnder their pretence or colour he might allure men to deuotion, faith, iustice, and religion, and moze easily gouerne the rude and fierce people, whiche had vsurped the rule of the Realme with force and iniurie: hereof beare witnesse the shieldes called Ancylia, and the Image of Pallas holy pledges of the Empire, Ianus with two faces, arbitratour of warre & peace, the fire of the Goddesse Vesta, whereof a Priestke keeper of the Emprye did continually take care, the yeere diuided in xij. Monethes with the varietie of pleadable and vnpleadable dayes, the offices of priesthode deuided into Bishoppes, Augures, and diuers manners of Sacrifices, of Prayers, Sights, Processions, Temples, and Offices: a greate parte of whiche as Eusebius testifieth passed afterwarde into our Religion also. Notwithstandinge God, who is not delighted with the fleashe, the bodie, & sensible signes, dothe despise, and refuse these outward and carnall Ceremonies. For God will not be worshipped in bodily actions, in sensible woorkes, and in carnall honour: but in spirite and truthe thozowe Iesus Christe. For he hath a regarde vnto faith, he considereth the inward spirite, and the secretes of men, he is a searcher of hartes, that beholdeth the hidden partes of the minde. For the whiche cause these carnall and outward ceremonies cannot pricke men foreward to God, who accepteth nothing, but faith in Christe with zealous imitation of him in charitee, and sure hope of saluation & rewarde. This is the true worshipping of God, & not defiled with any vncleannes of outward & carnal customes, the whiche Iohn teachyng saithe: that God is a spirite,

and

and the flickeringe enticementes of luste: and after this manner the open ioye is declared thozowe open shame. Are not we then worthely to be blamed, whiche in this manner doe honour the name of Christ and his Sainctes? But we haue knowen no Heresies, or very fewe arise thzough holy dates, false onely the péuiste blasphemie of the Manichees, and the pestilente opinions of the Cataphrigi, yet they gaue a verie great occasion of diuision in the Church, when Victor the Romane Bishoppe had excommunicated well neare all the Churches of the Easte and the Southe for this onely cause, that in the keapinge of Easter daie they vsed a custome diuerse from the Romane vsage: againste whome at that time emonge other excellent men resisted Policrates Bishoppe of Asia. Hoze ouer Hirencus Bishoppe of Lions, albeit he hallowed Easter accoordinge to the Romane vsage, yet he durst be rie freely to reprove the Pope Victor, because contrarie to the example of his predecessours being become a breake of the peace had diuided the Church not erringe in faith, but onely disagreeinge in some vsages from the Romane Church. There grewe afterward many things vpon this obseruation of Easter, decrees of Counsailes, and Bishoppes, and reasoninges of olde Fathers, and them which are called Ecclesiasticall accomptes: and yet vntill this daie they haue not benne able to appointe in all the worlde one true and certaine daie of Easter, and vntill this presente daie they dispute of the reformation of the Calender taking counsaile of the Astrologers, but the matter is not yet decided: a worthe thinge doubtlesse, for the whiche the Church should sustaine so great a losse for the obstinate Religion of one Romishe Pope.

Of Ceremonies. Cap.60.

Of the members of Religion, the pompes of rites, and Ceremonies be not the least, in apparrell, in vessels, in lightes, in belles, in organs, in singing,

Should be taken awaie, & that when the Saufour shoulde come, then the Sabbothe should be perpetuall, and Neominies, (that is, the times of the newe Moone) perpetuall; but the holy Fathers haue ordained some of these daies, and some the Popes haue appointed for the ignozant people, and for the vnstable multitude, and for the vnperfectest parte of the Church, in the whiche daies they assemble togeather to heare the holy preachinge of Gods woꝛde, to honour God, and to communicate the holy Sacramente: yet so, that the Church maie not serue for daies but the daies for the Church. There are therefore daies appointed in the Church, in which the people ought to cease from all woꝛldly businesse, and bodily actes, to the ende they maie moze frēly serue God, geue themselves to prayer and contemplation, be presente at Gods diuine seruice, and preachinge of Gods woꝛde, and such other like thinges, which are then donne for the commo- dité of euerlastinge Saluation. But that wꝛester of equité, that breaker of order, and spoiler of beautie, and authour of all euils, I meane the Diuell, continually endeoueringe to ouerthrowe, whatsoeuer the holy Ghost doth bulde, hath euen almoste pulled downe this rocke. In suche sorte that the greatest parte of Chꝛistian people dothe not bestowe this holy vacation of Festiuall daies in praier, not in hyꝛinge the woꝛde of God, noꝛ in other thinges, for whiche they be ordained, but doth consume them in sundꝛy cozruptions of good manners, and Chꝛi- stian doctrine, in daunsinge, in comedies, in stage plaies, in singinge, in bankettinge, in sportinge, in solemne shewes, in sightes, and in suche like woꝛldly and fleshly woꝛkes contrary to the Spirit, and holinesse: and as Tertullian saithe of the solemnité of Cæsar. They were then accustomed to execute a great office, to make fiers, and daunce openly, to eate in the Arcade, to per fame the citie in manner of a fauerne, to fil the thꝛote with wine, to runne at tilte, to do iniuries, to praactise dishonestie,
and

of Religion more fitly and sincerely ministered: which holy places haue alwayes ben had in great reuerence of the Christian people, and fauoured by Princes with priuiledges, nowe they be growen to so greate a number hauinge so many Oratories of Frères assigned to them, and priuate Chapels, that it shoulde be very necessarie to cut awaie many of them as superfluous and aboundinge members. Moreover then that, the sumptuousnesse of their buildinge is stately, whereupon very muche godly money and Almesse are consumed: with the which many poore Christians the true temples, and images of God, whiche die for hunger, for thirste, for heate, for colde, for labour, for feblenesse, for pouerté, ought to be sustained.

Of Holy daies. Cap. 59.

Festiuall daies also haue euer benne renowned as well among the Gentils, as amonge the Jewes: all which at sometimes of the yeare, in certaine and appointed daies did separatly worshippinge God, as who saith that it were lawfull sometime to cease from the worshippinge of God, or peradventure that God wilbe worshipped more at one time, then at an other: whiche thinge Paule imbraydeth to the Galathians, as a naughty thinge, writing to them in this wise. You obserue monethes, times, and yeares, I feare me, leaste I haue laboured for you in vaine, and without cause. Whereof also he aduertisinge the Collosians commaunded them, sayinge: let no man iudge you concerninge meate, and drinke, in parte of the Festiuall daie, or of the times of the newe Moone, or of the Sabbothes, whiche be shadowes of thinges to come. For amonge true and perfecte Christians there is no difference of daies, whiche alwayes keepe holy daie, alwayes reste in God, & without ceasinge obserue the true Sabbothe, as I haue hathe Prophefied to the Fathers of the Jewes, that it should come to passe, that their Sabbothe should

is not worshipping with the handes of men, as if he had
 neede of any thinge. But he teacheth that mans nature,
 and men also being vndefiled, Godly, Holie, Religiouse,
 and deuote, be very acceptable Temples to God, as he
 writtinge to the Corinthians saithe: you be the temple of
 God, and the spirite of God dwelleth in you, & the temple
 of God is holy whiche you are. Furthermoze Origenes
 writtinge againste Celsus, dothe confesse that in the firste
 Religion from the beginnyng of the Christian faith, and
 longe time after the passion of Christe, there were no
 temples builded for our sacrifices, thewinge with many
 reasons, that it is nothings conuenient for Christians to
 the worshippinge of God, and true Religion. And La-
 ctantius saithe: Churches are not to be erected vnto God
 with stoanes heaped on highe: but every one ought to
 keepe a place in his harte, whereunto he maie go, to wor-
 shippe God.

God doth not dwell in Churches made with might
 of hande,

A iuste man is the golden Church where he dothe
 stande.

And Christe dothe not sende his people into the Church
 to praie, nor to the Synagoges, but to praie secretely in
 their chamber. And he him selfe, as it is reade in Luke:
 neuer wente to the multitude, to the temple, to the Syn-
 nagoges to praie, but vpon the Mountaine, and there he
 watched and prayed. Notwithstandinge the Church,
 whiche doth nothings, excepte it be moued with the Spi-
 rite of God, after that the Christian people was multi-
 plied, and when sinners with the faithfull had already
 entred into the Church, the scable with the vnscable, and
 as it was in the Arke of Noe the vncleane with the cleane,
 it ordained certaine holy Churches, Temples, oratozies,
 and hallowed places free from all worldelye businesse in
 whiche the worde of God might be publickely preached
 to the Christian multitude, and the other Sacramentes

Matth. 6.
 Luke. 6.

stinate detestinge of them is Heresie, for the whiche in
 time passe the Emperours Philippe and Leo the thirde
 were cōdemned. Also euen as the abuse of Reliques is an
 accursed dēde, so the vnreuerence of the same is a dete-
 stable Heresie, whiche sometime bzought vp by one Vi-
 gilantius a frenche man, disanulled by Ierome, and now
 a fewe yeares passe hath begon a frethe to spring in Ger-
 manie togeather with the spoilers of Images.

Of Churches. Cap. 58.

But now let vs speake of Churches. We know that
 this was in time passe a very greate superstition of
 the Gentils or Pagans, whiche dedicated Temples
 to euery one of their Goddesses, whome the Christians fol-
 lowyng began afterwarde to dedicate Churches to their
 Sainctes. Not withstandinge many Nations had no
 temples: and it is wrytten that Xerxes did once burne all
 the temples, which were in al Grēce by the perswations
 of the Magiticians, because it was a wicked and a cursed
 thinge to shut the Goddess within walles. Wherefoze
 Zeno Citicus did Philosophically reason of Temples in
 this manner: it is not necessarie to bulde temples, nor
 holy places, for of righte nothinge is to be thought, nor
 accompted holy whiche men haue bulded. Amonge the
 Perseans in times passe there were no Temples, and the
 Hebrewes had but one religiouse temple in al their coun-
 trie erected by Salomon in Jerusalem: whereof not with-
 standinge it is reade in Isaie: The Lorde speaketh these
 wordes, the Heauen is my seate, and the Earth my foote
 stole. What house is this, that thou doest erect vnto me?
 And Stephane the firste Partyr saithe: Salomon hathe
 bulded him a house, but he that sitteth on highe dwelleth
 not in houses made with hande. And Paule the Apostle
 saithe to the Athenians, God dwelleth not in Temples
 made with hande, who beinge Lorde of Heauen & Earth,

actions, and they accordinge to the diuersitie of their dis-
 positions receiue diuers powers, as the eyes, sighte, the
 eares, hearinge: so our Lorde Iesus Christe in his misti-
 cal body, whereof he is the soule doth giue and distribute
 diuers gistes of his grace in these inferioure thinges by
 diuers of his Sainctes, as members meete for this, and
 euery saincte hath his peculiare office of workinge, and
 euery one giueth certaine graces: according to the which
 manifolde distribution of graces, partly reueled to men,
 partly obteyned by godly coniectures, we craue helpe of
 the Sainctes with sundrie prayers and inuocations. For
 euen as Christe by his death hath redeemed our death, in
 whose death, holy deathes toke their beginninge, and
 the deathes of all the faithfull be sanctified: so we beleue
 that those Martyrs whiche died thzough a certaine kinde
 of infirmitie, or were put to death with suche a like tor-
 ment haue power to deliuer vs from the same, as if they
 had suffered it for vs, and that truely hath a stronge rea-
 son. But we maye wel laugh at them, whiche attribute
 these thinges to Sainctes for the similitude of names, for
 the confusion of voyces, and for other suche weake inuen-
 tions: as the Germans, which ascribe the falling sicknesse
 to Valentine because that this name signifieth fallinge,
 and the Frenchemen attribute the sicke of the dropsie to
 Etropius for the like sounde of the voyce. Yet in this
 place I will not derogate, or diminish any parte of the di-
 uine power, nor the merites of the Sainctes, for he is
 wicked, who so euer thinketh amisse of Christian piety
 and of the miracles of Sainctes: but he is superstitious,
 and a ribaulde, whiche for miracles writeth an Historie
 of monstrous lies, and fabulous trifles, and make the
 simple people beleue them in steede of an Oracle, and re-
 peate them often with greate clamours, they also are
 muche moze foolish, that geue credence to these fables &
 dreames. And here I will aduertise you that as the sur-
 perfluous worshipping of Images is idolatrie, so the ob-
 stinate

the inward deuotion of the minde: Moreover then that there is, and hath ben a wicked worshipping of relikes. We haue no relikes surer and wortier then the sacrament of the body of Chziste, whiche alone beinge holiest of all is kepte in our Churches because we worship and reuerence Chziste presente who although he be presente enery where, yet there he is bodily presente. But the greedy kinde of Priestes, insatiable men haue not onely made instrumentes of their raine, of wodde and stoaene, but also doe find out a cloke for their couetousnes of dead mennes boanes, of reliques of Martyrs, erectinge sepulcres of confessours, setting in shewe the reliques of Martyrs, sellinge their touchinges, and kisses, they garnishe their Images, and with great pompe and solemne sights they obserue their feastes, they preache them, and with greate prayles they extol them aboue the skies, but differ very farre from their life, whome they doe so much commende. Dothe not our Sauioure speake to these menne: Wo be vnto you whiche bulde the sepulcres of the Prophetes, and be like vnto them, which slewe them. Wherefore they accordinge to the custome of the Pagans doe distribute offices to the saintes, and with Neptune this to helpe in daungers of the Waters, that with Iupiter to shutte thunder boltes, or with Vulcane to castte fiere: an other with Ceres to haue charge of the corne, an other with Bacchus to preserue the vines. Follishe women haue also women saintes, of whiche they demaunde childerne as of Lucina or Venus, and whiche with Iuno doe appeale or reuenge their angrie husbandes. There be also of them whiche cause robberies to be discovered, and thinges gonme or losse to be recouered, and there is no kinde or grieffe, whiche hathe not his Whisition emonge the Saintes, whiche is the cause Whisitions gayne lesse then Lawyers, for so muche as there is no controuersie so litle, nor so iuste, whiche hathe a Saincte to defende it. But as our soule doth declare by diuers members diuers

rence to place them vpon the Aultars of God: and where we accounted it for wickednesse that a man the true Image of God should ascende, there we set Images without vnderstandinge: to them we encline our heade, them we kisse, to them we offer lightes, to them we hange by bowlninges, to them we assigne miracles, of them we craue gistes, and finally to the we go in pilgrimage, to them we make Bowes, we do not onely reuerence, but worship them. It cannot be sayde, howe greate superstition, I will not saye Idolatrie is maintayned in Images emonge the rude and ignozaunt people, whilest the Priestes do wincke at these thinges whiche hereof receiue no small gayne. And in this matter they defende themselues with the wordes of Gregorie, who sayth: that Images are the booke of the people, to the end that a remembraunce of thinges maye be retayned, and that they maye reade in them, whiche are vnlearned, and when they haue behelde them, that they maye be drawen to the inwarde beholdinge of God. But these are the manlike inuentions of Gregorie, excusinge them, albeit that holy man alloweth Images, he prayseth not the worshiping of them. For we ought not to learne out of the forbidden booke of Images, but out of Goddes Booke, whiche is the Booke of the Scriptures. He then, that desireth to know God, let him not seeke him emonge the Images of painters and grauers, but (as Iohn saith) let him search the Scriptures, which beare witness of him. They whiche cannot reade, let them hire the wordes of the Scripture. For their faith (as Paule saith) commeth by hearinge. And Christe in Iohn saith, my sheepe heare my voyce. And mozeouer also, if (as Christe sayth) none can come to him, excepte the Father drawe him, and none commeth to the Father, but thowhe Christe, why take we awaye the glorie from God geuinge it to pictures and grauen Images, as if they coulde drawe vs to the contemplation, and beholdinge of God with the

God is
known by
his worde
and not by
Images.

soygned with vanité. Whiche thinge we will nowe declare to be true, ranginge thozow euery part and parcel.

Of Images. Cap. 57.

AL the people in times past did not allow the worshippinge of Images. For the Jewes (as Iosephus writeth) did abhorre nothing moze then Images: neither did they make any Image of that whiche they worshipped, noz of the thinges, whose remembraunce they kepte. For the Lawe of God, by Moses did forbidde that Images shoulde be made, oz put in temples, oz to worship them. Emonge the people Seres also (as Eusebius witnesseth) was a Lawe, whiche did forbidde, that they shoulde not worshippe Images. Wee reade likewise in Clement, and Plutarch, that by the appointment of Numa 170. yeares after Rome was built, there was seene in the Temples of the Romans no Image, grauen, oz painted. Augustine also witnesseth the same as Varro writeth, whose wordes, saithe he, doo mozte manifestly affirme, that in Rome by the space of a hundzeth and thziescoare yeares there was no Image of the Goddes, and that afterwarde it came to passe, that thozowe the multitude of grauen and painted Images the honor of Religion was neglected, and had in contempte. The Perseans also, accordinge to the sayeing of Herodotus, and Strabo did not make Images. But the wickednesse and foolishnesse of the Egyptians did excede in these thinges, from thence deriued afterwarde into all nations, whiche corrupte custome, and false Religion of the gentils, when they began to be conuerted to the faithe of Christe, defiled also our Religion, and brought into our Church Images and pictures, and many barraine ceremonies of gloriouse thewes, none of whiche thinges was emonge these first and true Christians. Hereof wee began to carrie the dombe Images of our sainctes into the Church, and with reuerence

*Images
firste deriued
fro the
Gentils to
the Christians.*

beginninge of the worlde, howe many ceremonies, howe many worshippinges, howe many vsages, howe many Heresies, howe many ordinaunces, howe many vowes, how many Lawes, and yet the Religion of the Lord God which hath continued so many yeares past cannot bring men to the right faith without the Word of God: who after he was incarnate, and triumphed ouer our enemies vpon the crosse, the Temples and Idols were thzowen downe, the power of the heathen Goddes ceased and the oracles failed.

The Oracle doth leaue to speake
whiche none can nowe recal.

Eor longe time since *Apollo* ceaſte
his anſweares haue a fal.

His gates are ſhut, he ſilence keepes
wherefore for ſake the coſt:

And Sacrifices duely donne
retourne to thy owne oſte.

For after that the Word of God by the tidings of the Gospel began to appeare to the worlde, al the Goddes of the gentils as it were blaſted with lightninge fell to the grounde, as Chriſte ſaith in Luke: I ſawe Sathan fall from heauen euen as it had ben lightninge. But concerning that, whiche heere appertayneth to faith, to diuinitie, and to the decrees of the Canons, we will diſcuſſe hereafter: we ſpeake in this place of religion concerning theſe Artes whiche belonge to the gaine of Prieſtes, and to the beautifying of the common weale with their Images, Pictures, Temples, Churches, Chaples, Feaſtes, Pompes, and offices of Prieſthode, of which thing I did els where diſpute at large amonge the Theologicke opinions declamed by me at Coleine in the yere of our Lord 1510, wherfoze we heere paſſe them ouer with very brief diſcourſe, ſhowinge alſo that in the thinges, whiche haue bene inuented for the ſettinge forth of Religion, and for the ſaluation of men, there is founde muche naughtines
forgned

whiche alwayes goeth about seekinge whome he maie deuoure, sparinge noman, hurtinge all men, and accusinge all men. For this cause he was called the diaule, as whoe saithe an acensar. Wherefoze the Poete saithe;

The Prince of hell requierde the finnes
that men did here commit:

VWho was deuouide of pitie, and
no ghostes he did remit.

The furies stande on euery side
with diuers kindes of paines:

And diuers tormentes vseth he,
with rueful rotlinge chaines.

In times passe the Egyptians worshipped with their Gods, brute beastes and monsters also, and there be yet at this daye of them which worship Idols, and Images. And the Turkes, the Sarasens, the Arabians, and the Mozes and a greate parte of the worlde in these daies do worship Mahumet the authour of a very foolish religion: and the Iewes hitherto continuinge in their vnfaithfulness do obstinately looke for the comming of their Messias. And diuers of our Bishoppes at diuers times, and in diuers countries haue prescribed manners of Religions to vs Christians. It is a marueile to see in how many lawes they disagree among themselues about rites, about ceremonies, about worshippinge, aboute meates, aboute fastinges, aboute apparayle, aboute lucrée, aboute pompes, about miters, about purple, and other suche thinges. But one thinge there is that surmounteth the admiration of all maruailes, that they with these ambitious manners do thinke themselues able to ascende into heauen, for the whiche in times past Lucifer fel from thence. And finally al these lawes of Religion are layde vpon no other foundation, then on the ordinaunces of suche as instituted them: and mozeouer they haue no other rule of certainty, but very incredulity. Consider how many opinions there be in Religion, and howe many there haue bene since the
beginne

reason wée be discerned from other liuinge creatures. And that naturally Religion is founde in vs, Aristotle confesseth. further it is manifest by this, that as often as wée bee ouerwhelmed with any perturbation in sodayne daungers and fearers, immediatly befoze wée consider any thinge, and befoze all thinges, wée call vppon God, nature teaching vs without any master, to aske Goddes helpe, and euen from the beginning of the creation of the worlde, Caim, and Abel did religiously do sacrifice vnto God: but Enoch was the first, that instituted after what sozte God shoulde be called vpon. Wherefoze the Scripture speaketh of him. Then at length he beganne to call vpon the name of God. After Noes fludde were giuen many lawes of Religions by many menne, to many nations. For it is reade that Mercurie and Kinge Menna gaue lawes to the Egyptians: Melissus the nourisher of Iupiter, to them of Candie: Faunus, and befoze him Ianus to the Latines, Numa Pompilius to the Romans. Moses and Aron to the Hebrewes, Orpheus to the Grækes. It is founde wriiten that Cadmus Egenors sonne was the firste that gaue to the Grækes comminge from Phenicia the mysteries, and solennities of the Goddes, the dedication of Images, himnes, and other holy things, pompes, and assemblies, with the whiche they did honoure God. And whiche is more also they made diuine powers ouer robberies and mischeiuous deedes, neither only thei haue giuen names to the Goddes, but also haue ordayned Sacrifices. The Romans haue worshipped Iupiter the adulterer, and rauisher, and in the palace they did dedicate a common temple to the Feuer, and erected an Aultare to euil Fortune in Exquilijs a mountaine in Rome. Furthermoze they inuented Gods in hell, whiche they worshipped, honouringe the Prince of hell Satane him selfe the vilest & most miserable of all other, vnder the names of Dis, Pluto, & Neptune, assigning to him for a keeper the triple headed Cerberus, that is, the deuourer of sheepe, whiche

Prince, then an euill Prince is amended by good men. But finally no Philosophie, no Arte, no science is necessarie to the wel gouerning of the common weale, but the vertue of the rulers. For very well one, very wel a few, very wel the people doe gouerne, if they be vertuous: and mooste naughtly, if they be wicked. But that whiche surpasseth al temeritie of naughtinesse, albeit many doe confesse that they are ignoraunt, or not able to husbände the grounde to feede a flocke, to rule a shippe, to gouerne a familie, to bringe vp childerne, not withstandinge none is founde, that will saye that nature hath not graunted him to knowe howe to beare office in citties, to take the personne of a Kinge and Prince vpon him: and whiche is hardest of all, to commaunde people, and nations. But touchinge that whiche in this place appertayneth to the knowledge of the ciuill Lawes, with whiche all common wealthes and cities be continued, ruled, augmented, and preserued, we wil speake hereafter.

Of Religion in generall. Cap. 56.

The preseruation of the publike weale also Religion belongeth, whiche is a certaine ordinaunce of ceremonies, and outwarde holy thinges by whiche we bee admonished of the inwarde and spiritual thinges, as by certaine signes: Cicero defineth it to be a discipline, by the whiche the ceremonies of diuine honoure be exercised with reuerente seruice, whiche Cicero and Aristotle also haue witnessed to be very profitable and necessarye to cities: for thus he saithe in his Politiques. A Prince oughte moze then other, to seme a worshipper of God. For the subiectes doe lesse thinke that they shal suffer any vniuste thinge at such mennes handes, and doe Imagine lesse againste suche a one, as who woulde saye, he hath also the Goddes in his defence. Religion is in suche sorte engrafted in menne by nature, that by that moze then by

ritie which the wisest men thinke beste, but that whiche
 contenteth the greatest number. Emonge whom, where
 as all are accompted equall one to an other, there is no
 thinge moze vnequall, then this equalitie. Wherefoze
 there is nothinge profitably ozdained by the confused fu
 rie of the multitude, none of these thinges be better re
 paired whiche were bzought to vtter ruine, and that is
 moze the thinges which be very well appointed, be rather
 troubled, and taken awaie by the vnlawfull libertie of
 the common people. Emonge these so diuers gouerne
 mentes of common wealthes, many haue chosen a policie
 mingled with two sortes, as that whiche Solon ozdained
 of the Nobles and the people, and after this manner he
 made all partakers of his honour. Many other also did
 institute a gouernment mixed of all, as that of the Lace
 demonians was. For emong them the Kinge was perpe
 tuall, but he did beare rule onely in time of warre, there
 was also a Senate made of the richest and the mightiest:
 they did likewise create out of the common people tenne
 perpetuall officers called Ephori, whiche had authoritie
 of life and deathe, representinge the state of the common
 people. Emonge the Romans in time paste Democratia
 was mingled with Aristocratia, for the authoritie of the
 Senate: For many thinges were in the peoples gouerne
 ment and some were ruled by the Senate. Nowe a daies
 in many places the Kinges and Princes rule at theire
 pleasure, yet they vse noble men, of prouinces, and Ma
 gistrates in theire counsailes, and exploitinge theire af
 faires. And hereof riseth a doubt, which comon wealth
 is salser, whether that, wherein there is a naughty
 Prince, & good Counsaillers, or where the Prince is good
 and vertuous, and the Counsaillers euill. Marius Ma
 ximus, Iulius Capitolinus, & many other chose the firste:
 vnto whome notwithstandinge many other substanciall
 authours do not consente, for so muche as we see by very
 experience, that euill men be oftener corrected by a good
 Prince,

beinge demaunded on a time why in his common wealth he had not ordained a populare state or gouernment, he answered him that asked, make first in thy house a principallitæ of the people. Aristotle also in his Ethickes thinketh that the gouernaunce of the people is worste, and of one, beste of all. For the common people is the head of errors, and mistresse of lewde customes, and a greate heape of mischiefes. They cannot be turned with reasons, with authozities, nor with perswasions, because the one they vnderstande not, the other they refuse, to hire perswasions they are dul and obstinate, whose manners be alwaies very vnconstant, desiringe new things, and hatinge them that are presente: neither can they be refrained by the learninge of wise menne, by the institution of Fathers, by the authozitæ of Magistrates: nor by the Maiestie of Princes: emonge whome the counsailes of wise men were neuer harde without daunger, or in vaine: whilest the folie of the multitude doth well neare alwaies beare rule: as it is manifest in Socrates concerninge the opinion of the Goddes, to the Athenians, in the Troiane heade concerninge the byringe in of the horse: in Magius Campanus, who counsailed that Hannibal should not be receaued into the Citie, in Paulus Emilius, who refused the fighte at Cannas, and finally in so many prophecies of Gods Prophetes not harde of the Jewes. Wherefoze how can the statutes and ordinaunces of the people be good, if the multitude of the people be almoste continually ignorant of the beste thinges, seinge the greatest parte of them be handie craftes men, and partly also because they doe not consist & stande in the ballance of equitæ and iustice, but in number, wherein there are alwaies moze ill then good: neither is it guided by the perfect iudgement of thinges, but by the opinion & number of the multitude: As Plinie the seconde saithe, the opinions be numbrzed, but they are not pondered. For in the consultation of y people that is not of greater autho-

yearly brought into his treasure. But hereof we will speake moze at large in the Booke of politicke nobilitie. But when the chiefest personages haue the rule of the common wealth, therein togeather with them dwelleth hatred, anger, and emulation, wherefoze very seldome they raigne peaceably togeather, and whilest euery man woulde haue his opinion to be preferred, and be chieftest in authoritie, there are stirred vp emonge them priuate hatredes, whereof oftentimes takinge of partes, sediti- ons, slaughters, and ciuil warres do arise to the destruc- tion of the common wealth. Infinite examples of this mischiefe be wriitten in the Histories of the Greekes and Latines, and at this date also many Cities of Italie do shew them selues piteouse spectacles of them. But almost euery man iudgeth the government of the people to be worste. Apollonius dissuadeth Vaspasiane from this with many reasons: and Cicero saith, that in the common people there is no reason, no counsaile, no difference, no diligence, and the Poete saith:

Virg. Lib.
4. Enead.

Th'vnsteadfast people seuered are in sundrie mindes.

And Othanes the Persian saith, that there is nothinge moze presumptuous, noz moze foolishe then the multitude of the people: and it is the proprietie of the common peo- ple to vnderstand nothing, but to renne headlong with- out aduise to do their businesse, like to a riuer that run- neth with greate violence. Demosthenes also calleth the people a naughtie beast, and Plato nameth it a beast with many heades, whereof Horace maketh mention, and Phalaris wriitinge to Egesippus saith: All the people is rashe, madde, slouthfull, very readie to chaunge opi- nion into whatsoeuer shall befall, disloyall, vnstedfaste, swifte, traitterous, ful of deceit, onely profitable in voice, ready, and prone to anger, and prayse: hereof it commeth that he, whiche in gouerninge the common wealth ende- uoureth to please the people, perissheth with honeste re- proche. But Licurgus the Lacedemonian lawe maker

Epistol. 77.

being

Mithridates, and many other, and the holy Scripture also do bewraie it in Saule, Dauid, and Salomon the chosen Kinge of God, and of all the Kinges of Iuda, a very fewe haue benne allowed, of the Kinges of Samaria, none. But they whiche now a daies be called Kinges, Emperours, and Princes suppose that they be bozne and created not for the people, for the Citizens, for the common sorte, for iustice, but to defende and preserue the nobilitie: and do rule in suche sorte that they seeme that the wealth of all the Citizens is not committed to their custodie, but giuen them to spoile & sacke, takinge all thinges from all men, and vse their subiectes accordinge to their will and pleasure, and do abuse the authozitie geuen them from aboue towards their subiectes, charginge without ende and measure the Citizens with bozowinge, the common people with subsidies, some with exactions & pillage, other with tributes one vpon an other. But if any moze modest Princes do release these thinges, yet they do it not for the common profite, but for their owne commoditie, sufferinge their subiectes to prosper, that they also maie prosper, & maie haue what to robbe when they liste. Yea moreouer to the ende they maie purchase the praise of iustice, thei ordaine straight lawes, but they attire Auarice and crueltie with iustice, they punish the offenders with terrible tormentes, with forfeiture of their goodes and with many other vnrasonable and disordinate extremities, herein no better then tirauntes, because they couet to haue verie many offenders. For as the mischieuous deedes of offenders be the forces of tirauntes, so the multitude of transgressours is the riches of Princes. I had in time passe in Italie verie familiar conuersation with a mightie Prince, whome when on a time I exhorted to appeale and mitigate the seditions of the Gibellins, and Guelfins in his dominion, he confessed to me that by the occasion of that boile and takinge of partes he had as good as twelue thousande Ducates in condemnations

luste, as it voere appointed of God him selfe. In briefe they saie that this gouernment is surer then that of the chiefest parsonages, because it is lesse subiecte to sedition: for the people neuer or seldome are at discorde emonge themselves, but the nobles verpe mutche, and verie often. Furthermore in the gouernemente of the people resteth all equalitie, and libertie oppressed by no mans tirannie, where degrees of honour be equall, and none is better then his neighbour, but every one, and all the multitude by course dothe rule and is ruled. Othanes the Persian, Eufates, and Dion of Syracusis did therefore commende this more then the other, and we see at this daie that the Venetians and the Swissers with this Democratia flourish before al the Souerainties & Seignories in Christendome, and haue the praise of victorie, and the praise of prouidence, of power, of ritcheffe, and of Justice. Pea and the Athenian common weale in times past rulinge very farre abzoade, and mightely was gouerned by Democratia alone, and all thinges were handled by the people, and emonge the people. And in times passe the Romans hauing proued al the kindes of gouernment did gette the greatest parte of theire Empire vnder the popular Democratia, neither did they stande in worse estate, then vnder Kinges, and Nobles, but worste of all vnder Emperours, vnder whome all their power suffered shipwarke. It cannot therefore easily be iudged which of these thre is the better, & moste profitable, sithe that every one hath his maintainers and defenders. For Kinges to whome it is lawful to do all thinges without punishment at theire pleasure, very seldome do gouerne well, and neuer rule without sturre of warres. Kinglike nesse also hath this pestilent mischiefe in it, that they also, which in time passe were very good men, and allowed by al mens consent, as sone as they had rule in hands as it were licence to offende, became presumptuousse and verie wicked, whiche was scene in Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Mithridates,

is of the people, or populare. Perte to these be the tyrannies, Oligarchia, and Anarchia. But writers do not yet agrée whiche of these is to be preferred. For they whiche saie that Monarchia is beste, do soztifie their opinion with examples of nature, sayinge, that as vniuersally there is but one greate God, emonge the Starres one Sunne, emonge the Bées one Kinge, emonge flockes of sheepe one leader, emonge heardes of beastes one ruler, and the Cranes follow one: so in a comon wealth there ought to be but one Kinge as a heade from whiche the members maie not disagree. This befoze the other was allowed of Plato, Aristotle, Apollonius, to whome of our men Cyprian, and Hierome consente. But they whiche praise Aristocritia, saie that there is nothings better to governe weightie matters, then the consultation of many and of the beste agreinge in one opinion. For of many god men, it muste néedes be that the counsailes be good: & that none alone is wise enough, forsomuch as this alone belongeth to God. To this opiniõ Solon, Ligurgus, Demosthenes, Tullie, and well neare all the aunciente makers of lawes haue subscribed, & Moses also: to whome Plato mozeouer consenteth sayinge that common wealth and Citie semeth vnto him to be set in a verie good & most happie state, which is gouerned by wisemen: whereunto if you thinke beste, let vs soigne the gouernaunce of noble men, for this opinion is established with the consente of many. But they whiche haue preferred the common wealth ruled by the people, haue called it with the goodliest name of all, Isonomia, that is to saie, equalitie of lawe. For there all thinges are put in common, and all counsailes be moze certainly receaued of the multitude, wherein no doubtte all thinges are founde. Finally it is wonte to be saide, the voice of the people is the voice of God, therefore it is necessarie that whatsoeuer pleaseeth all men, & what so euer is ordained by the consente of the common people, is presumed to be a thinge very good and iuste,

*The saying
of Plato.*

clearer life of hart, some in fortune, but Christ in mercie, some in glorie of warre and subduinge of countries, but Christe in peace: some in honour and pompe, but Christe in humilitie, callinge the meke blessed, some in power and victorie, but Christe in persecution: some in riches, but Christe in pouertie. Christe teacheth that perfect vertue is not gotten but by grace geuen from aboue, the Philosophers saie, that it is gotten by our owne strength and exercise: Christ teacheth that concupiscence is sinne, the Philosophers contrarywise reckon it emonge the common thinges, which vs thought neither vertues, nor vices, and that he doth go forward in vertues whiche hath them reasonably well. Christe teacheth that wee should do well to all men, and also to loue our enemies, to lende freely, and without rewarde, not to take reuengment of any, that we ought to geue to euery one that asketh: contrarywise the Philosophers saie, that we should geue to none but them onely, which do requite benefite for benefite, mozeouer it is lawfull to be angrie, to hate, to fighte, to make warre, and to practise vsurie. Furthermoze they haue geuen vs the Pelagian Heretikes with their free will and with the instruction and natural light of righte reason. All mozell Philosophie, as Lactantius saithe, is false, and vaine, not instructinge to the offices of iustice, neither confirminge the dutie and counsailes of man. Finally it is altogether repugnant to Goddes laws, and to Christe him selfe, that the glozy thereof is due to none other, then to Sathan.

Of Politicke Gouvernaunce. Cap. 55.

The partes
of Politie.

This Philosophie also belongeth politie, whiche is the Arte to gouerne the common wealth. There be thre kindes thereof, that is to wiste, Monarchia whiche is the rule of one, Aristocratia, whiche is of fewe, but noble, ritche, or els of the chiefeest, Democratia, whiche

Whose sonnes are as yonge plantes in their yongth. And their daughters adourned and trimmed like the Temple. Their store houses are full, voidinge from one into another: their sheepe are ful of yonge abounding in lambes, and their Oxen fat. There is no ruine in their head ges, nor in the passingeire, nor crie of them in y^e streets: They haue called the people blessed, whiche hath these thinges. They be in like manner in contrarie opinions touchinge pleasure, which (as you haue harde befoze) Epicurus thinketh to be the soueraigne God: contrarywise Architas of Tarentum, Antisthenes, and Socrates saie that it is the greatest euill. Speusippus, & some auncient Academicke haue saide that pleasure and sozrow be two euilles, the one set against the other, and that to be good which standeth in the middest of them, Zeno thought that pleasure was neither good nor euill but indifferent. Critolaus the Peripateticke, and Plato saie that pleasure is naught, and the baite and parente of al euils. It should be too tedious to recompte the opinions of all men touchinge felicitie, and to make a collection of these thinges, whereof others haue wryten very many bookes: for Marcus Varro gathered togeather of these two hundzeth eightie and eight opinions, as Augustine saithe, and I suppose that I haue here sufficiently recited the mosse famous of them. But let vs now see, how these do agree with Chryste, and so it shalbe seene that we do not gette felicitie, & blessednesse by the Stoicke vertue, neither by the Academicke purginge, neither by the Peripateticke speculation, but by faith and grace in the worde of God. We haue harde howe some Philosophers haue placed felicitie or blessednesse in pleasure, but Chryste in hunger and thirste, some in honour, fame, and greatnesse of name, but Chryste in sleaude, and hatred of men, some in the Primigenij, in health, in ioye, in lacke of paine: but Chryst in weeping, and wailing, some in wisdome, in knowledge, and moral vertues, but Chryste in innocencie, simplicitie, and cleannesse.

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all agree in one; they cannot be nomore called vertues but vices. But Ambrose and Lactantius folowinge Plato in his common wealthe, thinke that to be iustice wherein they all ought to agree, other temperaunce whiche setteth a meane in all thinges, other pietye as Plato woulde in Epimenides, other charitie, without whiche theire is no profite in vertues as Paule thinketh, and hitherto dothe Thomas, Henrye, Scotus and others dispute vpon these thinges. But let vs retourne agayne: some haue put felicitie in fortune, as Theophraste: but Aristotle in fortune ioynd with the Primigenij, and with the vertues, but that is moze, in pleasure, but painted with the goddes of vertues, as who woulde saye that Epicurus defendeth not his pleasure with these goddes, finally the other Peripatetickes, in speculation. Herillus the Philosopher, Alcidas, and many of Socrates secte, supposed that science was the soueraigne god: but the Tiberinia people adioyninge to the Calibes of whome Apollonius and Pomponius haue made mention, sayde that lasciuiousnesse, and laughter, was the chiefeſte felicitie. There are also some whiche haue put the soueraygne god in silence, but the Platonians withe theire Plato, and Plotinus doe alwayes fauouring of heavenly thinges haue placed felicitie with the soueraygne god in concorde. Bias of Priena in wisdom, and Boristhenes in prudencie, Thales Mileſius in the layeing together of these thinges. Pittacus the Miteleanie, in well doinge: Cicero, in immunitie from labour and businesse: but this cannot be founde but in God alone. I passe suer the other meane Philosophers, whiche haue taken awaye all felicitie, as Pirrho of Elea, Euricolus, and Xenophanes, and them whiche haue placed the chiefeſt felicitie in glozpe, in honoure, in power, in reste, in riches, and in suche like thinges, as Periander the Corinthiane, and Licophrone, and they of whiche the Psalmiste speaketh: whose mouthe hath spoken vanitie, and their righte hande is the righte hande of iniquitie.

auncientes by theſe and falſe accuſations gotte a prayſe
 of wit, yea mozeouer hauinge lewdly ſpente many good
 dayes, and thoꝛowe the immoderate deſire of knowledge
 fallinge madde ſetwe him ſelſe, beinge made a woꝛthy
 ſacrifice foꝛ the deuils whiche taught him knoweledge: a
 very woꝛthy Doctoure doubtleſſe at this daye of the La-
 tine ſcholes and whome my diuines of Colene haue rec-
 koned emonge theire ſainctes, whiche haue made a booke,
 and put him in pꝛinte with the title of the ſaluation of
 Aristotle: and an other alſo in verſe of the life and deathe
 of Aristotle, whiche they haue expounded with a gloſe of
 diuinitie: in the ende of whiche booke they conclude that
 Aristotle hath bene the ſoze runner of Chꝛiſte in natural
 thinges as Iohn the Baptiſte was in free thinges. But
 that we maye not goo farre aſtraye from the purpoſe,
 let vs heare, what the Philoſophers thinke of felicitie
 and of the ſoueraigne good: foꝛ ſome haue placed this in
 pleaſure, as Epicurus, Ariſtippus, Guidus, Eudoxus, Phi-
 loxenes, and the Cyrenaickes, other haue accompted it in
 honeſtie toynd with pleaſure, as Dinomachus, and Cali-
 pho, other haue placed it in the firſte begotten of nature,
 as Carneades and Hierome the Rodiane: other in lacke
 of paine, as Diodorus: other in vertue, as Pythagoras, So-
 crates, Ariſton, Empedocles, Democritus, Zeno Citicus,
 Cleanthes, Hecaton, Poſſidonius, Dionyſius the Babylo-
 niane, and Anthiſtenes, and all the Stoickes, and many of
 our diuines after a ſozte agréeinge to them, doo hitherto
 diſpute of the knittinge togeather of vertues, and what
 that common foundation of felicitie is wherein all ver-
 tues ought to agrée. Foꝛ excepte all vertues doo meete
 togeather, they neuer make a man bleſſed, yea if one
 alone ſhall wante. Then ſithe the vertues be emonge
 themſelues vnlike, and after a ſozte contrarve, liberali-
 tie, and ſparinge, Magnanimitie, and humilitie, mercey
 and iuſtice, contemplation, and carefull labour in con-
 tinuall woꝛke, and many other ſuche lyke, excepte then

*The opinio
 of Philoſo-
 phers con-
 cerning the
 ſoueraigne
 good.*

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The precepts of Theodorius the Philosopher.

Suggestion allowed of Aristotle.

Writers do make mention, was called a God to witte, the wise shal giue his mind to theft, to adultry, & to sacrilege, when time shal serue, for none of these vices is dishonest by nature. But if the vulgare opiniõ be takē away from them, which was made by the vilest sorte of scoles & ignorant persons, a wise man maye openly vse the company of Harlots without any shame to him being taken in the deede doing. There be other opinions of this diuine Philosopher, then the whiche I wotte not if any thinge more dishonest maye be spoken, sauinge that masculine venery which wee haue read to be approued by Aristotle & graunted in Candie with a law made therupon, whiche luxuriousnes or Acre more thē beastly is also renowned by Hierome the Peripateticke after this maner sayeing: that by the meanes therof many tyrannies haue bene takē away. But the wordes of Aristotle in his polittikes, where he thinketh it auailable to the commõ wealth, that the commõ people should not haue many childern, be these: Many things hath the maker of lawes wisely & diligētly ordained for the temperaunce of meat, as a thing very profitable, and touching the deuorcemētes of women: to the end that they mighte not bringe forth a superfluous multitude, he commaunded that the companie of men shoulde be vsed. This is that Aristotle whose manners were reproued by Plato, whereof grew the hatred and vngreatfulnes of him towarde his maister, whose feareinge the Iudgemente of his wicked life prœuely and spædely fled from Athens, who beinge very vnthanckfull towarde his benefactours with the ventime of the Water of Stix flewe that greate Alexander, by whome he hath bene so largely and nobly auanced with authoritie and dignitie, and which had put his life, his body, and his soule into his handes and restoared his countrie. Whiche Aristotle also hauinge a false opinion of the soule, sayde, that after deathe there was no place of toy: whose hauinge robbed, and malitiously interpreted the sayeinges of the auncientes

constaunt, the Frenchmen menacing, the Germans, reuengers: the Italians are circumspecte in doinge their businesse: the Germans painefull, the Spaniards vigilant, the Frenchmen careful. The Italians be valiant in the fieldes, but cruell, the Spaniards craftie, and greedy: the Germans cruel, and setters, to sale: the Frenchmen couragious, but vnaduised: the Italians excel in learning; the Spaniards in nauigation, the Frenchmen in ciuilitie, the Germans in religion and handy craftes. And euery nation what soeuer it be either ciuill or barbarous hath his peculiare manners and customes geuen to them from the influence of the heauens, diuers from the other, whiche cannot chaunce vnder any Arte, or Philosophie: but do growe in men by a naturall vertue alone without any learning. But let vs turne our talke to them, which haue put in writing the learning of these thinges. These doubtlesse hauinge don the dutie of the Serpēt haue giuē vs that fruite by eating wherof we may learne to know god and ill. This is the firste pestilente opinion of them, whiche holde that the good and the ill shoulde be knowne, and by this meanes they saye, that men maye the better seeke vertue and shune vice. But howe muche more sure and profitable, and also howe much more happie should it bee, not onely not to do euils, but altogether to be ignorant of them also. Who is he that knoweth not, that thoro we this alone all wee were made miserable, when the firste parentes of mankinde learned what was good and what euill: but peraduenture Philosophers shoulde therefore be pardoned for this erreure, if they vnder the name of vertue and goodnesse did not also teache vs very wicked mischieses & filthie vices. There are many sectes of them whiche haue entreated of manners, as the Academicke, the Cyrenaike, the Eliacke, the Megaricke, the Cynicke, the Eroiticke, the Stoicke, the Peripateticke, and many others. Of these emonge others hathe that Theodorus witten Philosophicallye in this manner, whoe as

Against the opinion of philosophers touching the learninge of sciences.

conuersation, by his life, by his trade, by his loue, and by his hatred, by his anger, by his warfarre, and other like exercises. For who is that whiche seeth a man go with a cocke pale, with a swearing gesture, with a fierce countenance, with a voyce like an ore, with an vnpleasaunt speache, with wild manners, with leuse or plaited apparayle, that doth not iudge him to be a Germane? Do not we knowe the Frenchemen by their modeste goinge, by their wanton gesture, by their mery countenance, by their pleasaunte voyce, by their gentle speache, by their modeste manners, and by their gorgeous apparell: and the Spaniardes by their goinge, by their manners, and by their pleasaunt gestures, by their loughtie looks, by their lamentable voyce, by their trime talke, and neate apparel. Wee see the Italians go somewhat slowly graue in gesture, vnconstaunte in countenance slacke in their voyce, captious in their communication, noble in their manners, and handsome in their apparrell. Wee knowe mozeouer that the Italians doe bleate in their singing, & Spaniardes doe waile, the Germanes doe howle, and the Frenchemene singe with pleasaunte tune and accente. The Italians be graue in their talke, but craftie: the Spaniardes fine, but glozious: the Frenchemen ready, but proude, the Germans vnpleasaunt, but simple. In counsayles the Italiane is circumspecte, the Spaniarde, craftie: the Frencheman vnaduised, the Germane profitable, the Italiane is cleane in his fare, the Spaniarde delicate, the Frencheman aboundaunt, the Germane orderlesse: the Italians are louinge towardes strangers, the Spaniardes pleasaunt, the Frenchemen courteous, the Germans rude and vnapt for intertayninge, the Italians are wise in companie, the Spaniardes warte, the Frenchemen gentle, & Germans imperious & intollerable, the Italians be selouse in loue, the Spaniardes impatient, the Frenchemen lighte, the Germans ambitious. The Italians be secrete in their hatredes: & Spaniardes

The differences of every nation.

the diff

whiche to vs is iuste, to other is vniuste, according to the
 opinion, or lawes of time, of place, of estate, and of men.
 Emonge the Athenians it was lawfull for a man to marry
 his owne sister: but that emonge Romaines was accom-
 pted a wicked acte: in time paste emonge the Jewes, and
 at this daye emonge the Turkes it is lawfull for a man to
 haue many wiues, and concubines also: this emonge vs
 Christians is not so wicked as infamous and dishonest.
 It is accompted a prayse in Græce for yonge men to haue
 many louers. And finally emonge these nations it is no
 shame for men nor women to go out vpon a stage and to
 be a spectacle to the people. whiche thinges notwithstanding
 emonge the Latines and Romaines were thought
 vile, infamous, and very dishonest. Yet the Romaines
 were not ashamed to cary their wiues to bankets, and
 to bringe them into open assemblies, and to enhabite the
 forme parte of the house, but in Græce the wife goeth
 not to bankettes excepte it be to their kinsfolke, and v-
 seth to be no wher but in the innermost part of the house,
 where no man commeth, excepte he be a very neare kin-
 sman. The Egyptians, and the Lacedemonians accompted
 it a honozable thinge to robbe, emonge vs thæues are
 hanged by the necke vpon the gallowes. Iulius Firmicus
 in his Astrologikes writing to Lollianus saith: Some na-
 tions be so facioned by the heauē, that they be notable for
 y singularitie of their proper manners. The Scythians do
 traiterously kill with horrible crueltie of beastly wilde-
 nesse. The Italians haue alwaies bene glorious in prince-
 ly nobilitie. The Frenchmen, wiles. The Sicilians sharpe
 witted. The Asians, luxurious, & occupied in pleasures.
 The Spaniards be preferred before others in prowde-
 holdnesse of bragginge. Euery nation hath a particulare
 difference of his manners giuen him from aboue, by the
 whiche the one is easily knowen from the other, that it is
 easily knowen of what nation one is borne by his voyce,
 by his speech, by his communication, by his counsel, by his
 conuer-

*The nature
 and incli-
 nation of the
 men of di-
 uers coun-
 treis.*

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Philosophers from their citie, the Messanians, and Laco-
nians did neuer receiue them: and whiche is moze, in the
time of Domitiane they were bannished out of Rome,
and also forbidden al Italie. There is extant also a decree
of Kinge Antiochus againste younge men whiche presu-
med to learne Philosophie, and also againste parentes,
whiche did allowe their childerne to studie it. Neither
were they onely condemned & bannished by Emperours,
and Kinges: but in wzyten booke reprovod by very well
learned men: in whose number are Philius, and Timon,
whoe wzote a booke entituled Syllos in the disprays of
Philosophers: ond Aristophanes, whiche wzote a comedy
againste them, whiche is entituled the Cloude: and Dion
the Prusean wzote a very eloquente Oration againste
Philosophers. Aristides also wzote a very eloquent Ora-
tion againste Plato for the soure Nobles of Athens: Hor-
tensius the Romaine also a very eloquente man and of a
very noble familie inueyed againste Philosophie with
very stronge reasons: but this sufficeth which is spoken.

Of Morall Philosophie. Cap. 54.

Moze ouer then this, if there be any Philosophie or
Doctrine of manners, as some will, I suppose that
this doth not so mutche consist of weake reasons
of Philosophers, as of diuers vse, custome, obseruation, &
practise of common life, and that it is mutable accordyng
to the opinion of times, places, and menne, whiche with
threatninges, and flatteries they teache to childzen, and
to the elder sozte with lawes, and punishment, naturall
industrie hath giuen some thinges to menne, which they
cannot be taught: but thei take place by right or wzong,
accordyng to the vse of time, and agremente of menne:
whereof it commeth to passe, that, y whiche at one time
was vice, an other time is accompted vertue: and that
whiche in one place is vertue, in an other is vice: that
whiche to one is honeste, to an other is dishoneste: that
whiche

néerer vnto whom a man commeth, the further he goeth
 from the truth, and swarueth from Christian Religion.
 For this cause wee knowe that Iohn the xxiij. Bishop of
 Rome did erre: whiche would that y blessed soules should
 not see the face of God befoze the day of Judgement. We
 knowe that Iuliane the Apostata did denie Christ, not for
 any other cause, then that he being euer studious of Phi-
 losophie, beganne to skorne and contemne the basenesse
 of the Christian faith. For the same cause Celius, Por-
 phyrus, Lucianus, Pelagius, Arrius, Manicheus, Auerrois,
 and many other haue so barked againste Christe, and his
 Church. Hereof is risen this prouerbe emonge the com-
 mon people, That the greateste Philosophers are wonte
 to be the greateste Heretikes: but Hierome also calleth the
 the Patriarkes of Heretikes, and the firste begotten of
 Egypte, and the barres of Damascus, spoken as true as
 maye bee. For what Heresies so euer haue benne at any
 time, they al haue flowed out of the fountaines of Philo-
 sophie, as from their firste seede plotte. Hereby all diuine
 Diuinitie
 is wel neare corrupted, and in steede of euangelicke
 corrupted
 Doctors, false prophetes, Heretikes, & Philosophers are
 by Philo-
 sprong by, which haue made the holy Scriptures of God
 phie.
 equal to the inuentions of man, and haue defiled them
 with the maruelous opinions of men and haue reduced
 the playne diuinitie (as Gerson saith) to caueling and so-
 phistical bablinge, and to the monstrous Mathematikes.
 The whiche Paule the Apostle forseeinge doth so often ex-
 hort and bid vs beware, that none do not spoile and mis-
 leade vs thozow Philosophie. Augustine doth maintaine
 and defende the Church of God from it. And well neare
 all the other diuines, & holy Fathers haue thought meete
 to bannishe it farre of and vtterlye to route it out of
 Christian scholes. Neither do there wante examples of
 Pagans, whome we haue reade sometimes to haue denne
 the like. For the Athenians did put Socrates to deathe the
 Father of Philosophie, and the Romaines bannished the

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saide that God was a minde, whiche hath made al things of water: Cleanthes and Anaximenes, saide that the aire was God: Chrysippus, a naturall force endewed with reason, or els a deuine necessitie: Zeno, a diuine and naturall lawe: Anaxagoras an infinite minde moueable by it selfe. Pythagoras, a minde whiche is intentiue & goeth thoroow the nature of all thinges, whereof al thinges re-creane life. Crotoniates Alcmeon, saide that the Sunne, Moone, and the other starres were Gods. Xenophanes would haue al that which is to be God. Parmenides maketh God to be a certaine continuall circle of light, which they call Stephanen, that is to saie, a Cozone. Aristotle as though a sufficient sure knowledge of the Gods mighte be had by the mouinge of the heauens, hath imagined the Gods to be of their nature, and doth sometimes attribute the diuinitie to the minde, sometimes he saith that God is the heate of the heauen, sometimes he maketh the world to be God, somtines he maketh an other God presidente ouer it. Theophraste followeth him with the like inconstauncte. I leaue to speake what Strato, Perseus, Aristotle the scholler of Zeno, Plato, Xenophon, Speusippus, Democritus, Heraclides, Diogenes the Babylonian, Hermes Trismegistus, Cicero, Seneca, Plinie, and the rest haue thought hereof, whose opinions yet do not farre disagree from the firste, and already recited. I mighte also renne ouer the residew of their debates, & monsters of wordes, of the Ideas, of the incozpozals, of the vndiuisible partes, of Hile, of matter, of forme, of the emptie, of the infinite, of euerlastingnesse, of destinie, of the transcendentes, of the introduction of formes, of the matter of the Heauen, whether the starres be made of the Elementes, or of the quinte essence, whiche Aristotle bringeth in, and of other like thinges, which minister occasion of beleefe, of doubtte & of contention to wittlesse parsons, but I suppose that I haue made sufficient declaration howe muche the Philosophers varte among them selves concerning the truth, the
næres

bles that certaine men grewe of the sowen teeth of Serpentes. There be whiche vtterly denie Generation: as Pirrho the Elicnsian, and there be which denie mouinge, as Zeno.

Of the Metaphisickes, that is, thinges supernaturall
and the Science of them. Cap. 53.

BUt let vs go farther and shewe that these Philosophers doe not onely contende for the thinges, which are in the nature of thinges, but also for the deuises of their imaginations, & for the thinges, which be grounded vpon no principels, neither is it certaine whether they be or not, as thinges which be thought to abide without bodie and matter, & by them termed, deuinded formes: the whiche because they be not in the nature of thinges, but are supposed to be aboue nature, therefore they call them transnaturall or Metaphisicke: from hence haue spronge these infinite opinions and on euery side repugnant to themselues of the Codes, no lesse wicked, then vnlearned: For Diagoras the Milesian, & Theodorus the Cyrenaicke haue saide that there is no God at all: But Epicurus saide that there was a God, but that he had no care of earthly thinges: Protagoras saide that it could not be knowen whether there were a God or not. Anaximander thought that the Goddes had a beginninge & endinge, & that in longe distaunce of time they were bozne and died. Xenocrates saide that there were eight Gods. Antisthenes was of opinion that there were many popular Gods, but one naturall the greate artificer of the whole. But many of them fel into so great madnesse that they wrought with their owne handes the Gods whiche they worshipped, as the image of Bel was emonge the Assirians, yet it is a wonder howe Hermes Trismegistus doth in his Esculapius extol these carued Gods. But they speakinge of the diuine substance, Thales the Milesian saide

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but now lette vs retourne to the Philosophers . All the Pagans whiche haue helde opinion that the Soule is immortal , with a common consent doe affirme the departure of the soules, and that reasonable soules go into vnreasonable bodys , and euen vnto plantes for certaine spaces of time, or as otherwise it shall happen. It is saide that Pythagoras was the authour of these departures, whereof Ouide in his *Transfigurations* singeth in this sozte:

The soules immortal are, and aie
forsakinge their first seate
Receiued in they liue, and
dwell in houses newe and greate.
For I my selfe remember well
in time of *Troiane* warre,
That I *Euphorbus* was the Sonne
of *Panthus*, in whom farre
Did *Menelaus* in time paste,
thrust in a weightie speare:
I knewe the shielde whiche I did earst,
in my leaste hande eke beate:
Not longe agoe in *Argos* towne,
in *Iunos* temple there.

Timon, Xenophanes, Cratinus, Aristophon, Hermippus, Lucianus, & Diogenes Laertius haue witten many moze thinges of this Pythagoricall passage or departure: but Iamblicus, and many other togeather with Trismegistus doe agree that the soules departe not onely from men to vnreasonable liuing creatures, nor from them to men, but from vnreasonable liuing creatures, to other of that kinde, and from men to men. But there are also Philosophers emonge whome is Euripides the follower of Anaxagoras, and Archelaus the naturall Philosopher, and after them Auicenna, which saie that the first men grew out of the Earth in manner of Hearbes: herein no lesse ridiculous to the Poetes, which write emonge their *Fables*

Gospel in such wise abolished emonge them, that they do sooner and rather beleue a dead man restozed to life, then the Prophetes, then Moses, then the Apostles, & Euangelistes. Suche verely was the doctrine and opinion of the ritche man buried in Hell, who beleued that then his brothers whiche were aliuē should beleue, if a dead man wente to them, & did beare witnesse to them. To whom thus beleuinge Abraham spake in the Gospel sayinge: If they beleue not Moses and the Prophetes, they will much lesse beleue, if one be sente them from the dead. I do not yet therfoze altogether denie the holy apperaunces of the dead, the warninges and the reuelations: but I do monishe you that they are to be muche suspected, sith that Satan very often chaungeth him selfe into the Angell of light, and counterfaiteth the likenesse of Soules: wherefoze the Ancour of faith is not to be fastned on them, but they ought deuoutely to be accepted for edification, as othē thinges whiche are not in the holy Canon, or the Apocriphe. There are caried aboute of these trisles many fabulouse Wokes, of Tundall, and that whiche is entituled, the Consolation of Soules, and others with whose examles, certaine preachers do feare the ignozant people and get giftes of them. A certaine Frenche protonotarie, a lewde fellow and an abuser hath also witten not longe since, a fable of a certaine spirite of Lions. But emonge the commended wryters, Cassianus and Iames of Paradiſe a Carthusian do entreate of these thinges: yet there hath bene at any time no sownde truthe or hidden wisdome, which might edifie the saluation of our soules, reuealed by these apperaunces of soules: but onely Almesse deedes, Praying, and Fastinge, and other wozkes of Christian pietie haue bene perswaded: whiche thinges yet be farre better, and moze auailleably taught by the holy Scripture, and commaunded by the Church. Of these apperaunces I haue witten at large in our Dialogue of man, and in the Wokes of hidden Philosophie:

amonge whom is Occam the deuine. Plotinus saithe that the one is the soule the other the vnderstandinge; and Apollinaris is of y same opinion. Some make no difference betwene the soule and the vnderstandinge, but saie that it is the principlal parte of the substance of the soule: but Aristotle thinketh that this is in power therein, and that by action it cometh vpon it from abroad and that it auaileth not to the nature and being of a man, but to the perfection of knowledge, and contemplation. And therefore he affirmeth that fewe and onely Philosophers haue that whiche is called vnderstandinge in action. And verily there is yet great disputation among the Diuines, whether in dead bodies (whiche was the Platonians opinion) there remained memorie and perceauing of the thinges, whiche they haue donne and lefte behinde them in their life time, or vtterly haue forgotten them, whiche thinge the Thomistes do stidly mainetaine with their Aristotle, and the Carthusians do establishe it with the example of that diuine of Paris retourned from Hell, who being demaunded, what he had remaininge of his knowledge, he answered: that he knew nothinge but paine: and allea- ging the saying of Salomon, there is no reason, no know- ledge, no riches in Hell, he seemed to them to conclude, that there remained no knowledge to y dead. The which thinge is yet manifestly against not so much the opinion of the Platonians, as against the authoritée and veritée of the Scripture, seinge the Scripture saithe, that the wicked shal see and know, that he is God: yea moreouer they shal render an accompte also not onely of al their deedes, but also of their idell wordes and thoughtes. There are mozeouer some whiche dare to write and declare many thinges of the appearaunce of soules, and thinges oftentimes farre from the Euangelicke doctrine and holy Canons: and albeit the Apostle commaunded that we ought not to beleue the Angels from Heauen, if thei should declare any thinge contrary to that whiche is written, the

the diuines of late time: I let passe the degrees of soules, their ascendings, and descendings, whiche the Originistes haue brought in, but not maintayned by the holy Scripture, nor agreeable to Chzistian doctrine: so that there is no certaintie neither emonge Philosophers, nor emong deuines touchinge the soule. For Epicurus and Aristotle make it mortall: Pythagoras leadeth it aboute. And there are some (as Petrarcha saithe in a certaine place) whiche draw it to his bodie: there be also some whiche spreade it vpon the bodies of liuinge things, there be other whiche restore it to heauen, there be some whiche constrain it to go wandring about y^e earth, some put it into Hell, other denie it, there be of these whiche would haue euerie soule to be created by her selfe, other whiche thinke that they were al created together: these be his wordes. There was Auerrois moreouer who presuming to speake some very marueilouse matter, made (as I haue saide) a vnitie of the vnderstanding. The Manichean Heretikes saide there was but one soule of all or vniuersall things dispersed into all bodies aswell liuinge as not liuinge: but that they did lesse participate whiche seemed vnto vs without soule, and more the liuinge, but muche more the heauenly: and so at length they conclude, that the particulare soules be but partes of the vniuersall soule. Plato also doth auouche that there is one soule of al the vniuersal: but others of the particulars, as who would saie that feuerally the vniuersall is liuinge in his owne life, and by them selues also the perticulars liue. Furthermoze some do affirme one kinde of soules, others not one but two, the reasonable and the vnrasonable: some, many, and so many as there be kindes of liuinge creatures. Galene the Phisition thinketh that diuerse soules be in diuerse creatures accordinge to the kinde, besides this he also placeth many soules in one bodie. There are also some, whiche make two soules to be in a man, the sensitive of the begetter, the other intellectuall of the creatour:

emonge:

ly, that his interpreters doe hitherto dispute of this thinge. Alexander Aphrodiscus saith plainely, that hereby he hath made the soule mortall, of the same opinion amonge our men is Gregorie Nazianzene. Against these is Plato, and of the Christians Thomas of Aquine is at daggers drawinge in the defence of Aristotle, & saith that he hath thought well touchinge the immortallitē of the soule. Auerrois that worthy commentour vpon Aristotle supposeth, that every man hath a proper soule, but mortall, but yet that mans minde, or let vs call it vnderstandinge, is every where bothe before and behinde, everlastinge: but that all men, or mankinde haue one, whiche onely we should vse in our life. Themistius saith, that Aristotle hath sette out one onely actiue minde, but the same capable and manifolde, and hath made bothe perpetuall. Moreover it is come to passe by meanes of these Philosophers, that also amonge Christian deuines there is growen a discorde touchinge the beginning of soules, some of which saie that the soules of all men were made in heauen from the beginninge of the worlde, amonge whom of many there is one Origines a very well learned man. Augustine also supposeth that the soule of the first parente toke his beginning with the heauely creatures, and that it is moze auncient then the bodie, and that after he had considered and behelde a dwelling place meete for him selfe, he chose it willingly, albeit he semeth not to affirme this very constantly and boldly. Some suppose that one soule is begoten of an other, as a bodie of a bodie, in whiche opinion Apollinaris bishop of Laodicea, Tertullian, Cyrillus, & Luciferanus were: againste whose Heresie Hierome doth strongly dispute. Some saie that all soules be dayly created: these doth Thomas of Aquine follow fightinge with a peripateticall argument in this manner: that sith the soule is the forme of the bodie, she ought not to be created aparte, but in the bodie: the which opinion is already well nere approued of al the schole of

The disagreement of diuines concerning the Original of the soule.

In the space betwene the eye browes: Epicurus, in all the
 bestie. Diogenes in the hollowe vaine of the harte. The
 Stoickes and Chrysippus, in all the harte, & breath whiche
 is aboute the harte. Empedocles in the blood, vnto whom
 Moses doth agree, who hath for that cause forbad men to
 eate bloude, because the life of a liuing thinge is therein:
 Plato, Aristotle, and the other noblest Philosophers, in all
 the body, but Galene supposeth that euery parcell of the
 bodie hathe his soule, for in this wise he speaketh in his
 booke of the vtilitee of partes: there are also many partes
 in liuinge thinges, some greater, some lesser, and some
 not able all manner of waies to be diuided into the like-
 nesse of liuinge thinges, but necessarily euery soule stan-
 deth in neede of all these: for the bodie is the instrumente
 thereof: and therefore the partes of liuinge creatures doe
 much differ one from an other, because the soules doe. I
 doe not thinke good in this place to passe ouer the opinion
 of Beda the Diuine, who writtinge vpon Marke saith, the
 principall place of the soule is not, as Plato saith in the
 braine, but accordinge to Chyiste, in the harte. Concer-
 ninge the continuance of the soule, Democritus and E-
 picurus saie, that it dieth together with the bodie. Pytha-
 goras & Plato affirme that it is immortall, and going out
 of the bodie, fleeth to y nature of his kinde: The Stoickes
 standinge as it were in the middelt betwene these, saie
 that the soule doth forsake the body in such sorte, that the
 soule whiche is diseased in this life, and anaunced with
 no vertues dieth togeather with the bodie: but if it be ad-
 ourned with Heroicall and noble vertues they suppose
 that it shalbe accompaigned with euerlastinge natures,
 and enter into the highest dwellinges. Aristotle saith
 that some partes of the soule, which haue corporal seates,
 be vnseperable from them, and die togeather with them:
 but that the vnderstandinge, whiche hath no instrument
 of the bodie, as perpetuall, is seperated from that whiche
 is corruptible, but he speaketh so couertly and doubtful

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terminate forme, the whiche yet receaueth into it all
straunge formes: al truely do agrée in this, that the soule
is a certayne nimble force to moue, or els to be a certayne
highe harmonie of the bodily partes, but yet dependinge
vpon the nature of the body. And the diuelish Aristotle
soloweth theire steppes, who finding out a newe worde
calle the Soule Eutelechia, that is to witte, the perfe-
ction of a naturall instrumentall bodye, hauinge life in
power, the whiche perfection greeueth it beginnunge of
vnderstandinge, feelinge, and mouinge. And this is the
feeble definition of so an approued Philosopher concer-
ninge the soule, whiche dothe not declare the substance,
nature, or beginnunge thereof, but the affections there-
of. Furthermoze there are besides all these, others which
haue sayde that the Soule is a certayne Diuine sub-
staunce, whole and not to be deuided, and presente to all
and euery parte of the body, in suche wise proceeded from
the incorporeall maker, that it dothe depende on the onely
vertue of the worker, not on the lappe of matier. Of this
opinion were Zoroastes, Hermes Trismegistus, Orpheus,
Aglaophemus, Pythagoras, Eumenius, Hammonius, Plu-
tarch, Porphyrius, Timeus, Locrus, and the Diuine
Plato whos sayde that the soule was a beinge or a sub-
staunce whiche moueth it selfe endewed with vnderstan-
dinge. Eunomius the Bishop agréeinge partely with
Aristotle, partely with Plato, defineth the soule to be an
incorporeall substance made in the body, vpon the which
definition he afterwarde grounded his opinions. Cicero,
Seneca, and Lactantius saye, that menne are altogether
ignoraunte what the soule is. Beholde you see howe
muche they disagrée emonge themselues concerninge the
substaunce of the soule, and do no lesse ridiculousse ha-
rue emonge themselues aboute the seate thereof: for
Hippocrates, and Hierophylus place it in the ventri-
cles of the brayne. Democritus in all the bodye. Eras-
stratus in the vppermoste skinne of the brayne. Strato,

would haue it to be a spirit mixed of the fire and the ayre, as Boetes and Epicurus. Other of the water and the earthe, as Zenophontes. Other of the earthe and the fiere as Permenides. Other of bloud, as Empedocles, and Circias. Other a thinne spirite dispersed thozowe oute the bodie, as Hyppocrates the Phisition. Some, fleathe with the exercise of the senses, as Asclepiades. Manye other also haue belæued, that the soule is not that small bodge, but a certayne qualitie and complexion thereof spreadde thozowe euery parte thereof, as Zeno Cithicus; and Dicearchus defineth the soule to bæ the complexion of the foure Elementes: and Cleanthes, Antipater, and Possidonius saye that it is heate or a hotte complexion, to whom Galene & Pergamenaine doth agræ. Ther bæ other also, whiche haue sayde, that the soule is not that qualitie or complexion, but resident as it were at some point thereof in some certayne part of the body, as in the hart, or in the brayne, from thence gouerninge the whole body, in the number of whiche are Chrysippus, Archelaus, and Heraclytus Fonticus, whoe sayde that the soule was lighte. There are others besides, whiche haue belæued that the soule is a certayne moze free thinge, as some free pointe bounde to no parte of the bodge, but secluded from all determinate settinge of the bodge and wholly presente at euery parte of the bodge, whiche whether complexion hath begotten, or God created, is notwithstandinge come out of natures lappe. Of this opinion were Xenophanes, Colophonius, Aristoxenus, and Asclepiades the Phisition, who sayde that the soule was an exercising together with the senses, and Critolaus the Peripateticke sayde that it was a quintessence: And Thales Milesius sayde that the soule was an vquiete nature, mouinge herselfe. And Xenocrates called it a number mouinge it selfe: whome the Egyptians doe followe, sayeing that the soule is a certayne force passinge into all bodyes: and the Caldees woulde haue it to be a vertue without a de-

The opinions of Philosophers touching the earthquake.

as of the earthquake, they cannot yet agree in findinge it out, but wandering thozow many thinges, Anaxagoras hath sayde that the aire is the cause thereof, Empedocles the fiere, Democritus and Thales Milesius the water: Aristotle, Theophraste, and Alberte the winde or vapour vnder the earthe: Asclepiades chaunce or ruine. Possidonius, Metrodorus, and Calisthenes the Ladies of destinie. Seneca and others beinge diuided into diuers opinions haue in vaine searched out the cause of that effecte: therefore the ancient Romains when they perceiued or woꝛde was brought them that the earth quaked., they commaunded holy daies to be kept but they published not for what God they shoulde be obserued: bicause it was then vncertaine by what force or by what God the earth quaked.

Of the Soule. Cap. 52.

The opinion of the Philosophers touching the soule.

But if we will vnderstande of them anye thinge touching the Soule, they doe muche lesse agree: For Crates the Thebame saith that there is no soule, but that the bodies be so moued by nature. But they which haue confessed the soule, many of them haue thought it to be a very subtil body spreade in this grosse body, but some of them haue sayde it to be fire as Hipparchus and Leucippus, with which after a sorte the Stoickes doe agree, saieinge that the soule is a very hotte sprite, and Democritus saithe that it is a moueable and fire spirite put betwene the Atomi, that is, vndiuidible parts. Other haue sayde that it is the ayre, as Anaximes and Anaxagoras Diogenes the Cinick, and Critias, to whome Varro doth assente sayeinge: the soule is the ayre receiued into the mouthe boyled in the lightes, tempered in the harte, and dispersed thozowe the bodye. Some haue sayde of water as Hippias. Other of the earthe as Heliodorus and Proponides, with which after a sorte doe agree Anaximander and Thales bothe scholowe citisens of Milesia. Other would

Of the number of worldes, and howe longe they shal endure. Cap. 51.

THese Philosophers also doe neuerthelesse disagree from themselves when they dispute of the worlde: Thales sayde, that there was but one worlde, and the same to be made by God: Empedocles in like manner one, but that it was onely a small parcell of the whole. Democritus and Epicurus helde the contrarype that there were infinite worldes, whome Metrodorus their scholler folowed sayeing, that there are innumerable worldes bicause the causes of them be without number, and that it is no lesse folie to saye that in the vniuersall is but one worlde alone, no other wise the one eare of cozne to grow in a field. Aristotle, Auerrois, Cicero, and Xenophanes say that it is euerlastinge, and that it shal neuer sustaine corruption. For seing that they cannot perceiue (as Censorinus saithe) whether the egge or the birde be firste engendred, seinge that it is not possible that an egge should be layde without a birde, and a birde begotten without an egge: for this cause they haue beleued that this worlde, and the beginninge and ende of euerye begotten thinge was euerlastinge with a perpetual reuolution. Pythagoras and the Stoickes haue sayd that it was made by God, and that sometimes asmuch as is of his nature shalbe consumed: to the whiche Anaxagoras, Thales, Hierocles, Aui-cenna, Algazel, Alcmeus, Philo the Hebrwe doe consent, but Plato affirmeth, that it was wrought by God according to his owne example, & neuer to haue end. Epicurus holdeth the contrarype, that it shal vtterly be destroyed. Democritus teacheth that the world was once made, and shal once be destroyed, and neuer be repaired againe. Empedocles and Heraclytus the Ephesiane affirme that the worlde not once but alwaies is made and destroyed. But let vs entreate a little of an other particuler thing, which they saie dothe specially procede of some naturall cause,

*The opini-
ons of Phi-
losophers
concerning
the world.*

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The opinions of sundrie philosophers concerning the beginnings of naturall things.

grounded, and yet the matter is before the iudge, they allcage persuadinge and inuincible reasons of contraries, whiche of them hath spoken beste. For Thales Milesius iudged the firite wise man by the Oracles of Apollo, woulde, that all thinges shoulde be made of water. Anaximander his auditour and successoure in the schole, sayde, that the beginninges of thinges be infinite: Anaximenes his scholler affirmed that the ayze was an infinite beginninge of thinges: Hypparchus, and Heraclitus Ephesus, the fiere: to these after a sorte dw Archelaus the Atheniane, and Anaxagoras the Clafomeniane agre, that the beginninges were infinite as it were certayne small and confused partes, but afterwarde set in order by the will of God. Xenophanes saide that one was all thinges, and the same not moueable: Parmenides, hotte and colde, as the fiere which moueth and the earth which facioneth: Leucippus, Diodorus, and Democritus, the full and the empty. Diogenes the free sayd, that it was the aire, which hath yet in it the diuine reason. Pythagoras the Samiane, woulde that number should be the beginning of thinges vnto whome agreth Alcmeon Crotoniates. Empedocles the Agrigentine, strife, frendship, and the soure elements: Epicurus the beames of the sonne, and the emptie: Plato and Socrates, God, the forme conceiued in the minde, and the matiere. Zeuo, God, the matiere, and the Elements. Aristotle, the matiere to the appetite of the forme by priuation, whiche he placeth the thirde emonge the beginninges, contrarpe to that whiche he hath taught in another place that wordes of diuers significations shoulde not be reckened, wherefoze some Peripatetikes of latter time, in place of priuation haue set a certaine induinge, that gathereth bothe togeather, which sith it is accident, howe shal it be the beginning of substance: or who shal be the mouer of that mouing: therefoze the Philosophers of the Hebrewes haue determined that matiere, forme, and life are the beginninge of thinges.

which they say that Prometheus, Linus, Muscus, Orpheus and Homer were the firste inuentours. What truth can then Philosophie giue vnto vs, sithe it took beginninges of the trilles and fables of Poetes: the whiche Plutarche proueth to be true with manifeste declarations, to wæte, that al the sectes of Philosophers had their beginnige of Homer, and Aristotle himselfe confesseth that naturally Philosophers are studious of fables. Some doe diuide the Philosophers into nine, some into ten sectes, but Varro hath diuided them in a farre greater number. But if any will assemble togeather all the Philosophers, neuerthelesse it cannot be knowne emonge them, which ought to be called the better secte, and to whose opinions we should rather obey: they doe so muche strife and disagree emong themselues in all thinges, and doe maintaine this perpetuall strife, from age to age: and as Firmiane saith, one secte will subuerte an other, that shee maye establish herselfe and her doctrines, neither any doth graunt that the other hath the knoweledge, lest that shee confesse that shee is ignoraunt. And although Philosophie disputeth and iudgeth of all thinges, yet shee is certaine of nothinge: wherefoze I knowe not whether I should accounte Philosophers emonge beastes, or emonge men: they seeme to surmount brutish beastes because they haue reason and vnderstandinge: but how shall they be accounted menne, whose reason cannot perswade no constant and certaine thinge, but doth alwayes wauer in mutable opinions, whose vnderstanding doubtful at euery matter knoweth not what it should holde or folowe, and that this is true we will nowe at large declare.

Of the Principles of natural thinges. Cap. 50.

There is a very græuous battaile fought emong the grauest Philosophers concerninge the Principles of naturall thinges whereupon all this science is ground.

the monstrous Ophites, the filthy Gnostickes, the wicked Valentinians, the Cerdonians, the Marcionistes, the Montanians, and many other Heretikes, for gayne and bayne glozy speakinge lyes againste God, auaylinge noz profitinge men, but decelunge, and bzinginge them to ruine and destruction, and they whiche belæue in them shalbe confounded in Goddes iudgemente. I being also a yonge man wzote of Magicall matters thre bookes in a sufficient large volume, which I haue entituled of hidden Philosophie, in whiche bookes whatsoeuer was then done amisse thozough curious youth, now beinge moze aduised I wil that it be recanted with this retractation, for I haue in times passe consumed very much time and substaunce in these vanities. At the length I gotte this profit thereby, that I knowe by what meanes I shoulde discourage and dissuade others from this destruction. For all they that presume to disuine and prophecie not in the truthe, not in the vertue of God, but in the elusion of devils, according to the operation of wicked sprites, and exercising deceits of Idolatrie, and thewinge illusions and bayne visions, the whiche sodainely ceasinge, they auant that they can worke miracles, by Magicall vanities, exorcismes, incchantments, drinckes of loue Agogimes, and other diuulish workes, al these with Iamnes and Mambres and Simon Magus shalbe condemned to the paynes of euerlastinge fire.

Of naturall Philosophie. Cap. 49.

But it is nowe moze then time to go to further matters, and to trace out the opinions of Philosophie, the thinges whiche searche nature, and the sciences, whiche with subtill illogismes seeke out the beginnings and endes of thinges. Whiche truely no man knoweth what other certaintie they haue besides the credite of theire teachers. The Poetes firste professed this, of the
which

men beleued of the Historiographers, and affirmed also of some Christian deuines, & of the holy Scriptures too. In this wise do men appeare Asles, Horses or beastes or ther to enchanted eyes, and that with a naturall Arte. Sometime also these thinges are done by good & ill sprites, either at the prayers of good men from God, as we reade in the holy scriptures of Elizeus the Prophete beinge besieged by the host of the King of Syria trenching Dothain aboute. But these thinges cannot deceaue the eyes whiche be pure and opened by God: so that a woman, which of the common people was iudged a beast, seemed to Hilary no beast, but a woman as she was: such thinges then, which in this sorte are donne accordinge to the outward apparance be called delusions or iuglinges, but of such thinges as be wrought by the Arte of them, which do chaunge and transforme, as of Nabuchodonosor, and of cozne transported from one fielde into an other, we haue spoken befoze: but of this Arte of delusions or iuglinges Iamblicus speaketh in this wise: The thinges, which the deluded and bewiched personnes do imagine, haue no truthe of action and beinge, saue onely thinges imagined. For the ende of this skil is not to do simply, but to stretche out imaginations euen vnto apperaunce, of whiche there shall afterwarde no signe appeare. By these thinges then whiche are alreadye spoken, it is euident, that Magicke is nothinge els, but a containinge of Idolatrie, Astrologie, and superstitious Whisicke. Of the Magiciens also is spronge in the Churche a greate route of Heretickes, whiche as Iannes and Mambres haue rebelled against Moses, so they haue resisted the Apostolike truthe: the chiefe of these was Simon the Samaritane, who for this Arte had an image erected at Rome in the time of Claudius Cæsar with this inscription, to Simon the holy God. His blasphemies be writen at large by Clemente, Eusebius, and Irenæus. Out of this Simon as out of a seede plotte of all Heresies haue proceeded by many successions

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written, nor are written, but are preuely searched out by wise men, whiche secretely keepe them in their mindes. And emonge them none is accompted wise, but he which can forge very great monsters of Heresie.

Of Iuglinge. Cap. 48.

But let vs retourne to Magicke, wherof the Iuglers skil is a parte also, that is, illusions, which are onely done accordinge to the outwarde apparance: with these the Magitiens doe shewe vaine visions, and with Iuglinge castes doe plaie many miracles, & cause dreames, which thinge is not so much done by Geotically inchaun- mentes, and praiers, and deceites of the Deuill, as also with certaine vapours of perfumes, lightes, medicines, colleries, bindinges, & hangings, mozeouer with ringes, images, glasses, & other like receites and instruments of Magicke, and with a natural and celestial vertue. There are many thinges done also, with a readie subteltie and nimblenesse of the handes, as wee dayly see stage players and Iuglers doe, whiche for that cause we terme Chiro- sopheri, that is to saie, hande wise. There are booke extant of the delusions or iuglinges of Hermes touchinge this skill, and of certaine others: we haue reade also that one

*A cunning
Iuglar.*

*Pythagoras
vsed Iug-
linge.*

Pasetes a Iugler was wonte to shewe to straungers a very sumptuose banket, & when it pleased him to cause it vanishe awaie, all they whiche sate at the table beinge disapointed both of meate & drinke. Wee reade also that Numa Pompilius vsed suche like Iuglinges. Wea and that the passinge learned Pythagoras did oftentimes vse this pastime, that he wrote with bloude in a glasse suche thinges as he thought meete, whiche when it was turned directly againste the newe Moone, shewed to them whiche stood behinde him thinges written in the circle of the Moone. Hereunto belongeth also whatsoeuer is reade in Poetes concerninge the transszozmation of

men

wrested. Furthermoze beinge puffed by with these trifles they auant that they are able to finde out, & knowe the vnspeakeable mysteries of God, & the secretes which are aboue the Scripture, by the whiche also they are not ashamed without blushing to Prophecie, and to worke vertues and miracles, and with greate boldenesse to lie. But it fareth with them as with Closes dogge, whiche lettynge his bread fall, and gapynge at the shadow therof, losse his meate: so this disloyall and stiffnecked generation of men, alwaies occupied in the shadowes of the Scripture, and with their artificiall, but superstitious Cabala runnyng with great randon aboute these vanities, doth lose the breade of euerlasting life, and of truthe fedde with vaine wordes doth lose the wordes of truth. From this Jewishe heape of Cabalisticke superstition proceded (I suppose) the Ophites, the Gnostickes, and Valentinian Heretickes, the which also with their Disciples haue inuented a certayne Graekishe Cabala, turnynge topsyt downe all the misteries of the Chyistian faith, and with Hereticall wickednesse drawynge them to Graeke letters and numbers, do make of them a bodie, whiche they call, of truthe, shewing that without these misteries of letters and numbers, the truthe in the Gospel cannot be founde out, because it is so diuers, and in some places contrarie to it selfe, and wryten ful of parables, that they whiche see it do not see, and they whiche heare it do not heare, & they whiche vnderstande it do not vnderstande, but to be sette befoze the blinde and the ignoraunt, accordinge to the capacitie of their blindnesse, and error: and that the pure veritie hidden vnder it is beleued of the perfect sorte alone, not by wrytynge, but by a successiue pronuntiation of a liuely voice, and that this is that Alphabetarie, and Arithmantical diuinitie, whiche Chyriste secretely shewed to his Apostles: and whiche Paule saith that he speaketh but emongst perfect men. For whereas these be very high misteries, they haue not therfoze ben

be taken out of the holy Scriptures, with the reuolutions (as they saie) of this Arte, al this is nothings els, but a certaine spozte of Allegozies, the whiche idle men busied in letters, pointes, and numbers, which this tongue and manner of wittinge dothe easily suffer, accordinge to theire pleasure do forge and reforge, whiche although sometimes they signifie great misteries, yet they can not proue, nor shewe any thinge, but that accordinge to the wordes of Gregorie, we maie despise them with the same facilitie, wherewith they be affirmed. Rabanus a Monke hath fained many thinges with the like skill, but in Latine letters and verses, diuers images beinge put in amongst them, the whiche reade on euery side by all the proportions of the superficiall parte, and Images do declare some holy mysterie representinge the Histoziie there painted, whiche thinges also that they maie be drawen out of prophane wittinges noman is ignorant, whiche hath reade the chosen Verses of Valeria Proba concerninge Chyriste, gathered out of the Verses of Virgil: all whiche thinges be the studies of idle men. But as touchynge the workinge of miracles, I thinke not that any of you is in suche wise berefte of his witte, that beleneth that any Arte or Science maie be had of these. Therefore this Jewishe Cabala is nothings els but a certaine most pestilent superstition, wherewith at theire wil they do gather, deuide, and transpose the wordes, names, and letters dispersed in the Scripture, and makinge one of an other do vnbinde the members of the truthe, making here and there of theire owne deuisinge, communications, inductions, and parables: they will applie to them the wordes of God, defaminge the Scriptures, and sayinge that theire feigned matters be forged out of them, they do maliciously inuey against the Lawe of God, and assaie to bringe in violent, and blasphemouse proues of their traisterouse dealing, thozow reckenings of words, sillables, letters, and numbers, & numbers impudently wrested.

of miracles Iosua commaunded the sunne to stande. Elias caused fire to fall from heauen vpon his enimies, and restozed to life a dead childe: Daniel bounde faste the Lions mouthes, the threë childzen did singe Psalmes in a burninge forname. Moreover the traitterouse Jewes do also affirme that Chziste by this Arte did oftentimes wonderfull thinges. And that Salomon was very wel learned in this Science, and thereby wzote an Arte againste Deuiles, shewinge the manner to binde them, & conture them, and charmes also againste diseases, as Iosephus testifieth: But as I doubt not that God hath reueled to Moses and other of the Prophetes, many misteries not to be disclosed to the ignorant people, whiche were couered vnder the barke of the wordes of y Lawe: so I know that this Arte Cabala, whereof the Hebrewes do so much boast, & I with great labour haue in times passe searched out, to be nothing els but a mere agrément of superstitiõ and a certaine Theurgial Magicke, but if, (as the Jewes do boast) it proceeded frõ God it should auaille to the perfection of life, to the saluation of men, to the honour of God, to the vnderstandinge of the truth: verely that spirite of truthe, whiche forsakinge the Sinagog cometh to teache vs all truthe, shoulde not haue hidden it from his Churche euen vntill these latter times, which truly hath knowen al thinges, which be of God, the blessing wherof, the Baptisme, and other signes of saluation are reueled, and perfect in euery tongue. For euery tonge hath a like and equal vertue, so that there be a like and equal pietie, neither is there any other name in Heauen, nor in Earth wherein we ought to be saued, and wherein weë maie worke well, besides the onely name of Iesus, in whome all thinges be summed and contained. For this cause the Jewes very well skilled in the names of God can worke little oz nothinge after Chziste, as theire auncient Fathers were wonte. But that whiche we proue and see, oftentimes maruellous sentences of greate misteries to

is as it were a certaine Symbolicall diuinitée of the highest contemplation of the diuine and Angelicke vertue of holy names, and signes, wherein the letters numbers, figures, things and names, and the prickes ouer the letters, the lines, the pointes, and the accenttes, do al signifie very profounde thinges, and great secretes. This againe they diuide in two partes into Arithmantia, that is to witte, that whiche is called Notoriacon, whiche treateth of the Angelicke vertue, of the Names, Signes, also of the conditions of spirites & soules, & into Theomantia, whiche searcheth out y misteries of the diuine maiestie, the deriuations, the holy names, the pentacles, whiche he that well vnderstandeth they saie that he hath marueilouse vertues, so that when he pleaseth, he knoweth the thinges to come, he hath all nature at commaundement, he hath power ouer Devils & Angels, and dothe miracles. With this they suppose that Moses wrought so many miracles, that he turned a rodde into a Serpente, & water into bloude, that he sente Frogges, Flies, Lice, Locustes, fire with haile, blanes & sickenesse: that he caused to die all the firste begotten bothe of man and beaste, and leadinge his people to haue opened the Sea, that he made water springe out of a rocke, and quailles to come from Heauen, that he swetened sower waters, that he sente befoze his people in the daie lightninge, & clowdes, and in the night a pillar of fire, that he caused the people to heare the voice of the liuinge God from Heauen, that he chastised the arrogant with fire, and them that murmured with the Lepze, that he punished the wicked with a sodaine slaughter, and caused other to be swallowed with the earth, that he fedde the people with the heauenly scode, that he appeased the Serpentes, that he cured them that were popsoned, that he preserved an infinite number from sickenesse, and their garmentes from corruption, and made his people conquerours ouer his enemies. The Hebrewes saie mozeouer, that with this Arte

The wordes of Plinie doe here come to my remembrance, whoe saithe, there is an other kinde of Magicke, whiche the Jewes saie that they receaued of Moses, and Latopca, the whiche wordes putte me in minde of the Cabala of the Jewes, whiche the Jewes doe constantly beleue that God him self gaue to Moses in the mounte Sina, and afterwarde was taught with the liuely voice alone by degrees of succession without wzing, euen vntill Esdras time, as in time passe Archippus & Liades, whiche kepte schoole at Thebs a Citie of Græce, taught the doctrines of Pythagoras, wherein the schollers bearing in minde their Masters pzeceptes, did vse witte and memozie in stæde of booke, in like manner also some of the Jewes refusinge letters haue placed this in memozie, obseruation, and teachinge by mouthe, wherefoze the Hebrewes call it Cabala, as it were, a thing receaued by the onely hearinge of one from an other. The Arte (as it is saide) is very auncient, but the name is but of late knowen emonge Christians. They saie that it hath a double knowledge, the one of Bresith, the whiche is also called Cosmologia, that is to saie, that whiche declareth the forces of thinges created, naturall, and celestial, and whiche expoundeth with Philosophicall reasons the secretes of the lawe and Bible, whiche truely for this respecte differeth nothings from naturall Magicke, where in wee beleue that Kinge Salomon was verie excellent: For it is reade in the holy Histoies of the Hebrewes that he was wonte to dispute from the Ceder of Libanus, euen vnto Hissoppe, and of beastes also, birdes, creeping creatures, and fishes, al whiche thinges can shewe some Magicall force of Nature. Moses the Egyptian also emonge them of latter yeares in his expositions vpon the five booke, and many Thalmudistes haue followed this. The other knowledge of Cabala they call Demarcana, whiche

Under the name of God, & the Angels it is bounde with
wicked deceites of the Diuels, for not onely with natur
call forces, but with certaine solemnities & ceremonies
also, we winne and drawe vnto vs heavenly thinges,
and thoroowe them the diuine vertues, of the whiche the
auncient Magitians hauing made volumes doo with ma
ny rules entreate. The greatest parte of all ceremonies
consisteth in keepinge cleanelinesse, firste of the minde, af
terwarde of the bodie, and of the thinges which are about
the bodie, as in the skinne, in the apparell, in the house,
in vessels, in household stuffe, in oblations, in sacrifices,
whose cleanesse doth dispose men to the custome and ear
nest beholdinge of the heavenly thinges, and is greatly
required in holy thinges, accordinge to the wordes of
Isaic: Washe your selves and be cleane, and forsake your
nauffie thoughtes. But vncleanesse, whiche oftentimes
corrupteth the ayze and infecteth man, doth disturbe that
most pure influence of heavenly and diuine thinges, and
chaleth awaie the cleane spirites of God. Notwithstan
dinge sometimes the vncleane spirites & the deceauinge
powers doo require also this cleannesse that they may be
worshipped and adozed for Goddes, & therfore we ought
here to be very circumspecte, whereof largely we haue
spoken in our booke of hidden Philosophte. But Porphi
ric, who doth muche dispute of this Theurgie or Magicke
of thinges deuine doth finally conclude, that with The
urgicall consecrations mans minde maie be made apte to
receaue Sprites and Angels, and to see the Goddes, but
that by this Arte there may any man come to God, he al
together denieth it. Of this schole are the Arte of Alma
del, the Arte Potarie, the Arte of Paule, the Arte of reuer
lations, and many other thinges of like superstitions,
which be so much the more damnable, as they appeare to
the ignozaunt moze diuine.

ture, what so euet is grounded in vs vpon fleshely matter, is leste to the Serpente for meate, and as they terme him Azazeli, whiche is lorde of fleshe and bloude, and Prince of this worlde, & is called in Leuiticus Prince of the deserte, to whome it was saide in Genesis, thou shalt eate earth all the daies of thy life. And in Isaic: thy breade shalbe duste, that is to saie, our bodie created of duste of the earth: duringe the time it shal not be sanctified, and chaunged into a better state, that it is no lenger the Serpentes, but is made Gods, that is to witte, spirituall of carnall, accorlinge to the wordes of Paule, who saith: Let that be sown whiche is of the soule, and that shall arise whiche is spirituall. And in an other place: All truely shall arise, but all shall not be chaunged, because many shal remaine for a perpetuall meate to the serpent. We therefore laie aside this brutishe and horrible matter of the fleshe, and in death do leaue it as a meate for the Serpentes; to recouere the same againe beyng chaunged into a spirituall and better state and condition, whiche shalbe in the resurrectio of the dead. And is already come to passe in them, whiche haue tasted the firste frutes of the resurrection: and many haue attained the same in this life, by the vertue of the deified spzite, Enoch, Helias, and Moses, whose bodies beinge chaunged into the spirituall nature haue not seene corruption, neither as other car-kasses be leste in the power of the Serpente. And this is that contention of the Diuell with Michaell concerning the bodie of Moses: whereof Iude maketh mention in his Epistle: but we haue sufficiently spoken of Geocie, and Necromancie.

Of Theurgie. Cap. 46.

Many thinke that Theurgie is not prohibited, as who saith it were gouerned by god Angels, and by the diuine power, whereas yet oftentimes

woulde not so straightely haue commaunded that they should be bannished from emonge men. And why these Geocians do onely serue the Deuilles of hell, this is the reason, bicause god Angels do hardly appeare, for they do abide lookinge for Gods commaundement, and do accompany with them onely whiche are cleane in hart and holy in life, but the wicked shewe themselves readye to inuocate, falsely fauouringe, and counterfaiting the Diuinitie all wayes ready to deceiue men with their subtiltie, to be reuerenced, to be honoured, and bicause Women be more desirous of secretes and lesse aduised, and enclined to superstitions and be more easily begiled, and do great miracles, as the Portes speake of Circes, of Medea, and others, Cicero, Plinie, Seneca, Augustine and many other as well Philosophers as Catholicke Doctoures, and Historiographers, and the holy Scripture also do the testifie. For wee reade in the Bookes of the Kinges, that Phitonissa a woman, which was in Endor raised the soule of Samuel the Prophete although many doe interpret that it was not the soule of the Prophete, but a wicked sprite, which tooke his image. Notwithstanding the Masters of the Hebrewes saie, the whiche thinges also Augustine writtinge the Simplician denieth not that it maye be donne, that it was the very sprite of Samuell, whiche coulde easily be recaled befoze one yeare were paste after his departure from the body as the Negromancers affirme. But which is more the Negromantical Magitiens be of opinion that this maie be done by certaine naturall forces and bondes, as we intreat in our Bookes of hidden Philosophie. And therefore the auncient Fathers skilled in spirituall thinges not without a cause hane ordayned that deade mens bodie should be buried in a holy place, and should be accompanied with lightes, springled with holy water, perfumed with incense, & purged with prayers, as long as they were aboue y^e earth: For as the Masters of the Hebrewes saie, all our body and carnal creature

Women desirous of secretes.

The cause why certaine popish ceremonies were invented.

and worſhippe them and hereby they be made Idolaters & culpable of a very vile flattery, yet do they offer themſelues to manifeſte daungers. For the devils alſo beinge conſtrained do alwaies lye in waite to the ende that they maye deceiue vs goinge aſtraye. Out of the ſecte of theſe Geocians came all the bookes of darkenes, which Vlpiane the Lawier calleth the bookes of damnable readinge, and doth ordaine that forthwith they ſhould be rēt in pēces. Suche as one Zabulus is ſaide to haue firſt deuised giuen and enclined to forbiddē artes, afterwarde one Barnabas of Cypers, and at this daye alſo there are bookes caried aboute with fayned titles vnder the names of Adam, Abel, Enoch, Abraham, Salamon, of Paule alſo, of Honorius, of Cypriane, of Alberte, of Thomas, of Hierome, and of one of Poſke: Whoſe trifles ſoliſhly haue ſolowed Alphonſas Kinge of Caſtle, Robert of Anglande, Bacon, and Apponus, and many other men of a wicked witte. Furthermoze they haue not onely made men, the Sainctes, the Patriarkes, and the Angelles of God authours of ſo deteſtable doctrine, but ſhewe alſo the bookes wriſtten by Raziol, and Raphael, by the Angels of Adam and Tobie, which bookes yet do openly declare to him that doth ſubtely conſider the order of theire p̄ceptes, the vſage of their ceremonies, their kinde of wordes and charracters. their order of conſtruction, their ſoliſh phyaſe, to containe nothinge els but mere trifles, and falſet, and to be made in theſe latter times by menne ignozaunte in aunciente Magicke, moſte damnable artificers of damnation, of certaine wicked obſeruations enterlaced and graſſed in the ceremonies of religion, with many vnknowē names and ſignes, to the ende to feare rude and ſimple men, and to engender maruaille in ſoules and in them, which know not god letters. It doth not therefore yet manifeſtly appere, that theſe artes be fables: for excepte they were in dēde and by means of them many marueſlous & noiſome thinges might be done, the Diuine and humaine Lawes

The partes of ceremoniall Magicke be Geocie, and Theurgie. Geocie is grounded vpon the entercourse of wicked sprites made with the rites of detestable curiositie, with vnlesful conjurations, and with defensiu prayers, bannished & accursed by the decrees of all lawes. Of this kinde be they, whiche at this daie we call Necromancers and Enchaunters.

A people hatefull to the Lorde,
well skilde to staie the skie,
VVhich naught by nature be, and eke
they can the thinges on hie
Subuerte, as Starres and powers of thinges
which firme and stable are.

For they knowe howe to staie the poles
and flashinge flames sende farre,
They driue the aire downe vnder earthe
and mountaines rente and marre.

These then be they whiche doe inuocate deade mennes soules, and they whiche the ancientes termed Epodi, that inchaunted childerne, and caused them to speake oracles, and whiche beare about counsaylinge or helpinge sprites as we reade of Socrates, and they whiche (as it is sayde) do seeke sprites in glasses, by whom they auante to propheticie. And all these do procéde in two manner of wayes. For some do endeouore to conture, and binde the deuill of hell especially confured with a certaine vertue of the names of God: and truely seing that euery creature doth feare and reuerence the name of his maker, it is no maruaile if the Geocians, & they also that be infidelles, Pagans, Iewes, Sarrafins, and men of euery wicked selowship and secte, do binde Sprites with the inuocation of the name of God. Some other very horrible men whiche of a detestable wickednesse, and worthy to be punished with fire, submittinge themselues to Sprites do Sacrifice to them

companie nature, and after a sorte do spoyle her, as are the mouinges, numbers, figures, soundes, voices, tunes, lightes, affections of the mind and wordes. Thus did the Philies, and the Marsies call Serpentes, other chased them away: in this wise did Orpheus with a hymne allwage the stormie tempest of the Argonautes Iasons cōpanions: and Homer saithe that Vlysses bloude was stented with wordes: & in the lawe of the twelue tables a paine was appointed for them, that had inchaunted corne: so that it is no doubt, that Magitians alone also with wordes and affections, and other lyke thinges oftentimes do bringe forth the some marueltous effect not onely in themselves, but also in straunge thinges: all whiche operations they suppose to spredde adroade vpon other thinges the force engrafted in them and to drawe these vnto them, or to put these from them, or to giue them vertue by some other meanes, as the lode stoane draweth Iron, and amber strawes, or as the Diamante and Carlike take away the vertue of the lode stoane: and so by this orderly and lincked composition of thinges Iamblichus, Proculus, and Sinesius, accordinge to the opinion of the Magitians do confirme that not onely the naturall and celestiall giftes but the intellectuall and heauenly also maye be receaued from aboue: the whiche Proculus confesseth in the booke of Sacrifice, and Magioke, to witte, that by suche consent of thinges Magitians were wonte to binde sprites. For some of them are fallen into so greate a madnesse, that they beleue, that with diuers constellations of Starres rightly obserued by distaunce of time, and with a certain order of proportions, by the consent of heauenly sprites, an image made maye receaue the sprite of life, and vnderstandinge, whereby he giueth answer to them that wil demaunde any thing, and reueleth the secretes of hidden verity. Hereby it is manifest, that this naturall Magicke sometimes enclineth to Geocie, and Theurgie, oftentimes it is entangled in the craftes & errors of y^e deuils of hell.

Cornelius Agrippa

With these, o Merim, haue I seene,
ofte times a man to haue:

The feareful shape of wilde wolfe, and
him selfe in woodes do saue.

Ofte times the ghastly ghostes to leaue,
theire deape graues grown with grasse:

And I haue seene the sowed seede,
to place from place to passe.

And Plinie saith, that one Demarchus Parrhasius in a
sacrifice of mans bodie, whiche the Arcadians offered to
Iupiter Liceus, tasted the inwardes of a sacrificed childe,
was turned into a Wolfe, for the whiche transformation
of men into Wolfes, Augustine thinketh that Pan was
called with an other name Liceus, and Iupiter Liceus.
The same Augustine doth recompt, that when he was in
Italie, certaine women witches, like Circes: when they
had geuen inchauntmentes in cheere to straungers they
transformed them into hozses, and other beastes of cartage
and when they had caried the burdens, that they listed,
againie they turned them into men: and that this chauced
at that time to one Father Prestantius. But bicause any
maye not thinke that these be dotages, and thinges im-
possible, let him remember that which the holy scriptures
do declare, That the Kinge Nabuchodonosar was trans-
formed into an Dre, and liued seuen yeeres with heye, at
length through the mercie of God became a man againe,
whose body after his death, Euilmoradath his sonne gaue
to the rauen to be deuoured, lest at any time he might
rise from death, who of a beaste became eftsoones a man.
And Exodus sheweth many thinges of this sozte, of Pha-
roes Inchaunters. But yet of these Magitians or In-
chaunters the Wise man speaketh, when he saith
Thou haste hated them O God, because with inchaunt-
mentes they did horrible workes. Furthermore I will
haue you vnderstand this, that the Magitians do not onely
searche out naturall thinges, but them also, whiche are
companie

Men trans-
formed
into beastes.

Daniel. 4.

Exod. 1.

the woorkes of nature, as bodieſ that go & ſpeake, whiche for al that haue not the vertues of the ſoule: as the woden doue of Architas was, whiche flew, and the image of Mercurie that ſpake, and the Braſen heade ſozged by Albert the great, whiche as it is ſaide did ſpeake. Boetius did excel in theſe thinges, a man of a paſſing profounde wit, and diuers learninge: to whome Caſſiodorus writinge of theſe thinges, ſaith: Thou art determined to knowe difficulte matters, and to ſhewe miracles: with the paſſinge ſkill of thy Arte metallies do beſowe, Diomedes bloweth alowde in Braſſe, the Braſen Serpente hiſſeth, birdes be counterfeitd, and they that haue no proper voice be hard to vtter ſweetneſſe of ſonge: we ſpeake ſelwe thinges of him, whiche coulde counterfeit the heauen. I ſuppoſe that is ſpoken of theſe ſkilles, whiche Plato ſaith in the 11. Booke of his Lawes: menne haue an Arte, whereby they brought forth the certaine latter thinges, not partakinge of the veritie, & diuinitie, but made certaine ſemblaunces muche like to themſelues: and the Magicians very preſumptuous parſons haue gone ſo farre to do all thinges, eſpecially with the fauoure of that auncient and terrible Serpent the promiſer of ſciences, that like to him, as Apes they endeouore to counterfeit God and nature.

Of VVitchinge Magicke.

Cap. 44.

There is an other kinde of naturall Magicke which is termed, *Witchinge* or *Medicinall* which is done with potions, charmed drinckes for loue, and diuers poiſoninge medicins ſuche a one as Democritus is reade to haue made, whereby happy and fortunat childerne maye be begotten, and an other whereby we maie well vnderſtand the voices of birdes, as Philoſtratus and Porphyrius do recompte of Apollonius. Virgill alſo ſpeakinge of certayne herbes of Pontus, ſayde:

VVith

Very diligent searchers of nature, bringinge the thinges which be prepared by nature, applying and setting active things to passive, very ostentiaies befoze the time by nature appointed do bring forth effectes, which of the common sorte be accompted miracles: wheras for al that they be but natural woꝝkes: nothinge els comming betwene but the sozetakinge of time: as if a man in the moneth of Marche woulde cause Roses to spring, and ripe Grapes, Beanes sowed, or Persely within fewe houres to growe into a perfect plante, and greater thinges then these, as Cloudes, Raine, Thunder, Beastes of diuers sortes, and infinite transformations of thinges, of whiche kinde Roger Bacon doth boaste that he hath done many with pure and natural Magicke. Of the woꝝkes therof haue writen Zoroastes, Hermes, Euantes King of the Arabians, Zacharie the Babylonian, Ioseph the Hebrewe, Bocus, Aaron, Zenotenus, Kirannides, Almadal, Thetel, Alchindus, Abel, Ptolomee, Geber, Zahel, Nazabarub. Tebith, Berith, Salomon, Astrophon, Hypparchus, Alcmeon, Apollonius, Triphon, and many others of whome somme woꝝkes be yet perfecte, and many fragmentes be yet extante, and sometime came to my handes. But of the latter wꝛiters fewe haue writen in naturall Magicke, and they fewe thinges: as Alberte, Arnolde of Villanoua, Raymonde Lullie, Bacon, Apponus, and the Authoure of the booke to Alphonfus published vnder the name of Picatrix, whiche notwithstandinge entermedleth much superstition with naturall Magicke, whiche others haue done also.

Of Mathematical Magicke. Cap. 43.

THere be mozeouer other very prudente and aduenturous searchers of nature, whiche, without naturall vertues, with y^e Mathematical disciplines alone, the influences of the heauens beinge put thereto, do promise that they are able to bringe forth the thinges like to

whiche with the aide of naturall vertues, accordinge to the mutuall and conuenient applyinge of them, dothe publishe woꝝkes exceedinge all the capacitie of admiration: the whiche Magicke was muche vsed of the Egyptians, and of the Indians where there was abundance of hearbes, of stonnes and other thinges thereunto belonginge. They saie that Hierome made mention thereof, writinge to Paulinus, where he saithe, that Apollonius Tianeus was a Magicien or a Philosopher, as the Pithagoreans were. And y the Magicians were of this sorte which wente to worship Christ when he was boꝝne visitinge him with giftes, whiche the interpretours of the Gospell doe expounde the philosophers of the Caldees, such as were Hiarchus among the Brachmans, Thespion amonge the Gymnosophistes, Buda amonge the Babylonians, Numa Pompilius amonge the Romaines, Zamolxides amonge the Thracians, Abbaris amonge the Hyperboreans, Hermes amonge the Egyptians, Zoroastes sonne of Oromasus amonge the Persians. For the Indians, Ethiopians, Caldeans, and Persians were very excellente in this Magicke: wherein, as Plato saith in Alcibiades, the sonnes of the Persian Kinges were instructed, that they mighte learne to rule and gouerne their common weale to the similitude of the worldes common Weale: and Cicero in his booke of Diuination saith, that the Persians made no Kinge, whiche had not firste learned Magicke. Naturall Magicke then is that, whiche hauing intentiuely beheloe the forces of all natural thinges, and celestiallyl, and with curious searche sought out their order, doth in suche sorte publish abroade the hidden and secret powers of nature: couplinge the inferiour thinges with the qualities of the superiour at it were certaine enticementes by a naturall toyninge of them togeather, that thereof oftentimes doe arise marueilous miracles: not so much by Arte as nature whereunto this Arte dothe proffer her selfe a seruaunte, when she woꝝketh these thinges. For the Magicians, as

out the meaninge of the significatours: and thus do all diuinations require the Arte and vse of Astrologie, and confesse, that it is as a keye necessarie to the knowledge of all secretes. Wherefoze all these Artes of diuination do openly shewe themselues, how much they differ from the truth: because they vse so manifestly false principles, and faigned of a Poeticall rashnes: which although they are not, noz haue benne, noz shall be at any time: yet they would haue them to be causes and signes of thinges whiche are, attributinge to them the endes of thinges against the truthe.

Of Magicke in generall. Cap. 41.

This place also requireth, that we speake of Magicke: because it is so ioygned and like to Astrologie, that he whiche professeth Magicke without Astrologie, doth nothinge, but wander out of the waie: Suidas supposeth, that Magicke toke name and beginninge of the Magasei. The common opinion is, that this is a Persian worde, whereunto Porphirie and Apulei do assente, and that in their language it signifieth a Priest, a wise man, and a Philosopher. Magicke then comprehendinge all Philosophie, Naturall and Mathematicall, doth ioygne also to them the forces of Religions. For this cause also it conteineth Geocie and Theurgie. Wherefoze manye haue deuided Magicke into manner of wayes, that is naturall and ceremoniall.

Of Naturall magicke. Cap. 42.

Men thinke that naturall magicke is nothinge els, but a singular power of naturall knowledges which therfoze they cal the greatest profoundesse of natural Philosophie, and absolutest perfection therof, & sheweth what is the actiue parte of natural philosophie, which

Haue filde the earth, and coured should
haue ben with Seas the same:

If *Sol* in cruell *Leo* were
the worlde with fire flame

Should burne on erie parte, and eke
the aire enflamed mighte

Haue with his Charrots ben ibrent.

These cease to do their spighte

But thou that doest incense, and feare
with hote and flaminge taile

The *Scorpion* fierce, and * *Cleies* also,
why doest thou seeke t'afsaille

Vs *Mars*? for milde *Ioue* lowe doth stande
where as the Sunne dothe sette:

And with him *Venus* holsome starre
in good aspect hath mette.

* *Cylen* in mouinge swifte stands neare
also to gentle *Ioue*:

And *Mars* alone the Heauen hath
and other Signes aboue.

Forfaken haue their wonted waie,
and goe aboute the skie:

As not esteemed starres, and eke
Orion maie yee spie

VVith shininge swoorde girte to his side,
greate rage of Armes is neare:

And dinte of sworde shall put to flight
all righte and aweful feare:

Vice vertue shall accompted be
and bide shall many yeare.

Then al these skilles of diuination are rooted & grounded
vpon *Astrologie*. For whether the bodie, face, handes,
be viewed, whether dreame, inoſter, or Augurie be scene,
or furie hath inspired, they will that a figure of the Hea-
uen be erected, by whose declaration, together with con-
ſeures of ſimilitudes & ſignes, thei goe aboute to ſearche

* That is,
the fore-
parte of the
ſigne Scor-
pio.

* That is,
Mercurie.

Cornelius Agrippa

Of Furie. Cap. 40.

BUt (which I had almost passed ouer) let vs also recke
Bemonge these dreamers, them that geue credite of
diuinitée to the prophesies of madde men, and do
beleue that they, whiche haue losse the knowledge of
thinges presente, and the remembraunce of them that be
passe, and all mans reason, haue attained to the diuine
fozeknowledge of thinges to come, and that whiche wise
and wakinge men cannot see, madde men and them that
are a sleepe see: as if God should be nœrer to them, then to
wise men, and them that see, that vnderstande, and that
consider befoze hande: Miserable doubtlesse be the men,
that beleue these vanities, and obaie these deceites, that
seede suche like Artificers, and make their wittes and
faithe subiecte to their bellie. But what els shoulde we
thinke furie to be, then an altering of mans minde vexed
by the Deuilles of Hell, or by the Starres, or by the in-
feriour instrumentes drauen by vncleane Spirites: the
which Lucane seemeth to haue expressed in this manner,
when he bringeth in the Tuscan prophete Aruus:

VWell learned in the lightninge leames,
and in warme vaines the waie

He dothe well know, and flighte of birdes
that in the ayre doo straie.

After that the Citie of Rome was purged, after the
beaste was slaine for sacrifice, & after the entrailles were
biewed, at the lengthe a potter vttered his opinion in
these wordes:

VWhat kinde of mischief e ô ye Gods
what plague do ye ordaine:

The latter daies of many men
shall ende on blouddie baine.

If noysome starre of *Saturne* should,
enkindle blackish fire:

In Heauen aboue, with drowninge flouddes
should *Aquarie* full dire.

the heauenly influences, whereby many things are known to them that sleepe in dreames, which they that wake cannot see. They endeuoure therefore especially by this meane to winne true credite to these dreames. Yet concerninge the causes of dreames aswell inwarde as outwarde, all doe not agree in one opinion, for the Platonians doe attribute them to the fourmes, and engendred knowledges of the soule. Auicenna to the laste intelligence, that moueth the Moone, by y^e meanes of that light, wherewith mens fantasies are lightned, when they are a sleepe: Aristotle doth ascribe it to the common sense, but fantasticall. Auerrois to the imaginatiue: Democritus to the likenesses separated from the things: Alberte to the influence of the superiour bodies, so that there come certaine formes betwene, which continually flowe downe warde from heauen: the Philisitians referre these to vapours, and humours: some to the affections, & thoughtes of watchinge: some Arabians to the power of vnderstandinge: some saie that it dependeth vpon the powers of the minde, and the influence of the heauen, and images and proportions of things togeather: the Astrologers woulde haue them caused of their constellations: others attribute their causes to the ayre, that compasseth & perceeth. Furthermoze Baldian and Arthemidore haue writen of the interpretation of dreames, and some Bookes are caried aboute vnder the name of Abraham, whome Philo in the bookes of Giantes, and ciuill life affirmeth to haue firste founde out the interpretation of dreames, and others vnder the name of Salomon, and Daniell deuised for this purpose, in whiche there is nothinge but mere dreames writen of dreames. But Marcus Tullius in his Bookes of diuinations with very stronge reasons, whiche I will not reckon by in this place, dothe dispute againste the vanitie and folie of them, that geue credite to dreames.

Controuersies touching the causes of dreames.

do condemne it: and suche like be the mysteries of the Caldees, of the Egyptians, which in time past the Tuscans, afterwarde the Romans, and yet at this daie the superstitious common sorte of men doth reuerence as wordes proceedinge out of Gods owne mouth.

Of Speculatorie. Cap. 38.

Of the same fundation commeth Speculatorie, which doth enterprize, thunder, lightning, & other impressions of the Elementes, mozeouer monstrous and straunge sightes seldome scene: yet with no other waie then by coniecture, and similitude, which verily there is no doubt, but that it dothe very much erre, because all these be naturall workes, & not prognosticall.

Of the interpretation of Dreames. Cap. 39.

Oriocritica, which is the interpretation of dreames cometh with the other, the interpreters whereof properly be called coniectours, as Euripides saith: He that doth not coniecte amisse, a perfect Prophete compted is.

To the which cunning also the great Philosophers gave some authoritie, especially Democritus, Aristotle, and his disciple Themistius, and Sinesius the Platonian in suche wise groundinge them selues vpon these examples of dreames, whiche some chaunce hath made true, that for that cause they endeouour to perswade that nothinge is dreamed of in vaine: For they saie, that as the heavenly influences do bring forth diuers formes in corporal matter, so of the same influences, visions and dreames are printed in the fantastical power, which is instrumental, with a celestiall disposition meete to bringe forth the same effecte, and chiefly in sleepe, because the minde then freed from bodily & outwarde cares, maie moze freely receaue the

fall of the Augures or soothsayers, accomplishe any thinge, whiche appertained to publike or priuate affaires. This Arte, as Pomponius Letus writteth, is very auncient, it came from the Caldees to the Grækes, among whom Amphireus, Tiresias, Mopsus, Amphilotes, & Calcas were accounted good Augures or soothsayers, from the Grækes to the Tuscans, from them to the Latines, and Romulus himselfe was an Augure, & ordained that Magistrates should be established with Auguries, and Dionysius saith that the Arte of Auguringe was also muche set vie of the people Aborigines, and that Ascanius asked counsaile of the Augures before he wente into the fielde against Mezentius, whiche when he sawe prosperous, he fought, and vanquished. Finally the Phrigians, the Pisdians, the Cilicians, the Arabians, the Umbrians, the Tuscans, and many other nations followed Auguries. The Lacedemonians also assigned an Augure to sitte with their Kinges in iudgement, and to be present at comon counsailes. The Romans had a colledge of Augures: and they whiche did purchase credite to this Arte, were they that taught, that certaine lightes of diuination did descende from the heauenly bodies vpon all these inferiour liuinge thinges, as certaine signes and tokens placed in their mouinge, standinge, gesture, goinge, fleeing, voice, meate, colour, worke, and ende, naturally ingendred in them as it were by a certaine hidden force, and secrete consent & do in such sort agré with the heauenly bodies by whose force they be moued, that they can after sozetell al these thinges, what soeuer the Heauenly bodies haue intended to do. Whereby it appeareth, that this diuination is grounded vpon nothinge but coniectures, taken partly, as they saie from the influences of the sterres, partly from some parabolical similitudes, then the which there is nothinge more deceitfull: wherefore Panetius, Carneades, Cicero, Chrysippus, Diogenes, Antipater, Iosephus, and Philo do dispise it, and the lawes, & the Church

is sufficiently proued in Zopirus iudgement of Socrates, Neither lette that cause you beleue, whiche Appion the Grammarian lette wziten of a certaine man called Alexander, who did so passingly depainte the likenesses of Images, that by them the Metoposcooper hath tolde the yeares of death passe oz to come, whiche thinge is not so muche incredible as impossible, that it maie be knowen by these Artes: but this trifle sellinge kinde of menne is wonte in suche wise to dote, thozowe the perswation of the Deuill of Hell, that they drawe them out of erreure into superstition, and from this by little and little into infidelitte.

Againe of Geomancie. Cap. 36.

All they whiche wzite hereof do affirme that Geomancie is the daughter of Astrologie, whereof we haue spoken in Arithmeticke, whiche castinge certaine poinctes made by chaunce, oz by a certaine force, of the whiche by certaine equall and vnequall numbers: facioneth certaine figures attributed to the heauenly signes, by whiche they Diuine. There is also an other kinde of Geomancie, whiche Almadal the Arabian introduced and bzought in, the which doth diuine by certaine coniectures taken of similitudes of the crakinge of the Earthe, of the mouinge, cleauinge, swellinge, either of it selfe, oz els of inflammation & heate, oz of thundzinges, that happen, the whiche also is grounded vpon vaine superstition of Astrologie, as that which obserueth howers, the newe Moones, the risinge and forme of the starres.

Of Aruspicie which is a kinde of soothsaying. Cap. 37.

AVgurie, whereof there be many kindes, is an Arte that in times passe was greatly obserued, and so muche esteemed, that they did not, without the counsaile

that although they cannot geue iudgemente of the dispositions or inclinations by the causes of thinges, yet by signes printed by them, or the like causes, which alwayes are semblable in that same thinges, and like to like: and they saye that Pythagoras vled in time paste these Artes, who gaue iudgement of the customes, natures, and the wittes of younge menne by the face and countenance, and proportion of all the bodye: and whome he iudged apte and sufficiente, him he tooke to be his Scholler. Philostrates writeth that Pharaotes Kinge of India, was accustomed to do the like: Notwithstandinge it is not needefull for vs to striue againste the Erroure of this Arte with anye other reason then this, to wæte that they haue not in them anye reason. Yet be rye manye of the Auncientes exceedinge graue menne haue writen of these thinges, Hermes, Alchindus, Pythagoras, Pharaotes the Indian, Zopirus, Helenus, Ptolomee, Aristotle, Alphorabins, besides these Galene, Auicenna, Rasis, Iulian, Maternus, Loxius, Philemon, Palemon, Constantine, Africane, and finally of the Romane Princes, Lucius Scilla, and Cæsar dictatoure were very studious thereof. Of the latter sorte Peter of Appona, Albert the Dufcheman, Michaell Scotte, Antiochus, Bartholmewe Cocles, Michaell Sauonarola, Anthonie Cermison, Peter of Arca, Andrewe Corue, Tricassus of Mantua, Iohn of Indago, and many other famousse Philosophers: notwithstandinge they al can shewe nothing, beside coniectures, and obseruations of experience: and that in these coniectures, and obseruations there is founde no rule of truth, hereof it maie be seene, because they are voluntarie saynings, and vpon whom the very teachers of them, men equall in learninge and authoritie doe not agree. Wherefore they doe greatly dote & are deceaued, whiche by these signes, without the complexion of the bodie and dispositions of nature, will soze tell also the very conditions, and affections of Fortune, and the minde: whiche thinge

Cornelius Agrippa

Of Physiognomic. Cap. 33.

Physiognomic therefore following the nature of these Artes as guide (as shee saithe) doth presume that shee is able to finde out with probable signes, by beewing of the whole bodie, the dispositions of the minde & body, what mans fortune is, according to that she pronounceth this man a Saturniste, or Iouialist, that man a Martialiste, or Solist, an other, a Venerean, a Mercurialist, or Lunist, & by the forme and state of the bodie doth finde out their ascendentes passinge by little and little (as they saue) from the effecte to Astrological causes, by the which she afterwarde dalieeth vpon whatsoeuer shee listeth.

Of Metoposcopie. Cap. 34.

Metoposcopie also doth auante that she can foze tell al mens beginnings, proceedinges, and endinges with a very sharpe wit, and learned experience, by the onely beholding of the foreheade: she naming herselfe also a nourished member of Astrologie.

Of Chiromancie or Palmestrie. Cap. 35.

Chiromancie dothe facion in the palme of the hande seuen mountaines, accordinge to the number of the planetes: and supposeth that shee is able to knowe, by the lines, which be there seene, what complexion a man is of, his dispositions, his life, and fortune, by a certayne harmonickall agreements of the lines, as by certaine celestiall markes imprinted in vs there by God and nature, which God, as Iob writeth, hath set in mens handes, that thereby euery man may knowe his workes: although in dedde the diuine Prophete spake not in that place of the Vanitie of Chiromancie, but of the libertie of Freewill. Forcouer the foresaid diuinours do defende themselves, that

tiniane, and Theodosius were Emperours it was forbidden the Cittie of Rome, bannished and punished: and by Iustinian also condemned vnder payne of beheadinge, whiche thinge maie be seene in his Code.

Of Diuinations or Foreiudgements in general. Cap. 32.

This place puffeth me in minde also to sprake of other Artes of Diuination: whiche do not so muche propheticke and pronosticate by the obseruation of heauenly as earthly thinges hauinge a certaine shadowe and imitation of heauenly thinges: to the end that when ye haue vnderstode them, ye may the better knowe this Astrologiall tree, whiche bringeth forth the like fruite: and out of whom is spronge a monster with many heades, as it were Hercules Hyder slaine by him in Lerna. Emonge those gaineful Artes of Diuination, be reckened Physiognomie, Metapsopie, Chiromancie, Geomancie, (whereof we haue also spoken befoze) Augurations, Speculatories, the interpretation of dreames, and the Oracles of mad men. But yet al these skilles haue no sound doctrine, nor are grounded vpon any one certaine reason, but searche out hidden thinges either by aduenturous chaunte, or by the mouinge of the minde, or by certaine apparaunt conjectures, whiche be taken of dayly obseruations, and of a longe time, for all these monstrouse Artes of Diuination are wonte to defende themselves with nothinge els, but with the title of experience, and to ridde themselves out of the snares of obiccions, as often as they teache and promise any thinge exceedinge the truthe, and contrarpe to reason: of al whiche in this manner it is commaunded in the lawe: let there be founde none emonge you, that doth purge his sonne, leadinge him thozow the fiere: nor y asketh counsaile of soothsaiers, or els obserueth dreames and Diuinations by birds: neither let him be a witch, nor inchauntour: because the Lord doth abhorre these thinges.

counsaile is asked, at what time with what consideration, and by what meanes any thinge shoulde be donne, and the alone beareth rule ouer life, customes, ouer common & priuate affaires, as if it had authoritie ouer all thinges from heauen, and al other thinges that did not acknowledge this for patronesse were thought vaine. A passinge Arte no doubt, which in times past deuils did professe to deceaue menne, and to do iniurie to the diuinitie. Quere and besides this also the Heresie of the Manichees, which altogether denieth and taketh awaye the libertie of free will hath had his beginnunge from no where els, then of the false opinion and doctrine of the Astrologers concerning destinie. Out of the same fountaine did the Heresie of Basilides springe, who saide, that there were three hundred three scoare and five heauens made together by succession and likenesse, and the shewinge of these to be the number of daies of the yeare, assigninge to euery of them certaine beginninges, vertues, and Angels and deuising names for them; & the chiefest of al to be Abraxas whiche worde in Greeke containeth in it CCCXV. as many truely as there be places of the heauens found out and inuented by him. Wee haue writen this bicause ye maye vnderstande, that Astrologie is also the mother of Heretickes. And as the most famous Philosphers do hisse at this diuininge Astrologie, so Moses, Isaie, Iob, Ieremie and other Prophetes of the Olde Testamente, and Augustine amonge the Catholike Doctoures thinketh good that it be put out of Christian Religion. Basile & Cyprian do laugh at it, Chrysofome, Eusebius, and Lactantius do disproue it, Gregorie, Ambrose, and Seuerianus do inuicigh against it. The counsaile held at Toledo doth forbide and cõdemne it: it was excommunicated also in the counsaile of Martine and by Gregorie, Iohn, & Alexander the thirde Pope of Rome, and punished by the Ciuil Lawes of Emperoures. Amonge the Aunciente Romaines, when Treberius, Vitellius, Dioclesian, Constantine, Gratiane, Valentiniane,

Jupiter and Saturne dothe giue blessednesse of the life to come. But if any in his natiuitie shal haue Saturne happily placed in Leo, his soule after this mortall life, free fro innumerable troubles, enclined to God, shall returne to heauen, and to his originall beginninge. And not withstanding to these accursed trifles, & mosse damnable opinions not without insamie of Heresie haue subscribed Peter of Appona, Roger Bacon, Guido, Bonatus, Arnolde of Villa noua Philosophers, the Cardinal of Alia a diuine, and many other Doctors of christian name, and do presume to witnesse, and maintaine that they haue proued these thinges to be true. Iohn Pico of Mirandola hath a fewe yeeres past wrytten against Astrologers with so great abundaunce, that scarcely he hath let passe one argumēt, and so effectually, that vntil this daie not Lucius Bala-tius an earnestte defendoure of Astrologie, nor any other maintainoure of this Arte hath benne hable to defende it from the reasons alleaged by Pico. For he proueth with very stronge argumentes, that it was not the iuention of men but of the devils of hell, the very whiche also Firmianus auoucheth, whereby they haue endeouered and gonne aboute to cancel and abolishe all Philosophie, phisicke, the Lawes, and Religion. For firste it taketh faithe from Religion, it diminisheth miracles, it denieth prouidence: whilest that it teacheth all thinges to happen thorow the force of constellations, and to depende vpon the Starres with a fatall necessitie: Furthermoze it maintaineth vices, excusing them as though they did descende vpon vs from aboue: it doth empaire and subuerte al good Artes especially Philosophie, bzinginge the causes of things from true reasons vnto fables, afterward channginge, Phisicke from natural and effectual remedies into vaine obseruations, and damnable superstitions & deadely bothe to the soule and bodie. Dozeouer altogeather treading vnder foote the lawes, the customes, and euery Arte of mannes wildoome, for so muche as of Astrologie alone

Heauens, that there is a Propete bozne, and therefore had Chziste our Lorde so many vertues, bicause he had in that place Saturne in Gemini. They do distribute also the sortes of religions, to y^e which they make Iupiter a special patrone, by the commixtion of other Sarres: so, that Iupiter with Saturne maketh the religion of the Iewes with Mars of the Caldees, with the sonne of the Egyptians, with Venus of the Sarrafins, with Mercurie of the Christians, with the Moone that religion of Antichzist to come: and that Moses by reasons of Astrologie did institute the Sabbath date of the Iewes, and that therefore the Christians haue erred, who accoordinge to the custome of the Iewes do not kepe holy the Sabbath day, abstaining from labour, seing that is the day of Saturne. They beleue also that the fidelitie of euery man may be knowne aswell to man as God, and professed religion, and the secretes of conscience of the part of Sol and of the thirde, ninth, and twelfth house of the Heauens, and to knowe also the thoughtes, and as they saie, the intentes of men. Many geue many rules, and do appointe the configurations of y^e heavenly bodies as causes of these miraculous wozkes of the deuine prouidence, as that is, of y^e vniuersal floud, of the Lawe giuen by Moses, and the deliuerance of the Virgin, and foolishlie do babble that the death of Chziste redemer of mankinde was the wozke of Mars. And also that Chziste himselte did vse the election of howers in his miracles, in whiche the Iewes coulde not hurte him, whilste he wente to Jerusalem: and therefore that he saide, when his disciples did sozebidde him. Is it not twelue of the clocke? They saie mozeouer, that if any shall haue Mars happily placed in the ninthe house of the heauens, that he shall haue power to driue awaye Deuils with his onely presence from them that be possessed: and he that shall praye to God, when he findeth the Moone and Iupiter ioyned with the Dragons heade in the midst of the heauen: that he shall obtaine, what so euer he aske: and that

the foretellinge of what so euer shal happen: whiche Ptolomee doth appointe after one sorte, Heliodorus after another, Paulus after another, Manlius after another, Maternus after another, Porphyrie after another, Albenragel after another, the Egyptians after another sorte, the Arabians, the Greekes, and the Latines after another, the aunciente, after another, the latter wꝛiters after another. Because thei be not yet resolued emong themselues how they ought to erecte the beginninges and the endes of the houses, for so muche as the auncientes make them after one manner, Ptolomee after another, Campanus after another, Iohn of Monteregeo after another. Whether of it commeth to passe, that they in their owne obseruations do abate their credit, ascribinge diuers properties, beginnings and endes to the same places: a wicked generation of men, which attribute the things that belonge to God, vnto the Starres, and make vs when wee were childerne, seruantes of the Starres, and whereas we knowe that God hath created al things, they teache that there be certaine malicious Starres, the causes of mischiefes, and naughty influences, ordaining not without excedinge greake iniurie of God an the heauens, that in the heauenly places, in that diuine Senate, mischiefes, and ribaldries, are determined to be done, and what so euer willingly we commit what so euer thow the corruption of matter dothe naturally besal, they attribute it wholly to the Starres. Moreover they are not ashamed to teache Heresses & very damnable vnruthes, that is to saye, whilest they with a wicked rashnesse do confesse the gifte of prophetic, the force of religion, the secretes of conscience, the power ouer diuels, the vertue of miracles, the efficacie of prayers, and the state of the lyfe to come dothe onely depende vpon the Starres, is giuen by them, and knowne by them. For they saie, that when the signe of Gemini is ascendent, and that Saturne and Mercurie be ioyned in Aquarie, in the ninthe house of the Heauens,

Cornelius Agrippa

That thy wife doth with eric man,
behaue her selfe amisse.

Saturnus standes, farre of men saie,
that he longe since was blinde:

And scarcely coulde decerne a childe,
and from a stoane him finde.

Faire *Luna* goes with shamefaste eye,
a Virgine naught wil see:

But suche thinges as beseme a maide,
and lightnes al wil flee.

Ioue to *Europa* gaue his harte,
to *Mars* did *Venus* cleue:

And *Mars* againe did *Venus* serue,
to *Daphne*, *Sol* did geeue

His loue, and *Mercurie* did call
to minde his *Hirce* deare:

Hereof it comes to passe, o thou
vnwise *Astrologere*.

That when thy wife delited is,
with lusty younkers loue:

Thereof do nothinge notifie,
to thee the starres aboue.

Furthermoze it is well knowne to all men, howe muche the Iewes, Chaldees, Egyptians, Persians, Greekes, and Arabians, do disagreé emonge themselues of the very same rules of iudgementes and in what maner Ptolomee doth renounce al the Astrologie of the auncientes, and as he defendeth Auenrodan, so he prouoketh Albumasar, and againste all these dothe Abraam Auenazre the Hebrewe raile: finally Dorotheus, Paulus Alexandrinus, Ephestion, Maternus, Aomar, Tebith, Alchindus, Zazel, Messahalla, and well neare all other hold diuers opinions, and when they cannot proue that true whiche they speake, they defende it with the onely reason of proufe: nor do all agreé with one consente thereupon: and do no lesse differ touching the proprietie of the houses, out of which they get
the

they beleue it, and verely if suche were not, the Astrologers and Diuinours should die for hunger: and their foolish lighte beleefe forgettinge thinges paste, neglectinge thinges present, verely hastie to knowe thinges to come doth so fauoure these abusers, that whereas in other men for makinge one lie, the faithe of him that speaketh is so muche mistrusted, that all the residewe beinge true are not regarded: contrarywise in these Masters of forgeries, one veritie spoken by happe, giueth credite to their common lies: whiche truely who so doe moste beleue, become of all menne the moste vnhappie, as these superstitious trifles are wonte to bringe destruction to the professours thereof: whiche antiquitie testifieth in Zoroastes Pharo, Nabuchodonosar, Cæsar, Crassus, Pompei, Diothar, Nero, and Iulianus Apostata, whiche as they were very muche enclined to these trifles, so did they moste miserablie dye thozow trustinge in them: and to whome the Astrologers haue promised all ioyefull thinges, all haue chaunced sorrowful: as to Pompei, Crassus, and Cæsar, to whome they promised, that none of them shoulde dye excepte he were an olde man, excepte he were in his house, and except he were in honouce, but yet euery one of them died an euill death, and befoze the time. An obstinate doubtlesse and preposterous kinde of men, whiche bragge that they are able to prognosticate thinges to come, and knowe not them that be passed, and present: and whereas they profess themselves to tel al men al the most secrete thinges, very often they be ignoraunt what is done in their owne house, and in their chamber: suche a kinde of Astrologer: sic Thomas Moore reprovued in this pretie Epigramme.

To thee thou airie Prophet all
the Starres themselues do showe:

And do declare what destinies,

all men shall haue bylowe.

But no Starres (though they all thinges see)

admonish thee of this:

And they be displeas'd with them that seeke further credence: & neuerthelesse these floisteringe dissemblers finde out Princes, and Magistrates, which beleue all thinges that they speake, and entertaine them with common suspences, whereas in deede there is no kinde of men more pestilent to the publike wealth, then these: which by the starres, by lookinge in handes, by dreames, and such other skilles of diuination promise thinges to come, & spreade abzoade Prognostications, men mozeouer alwaies hate, fall to Christe & to all them that beleue in him: of whom Cornelius Tacitus conplaineth: the Mathematiciens, for so they are commonly called (saith he) a kinde of men disloyall to Princes, deceiuinge them that beleue them, are alwaies forbidde our Citie, but neuer bannished. Varro also a substanciall Authour testifieth, that the vanities of all superstitions flowed out of the bosome of Astrologie. There was a tribute in Alexandria, whiche the Astrologers did paie, called Blacenominon of their folie, because they gotte their liuinge by a wittie folie, and none but foolish & brainelesse persons wente to them for counsaile: and if mans life and fortune depende of the starres, why are we feareful: why be we careful: why doe we not leaue these thinges to God, and the Heauens, whiche cannot erre, nor doe euill: & for so much as we are men, we must not seeke to know any thing aboue our reach: but earthly thinges alone: and whiche is moze, seinge we be Christians and beleue in Christe, let vs leaue the howers & minutes to God the father, who hath put them in his owne power. But if our life and fortune depende not of the starres, doth not euery Astrologer seeke where nothinge is to be founde: But mankinde is so false harted & lighte of beleefe, that like children they feare moze at the fables of Hobgoblin, and doe beleue moze the thinges, that are not, then them whiche are, & the lesse impossible a thinge is, so much the moze they stande in feare thereof: and the lesse vnkely it is to be true, so much the moze credulously they

Astrologers
hurtfull to
the Publike
weale.

Blacenomi-

mon.

that are not, or be not vnderstoode: But the warest of them speake but darkely of things to come, and with Artificiall subteltie do deuise doubtfull Prognostications, whiche maie be applited to euery thinge, Time, Prince, and Nation. But after that any of these thinges hath happened, then they gather the causes thereof: & so when the thinge is come to passe, they fortifie the olde Prognostications with newe reasons, that they maie seeme to haue forescene, as the interpretours of dreames do, which seinge the dreame, vnderstande no certaine thing, but when any thing hath afterwarde hapned vnto them, then they applie the dreame to that whiche is chaunced. Furthermoze, seinge it is impossible in so greate a varietie of the Starres to finde out some placed in a good aspect, some in an ill, they take occasion hereupon to speake what they liste, and to whom they please they promise life, saulctie, honours, wealth, power, victorie, health, children, friendes, mariages, benefices, offices, and luche like. But if to any they be not fauourable, to them they pronounce deathe, hanginge, dishonour, misery, exile, deathe of their parentes, sicknesse, and misfortune: not so muche of their wicked Arte, as of their naughty affections bzinginge them to destruction that giue credite to this wicked curiositie, & oftentimes also moue the people and Princes to cruell warres and seditions. And if perchance fortune do agree with their Prognostications, that emonge so many doubtfull matters there shall some truth or other fall out, it is a maruaile to see how they liste by their combes, & how proudly they auauante thereof. And if they continually lye once conuicted of a forgerie, then they excuse it with blasphemie, or cloke one lie with an other: sayinge, that the wise man ruleth the Starres, whereas in deede, neither the Starres ruleth the wise man, nor the wise man the Starres, but God ruleth them bothe: or they saie, that the vnaptnesse of the receauer letteth the heauely influences.

as those influences doe not constraîne (as they saie) but
 encline. Moreover they that haue writen the rules of
 iudgementes, wꝛite so diuers and contrarie opinions
 vpon one thinge, that it is impossible for an Astrologian
 to pronounce any certaine thinge vpon so variable and
 disagreeinge opinions, excepte there be in him some in-
 warde perceauinge of thinges to come and hidden, and
 inspiration of foreknowledge, or rather a secreete & priuie
 inspiration of the Diuell, whereby he may know how to
 geue iudgemēt in these thinges, or by some other meanes
 is inducd to cleaue nowe to this opinion, nowe to that:
 which instinction or inwarde motion who so wanteth, he
 in Astrologically iudgementes (as Haly saithe) cannot tell
 the truthe: wherfoze Astrologically prophetic dothe not so
 muche consist in Arte, as in a certaine diffuse chaunce of
 thinges: and as by chaunce, not by Arte, the Verse dothe
 rise vp out of the Bookes of pastime, neuer tellinge the
 truthe, so also out of the Astrologers minde doe prophe-
 cies procede not by Arte, but by chaunce, which Ptolomee
 doth also witnessse, saying: The knowledge of the starres
 dependeth of thea and them, meaninge that the foretel-
 ling of thinges hidden and to come, dothe not so muche
 depende vpon the obseruation of the Starres, as the af-
 fections of the minde. Wherefoze there is no certaintie
 in this Arte, but may be applied to al thinges accoꝛdinge
 to the opiniō, which is gatherd of cōiectures, supposal, or
 of the vnperceauable inspiration of Deuiles, or of super-
 stitious chaunce. Wherefoze this Arte is nothing els but
 a false coniecture of superstitious parsons, which thozow
 long practise haue made a Science of things vncertaine,
 whereby they deceiue the simple sorte, to thende to spoile
 them of their monie, and they themselues are deceaued
 also. But if these mens Arte be true, and vnderstande by
 them, from whence cometh it, that so many errors be
 sene in their Prognostications: if not, doe they not vaine-
 ly, foolishly & wickedly, professe a knowledge of thinges
 that

A Cautele
 for Astro-
 logers.

happen, and the secreete disposition of Gods prouidence. Therfoze the Astrologers do buye the effectes of the hea- uens and starres of yeares that be very longe to come, or befoze times whereof there is scardlie any memozie, or befoze Prometheus times, of the great coniunctiōs (as they saie) befoze the floude: and do affirme that the effectes, the forces, and the mouinges of all liuinge creatures, stones, mettals, hearbes, and what thinges so euer be created in these inferiour places, do proceede from the Heauens, and Starres, & do depende altogeather vpon them, and maie by their means be founde out: Faithlesse men doubtlesse and no lesse wicked: not knowinge this one thinge, that God created hearbes, plantes, and trees, befoze he made the Heauens and the Starres. Moreouer all the grauest Philosophers, as Pythagoras, Democritus, Bion, Fauorinus, Panetius, Carneades, Porsidonius, Timeus, Aristotle, Plato, Plotinus, Porphirius, Auicenna, Auerrois, Hippocrates, Galen, Alexander Aphrodiseus, & Cicero, Seneca, also Plutarch, & many other, which haue sought for the causes of thinges out of euery Arte & Science, neuer bid vs go to these causes of Astrologie: which although they were causes, notwithstanding because they do not plainely perceauē the courses of the starres, and their forces, (whiche thinge is very plaine to al wise men) they cannot geue a certaine iudgement of their effectes. And there wante not emonge them, as Eudoxus, Archelaus, Cassandrus, Hoychilax, Halicarnasseus very skilfull Mathematiciens, and many other latter writers, and moſte graue Authours, whiche confesse that it is impossible to finde out any certaine thinge concerninge the knowledge of iudgements, aswell for other innumera- ble causes, whiche worke together with the heauen, whiche we ought to consider, and so willet h Ptolomee: as also because very many occasions do let the, as customes, vsages, education, honestie, rule, place, birthe, bloude, meate, libertie of the minde, and learninge, for so muche

*They at-
tribute the
workes o
God to the
starres.*

Cornelius Agrippa

that this may be donne in one date, beside them which place Venus aboue Sol, because the Starres which be fardest of, seeme to vs that they sooner appeare in the rising, and latter hide them selues in the goinge downe. But, if I had not now remembred me, I should haue passed ouer this discozde of the Astrologers concerning the situation of the Starres, or Planetes: for it dothe not so much appertaine to Astrologers, as to Philosophers. For Plato placeth the seconde sphere of the Sunne after the Moone, thesame do the Egyptians placinge the Sunne betwene the Moone and Mercurie. Alchimenides and the Caldees, do place the Sunne the fourth in order. Anaximander Metrodorus Chius, and Crates saie, that the Sunne is setted highest of al, nexte to him the Moone, beneath these other moueable and fixed Starres: Xenocrates supposeth that all the Starres be moued in one selfe same vpper parte. They do no lesse differ touchinge the greatnesse and distaunce of the Sunne, the Moone, & other Starres, neither is there emonge them any constancie of opinion, nor veritie of celestiaall thinges: & that no marucile, like that the Heauen it selfe which they diligently searche is moste vnconstant of all, and full stozed with trifles and Fables: for the twelue Signes, and the other Northerly and Southerly figures, haue not ascended into Heauen but with Fables, and yet the Astrologers do liue, abuse men, and gaine by these fables, whilest the Poetes inuentours of them do leade their life in greate necessitie.

Of iudiciall Astrologic. Cap. 31.

THere yet remaineth an other kinde of Astrologic, which is called *Diuinatorie*, or *Iudiciall*, the which entreateth of the revolutions of the yeares of the world, of natiuities, of questions, of elections, of intetes and thoughtes, it teacheth moreouer to fore tell, to call backe, to auoide or see the endes of all thinges that maie happen,

beholdinge the Heauens , diligently searched out the
starres, he fell into a ditch that was before his feete, then
saide the woman seruaunt vnto him : I meruaile Paster
by what meanes thou thinkest to know the thinges that
are in Heauen , sithe thou canst not see them that are be-
fore thy feete . It is saide that Thales Milesius was with
the like pleasaunt ieste reproued by Thressa his mayde.
Tullie saith well neare the like of them : the Astrologers
saith he, whilest they searche out the climates of the Hea-
uen, none of them seeth, what is before their feete . I also
being a bove learned this Arte of my Father, afterward
I losse muche time and labour therein: at length I lear-
ned that wholly and altogether it was builte vpon no o-
ther foundation but vpon meere trifles , and fayninges
of imaginations : and I am not onely sorie , but also do
repente me of my bestowd labour, and I desired to rase
out the remembraunce and vse thereof , and it is longe
since that I did renounce it, and would neuer haue taken
the same in hande againe, had not the importunate pray-
ers of noble parsonages (whiche are wonte oftentimes to
abuse passinge good wittes in doinge many vnworthie
actes) oftentimes enforced me eftsoues to take it in had.
And my peculiare profite perswaded me sometimes to a-
uaile my selfe by their folie, and please them in their tri-
fles, that so muche desired trifles, and I call them trifles,
because that Astrologie hath nothinge els but meere tri-
fles, poetes fables, & monstrous fayninges, with whiche
they haue imagined that the Heauen is abundantly re-
plenished. And there is no sorte of men, that more agrée
together , then Astrologers and Poetes, sauinge that
they disagree emonge them selues touching Lucifer, that
is to saie, the daie Starre , and Vesper, that is, the eue-
ninge Starre, for so muche as the Poetes affirme that in
what daie so euer Lucifer appeareth before the Sunne ri-
singe, in the same daie he cometh neare the Sunne, when
he goeth downe, and well nêre all Astrologers do denie
that

to touchinge the mouinge of the Sunne, and measure of the yeare, they haue otherwise thought, then Ptolomee, and Hipparchus haue taught. Likewise concerning the highest pointe of the Sunnes mouinge, Ptolomee hath otherwise supposed, otherwise also hath Albategnus & others denied. Moreouer concerning y^e Images of the heauens, & consideration of the fixed starres, the Indians haue taught one waie, the Egyptians an other, the Arabians an other, Timotheus an other, Arfatis an other, Hipparchus an other, Ptolomee an other, and the latter writers an other. I lette here to speake how muche they dote touchinge the righte & leaste beginninge of the heauen: of which Thomas Aquinas, and Alberte the Dutcheman, superstitious Diuines, whilest they endeouored to vtter some thinge orderly, coulde not finde any thinge to shewe, an none truely could euer finde it out. And moreouer the Astrologers be yet ignozant what Galaxias is, that is to saie, the Milke circle. I let passe also to prolong my talke of the Eccentrickes, Concentrickes, Epicicles, Retrogradations, Trepidations, approachinges, departinges of the violent courses, and other mouinges, and circles of mouinges, for so muche as all these thinges be not the woorkes of God nor Nature, but monsters of the Mathematiciens, and triflinge tromperies of sayning liers, deriued from corrupte Philosophie, and fabulous Poetes: to the whiche yet as to true thinges created by God, established by nature, these Masters be not ashamed to geue so much credite, that what thinges soeuer be done in these inferiour places, the same they attribute to those trifles as their causes, and saie that these inuented mouinges be the beginnes of all the inferioure mouinges. Anaximenes his womā fernāt, did wittsly reprove these Astronomers with a prettie sayinge, shee was wonte sometime to walke forth with her Maister, who when on a night he wente out of his house to beholde y^e starres vnmindful of the situation of the place, whilest that he beholtinge

The cause
of the Mil-
kie Circle
or waie is
vñknown.
Whiche is
scene in a
starric
night like
to a clowde
renninge in
length ouer
the Heaue.
Philoso-
phers are
yet at va-
riance
touchinge
the same.

and the Hebrewes : supposinge that the fixed Starres do not moue one part of the heauē sooner then in lxxi. yeres, noz latter thē in lxx. but Rabbi Abraam, & Zacutus moreouer, as saithe Ritiū, affirme accoordinge to the doctrine of the Indians, that there be also two Starres in the heauen directly opposit the one against the other, which contrary to the order of y^e signes do not end their course, but in Cxliij. yeres, Alpetragus also iudgeth that there be yet in y^e heauens diuers mouinges to men vnknowne: which if it be true, there maie be emonge theim also starres and bodie, to whom these mouinges may accorde, the which men coulde not see either for the excēdinge highnesse, or vntill this daie they haue not perceaued it with any obseruation of Arte, whereunto also dothe Fauorinus the Philosopher in Gellie agré, in his Oratton againste the casters of natiuities. It resteth then that there is no Astronomer come downe from Heauen that hath benne able to teache the true, and certaine mouinge of the thinges that are thought not to moue. Neither hath the true mouinge of Mars bene knowne vntill this daie: whiche Iohn of Montereio dothe lamente, in a certaine Epistle or Letter to Blanchinus: and there was one V Villiam of Sainct Clodoald, a famous Astrologer two hundred yeres passe and more, who lefte written the erreure of this mouinge in his obseruations, & yet none after him hath corrected his doinges. And which is more, it is impossible to finde out y^e true entringe of the Sunne into the Equinoctial pointes, the which Rabbi Leui proueth with many reasons. But what shall we speake of thinges founde after ward, how the Auncients haue ben deceaued aboute them. For many togeather with Tebith haue thought that the greate declination of the Sunne is continually chaunged, although not halsthandinge it be varied with one measure. Otherwise yet Ptolomee hath thought thereof, otherwise it was founde by Albaten, Rabbi Leui, Auenazra, and Alphonfus. Semblably al-

Cornelius Agrippa

Astrologers of the latter time do attribute a triple mo-
uing to the eight Sphere, one proper, which we haue cal-
led the mouinge of trepidation, which is once finished in
seuen thousande yeares, the other, which they cal the mo-
uinge of compasse from the ninethe Spheare, whose re-
uolution is not ended in lesse then fourtie nine yeares:
the thirde from the tenth Spheare, which they terme the
mouinge of the firste moueable, or the violent mouinge,
or the diurnal mouing, which in the space of one natural
day, doth estsones return to his begining. Furthermoze
they which haue assigned a double mouinge to the eighte
Spheare, do not al agrée togeather. For wel neare al the
wzitors in these daies, and they that allowe the mouing
of the trepidatiō, do argue that it is forciblely drawn frō
y higher Spheare: but Albategnus, Albuhasen, Altraga-
nus, Auerrois, Rabbi Leui, Abraam, Lacutus, and Augu-
stine Ritius be of opinion that the diurnal mouing which
some woulde haue to be the violent mouing doth not be-
longe to any Sphere, but is caused by the whole heauen.
Auerrois also saith, that Ptolome in a certaine booke of his
(whiche he entituled of Narrations) denied the mouinge
of compasse, and Rabbi Leui saithe, that he and Auerrois
of one opinion in that they vphelde the diurnal mouinge
to be caused of the whole heauen. They agrée no better
together about the measure of the mouing of the eight
Sphere & of the fixed Starres. For Ptolomee supposeth
that the fixed Starres doe moue a degré in a hundreth
yeares. Albategnus dothe maintaine that this is done in
thre scoare and sixe Egyptian yeares, to whome Rabbi
Leui, Rabbi Zacutus, and Alphonsus in the correction of
his tables do agrée: Azarcheles Maurus saithe, that they
moue a degré in lxxvi. veres. Hipparch⁹ in lxxvii. Many
of the Hebrewes, as Rabbi Iosua, Rabbi Moses, Maymo-
nus, Rabbi Auenazra, and after them Haly Benrodan, in
lxx. yeares, Iohn of Monteregio in lxxx. Augustine Ritius
keapeth a meane betwaine the opinions of Albategnus, &
and

reckened nine Spheres, whereas in deede Ptolomee affirmeth nomoze but eight. But Alphonfus sometime followinge the iudgemente of Rabbi Isaac, surnamed Baza, hath helde that there were nine Spheres. But foure yeares after the edition of his tables, he cleaued to the opinions of Albuhassem, of Azarcheles Maurus, and Albategnus, & chaunged his opinion approouing eight Spheres. These Masters also, Rabbi Abraam Auenazra, and Rabbi Leui, and Rabbi Abraam Zacutus do coniecture, that there is no moueable Sphere about the eights. But the Astrologers also do varie muche emonge themselues touching the mouing of the eight Spheare, & fixed Starres. For the Caldees and Egyptians do affirme, that it is moued onely after one manner, to whome doth Alpetragus accorde, and of the latter wryters Alexander Aquilinus; but the other Astrologers from Hypparchus vnto oure time, say, y it is carried about with many mouings. The Jewes Thalmudistes do appoint a double mouinge: Azarcheles, Thebith, and Iohn of Montereio, haue added to it the mouinge of the trepidation, whiche they tal of approaching and departing vpon little circles, about the heades of Aries and Libra: but herein disagreeinge one from another in that Azarcheles saithe, that the moueable heade cannot be distante from the fixed more then ten partes: & for this cause he holdeth opinion that the fixed Starres do lie towards one certaine place of the worlde. But Tebith saith no more but foure partes, and welneare six minutes. Iohn of Regiomonte thinketh not aboute viij. partes, and therfore the fixed Starres do not lie alwaies towards one certaine parte of the world: but do suppose that sometime retourne thither, from whence they began their course. But Ptolomee, Albategnus, Rabbi Leui, Auenazra, Zacutus, and amonge the latter soxe Paule the Florentine, and Augustine Riccius my very frende in Italie, affirme that the Starres do alwaies and continually moue accordinge to the succession of the Signes. But the

Likely Astrologie cometh in place, whiche is also cal-
 led Astronomie, altogether false, and fuller of tri-
 finge toys then the fables of Poetes: The teachers
 whereof are doubtlesse presumptuous, and authours of
 mōsters, & with wicked curiositie according to their plea-
 sure do draw out vpon mans destinie (like the Heretikes
 Basilides) the Spheres of the Heauens, the measure of the
 Starres, the Mouinges, the Figures, the Images, the
 measures, and the agrēmentes, as men that haue lately
 descended from heauen, and haue bene conuersante for a
 space emonge them, by the whiche they beleue, that all
 things maie stande, be done, and knowen: yet cōcerning
 the same thinges there be emong them many disagreeing,
 contrarpe, and hitherto at variaunce: so that I dare saye
 with Plinie, that the inconstauncie of this Arte dothe o-
 penly declare, that it is no Arte, for so muche as touching
 the principles thereof the Indians haue one opinion, the
 Chaldeans an other, the Egyptians an other, the Moores
 an other, the Iewes an other, the Arabians an other, the
 Greckes an other, the Latins an other, the auncientes an
 other, & the latter Writers an other. For Plato, Proclus,
 Aristotle, Auerrois, and well neare all the Astrologers be-
 fore Alphonsus excepting a fewe entreating of the num-
 ber of Spheres, haue numbred but eighte. Notwithstand-
 inge Auerrois, and Rabbi Isaac saie, that Hermes and
 some other Babylonians haue writen of a ninth Sphere,
 whiche opinion Azarcheles Maurus, Tebith, and the same
 learned man Rabbi Isaac, and Alpetragus do holde. With
 the whiche Albert the Douche man doth agrē, surnamed
 in his time, I knowe not for what notable Arte, y great,
 and al them that haue proued the mouinge of approaching
 and departinge. The Astrologers in these dayes do ac-
 compte tene Spheres, which Alberte supposeth that Pto-
 lomce did also allowe. Auerrois also supposed that he
 reckened

Through foule desire whereof for aie
is vertue in exile.

Shame, Truthe, and Eaithe are put to flight,
theire place do these vpholde:

Bothe fraude, deceite, fell force, and wiles
and wicked loue of Golde.

And as an other Poete saith:

For Golde is faithe enforc'd to flee

The Lawes are solde for Golden fee.

Wherefoze he that firſte founde out golde mines, and o-
thers veins of Metall, inuented a vengeable, mischei-
fous deede to our liue, and as Plinie ſaith, they haue made
the earthe ſo muche moze hurtfull, that they be no leſſe
vnaduised then they whiche go to ſearche pearles in the
bottom of the ſea. The inuention hereof is attributed
to many, but the Hiſtoriographers differ one from an o-
ther. But yet the chiefeſte write, that leade was firſte
founde in the Iſlandes lying ouer againſte Spaine, called
Calsiterides: Braſſe in Cyprus, Iron in Candie, but Golde
and Siluer neare to Pangeus a mountaine of Thrace, fi-
nally they infected and corrupted all the worlde. The
Scythians alone, as Solinus recompteth, did condemne for
euer the vſe of Golde and Siluer, thereby withdrauing
themſelues ſcom common couetouſnes. As touchinge the
ſuperfluitie of Golde, it was in time paſte prouided by an
auncient Lawe among the Romaines, and there was the
censours laue of Golde mines, by which (as Plinie ſaith)
it was forbidden in the Territozie of Verſilia, that the
Farmars ſhoulde not haue aboue ſiue men. And I would
to God, that men would applie themſelues to heauenlie
thinges, as they do ſearche out the entrailes of the earth,
allured by the onely veine of riches: whiche cannot make
a man ſo happie and blessed, ſo that very many and that
not ſeldome do greenouſlie repente them of their beſo-
wed labour.

The places
where
Leade,
Braſſe,
Golde and
ſiluer were
firſte found.

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The hugeness of the hills should be propped, and helde by:
of which thinges among the auncientes Strato Lampsa-
cenus hath writen a booke, whiche he intituled of Metall
Instrumentes. Notwithstandinge either none, or very
fewe hither vnto haue perfectly taught the manner to
melte pure Mettalles with the cleare flames of the fiere
from stoanes digged out of mineries, and when they be
mired togeather, to knowe howe to parte them: perad-
venture bicause this Arte, as an handie crafte, and serull
occupation, is little esteemed of learned men, and noble
wittes. Neuerthelesse when I a fewe yeares passe had
charge ouer certaine of the Emperours maiesties mine-
rals, hauinge searched out all thinges asmuche as was
possible for me, I began to write a speciall booke of them,
which yet I haue in my handes continually augmenting,
and correctinge it for the greater knowledge of thinges:
hopinge that I wil not omitte any thinge, that appertai-
neth to the findinge of Mettalles, to the knowledge of
them, to the tryng and vndoing of the veins, to the prop-
ping of mountaines, to instrumentes to digge, and other
skilles not knowen, vnto this date. By this Arte, all
worldly wealth is maintained, for the greedinesse where-
of suche a fantasie came in mennes braines, that they go
euen vnto hel aloue, and with the greate decate of nature
do search riches where damned soules do dwel: as Ouide
saith:

Men deape descende into the earthe
with mattocke, Shoule and Spade:

And wicked wealth is digged vp
which mischiefes al hath made.

Dame nature did it hide and put
where greedie ghoostes do dwell:

And nowe the hurtfull yron, and
the glitteringe golde from hell
Proceeded is, more noisome then
th'other Metall vile:

Through

subites longe made of a greate Topasse by a Queene of Egypte. After this manner be the Churches builded to our sainctes with exceedinge high rofes and steeples set by maruelous highe, with a great number of stoanes heaped togeather, whilste muche godly monie and almesse is consumed and castt awaie, whereby many poore Christians the true temples, and images of God, whiche are like to die for hunger, thirste, colde, sicknesse, and penurie, mighte, and ought of very good righte be builded and sustained. On the other side, what great destruction doth this arte very oftentimes bringe vnto men, castles, engines of warre, gonnes, artillerie, brakes, and other instrumentes spoilinge men of their liues, and the people subdued by the sleight of them, are witnesses. Neither this is onely scene on the lande, for so muche as it hath also taught to builde shippes, like castles, and fortresses: with whiche we do not so muche saile on, as inhabite the dangerous seas: and although by their nature, they do anoye vs with a thousande daungers, yet with these shippes we make them muche moze daungers, robbing and warrefairinge in them, no other wise then we do in the maine lande. The firste that wrote of Architecture, was Agatarchus the Atheniane, afterwarde Democritus and Anaxagoras, nexte Silenus, Archimenes, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Cato, Varro, Plinie, at the laste Vitruuius, Nigrigentus: of the fresher sort Leo Baptista, Freer Lucas, and Albertus Durerus.

Of the Arte of findinge Mettals. Cap. 24.

In Architecture is also contained the Arte of Mettals, an Arte doubtlesse of greate witte. For firste it teacheth the to know by the superficial or vppermost parte of the ground, & mountaines the veins, whiche are within the earthe, to what place they runne, the issues, the branches, and when the entrails of the earth are digged, how
the

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and maruaile at, and as Plinie saith, are builte wth very great expences for an idle & foolish ostentatiō of monie, as are the superstitious miracles of the workes of the Egyptians, of the Greekes, of the Toskans, of the Babylonians, and of some other nations, the Laberinthes, the Piramides, the Obeliskes, the Colosses, the exceeding sumptuous sepulcres, the monstrous images of Rapsinates, of Sesostris, and of Amasis, the marueilous Sphinx, wherein men beleued that kinge Amasis was buried. For it was wroughte (as Plinie saithe, in naturall and reade stoane: the compasse of the monsters heade aboute the sozeheade was a hundzeth and two fete, and the lenght a hundzeth fourtie thzee fete. But there are greater thinges then these, the worke of Memnon, and Semiramis, in Bagasianus, a mountaine of Media, the image was huge & greate beinge two miles and halfe a quarter in lengthe. Whiche thinges notwithstandinge that cunninge builder, farre surpassed, what so euer he were, either Steficrates: as Plutarch telleth, or Dinocrates, as Vitruuius recompteth, who promised that he woulde make the image of Alexander out of the mountaine Athos, whiche shoulde haue in his hande a citie sufficient to receiue ten thousande men. Let vs number with these the high Tower of Babylon, whose foundation (as Herodotus testifieth) was on euerye side the eight parte of a mile, and that Tower whiche is reported to haue bene builte in the bottome of the sea vpon lattises of glasse. Like to these were also the houses of Gordian, the arches of triumphe, and the temples of the Goddess, and especiallie that of Diana at Ephesus whiche was in buildinge by all Asia, the space of two hundzeth yeares, and the temple of Latona in Egypte made with one stoane, beinge fourtie cubites of lengthe in the soze front, and the same couered with one stoane: and the golden image of Nabuchodonasar kinge of the Afsyrians, beinge in greatenesse thzee scoare cubites, the whiche, he that did not honour was put to death: and an other four

A Mon-
struous pi-
cture of a
Beastie made
in stoane.

gustine saithe in his confessions: Men goe to wonder at the highnesse of the Mountaines, the great surges of the Sea, and the broad runninge of the Riuer, the circuits of the Ocean sea, and the compasses of the Starres, & do forsake them selues. Plinie also saithe, that it is a madnesse to measure the earthe, whiche while we measure, we very often go out of measure.

Of Architecture, or buildinge. Cap. 28.

There is no doubt, but that Architecture bringeth vs verie great profite, and ornamente, bothe in publicke and priuate buildinges: this geueth vs Walls, Roofes, Pilles, Charriotes, Bridges, Shippes, Churches, Temples, Oratories, Towne walls, Towers, and engines of all sortes, wherewith aswell the publicke as the priuate wealth of men is defended, and adourned, a discipline mozeouer very necessarie, and honest, if it did not so muche bewitche the mindes of men: in suche wise, that there is founde almoste none (so that abilitie faile him not) whiche dothe not desire to enlarge the roome of his houses with some newe thinge, beinge already well built. Thozowe whiche insatiable desire and studie of building, it is come to passe, that there is no measure nor ende appointed herein: for this cause are hills cut away, Valleys filled vp, Mountaines made plaine, stoanes perced thozowe, and the rockes of the sea discovered, the entrailes of the earthe digged, the riuers turned from their course, seas ioyned to seas, lakes consumed, marishes dried vp, armes of the sea barred out, the bottomes of the sea searched out, new Ilandes made, and againe other restored to the maine lande. All whiche thinges, and more then these, albeit they repugne against nature, yet oftentimes haue broughte verie great commoditie to all the worlde. But let vs compare suche thinges with these, whiche are nothings available vnto men, but to beholde,

floude, a difference betwene the waters & the Heauen, As Lucane writeth hereof.

This mountaines toppe appearde alone when flouddes did fill the lande, And twixte the Seas, and gleaminge starres did for a difference stande.

But if this prouise be sufficient to ouercome, the middest of the Earthe shall not be in Parnassus the Mountaine of Greece, but in Gordicum a mountaine of Armenia, whiche as Berosus testifieth appeared, firste after the deluge, and vpon him the Arke of Noe lighted. Others are of an other opinion, and saie that the middest of the earthe was founde by the flight of Eagles. There be Diuines also, whiche puttinge their hokes emonge this cozne, will haue Ierusalem to be the middest of the earth, because it is writen by the Prophete: God hath wrought saluation in the middest of the Earthe. Lucretius, Lactantius, & Augustine, doe assent to this opinion, which so obstinately denied that there were no Antipodes, y is to saie, men, whose feete are againste ours. And they mozeouer, which saie, that beyode Europa, Asia, & Africa, is no other habitable world, y which thinges yet are otherwise knowen of vs, whiche come after them, by the nauigations of the Spaniards, and Portugales, whiche haue shewed also contrary to the trifies of the Poetes, and the false opinion of Aristotle, that all the Zone vnder the Zodiacke is inhabited. We haue beside these recited before emonge the Historiographers many other errours of the Geographers. But this Arte, whilest it endeuoureth to teache vs the greatnesse of the Earthe, the deepenesse of the Sea, the situation of the Ilandes, and all countrees, the limites, and notable markes, and also the vnknown beginning of innumerable nations, the rites, customes, & differences, we gette no other frutte thereof, but that whilest we ouer greedely seache out other mens matters, we learne not to knowe our selues. And as Au-

And what each Countrie bringeth fourth,
and eke denies, with toile.

And as it were with a certaine imitation of paintinge,
dothe accordinge to the rules of Geometrie, and the Arte
Perspectiue, expresse the whole worlde in a Globe, or
plaine Table.

Depaintinge all the worlde in little rounde.

Some vnder these kindes doe accompte Chorographie,
the whiche severally searchinge out certaine particular
places doth depainte them with a moze perfecte, and as
it were a full finished similitude:

VVith sundrie kindes of pleasaunte sightes,
be sette on euery side

VVith vines, woodes, fieldes, and fountaines fresh,
with medowes greene and wide,

And fletinge streames of Riuiers, whiche
into the Sea doo slide.

And where the Earth is pressed downe
and riseth vp on hie,

Vpprearinge Hilles with loftie toppes
vnto the Starrie skie.

The measure of the worlde dothe promise vs all these
thinges, and them whiche we haue spoken of before. But
the Authours, that will teache it vs, are with many dis-
cordes at contention emonge themselves of the Limites,
Longitudes, Latitudes, Magnitudes, measures, di-
stances, climates: muche disagreeinge one from an other
in that habitude or state wherein they be. The whiche
Eratosthenes, Strabo, Marinus, Ptolomeus, Dionysius, and
the fresher writers haue diuers waies deuided. They
haue also diuers opinions touchinge the middelt of the
earthe, whiche Ptolomeus placeth vnder the Equinoctiall
line, Strabo beleue, that Parnassus a mountaine in Greece
was the middelt of the Earth, to whome Plutarcke, and
Lactantius the Grammarian doe agree, supposinge that
Mountaine to haue benne, in the time of the vniuersall

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In whiche, when the Sunne shineth, all thinges that are lightened with his beames, may very plainly be seene a great space of, as thre or foure miles. And this is worthy of admiration in the plaine Glasses, that the lesser they be accordinge to their size, do represente the thinge lesser then it is, and howe great soeuer they be, yet they neuer shewe the thinge greater then it is: the which Augustine consideringe wittinge to Nebridius, is of opinion that there is within them some hidden thing: and to conclude all these thinges are vaine and superfluous, and invented to no other ende, but for pompe and idle pleasure. Of Glasses many haue writen aswell Greekes, as Latines: but the beste of all is one Vitellius.

Of the Measure of the worlde. Cap. 27.

LEt vs nowe briefly discourse of the measure of the worlde, and this is deuised into Cosmographie, and Geographic, the one and the other dothe measure and deuide the worlde, but the firste according to the order of the Heauenly bodie, and their diuision, sheweth the situation of countries, and places subsiect to them, by the measures of degrees, and minutes, and with Mathematicall rules teacheth the order of the climates, the difference of the daye and night, the quarters from whence the windes do blowe, the diuers risings of the Starres, the Elevationes of the poles, the parallels, & none tides, the shadowes of the Gnomons, and other thinges, which yet remaine to all places. But the other hauinge no consideration of the celestiall bodie, measureth the worlde by furlonges & miles, and doth deuide it by Mountaines, Woodes, Lakes, Riuers, Seas, and Sea coastes, and sheweth the Nations, the People, the Kingdomes, the Prouinces, the Citties, the Heauens, and other thinges worthy of memorie.

And doth declare the Countries guise
and setlinge of the soile,

And

cornered, the inuerfed, the euerfed, the regular, the vnrregular, the maffie, and the cleare. So we reade, as Celius recompteth in the auncient readings, that in Augustus time a certaine man called Hoftius, but without doubt the firfte beginner of all dishonestie, made Glasses of such sorte, whiche represented the Images of thinges farre greater then they were, that the finger did exceede in length, and greatnesse, the measure of the arme. There is made a Glaffe also, wherein a man maie see the Image of an other, and not his owne. And an other, that beinge put in one place dothe expresse the Image of nothing: and remoued to an other place representeth likenesses. In like manner an other that causeth the Images of all thinges to appeare, and of one thinge to make many similitudes to be scene. And of an other sorte, that contrary to the manner of al other Glasses maketh the right side turne to the righte, and the lefte side to the lefte. And there are Glasses made, that burne before, and behinde, and an other, that dothe not represente the image receaued within him, but casteth it farre of in the ayre, and there dothe make it appeare like an ayrie image, and by the collection of the Sunne beames, with great force setteth fire very farre of in euery thinge that maie be burned, and many other like thinges, as I haue sometime scene, and knowen to make. Cleare Glasses haue also their deceites, that is to saie, that they make a greate thinge seeme little, and contrarywise, the leaste thinges to appeare greate, and the thinges that are farre of, at hande, & them that be neare to vs, to seeme farre hence, them that be vnder vs, ouer vs: and them that are about vs, to appeare beneath, or the we them selues to our sight in an other manner. There be Glasses also, that make one thinge to appeare many, and other, that represente thinges in diuers colours, as are in the rainebowe, or vnder diuers and vnlke formes, the lighte beinge deceaued, & suche like. And I know how to make Glasses,

*Mercurialous
Glasses.*

Definitive sentence. I being grounded vpon this example, when sometime with exceedinge great diligence searched for the Originall of the Fræers coule, and could finde nothinge for that matter in the Scriptures, at length, I wente me to the Painters, and for this thinge I sought in the Cloisters, & in the Celles of the Fræers, where for the moste parte the Histories of bothe Testaments are painted: and when I could not finde in all the Olde Testamente, none of the Patriarkes, none of the Priestes, none of the Prophets, none of the Leuites, nor yet Helias him selfe, whom the Carmelitans would haue to be their Patrone, with a coule: taking the Newe Testament in hande, I founde their Zacharie, Symeon, Iohn Baptist, Ioseph, Christe, the Apostles, the Disciples, the Scribes, the Phariseis, the high Prieste, Annas, Caiphas, Herode, Pilate, and many other, I sawe in no place a Fræers coule: and againe diligently examininge euery thinge from the beginninge, immediatly in the foreparte of the Historie the Diuel was painted with a Cowle, to wite, he whiche wente to tempte Chyriste in the Deserte. I reioiced exceedingly, that I had founde that in the pi-
 first inuen-
 tour of the
 Fræers
 coule.

Of the Arte of seeinge Glasses. Cap. 26.

But lette vs returne againe to the Arte Perspective, which is also a great healpe to them y make Glasses, declaring al the affections, & deceites of such, whose experimentes be seene in diuers sortes of Glasses, as are the hollowe, the imbossed, the plaine, the Columnarie, the Piramidal, the Turbinal, the bunched, the rounde, the
 cornered,

firste accordinge to the wordes of Paule, haue chaunged the glozie of the Incoꝛruptible God, into the likenesse of a Coꝛruptible Image of a Man, of Birdes, of Beastes, of Serpentes, whiche dwinge agaynst the Goddes Commaundemente, forbiddinge that no grauen Image, or Likenesse shoulde be made, as well of the thinges which are aboue in Heauen, as of them whiche are in the Earth beneath, haue broughte in an Idolatrie very odious to God, whereof the Wise man speaketh: The very Idoll is accursed, and he that made it, and that whiche is made shal suffer tormentes. For the vanitie of menne, as the same saith, hath founde out these Artes, for the temptation of mennes Soules, and to beguile the ignozante; and the inuention of them, is the coꝛruption of Life.

Neuerthelesse we Christians, do in such sorte dote more then any Nations, that we are not ashamed to keepe this coꝛruption of Life & manners, in euery place, in Halles, in Houses, and in Chambers. To the ende, that our Wives, and Daughters made with lasciuious Images be allured to Lururiousnesse. Yea and whiche is more, with very great reuerence we carry them into Churches, into Holy places, and place them vpon the Altare of God, not without daunger of Idolatrie: but hereof we will speake more at large in Religion. Not withstandinge, I learned in time paste in Italie, that there was in Pictures and Images, an authoritie greatly to be esteemed: for whereas, there was an obstinate strife betwene the Augultine Freeres: and the vulgare Chanons before the Pope, concerning the habite, or apparrel of S. Augustine, that is to saie, whether he did weare a blacke weede vpon a white Coate, or a white weede vpon a blacke Coate. And findinge nothinge in the Scriptures, whiche made to the ending of this strife, the Romaine Iudges thought god, to preferre the whole matter to Painters, and Image Makers, and that whiche they coulde auouche out of Auncient Pictures and Images, should be holden for a

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cellence of workmanship, and that the first had the
wed grapes so lively painted, that Birdes flew to them:
The other brought a painted sheet, counterfeiting the
truth in such sort: that he passed by with pride for the
iudgemente that the Birdes had of his Picture, desired
him to take away the sheet, and shew him the Picture.
At the last acknowledging his erreure, was constrained
to geue him the price and price, for so much as he
had deceiued the birdes, and Parrhasius, the craftes man.
And Plinie reporteth, that at the Plates of Claudius, was
a marvellous Picture: that the Crowes deceiued with
the Apparaunce, flew to the likenesse of Eyles.
And accordinge as the same Authour saith, in a solemne
election of the Triumiri, it was seene for a proufe, that
the Birdes ceased to singe, by reason of a painted Ser-
pente. Furthermoze Painting hath this, that in all her
workes, there is moze vnderstode, and iudged, the scene:
as Plutarke very diligently hath sought out these things
in his Images: and albeit the cunninge be great, yet
the witte doth surpass the cunninge.

A wöder-
full Pi-
cture.

Of the Arte of Grauing, and Moulding. Cap. 25.

Next to Painting commeth Grauing, the Arte of
Moulding, of Founding, of Iewel Cutting, the
workes of a lighte and solishe witte, whiche may
yet also be comprehended vnder Architecture. Grauing
forgeth the Images of Things, of Stone, of Timber,
of Iuorie: and the like doth the Moulder make of Claye.
But the Arte of Founding doth represent the in Brass,
and other Metals. The Jeweller doth graue in Stone,
& Pearle. Of these Artes, amonge them of latter time,
hath Pomponius Gauricus written. Yet I thinke that all
these Artes together with Painting were founde out
by the Diuelles of Hell, for Pompe, for pleasure, and for
superstition. The workers whereof were they, whiche

things in Images, the whiche be scene, by reason of the spaces, and highnesse.

Of Paintinge. Cap. 24.

Wherefore Paintinge is a monstrous Arte, but very studious for the counterfaying of natural things, whiche consisteth in the description of Lines, and in the due layinge of Colours. This in time paste, was had in so great price, that it helde the firste degree of the Liberall Artes. Yet it is no lesse Liberal, then Poetrie, as Horace very wel hath saide.

The Painters, and the Poetes eke,
Haue alwaies had an equal power,

V What things they liste to painte, and speake.

It is saide, that Paintinge is nothings else, but a silente Poetrie, & Poetrie a speakinge Picture: so neare be thei alied togeather. For like as Poetes doe faine Fables, and Historiis, so doe Painters too, and doe expresse the likeness of al things, the Light, the Brightnesse, the Shadowes, the Highest and Lowest partes. Moreouer Paintinge hath this of the Arte Perspective, that it deceiue the sighte, and in an Image diuersely placed, doth cast many fourmes ouer the eyes of the beholders; and it dothe attaine to that, whereunto the Arte of Grauinge is neuer able to come, it painteth the Fire, the Sonne beames, the Lighte, the Thunder, the Lightninge, the Cleames of Lighteninge, the goinge downe of the Sonne, the Morning, the Euening, the Clowdes, mens Passions, and Thoughtes of the minde: and doth almoste expresse the very voice, and with counterfayted measures, maketh the things scene whiche are not, as those whiche are, and maketh the things that are not so, to appeare in an other maner. Euen as the Historiis doe recounte of Zeuxis, and Parrhasius the Painters, whiche, when they came in contention, touchinge the excellencie

Two artificiall pictures of Zeuxis and Parrhasius.

that it spreadeth, and turneth backe to the vertue of the
 Sichte beinge spreadde abroad, end like vnto Fire.
 Galene and Plato are of one opinion: but Hipparchus
 saithe, that the beames spreadinge abroad from the eies
 vnto bodie, touchinge them as it were with a certaine
 feelinge, or gropinge, doe geue that whiche they receiue
 to the Sichte. And the Epicures affirme, that the simi-
 litudes of thinges whiche appeare, doe of them selues
 enter into the eies. Aristotle is of opinion, that the si-
 militudes of thinges not Corporal, but according to the
 qualitie thoro we the alteration of the aire, whiche is in
 compasse, doth come from visible thinges vnto the sight.
 But Porphirius saithe, that neither the Beames, neither
 the similitudes, nor any other thinge is the cause of see-
 inge, but the Soule alone, that knoweth her selfe visible,
 and that is one of al thinges, which knoweth her selfe in
 all thinges that are. The Geometritians and Perspecti-
 uians appoaching somewhat neare to Hipparchus, doe af-
 firme, that there be certaine Figures made of the mee-
 tinge togeather of the Beames, whiche are sente out
 thoro we the eies, from whence the Sichte doth compre-
 hende in one, many visible thinges, but they moste cer-
 taine of all, where so euer the Beames shall meeete toge-
 ther. Certes Alchindus saithe otherwise of the Sights:
 but it seemeth to Augustine, that the power of the Soule
 dothe bringe somewhat to effecte in the eies, the whiche
 is not yet perceaued of the Studentes of Wisedome.
 This Science then dothe very muche auaille to finde out
 the Varietie of the Heauenly bodyes, the Distauce of
 the Createnesse, the Mouinge, the Reuolutions, & Com-
 passes of them, and serueth for Architecture in measu-
 rings houses, Next to this, it geueth a very great Or-
 namente to Painters craft, and to forginge of Glasses.
 In suche manner, that these Artes, without this, cannot
 be broughte to perfection. For it sheweth by what mea-
 nes we shoulde not facion numberlesse, and deformed
 thinges

these latter daies. Fro this Arte also come diuers sortes of warrellike instrumentes, gunnes, and other engins that cast fire: of whiche lately I made a special booke vnder the title of Pirographia: whereof now at the lasse I do muche repente me: because he teacheth nothinge els, but a mosse damnable skil to do excreadinge greate mischies. In fine all the cunninge that is in paintinge, in the measuring of the worlde, in grounde tilthe and trimminge, in the Arte of warre, in foundinge of mettals, in the Arte of workinge Images in earthe, in Image makinge, in forginge, in buildinge, and in mettals, for the mosse parte cometh of Geometric.

Of the Arte Opticke, or Perspectiue. Cap. 23.

Nexte after Geometric, is the Arte Opticke whiche is called Perspectiue: afterwarde the measure of the worlde, and Architecture. This Arte Perspectiue or Opticke doth entreate of thre kindes of seeinge, that is to saie, The Straighte, the Bowinge, and the Broken or Scotched. It teacheth what is Lighte, Shadowe, and Spaces, and perceaueth the causes of visible thinges, whiche seeme false by the distaunces: it considereth the spreadinge of the Beames, by one or many euidente thinges, vpon diuerse Figures of the bodies, also the Representations of the Lighte, and shadowes, and that whiche dothe chaunce to thinges, to the Sighte, and to the Middeste: and sheweth in what sorte the Thinge, and the Sighte are diuersely affected thorothe diuersitie of the middest. But there are sundrie and diuers opinions of the manner of seeinge. For Plato supposeth the Sighte to be made accordinge to the clearenesse: to witte, that whiche cometh from the eyes: the Lighte runninge to an outwarde ayre, that Light whiche is caried from the bodies beinge broughte againste it: but that whiche is aboute the middeste of the aire, doth cause

A ij

that

Cornelius Agrippa

An hearbe
that pur-
geth Mes-
lancolie.

Engins of
warre not
in vse.

Marueilous
things
done by Ge-
ometrie.

finde out some thinge moze then their Masters, doo bzing
them selues into so great madnes, that at the Helleborus
in the worlde sufficeth not to purge it. Yet on this Geo-
metric doth depende: besides this, that it doth searche out
the draughtes of figures, the spaces, the greatnesse, the
bodies, the measures, and weightes: all the cunningge
workinge of toles, and artificall instrumentes, Magna-
ries, Machanopoceticke, Poliorceticke, fitte aswell for
the warres, as buildinges, & other vses, as y^e engins cal-
led Rams, Testudines, Cuniculines, Catapultes, Scorpions,
Exosters, Sambukes, ladders, tolleons, walking towres,
Heliopolins, shippes, galleis, bridges, miles. In like man-
ner charriotes with two, with three, and fower wheles,
polers, crans, wheeles, leauers, and other instrumentes,
by whose meanes very greate burdens are with small
mighte and force drawn and raised vp. Moreouer all
thinges whiche are made either of weighte, or water, or
aire, or sinewes, or cordes, as the clockes which goe with
weight, & Organs whiche sounde with blastes of winde,
and moreouer all watric and windie instrumentes, and
of these, suche as are made but for pleasure and admir-
ation: as balls daunsinge by themselues: candels making
theire owne weckers: and gourdes that breathe fire out
of them: and that beaste, which Politian speaketh of, who
whilest that he is cut on the table, drinketh: and repre-
senteth the motions and voices of a liuinge creature. Of
such a like workmanshippe speaketh Mercurius, that the
Egyptians made the images of their Goddess, that they
could speake distinctly, and go also. Architas Tarentinus
also did in suche sorte make a doue of timber with Geo-
metricall proportions, that he rose vp on high and flew.
And it is reade moreouer, that Archimedes first wrought
an heauen of brasse with so great workmanshippe, that
therein the motions of all the Planetes were moste ma-
nifestly perceaued: and the revolutions of al the heauenly
sphere, like to the whiche we haue seene none made in
these

castinge abroade of the armes; with daunsing fete, with inflamed reines, and with diuers mouings, resolutions, turninges aboute, vpwarde lokes, leapinges, gesturinge with all his bodie, as that which because of the vncoustantie of the minde is enforced to turne with it: mindefull perhaps of the sentence of Demosthenes, who (as it is in Valerius) beinge demaunded, what was most effectual in speaking, he answered, Pronuntiatio: beinge asked the seconde and the thirde time, he made the same answer: and that all most al the force of speaking consisted herein. But lets we goe to farre astrate from our enterprised matter, let vs now goe to Geometric.

Of Geometric. Cap. 22.

Gometric, which Philo the Jewe termeth the Princesse and mother of al learninges, hath this prayse befoze other Sciences: that whereas well neare emonge al sectes of learninges there be many and innumerable contentions, all the Geometricians do accorde togeather on euery side: and at no time there is any contention emonge them but of pointes, of lines, of the better shewe of thinges, whether they maye be decided or not, but they differ not one fro an other, neither in learninge, nor in teachinge: but euery one both endeuoure to surpasse the other with newe & moze subtile inuentions, whiche neuer any hath deuised. Yet no Geometrician hath founde out the true Quadrature of the Circle, and hath geuen no equall line to the side: although Archimedes the Syracusan in times passe, thought that he had founde out these thinges, and many after him vntil these daies haue thought the same, but in a manner they haue gonne aboute it in vaine, although they seeme to haue saide thinges like to the Truthe. Yet suche is their ambition, that they will neuer rest vpon the preceptes of their predecessours, but beleuinge in suche thinges to

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Harlottes , to the ende that the custome of beholdinge suche thinges , mighte not also cause a licence of folowinge it. And therefore to exercise this Arte, is not onely a dishonest and wicked occupation, but also to behold it, and therein to delite is a shameful thinge , bicause that the delite of a wanton minde is an offence . And to conclude, there was in times passe no name moze infamous then stage players, and mozeouer, al they that had plaide an Enterlude in the Theater , were by the lawes deprivued from all honour.

Of Rhetorisme , or of the Rhetoricall Daunsinge. Cap. 21.

There was mozeouer the Rhetoricall daunsinge, not unlike that of the stage players , but not so vehement , whiche Socrates , Plato , Cicero , Quintilian, and very many of the Stoickes thought very profitable, and necessary for an Oratour : so that it were done with a certaine apte gesture of the bodie, and with a setled framinge of the countenance, and bodie: and also with the steadfastnes of the eyes , with the grauitie of the countenance, and with the sounde of the voice applied to every woorde and sentence , with an effectuall mouinge of the bodie to such things, as are expressed, but without great sturringe of the bodie . Yet this daunsinge or Histrionical Rhetozike in the ende beganne to be lesse of all Oratours: and Augustus admonished Tiberius that he should speake with the mouthe not with the fingers , and at this presente it is altogether laide aside : onely it is yet obserued of some staged Fréers (albeit in times passe stage players were bannished out of the Churche , and denied the Holy Sacrament of Communion) of whiche some we see at this day to crie out of the pulpite to the people with marueilous straininge of the voice , with a diuers facioned countenance, with a rollinge and wanton etc, with castinge

kill a guiltlesse man, and a great Infamie somewhat lingers
ringly to receaue a deadly wounde. An Arte to be dete-
sted of al men, to the madnes wherof crueltie is ioigned:
and suche other like kindes of daunsinge, as they are full
of vanité, and impudencie, they are not so muche to be
despised as detested, because they teache nothings els but
maruelous customes how men should ware madde.

Of the Science of Stage Plaiers. Cap. 20.

The stage plaiers daunsing is the Arte of Imitation,
and Demonstration, expresseinge the thinges con-
ceaued in the minde with a seemely gesture: so
plainely and liuely representinge mens manners and af-
fections: that the very beholder plainely perceaueth him
to be a stage player by infinite gestures, and mouinges,
although he saie nothings. This Arte dothe so much ex-
cell, that there needs no interpretours, for it dothe so apt-
ly represent with pleasaunt gesture an olde man, a boye,
a woman, a seruauant, a handmaide, a dzunkarde, an an-
grie person, and the differences and passions of all per-
sons, that also the beholder standinge aloofe of, not hear-
ringe the Enterlude maie perceau the argument there-
of by the onely motions of the Plaier. For this cause we
reade that stage plaiers haue benne had in greate price,
and it is certaine as Macrobius recompteth, that Cicero
was accustomed to cõtende with Roscius the stage plaier
(whom also Silla the dictatour helde very deare) whether
he with diuers gestures, did oftener represent one thing,
oz he thozow his abundance of Eloquence did pronounce
it in diuers talke: the whiche thinge moued Roscius to
write a Booke, wherein he compared Eloquence with the
Stage plaiers Arte. But the Citie of Marfiles, as Vale-
rius writeth, keppe so greate grauitie, that it woulde re-
ceau into it no stage players, because their argumentes
for the moste parte contained the actes, and dwinges of
Harlottes.

Marcus Celius also: and Marcus Cato layde to Lucius Murena his charge that he daunsed in Asia, whom Cicero defendinge, durst not maintaine this as a thinge well donne, but stoutely denied, that he did it: sayinge, No sober man excepte perhappes he ware pœuisthe, daunleth in solitarinesse, in a moderate and honest bankette: but daunsinge is the worst companion of disordinate bankettes, of vnmeasurable pastime, and of filthy pleasures. Therfore it must needes be, that daunsing is the vilest vice of al: and truely it cannot casely be saide what mischies the sighte, and the hiringe do receaue hereby, whiche afterwarde be the causes of communication, & embracinge. They daunce with disordinate gestures, and with monstrous thumpinge of the fete, to pleasaunt soundes, to wanton songes, to dishonest verses: Maidens and Matrons are groped and handled with vnchaste hands, & kissed, and dishonestly embraced: and the thinges whiche nature hath hidden, modestie covered, are then oftentimes by meanes of lasciuiousnes made naked, and ribauldrie vnder the colour of pastime is dissembled. An exercise doubtlesse not descended from Heauen, but by the Deuils of Hell deuised to the iniurie of the diuinitie, when the people of Israell erected a Calfe in the desorte, which after they had done Sacrifice, began to eate, and drinke, and afterwarde rose vp to spozte themselves, and singinge, daunsed in a rounde. And thus we haue sufficiently spoken of daunsinge.

Of the Arte of fightinge with the Sworde. Cap. 19.

I Am not yett ignorant in this place that there are beside many other kindes of daunsinge commended by auncient wryters: of whiche the greatest parte is not this daie in vse, parte is yett in vse, as the dauncinge in Armour fitte for sworde playing, fencing, and warres farre, a tragicall Arte doubtles: wherein the plaie is to

monies hallowed without daunsinge. The Brachmanni also a people of India, in the morninge and eueninge turninge towarde the Sunne, did honoure it daunsinge. Emonge the Ethiopians also, Egyptians, Thracians, and Scythians, daunsinge was reckened emonge the Ceremonies of their Sacrifices, because it was ordained by Orpheus, and Musæus excellent daunfers. There were also emonge the Romans the Priestes called Salij, whiche daunted in the honour of Mars. The Lacedemonians the worthiest of all the Grækes, when they had learned to daunse of Castor and Pollux, they accustomed to do all thinges with daunsinge. It was so muche esteemed in Thessalia, that the Presidents, and Chieftans were honozed with the name of daunfers. Pea Socrates who was iudged by the Oracle the wisest of all men, beinge of good pæres, was not ashamed to learne it, but praised it exceedingly, and reckened it emonge the grauest learninges: & the thinge seemed grauer vnto him, then that he mighte well speake of it, whiche beinge altogather diuine should take his beginninge with the worlde, and come to lighte with Loue the auncient God. But it is no maruaile that the Grækes do in this sorte studie Philosophie, whiche haue made the Goddes authours of Adultrie, of Whoredome, of Murder, and finally of all wickednesse. They haue written many booke of daunsinge, in which is contained all the kindes, qualities, and measures, and haue reckened by the names of them, and of what sorte every one of them should be, and who inuented it: wherefoze I will speake no further of them. The auncient Romaines graue men by reason of their wisdom and authoritèe did refuse all daunsinge, and no honeste Patrone was commended emonge them for daunsinge. For this cause Salust did cast Semproia in the teeth, for that shee songe and daunted more cunningly then becomed an honest woman: and which is more, skillfulness in daunsinge was a reproche to Gabinus, whiche had benne consull, and to

Socrates a
Dauncer.

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ligence do deuise to daunce with framed gestures, and with measurable pases to y sound of the Cymbal, Harpe, or Flute, and do as they thinke very wisely, & subtilly, the sondest thing of al other, & litle differing fro madnes, whiche excepte it were tempered with the sounde of instruments, & as it is saide if vanitie did not commend vanitie, there shoulde be no sighte moze ridiculous, nor moze out of order then daunsinge: this is a libertie to wantonnesse, a friende to wickednesse, a prouocation to fleshly luste, enemye to chastitie, and a pastime vnworthy of al honest persons. There oftentimes a matrone (as Petrarcha saithe) hath losse her longe preserved honour: oftentimes the unhappie maiden hath there learned that, whereof shee had benne better to be ignozant: there the fame & honestie of many women is losse. Infinite from thence haue returned home vnchaste, many with a doubtful minde, but none chaste in thought and dede. And we haue often scene that womanlike honestie in daunsinge hath benne thzowen downe to the grounde, and alwaies vehemently prouoked & assaulted: yet some of the Graeke wryters haue commended it, as they haue many filthie & wicked thinges: and haue saide that the beginninges of this Daunsinge came as it were by inspiration from the highe Heauens from the course of the Sterres, and Planetes, from their goinge and turninge, meeting, and order as it were from a certaine Harmonicall daunsinge of the heauenly Bodies, together with the generation of the worlde. Some saie it was the inuention of the Satires: and affirme also that Bacchus by the meanes of this Arte conquered the Toskans, the Indians, & the Lidians, a vere warrelike Nation. For this cause at length this Daunsinge was bzought into Religion, and was commaunded to be vsed by the Coribantes in Phrigia, by the Curetes in Creta, and by the Goddessse Rhea: and in Delus there was no sacrifice done, which was not soigned with daunsinge, and there were neuer any feastes and ceremonies

out the knowledge of all Learnings: attributing to it besides the force of Diuination, whereby the plights of the bodie, the passions of the minde, the manners of men made thereby be iudged. They saie moreouer, that it is an endelesse Arte, and that it cannot be thozowely learned with any witte: but that daielely according to the capacitie of euery man, it geueth freshe melodie. And therefore Anaxilas saithe not amisse: By God saithe he, Musike is euen like Affricke, it yeerely bringeth forth the somme straunge Beaste. Anathasius for the vanitie thereof did forbidde it the Churches: but Ambrose more desirous of Ceremonie & Pompe, ordained in the Church the vse of singinge and plaieinge on the Organs. But Augustine standinge in doubt, saith in his Confessions, that hereof there grewe to him a harde doubt: but now a daies the vnleeful libertie of Musicke, is so muche vled in Churches, that together with the Canon of the Masse, very filthie songes haue like tunes in the Organs, and the Diuine Seruice is songe by lasciuious Musicians hired for a greate stipende, not for the vnderstandinge of the hearers, but for the stirringe vp of the minde: But for dishoneste lasciuiousnesse, not with manly voices, but with beastely skeeking, while the childzen bzate the Discante, somme bellowe the Tenoure, somme barke the Conterpointe, some howle the Treble, some grunte the Base, and cause many foundes to be hearde, and no wordes and sentences to be vnderstode, but in this sorte the authoritie of iudgement is taken both from the eares, and minde.

{ a woman
affricke
many m
Ambrose
the authour
of singinge
and piping
in the
Church.

Of Daunsinge. Cap. 18.

TH Musicke moreouer belongeth the Arte of Daunsinge, very excptable to Maidens, & Louers whiche they learne with greate care, and without tediousnesse do prolonge it vntill midnighthe, and with great diligence

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gene eare. In Virgill Iopa dothe singe and sounde the Harpe, Aeneas and Dido doo harken. When on a time Alexander the greate did singe, Antigonus his Master rente his Harpe a sunder, and caste it awaie, saieinge: It is nowe méte for thy age to Rule, and not to Singe. And the Egyptians also, as Diodorus testifieth, did forbid theire younge menne to learne Musicke, as that whiche dothe effeminate the mindes of men. And Ephorus, (as Polibius witneseth) saide, that it was inuented to no other ende, but to deceiue men. But in very déede what is moze vnprofitable, moze to be despised, and moze to be eschewed, then these Pipers, Singers, and other sortes of Musicians: whiche with so many, and diuers voices of songes, surpassinge the chirpinge of all Birdes, with a certaine benemous sweetenesse, like to the Mermaides, with voices, gestures, and lasciuious soundes, doo destroie and corrupte mens mindes. For the which thing the women of the Ciconians did persecute Orpheus vnto the Deathe, because with his Musicke he corrupted their menne. But if there be any truthe in Fables, a hundred eies had Argus in his heade, all which not withstandinge were broughte a sleepe, and put out with the Harmonic of one Baggepipe. And yet for this, these Musicians doo much boaste, as though that they were more able to moue the affections, then Rhetoricians are: which be so muche misleadde by their maddenesse, that they as firme mozeouer the Heauens thm selues to singe, yet with voices neuer hearde of any man, excepte perhappes they haue come to the knowledge of those Musicians by meanes of their Euouae, or through Drunckennesse, or Dreaminge. And yet in the meane season, there hath no Musitian descended from Heauen, that hath knowen al the concordances of voices, and that hath founde out all the measures of proportions. And for all that they say, that it is a very perfecte Arte, and which comprehendeth all Disciplines, and that it cannot be handled with
out

The more you seeme to craue a songe
the more they will refuse.

Request them not they neuer cease, &c.

For this cause Musicke hath euer bene wandringe here & there for price and pence, and is the seruaunte of ba worzie whiche no graue, modeste, honeste, and valsaunt man euer professed: and therefore the Greekes with a common worde called them the Artificers of Father Bacchus, or els (as Aristotle saithe) Dionisiaci technitæ, that is the artificers of the Bacchanalia, whiche for the moste parte, were alwaies vsed to haue lewde customes: leadinge for the moste parte, an vnchaste Life: partly also in Miserie, and Pouertie, the whiche bredeth and encreaseth Vices. The Kinges of the Persians, and Medes reckened Musicians emonge Parasites, and Plaiers, as they whiche take pleasure of their owne doingses, and make little accompte of the Maisters. And Antisthenes that wise man, when he hearde, that a certaine man, called Ismenias, was a very good Trumpetoure, he saide, He is a Ke-baulde, for if he were an honest man, he woulde not be a Trumpetoure: for as it is saide, that is no sober, and honeste mannes Arte, but the practise of Plaiers and idle personnes. This did Scipio Emilianus, and Cato contemne, as farre of from the Custome of the Romaines.

Augustus, and Nero were blamed, because they did ouer greedilye followe Musicke. But Augustus beinge reprobued did refraine: Nero couetinge it more and more, was for this cause had in contempte, and little estimation. Kinge Philippe vnderstandiuge that his Sonne had sweetely songe in a certaine place, he reproued him, sayiuge, arte thou not ashamed, that thou knowest to singe so well? It is enough, and too much for a Prince, to haue leasure to heare, when other singe.

Iupiter singeth not emonge the Greeke Poetes, nor soundeth the Harpe. Learned Pallas doth detest the Flute. In Homer a Harpar plateth, and Alciones, and Vlisses

*Feastes of
the Pantins
which they
did cele-
brate with
all abhomi-
nation of
Lecherie.*

A strange
kinde of
Musicke.

measures modeste, conueniente to the grauest affection
of the minde, and moutinges of the bodie, and profitable
to liue well and vprightly they preferre befoze all the
ther: and therefore was had in greate reuerence of the
Cretensians, Lacedemonians, and Arcadians. Kinge Ag
memnon, also goynge to the Troiane warre, leste
home a Musitian that plaid the Dorian tune, who with
the foote Spondeus preserued his wife Clitemnestra,
Chastitie and Honestie, wherefoze shee coulde not be
flowzed by Egisthus, befoze he had wickedly slaine the
Musitian. Perte they saie that Mixilodium is meete
Tragedies, and sorowful things, and hath force to stir
vp, to drawe backe, and to put awise sorowe. There are
some whiche haue founde besides these fower measures
others also, as them whiche they call Collaterall, that is
Hypodorius, Hypololydius, and Hypophrigius, that the
maie be seuen correspondente to so many Planetes:
the whiche Ptolomeus added the eights, called Hipe
mixolidius, the highest of al the other, assigned to the first
nament: but Lucius Apuleius in the firste Booke of his
Florida doth writte of fise measures, the Eolian, the v
ynge Hiasian, the lamentable Lidian, the fierce Ph
gian, and the religious Dorian. To these some doe ad
toigne the lustie and iocunde Ionick. Moreouer Mart
nus according to the tradition of Aristoxenus, doth nu
ber fise pzincipal measures, & ten Appendantes, or Co
laterals. And although men confesse that this Arte ha
muche sweeteneste, yet the comon opinion is, & also eu
one maie see it by experience, that it is the exercise of
men, & of an vnprofitable & vntemperate wit, which ha
no consideration of beginning nor endinge, as it is re
of Archabius the trumpete, to whom men were gi
to geue more to make him cease, then to make him singe.
Of whiche so vnreasonable Musitians Horace speaketh

It is a faulte, a common faulte
that all our Minstrels vse,

minge of the worlde). There are emonge the auncientes moreouer, which haue distinguished the measures of Musicke accordinge to the wordes of nations, as into the Phrigian, Lidian, Dorian, whiche as Polimester and Saccada the Argine saie were the auncientest, to the whiche Sappho Lesbia (as Aristoxenus saithe) added the fourth measure, that is, Mixilodium, the inuentoure whereof some thinke Tesander to be, some Pythocledes the Trumpetoure. Lisias saide that Lamprocles the Athenian was the Authour thereof: and thus the authoritie of the auncientes made these sower measures of Musicke: renowned and termed all these togeather, Enciclopedia, as it were the circle of Sciences, because Musicke dothe comprehend al disciplines, as Plato saithe in the firste booke of his Lawes, that Musicke cannot be entreated of without all disciplines. But of these sower measures they do not allowe the Phrigian, because it withdraweth and ravisheth the minde: but Porphirius termeth it barbarous, because it is onely fitte to stirre by men to battaile, and furie. Some therefore call it Bacchical, as furious, violente, and troublous: with whose Harmonie, which they declare with the foote Anapestus, we reade that the Lacedemonians and Cretensians were stirred to armes: Timotheus with the same incensed Kinge Alexander to warre: and a yonge man called Tauromitanus, accordinge as Boetius saithe, beinge stirred by with this Phrigian sounde, hastened to burne a house where there laie a strumpet hidden. Plato blameth moreouer the Lidian sounde, as sharpe swaruinge from the modestie of the Dorian, fitte for lamentations: notwithstandinge (as it pleaseth some men) it is méete for such as are by nature merrie and pleasaunt. For this cause they saie that the Lidians a merie and very pleasaunt people, are delisted with this Musicke. Which the Toskans moreouer the offspring of the Lidians were wonte to vse in roundes. But the Dorian sounde as the grauest and honestest is in all measures.

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numbers, which by meanes of very fainte numbers haue presumed to saie, that they are able to finde out, and declare Goddes Religion, and innumerable secretes of the heauenly Veritie. Peare to these are the Pythagorean tetractes reckened emongst the Sacramentes, and many other thinges like vnto these, al whiche are vaine, false, and fained: neither doth there remaine any truth emong these Arithmeticians, but an vn sensible & liuelesse number: and yet they beleue that they be placed emonge Diuine men, because they be skilled in numbringe, but the Musicians do hardly graunt them this prerogatiue, moze willingly geuinge this honour to their Harmonie.

Of Musicke. Cap. 17.

Lette our talke therefore be of Musicke, whereof emonge the Greekes Aristoxenus hath plentifully witten, whiche saide that the soule is Musicke. Whose instructions Boetius did afterwarde wite in Latine, I meane that, whiche consisteth in the Harmonie of voices, and soundes, not that whiche they terme the Musicke of Verses, of Rithmes, & sayninge of Verses, whiche is Poetrie, whiche as Alpharabius saithe, is not gotten somuche with speculation, and reason, as with the madnesse of furie, wherof we haue befoze spoken: but I speake of that whiche consisteth of pleasante tunes, the which is an agreement of the stringes, or voices, accordinge in their tune and measure, without offendinge of the eares: for the treateth of soundes, of restes, of stoppes, of tunes, of chaunges of voices, and of measure. The Auncientes decided it into Enharmonica, Chromatica, Diatonica, but they lefte the firste vntouched, (that is Enharmonica) for the ouermuche hidden difficultie, seeminge to them impossible to finde out: the other they haue despised as dishonest and infamous, and haue onely allowed the thirde kinde, (as perswaded that it was in facion like the framinge

*The partes
of Musicke.*

So was by *Hectors* hande *Patroclus* slaine,
Achilles eke, laide him in Bluddy Baine.

There are also whiche with the like computation promise, that thei wil finde out the Horoscope, as a certaine man called *Alchandrius*, a *Philosopher* of small fame, hathe w^ritten of these: who is reported to haue ben *Aristotles* Scoller. And *Plinie* w^riteth, that this was inuented by *Pythagoras*, the vnequal Number of Vowels, in proper names signifieth lacke of sighte, haltinge, and other suche like chaunces.

Againe of Arithmeticke. Cap.16.

BUt let vs retorne againe to Arithmetick: *Plato* saith that it was firste shewed by a wicked spirite togeather with diceplaine. And *Licurgus* that great lawe maker of the *Lacedemonians* thought good to banne it out of his common wealthe as a troublous thinge. For it dothe require a vaine and idle labour, and withdraweth men from profitable and honeste affaires, and oftentimes do vnmeasurably sweare and stare for thinges of no valewe. Hereof cometh that frowarde contention of the Arithmeticians, whether the equall or vnequall number is to be preferred: whiche number is perfecter thre, five, or tenne. In like manner whiche number is termed equally euen: aboute whose definition they saie that *Euclides* the very Prince of Geometrie was greatly deceaued. Furthermore I shall hardly saie, what *Pythagorean* misteries, and what *Magicall* force they dreame to be in numbers, yea being bare of the thinges them selues: and presume to saie, that *God* coulde not haue Created the worlde without these instrumentes, and paternes: and that the knowledge of all deuine thinges is contained in numbers, as in a rule much more certaine then al others. Hereof haue spronge the Heresies of *Marcus Magus*, and *Valentinus*, grounded vpon numbers, and deriued from

The controversies of the Arithmeticians.

Arithmeticke the cause of Heresies.

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by the Lawes of all Nations: and whiche is moze, Cobilon the Lacedimonian beinge sente Ambassadoure to the Corinthians to make League, when he founde the Governours and Aldermenne of Corinth playinge at the Dice, he departed leauinge his businesse vndonne, saieinge: that he would not staine the glozie of the Spartans with this infamie, that they should be saide to haue made League with Dicers. And it was accoumpted so greate a reproche emonge the noblest men, that the Kinge of the Parthians sente golden Dice to Kinge Demetrius, soz a reproche of his lightnesse. And notwithstandinge at this daie, this is the most acustomed Pastime, that Kinges & Noble menne vse. What doe I call it a Pastime? Nay rather theire wisedomie whiche herein hath benne damnably instructed to deceiue.

Of Pithagoras Lotte. Cap. 15.

I Will not passe ouer with silence that which the Pythagoreans affirmed, and as somme suppose, Aristotle himselfe also beleued, that the Characters of the Letters had certaine proper Numbers, by the whiche they did deuine thozowe the proper names of menne, the Numbers of euery Letter beinge gathered in a somme: whiche beinge put togeather they gaue him victorie, whose somme had exceeded the other, whether the question should be asked of Warre, of Debate, of Patrimonie, of Life, oz any othelike thinge. And in this manner they saie, that Patroclus was vanquished by Hector, and he by Achilles, the which thinge Terence hath wozitten in these Verses.

The names in Letters were thus made, they write,
That these in greater Numbers be, and cite
The others in a lesser somme, and when
A doubtful fight is to be made by men,
The greater Number shewes who conquere shall,
The lesser somme denotes the fatall fall:

the moste parte do attribute Geomancie to Astrologie, for the like manner of iudgemente, and also because they gette the vertue thereof, not so muche out of Numbers, as out of Mouinges, accordinge to that saieinge of Aristotle, in the firste Booke of the Meteores: The mouinge of the Heauen is euerlastinge, and is the beginninge, and cause of al inferiour Mouinges. Emonge the auncientes Haly hathe wrytten hereof: of them of latter yeres, Gerardus of Cremona, Bartholomeus of Parmia, and a certaine man called Tundinus. I haue wrytten also a certaine Booke of Geomancie, farre differinge from the other, but no lesse superstitious, false, or if you like, I will saie lieinge.

Of Displeainge. Cap. 14.

In like manner the Arte of Dislinge is altogeather hazzardinge, the moze studious that a man shalbe thereof, the wickeder, and unhappier he shalbe, whileste that in desiringe other mennes godes, he consumeth his owne, and hathe no respecte of his Patrimonie. This Arte is the mother of Lies, of Perjuries, of Theft, of Debate, of Injuries, of Manslaughter, the very inuention of the Diuels of Hell, whiche when the Kingedome of Asia was destroyed, emonge the spoiles of the ransacked Citie vnder a diuers manner passed to the Greekes. Hereof came these games, not in vse emonge vs, as Chestes, Senio, Monarchus, Orbiculi, Thaliorchus, Vulpes: moze ouer Octocedron, Duodecacedron, in the which there is thoughte to be somme Diuination. There are whiche saie, that Attalus Asiaticus founde out this Arte, and diuised it through the Arte of Pumbzinge: but it is leste in wryttinge by the Romains, that Claudius the Emperoure made a Booke of that Arte, whereof he, and before him, Augustus Caesar were moste desirous, and studious. An Arte altogeather infamous, and forbidden

*The fruites
of dize
playe.*

*Dize playe
the Orig-
inal of other
hasarding
games.*

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nothinge els , but in the opinions of theire teachers , to whom greate credite is geuen: whiche haue also not a litle erred in them, whereof Alubatar one of them dothe witnesse vnto vs, saieing: that the auncientes euen after Aristotles time did not know the Mathematicalles. And for so muche as al these Artes for the most parte, haue to doo about spherical oz rounde things, about figure, number , oz mouinge , they are finally enforced to confesse, that there is no where perfectly founde any spherical oz rounde forme , neither accoordinge to Arte, nor Nature. And although these doctrines haue broughte fewe Heresies oz none into the Church, notwithstandinge as Augustine saithe , they appertaine nothinge to Saluation, but rather bringe menne into erreure , and withholden them from God, & (as Hierome saithe) they be not the sciences of Godlinesse.

Of Arithmeticke. Cap. 12.

Emonge these , Arithmeticke is the firste, that is, the science of Numbringe, whiche is , as it were a mother to the residue no lesse superstitious, and vaine, and for the vile praaise of Numbringe is had in price of none , but Marchauntes for couetuousnesse sake : for it treateth of Numbers, & their diuisions, whiche is equal, whiche is vnequal, which is equally equal, whiche is vnequally vnequal, which is superfluous, which is lacking, whiche is perfecte, whiche is compounde , whiche is vncomounde, whiche is by him selfe, whiche is to an other. In like manner of proportion, and proportionallitie, and of their speices. Of Harmonical Numbers, and Geometrical, of the diuers passions of Numbers and Minutes, and of the manner of accomptinge.

Of Geomancie. Cap. 13.

Finally Arithmeticke hath brought forth the Geomantical Diuination , Cardes , Tables , and Dice, and all suche hazardinge Numbers. Albeit , al for
the

out natural Memorie, whiche oftentimes is dulled with monstruouse Images, that oftentimes it causeth madnesse, and frensie in steede of profounde and sure Memorie, to wite, whilest that it burdeninge the natural Memorie with the Images of infinite thinges, and wordes, causeth them to become madde with Arte, that abide not contente with the limittes of nature. This is that Arte, whiche in times paste beinge offered to Themistocles by Siminodes, or by some other, he saide: I had leifer forget, because I remember many thinges, that I would not, and cannot forgette that I woulde. And Quintilian speakinge of Metrodorus, saithe: Doubtelesse his vanitie & boastinge was to auauante of his Memorie rather gotten by Arte, then geuen by nature. Cicero hath written thereof in his newe Rhetorike, Quintilian in his Institutions, Seneca, and of the fresher sorte, Franciscus Petrarcha, Mareolus of Verona, Petrus of Rauenna, and Hermannus Buschius, and others, but vnwozthie of rehersal, men little knowen, and many daiely professe this, but there is none founde, that hath muche profited in it, and the teachers thereof do oftentimes in steede of gaine receiue reproche. For some knaues are wonte oftentimes in the Scholes with the profession of this Arte to begile scollers with the strangenesse of the thing craftily to despoile the vnaduised of their monie. Finally it is a childishe bragge to boaste of Memorie: it is a shamefull thinge, and a shamelesse mannes propertie to set out in al mens sighte, the readinge of many thinges, like as Marchantes do their wares: whereas in the meane while the howse is emptye.

Of the Mathematickes in general. Cap. ii.

But nowe it is time to speake of the Mathematical sciences, whiche are thought of al others the moste certaine, and notwithstandinge they al consist in
nothinge

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Of Lullius Artes. Cap. 9.

Raimundus Lullius founde out in these latter times a monstrous Arte, little differinge from Logicke, by the whiche as in times paste Gorgias Leontinus did auante (who firste in a greate assemblie of learned men, presumed to reason of euery thinge) euery man mighte plentifully dispute of what matter he listted, and with a certaine artificial and huge heape of *¶*ownes, and Verbes, to inuente, and to dispute with ostentation ful of triflinge deceites on bothe sides, of euery curious communication, with this too trimme a skill, and to leaue no place for others to ouercome, and to dilate at large al smal and slender thinges. But it is not needeful to reason muche of these maters, for I haue els where made sufficiente large Commentaries bypon this Arte: but I wil not, that they shoulde deceiue any in so lighte an Arte: and albeit, I seemed to praise it exceedingelye, yet the thinge it selfe maketh it cleare, that we neede not greatlye to dispute about it: but herein I wil admonishe you, that this Arte auaieth moze to the outwarde shewe of the witte, and to the ostentation of Learninge, then to gette knowledge, and hathe mutche moze presumptuousnesse, then efficacie. Furthermoze it is al together rude and barbarouse, excepte it be sette out with a certaine moze singulare eloquence.

Of the Arte of Memorie. Cap. 10.

Emonge these Artes, the Arte of Memorie is also accounted, whiche (as Cicero saithe) is nothinge else but a certaine induction, and order of teachinge, consistinge of places, and Images, as it wer in a paper, deuised, first in Characters by Simonides Melito, afterwarde broughte to perfection by Metrodorus Sceptius. *¶* Notwithstandinge what so euer it be, it cannot stande with

cation, men ascende the right & surest waie to the highest knowledge of diuine and humane matters. They are then deceaued who so euer saie that this Logike is the strongest engine of all to destroie Heretikes, whereas in deede shee is the soztresse of all Heretikes: in times paste the Heretikes Arrius, and Nestor, presuminge vpon this Arte did so shamefully dofe, that the one affirmed diuerse substaunces in the Trinitie according to the degrees, and times, the other saide that the virgin Marie was not the mother of Chziste: & this because they haue presumed to measure Gods workes with Logical Sophismes, obseruing moze the subtil arguments of Aristotle, then considering the wordes of the Scripture of God. For all y^e Doctrine of the Heretikes (as Hierome saithe) hath founde a place, & rest emonge the thornie bzakes of Aristotle and Chrisippus. Hereupon speaketh Eunomius, & saithe, that whiche is bozne, was not befoze it was bozne. Hereupon saithe Maniceus, that he might exempte God from the state of the wicked, maketh him authour of wickednesse: for that cause Nouatus taketh awaie sozgeuenes, that he maie take awaie repentaunce. Of these wel springs all the Doctrine of the Heretikes deriue the Rtuers of their disputations: For sith that there is no communication, but maie be spoken againste, and no argumente, that maie not be disproued by an other, hereof it commeth to passe, that men cannot come to any ende of learninge, noz to any knowledge of the Truthe, by the meanes of Logical Disputations: but also it chaunceth, that many decline from the Truth, to Heresies, while they suppose to haue founde out a shewe of the strongest truthe with Logical Argumentes, oz in sutch sozte reprove Heretikes, that they for al that, speake not sounder matters. Wherefore Plato willed, that Logike should be very slowly touched of wardens, because shee disputeth on bothe partes, & rendzeth weake reasons of honestie, and dishonestie. And thus we haue sufficiently spoken of Logike.

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and seeke out cozners, and repaire elsowes to their vsual matters, makinge so many turninges, as if they shoulde go aboute a Laberinth: And if any be lothe & vnwillinge to contende with them, they assaile him with some subtile question, whiche a very well learned man hath not founde out, that in suche sorte they maie either conuince him in an erreure, that answeareth vnprouided, or if he saie that he is not able to answeare to theire demaunde, they put him to shame, and hisse at him, and so they on bothe partes appeare to be learned. But let vs see, what fruite Logike with her Sophisters hathe brought forth, and bringeth forth in the Church of Chryste, which disagreeinge from Gods worde, do confounde it with deuised reasons, and deriued from the craftie conceites of the minde, to the which, while they ouermuche beleue, when the light of the Truthe is gone, darkenesse dothe arise wherein they being wropped, and blinded, & made maisters, and leaders of the blinde, do with these false argumentes, and apparaunt reasons drawe many with them into the ditch, and alwaies swimminge in the deepe Sea of ignoraunce, and errours, slipperie like Serpentes, and craftely crepinge in with wily wordes of guile & deceite, do misleade the ignoraunt sorte to beleue theire deusses: and extolling them, do presume to perswade that the Holy Scripture cannot stande without Logike, without brawlinge, without contention, without Sophismes. I saie not that Logike dothe not auaille to scholerlike exercise, but what it doth profite Diuinitie, I see not, whose chiefest Logike doth consistte in quiet and plaine communication. For Chryste hath not promised vs in vaine, sayinge, Aske, and ye shal receaue it. So then before the contentious schollers do learne their Logike, let these faithfull Christians obtaine all necessarie Truthe of him that is maister of the Truthe. Moreover Logike by reason of diuers clatering toies cannot finally arise higher, then to Philosophie, but by the meanes of faithfull communication

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ouercome, as to fighte, and theire intente is not to finde out the truthe, but to bzaule, in so muche that he is accounted the chiefest emonge them: that crieth lowdest, that is moste shamelesse, and prateth apace. Of whiche Petrarcha saithe, that this procedeth from the vnshamefulnes of wzing, or from the confession of ignozance, they cannot refraine their tonge, they contende not with the penne, thei wil not haue sene, how weake the things are, wherewith they set out themselues, and therfoze accordinge to the vse of the Parthians they fighte flyinge a waile, & utteringe windie woordes, do as it were spreade saile. These be they which Quintilian termeth very craftie in disputations: but when they goe from that caullation, they are nomoze sufficient in any weighty matter, then certaine small woymes or beastes, whiche able to stirre in straight places, are taken abzoade in the fielde: and therfoze they feare to come into the open fielde: and this is true, that priuie places, and narrowe coznors be healpes to weakenesse, because thei which cannot runne, maie turne and winde whether they list. In like manner do the Sophisters feare to fighte vnder notaries with Bookes, and Authours in theire hande: but they will contende with the onely foze of memozie, and with the flittinge cries of the tonge, not to the ende thei maie be put in wzing as thinges good, and auailable, but that they maie passe in at one eare, and out at the other: and do thinke, that it maketh no matter, what reason every one vseth, so that he geue an instaunce, and some reason to the contrary, and that it is not to be regarded what so euer he speaketh, or thinketh, so that he speake & bzaule apace: for the moze woordes a man vseth, the better learned he is iudged emonge them. They with these illusions, and deceites goe aboute to Scholes, to streates, to tables, to seeke suche as are of theire profession, whiche they bidde, praise, and procure to dispute, and if they encounter and bzge one an other, they go to priuie places.

The Parthians manner of fighte.

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to English-
men: Yet as
Tully saith,
Verba sunt
nobis vlti-
mollinda,
straunge
wordes are
to be made
easie by vse,
and when
woordes
wante, wee
must inuent
them.

Distributions, of Intentions, of Suppositions, of Appella-
tions, of Obligations, of Consequences, of Indissolubles,
of Exponibles, of Reduplicatiues, of Exclufiues, of Instan-
ces, of Cases, of Particularifations, of Supposites, of Me-
diations, and Inmediations, of Completes, & Incompletes,
and other intollerable, & vaine wordes which are woziten
in the little Logicals, with the whiche all thinges whiche
in very döede are false, and impossible, they will easily
proue to be true: and contrariwise what thinges so euer
are true, as bzeakinge out of the Troiane horse, they wil
sodenly spoile with fire blastes & thundzing of wozdes
by the meanes of these engins. There are againe other,
whiche allowe but thzee Predicamentes, and two Figures
of Syllogismes, & of these dö onely approue eight Moodes
and laughe at Moodall propositions, and at the Concrete
and Abstract termes: and there be founde some whiche
adde the eleuenth Predicament, and the fourth Figure of
Syllogismes, and dö augmente the number of the Predi-
cables and Causes, and haue brough in so many inuinci-
ble and Scotical subtilities, that the sharpe and shrewde
sayinges of Cleanthes, and Crisippus, with the deceites &
wiles of Daphitas, of Eutidemus, and Dionisiodorus, shall
be altogether blockithe and rusticall, if they be compared
with the newe inuentions of our Sophisters, in the which
vniuersally at this daie well neare all the companie of
Scholers, beinge occupied in a miserable and damnable
Studie, seeme to dö nothinge moze then to learne to erre,
and with vnceasing contention, either to make the truth
moze obscure, or vtterly to lose it: al whose learninge is
nothinge els but a certaine captiousnesse, whiche thozow
a cozrupte speakinge of wozdes with a certaine subtle
cauillation subuerteth the vse of speakinge, and offereth
violence to the tonge, which shee vnderstandeth not, tur-
ninge the truthe vpside downe after a likely exposition,
whose glozie is placed in nothinge els but fauntes
and crakinges, as they that dö not desire so muche to
ouer-

sought, & is called the Lesse, the other is the Predication of the thing sought, and is called the Larger, the thirde is the Meane, whiche taketh parte of bothe: and accoꝝdinge to these thei frame two Propositions, whiche they terme Premised, the Larger and the Lesse, of these finally ariseth the conclusion, that is, passinge from one extreame to another, as it were from the entraunce to the bowndes. This is all that marueilous cunninge, these be al the extreame boꝝders thereof, by the whiche they suppose to ioygne, deuide, and conclude al thinges by certaine conclusions, whiche they thinke impossible to be disproued, and these are the highe and marueilous misteries of Logike, founde out with greate labour by deceitfull Masters, whiche as it were certaine hidden & secrete thinges all maie not professe noꝝ learne, but suche as can geue great rewardes foꝝ the hauing of them, and haue bought this authozitie emonge Scholers with greate expenses. Finally these are their dogges, these are their nettes, by the whiche (as they thinke) they trace out the truthe of all thinges either subiecte to nature as naturall thinges, oꝝ accompanyinge nature as the Mathematicalles, oꝝ that in a certaine soꝝte surpasse nature it selfe, as are the supernaturall thinges: whiche truthe notwithstandinge thozowe that cunninge, accoꝝdinge to the Proverbe of P. Clodius, and Varro, they losse with tomuche disputation. And these onely are the limites of the auncient Logitioners.

Of Sophistrie. Cap. 8.

BUt many moze monsters, and greater miracles then these, hath the latter Schole of the Sophistes added therto, of the passion of the Limites, of the Infinite, of the Cōparatiues, of Superlatiues, of the Difference of one, of the Beginninge, and of the Ende, of Formalities, of Societes, of Instaunces, of Ampliations, of Restrictions, of

These Termes seeme obscure to the multi-

to al suche thinges, that maie be knowen by vs. But sithe that oftentimes all the senses are deceaued, doubtlesse they cannot proue to vs any certaine experience. Furthermoze sithe that the senses cannot attaine to the intellectuall nature, and the causes of the inferiour things, of whiche their natures, effectes, and properties or iather passions stould be declared, by the consent of al men be altogether vnkowen to our senses, is it not manifest that the waie of the truth is shutte vp fro the senses: Wherefoze al these deriuations and sciences, whiche are false rooted in the senses shalbe vncertaine, erroneous, & deceitful: What then is the profite of Logike, and what fruite cometh of that learned demonstration, by principles & proues, to the whiche we shal of necessitie assente as it were to knowen limites: shall not now the principles theselues, & proues rather be knowen then shewed: but I wil now reperate this Arte moze at large. The Logitioners doe reckon ten predicamentes, which they terme most generall woordes, these be the y, Substaunce, quantitie, qualitie, relation, when, where, settinge, apparalinge, action, & passion, in the which they thinke that al thinges are contained, and vnderstode whatsoeuer is comprehended in all the vniuersall rounde worlde. Moreover they teache what they be that are before spoken of these and their partes, whiche be siue in number: that is, the Generall worde, the Speciall, the Difference, the Propertie, and the Accidente, whiche soz this cause be called Predicables. Furthermoze they haue founde out foure causes of euery thing, Materiall, Formall, Efficient, & Finall, by the which they suppose that they can finde out the truth, and fals-hood of al things, by a certaine infallible Demonstration (as they thinke,) that is, with a Syllogisme, that is, a perfecte argumente, whiche ought to be in one of the .xiiij. Moodes of figures (as they terme it) with one of the thre Moodes. They make euery Syllogisme or Demonstration with thre limites, whiche be, the Subject of the thinge sought

terpretation, called Peri hermenias, the Bookes of resolution called Analytica, & others: whom the Peripateticke followinge, doe suppose that nothinge can stande, or be vnderstode excepte it be proued with perfecte argument by demonstration, to wete, that whiche Aristotle setteth out, but yet he neuer obserued it in his determinate opinions, for so muche as he hath taken all his argumentes of presupposed matters, whome all these professours of Sciences followinge haue not hitherto geuen any, or very fewe true demonstrations in other matters, nor yet in natural thinges, but all deriue them from preceptes, or from their Aristotle, or from some other, that spoke them befoze him, whose authoritie they kepe to them selues, for principles of demonstration, Aristotle teacheth that the true demonstration, which ought to make knowledge, is that, whiche is made (as the Logitioners speake) by Quid-dites, and by the proper difference of thinges hidden, and vnknownen to vs. He saithe mozeouer that demonstration is made of causes, of these whiche are as, of, by, it selfe, and after as the thinge is: whiche prepositions albeit they are conuertible addinge them selues togeather, not withstandinge he saithe that there is no circular demonstration geuen, nor graunted of the causes. If therefore the principles of demonstration be very ill vnderstode, and the circumstance shal not be admitted, certes hereof can be had none but very slender and vncertaine knowledge: For we must beleue thinges shewed, by certaine weake principles: to the whiche we agree either for the forpassed authoritie of the wise, as it were to knowne limetes, or els with experience we allowe them by the senses. For euery knowledge (as they saie) hath his beginning of the senses, and the proufe of true speaches (as Auerrois saithe) is that they agree with sensible thinges. And that thing is better knowne and truer, whereupon moste mindes and senses doe agree: thozowe the knowledge then of sensible thinges we are ledde by the hande

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„ whiche ouer diligently studie Aristotle and Plato, they
„ become superstitious, & these wicked. And al they whiche
„ contrary to the simple wordes of the truthe doe poze idle
„ talke into mens eares, they shal stande in iudgemente,
„ and render an accompte of suche thinges as they haue
„ vainely faigned and deuised againste God.

Of Logike. Cap. 7.

*Logike the
science of
reasoninge.*

*The office
of Logike.*

Logike is toygned to these for a succour, and verely it is nothinge els, but a skillfulnes of contention and darkenesse, by the whiche al other sciences are made moze obscure, and harder to learne, and the moze ouer termeth her selfe Logike, that is, the science of speakinge and reasoninge. Miserable doubtlesse and vnreasonable should mankinde be, if without this learninge it shoulde not know how to reason: not withstandinge Seruius Sulpitius saide, that this was the greatest of all Artes, and as it were a lighte vnto suche thinges as are taught to others, whereas the (as Cicero saithe) dothe teache howe to deuide all the whole matter into partes, and by definiunge to declare that whiche is hidde, by interpretinge to make plaine that whiche is obscure, to skan and distinguishe that whiche is doubtfull: & the dothe geue rules to iudge true thinges and false. Mozeouer the Logitioners promise (as they saie) that they are able to finde out the essentiall definition of euery thinge: not withstanding they can neuer make it plaine with any wordes, but that the minde is as ignoraunt as it was befoze. But if any saie to an vnlearned man, a mortall liuing creature reasonable, for a man, he will lesse vnderstande it, then if he had saide simply a man. Boetius amonge the Latines hath writen muche of this, whose workes are not extant, but that whiche Aristotle hath writen dothe surpasse all the other, that is, the Predicamentes, the Elenches, the places of argumentation called Topica, the bookes of in

terpreta

very many are made worse: which albeit they were able to speake cleaner of vertues, yet wee see them much better spoken, and of a more flowing Eloquence to defende errorres, to solve debates, to stirre by seditions, to taunte, to backbite, to accuse falslie, then to seeke peace, conkozde, and quietnesse: and to preache Charitie, Faith, and Religion. Furthermoze very many cleauinge to this skill, haue swarued from the true faith: and Sectes, Schismes, Superstitions, and Heresies haue spronge by whilest that some in such sorte despise the holy Scripture bicause it wanteth Ciceros Eloquence, that otherwhiles with polished perswasions of Pagane argumentes they helde againste the Catholike truthe. Which is manifestly scene in the Tacian Heretikes, and in them, whiche Libanius the Sophist, and Symmachus the Oratoure defenders of Idolatrie, Celsus Africanus, and Iulianus Apostata haue seduced, rising by against Chzist with most great colours of Rhetozicke: out of whose damnable and blasphemous Eloquence, the Heretikes haue taken many argumentes of perswasions, whiche they putting into simple mens eares, haue ledde them from the worde of Truthe. But what stande we aboute the eramples of aunciente Heretikes: let vs beholde our times. Who be the ringe leaders of the Germane Heresies, whiche from the beginning of Luther alone are at this date so much encreased, that wel neare every Citie hath his peculiare Heresie: are not the authours of them mosse eloquent men, armed with Eloquence of the tongue, and with the elegancie of stile: and whom a fewe yeares past we haue scene to be so muche praised for the perfecte knowledge of the tongues, for the finenesse of speache, and for the promptnes of speakinge and writinge, that nothinge coulde be added to their praises, at this date we see the heades and capitaines of Heretikes: so there be many vntill this date, whiche geuen to Eloquence, whilest that they are desirous to be Ciceronians, are made Pagans, and they

whiche

false likelihood of the truth doth allure the mindes of the simple, and leadeth them into the prison of erreure, leadinge to subuerte the sence of the truthe. But if by the meanes of nature there is nothinge, whiche maye not be expressed with true wordes, what can be moze pestilent, then to studie for coloured wordes? The speache of the truthe is simple, lively, percinge, and a searcher of the inward intentions of the harte, and like a hatchet & two handed sworde dothe seperate and cut a sunder al the Artificiall argumentes of Oratours. For this cause Demosthenes without any doubtte despised all other Rhetoricians, and feared Phocion alone who simply and briefly spake the truthe, and suche thinges as appertained to the purpose. Peradventure the auncient Romaines knewe this, whiche (as Suetonius testifieth) with a publike edicte did twise drive the Rhetoricians out of the Citie of Rome, once when Caius Fannius Strabo, and Marcus Valerius Messala were consuls: once againe, when Cneius Domitius Enobarbas, & Lucius Licinius Crassus were censours: the thirde time, when Domitianus was Emperoure by a generall decree of the Senate they were bannished from Rome, and out of Italie. The Athenians did forbidde them the place of iudgement as destroyers of Justice: and they caused Timagoras to be beheaded, because in doinge the duties of salutation, according to the custome of that nation he had flattered Kinge Darius. The Lacedemonians bannished Ctesiphon, because he auanted that he coulde talke a whole daie of any thinge. For there was nothinge moze odious emonge them, then this curious cunninge of their tongue, whiche had no care to speake the truthe: but takinge in hande a meane matter, did trimely attire it with exquisite elegancie of speache, and with loftinesse of wordes, and to deceaue the mindes of the hearers with pleasauntnesse of wordes, & with their tongue to leade them bonde by the eares. And now it is euidente that none are made better by this skill, but that

Demosthenes called this Phocion the reason that did cut of his wordes because his speech was short, grave, vehement, and full of quicke sentences.

A iolie praticer.

tions. The other Cato Vticensis, by prouokinge Caesar, did altogether subuerte the Romaine libertie. No lesse did Cicero incense Anthonie to the destruction of the publike wealthe, and Demosthenes, Philippe to the ruine of the Athenians: in fine there was no state of common wealthe, whiche hath not in times passe bene turned by side downe by this Arte, none hath escaped vnhurte with the vice of Eloquence, if he hath geuen eare thereto. In likewise confidence in Eloquence can doe much in iudgements, her patronage defendeth vniuste causes, and he that is giltie is deliuered from the daunger of the lawe, & the accused innocent is oftentimes condemned by her: and there was neuer any so defended by this Arte, but that he whiche was on the contrary parte had the foile. Marcus Cato the wisest of the Romaines did forbide these three Oratours of the Athenians, that is, Carneades, Critolaus, and Diogenes, to be receaued into the Cittie of Rome, and there openly to teache, because they had so sharpe wittes, suche pleasaunt speache, and passing Eloquence, that they coulde easily perswade righteous, and vnrightheous causes. It is wel knownen that Demosthenes in times past did auauante hereof among his friendes, that he coulde, when he listed, drawe the minde of the Judges whether pleased him by the craftie conuepaunce of his communication, accordinge to whose fantasie the Athenians had oftentimes warre with Philippe, oftentimes peace. So great was his force of Eloquence to moue and mitigate the affections of the minde, that as it were hauinge rule ouer his Countrie men, he would drawe them whether he listed with wordes: for the like cause Cicero was at Rome called of many a Kinge, because that he drew the Senate whether he would with wordes, rulinge al thinges with his Eloquence. Hereby it appeareth that Rhetoricke is nothinge els, but an Arte of perswadinge and mouinge the affections, with subtile Eloquence, with exquisite colouringe of wordes, and with a

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little differing from this of Pithagoras the Sophiste, and Euathlus his Scholer. Notwithstandinge to knowe how to speake perfectly, eloquently, grauely, and plentifully, is alwaies a goodly, delectable, and a profitable thinge, sometimes for al that dishonest, and vnconuenient, and very often daungerous, and alwaies suspected: Wherefoze Socrates thinketh Rhetorians are woorthy of no estimation, and that they should beare no rule in a wel framed common weale. And Plato thinketh good that they should be kept out of the Publike weale, togeather with the makers of Tragedies, stage plaiers, and Poetes, and not without a cause. For there is nothinge moze daungerous to ciuill offices then this, from whiche corrupted accusers, haisters, sicophantes, and suche other names of a naughty tounge do descende: For oftentimes men indewed with this arte do moue conspiracie, and stirre sedition, whilest they with this artificial bablinge deceaue some, backebite other, ieste at other, flatter other, and vse a certaine tirannie againste innocentes. Therefore Euripides saide well, that to knowe how to speake many thinges was a certaine tirannouse thinge: and Eschilus saithe, that wel ordered communications, is the lowlest mischiefe of al others. Raphael Volaterranus a man very studious in Histories & examples, confesseth, that when he had conferred togeather al the examples, which he had harde and reade of the auncientes, and of them of latter time, he founde very fewe good men eloquente. Haue there not bene great common wealthes greenously decayed by this onely, and oftentimes brought to vtter decaye? The Bruti, the Calsij, the Gracchi, Cato, Cicero, and Demosthenes, are examples hereof, whiche as they were accounted of all men the moste eloquent, so alwaies of all men they were moste seditious. For Cato Censorius, beinge accused fourtie times, did accuse other moze then seuentie times, greatly troubling al his life time the tranquillitie of the common wealth with his pœuilly declamations.

*Eloquence
the cause of
the decaye
of common
wealthes.*

demaunded, whether he were stronger then him: he answered. Although Pericles be ouercome by me in battle, not withstandinge he hath so muche eloquence, that when he reasoneth of these things, he appeareth not conquered but conquerour: and Plinie saith of Carneades, that when he argued, the truthe coulde hardly be perceaued: and of the same it is wozitten, that when on a time he had spoken many thinges wisely and eloquently, before the people in the fauoure of Justice, the nexte daie followinge with no lesse eloquence and learninge he inueighed againste Justice. There was in Siracusa Corax a Rhetozician, a man of a sharpe witte & a redier tongue, who taught this arte for rewarde. Unto him came Tifias, and hauinge no readie monie to paye him, he promised him double as sone as he had taught him Rhetozicke, whom Corax with that condition receaued and taughte. Tifias, when he had learned this Arte, goinge aboute to beguile his master of the monie, he asked Corax, what Rhetozicke was, who when he had aunsweread that it was the maistrisse of persuations, he made an argument in this manner against his maister. Whatsoeuer then I shall tell thee touchinge the monie, if I shall perswade that I owe thee nothinge, I owe thee nothinge, because I haue perswaded that I owe nothinge: if I can not perswade thee, I wil not be indebted to thee, because thou haste not taught me to perswade: When Corax seemed to wrestle this argumente againste Tifias. Whatsoeuer (saide he) I shall saie touchinge the monie, if I shall perswade that I oughte to haue it, I shall receaue it, because I haue perswaded thee: if I shall not perswade thee, I ought to receaue it, because I haue taught so greate a scholler, that ouercame his maister. The Siracusans hearinge them contende with argumentes, whiche they were able to tourne to euery purpose, exclamed: Of a naughty crowe, a naughty egge: signifiynge that a naughty maister had made a woyle Scholler. Gellius recompteth an Historie

The aun-
sware of
Pericles
the sophist.

A pretie
historie of
Tifias, who
ouercoming
his master
Corax in
argumen-
tation de-
franded
him of his
monie.

a fine

This saying
of the Sy-
racusans
was euer
afterward
used for a
Prouerbe e-
monge the
Greekes.

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Very wise and eloquent men before Rhetorike was taught.

The saying of the Lacedemonians concerning mens talke.

Preceptes of Eloquence more hurtfull, then profitable.

but nature, the which was scene in Antonius the Prince of the Romane Emperours. Besides this although before Tullias, Corax and Gorgias, none did teache or write the Arte of Rhetorike, there were not withstandinge many very wise and eloquent men. And furthermore where as the Arte is defined to be a collectiō of preceptes, which tende to one ende: the Rhetoritians kriue vnto this howze what the ende thereof is, whether to persuaide, or to speake well, and not contente with the true causes do deuise newe and fained. They haue besides this founde out so many Theses, Hypotheses, figures, colours, guidings, carracters, persuations, controuersies, declamations, prohemis, insinuations, gettings of god will, and mooste artificiall narrations, that vnneth they can be numbred, and not withstandinge they denie that there is an ende of Rhetorike. This Arte the Lacedemonians did vtterly reiecte, whiche saide that honest mens communication ought not to procede of arte, but of the harte. The auncient Romaines mozeouer did very late receiue Rhetoritians into the Cittie: and although after muche disputation Cicero had gone aboute to shewe that Oratorie did not so mutche procede of arte, as of wisdom, and therefore had writen the worke of a perfecte Oratoure, not withstandinge that Oratoure whiche he as an example or paterne there frameth, is not allowed of all men, and mozeouer he seemeth to be very mutche suspected of Brutus a man of singular honestie, & alwaies the opinion of Rhetoritians hath taken place, that the preceptes of pleading do moze hurte, then profite the life of men: and to speake the truthe, it is cleare that al the whole doctrine of Rhetorike is nothings els, but the arte of fauninge flatterie, and as some moze boldly speake of lyinge, to the ende that that whiche he cannot bringe to effect, with the veritie of the matter, he may persuaide with the painted glosse of talke: even as Archidamus speaketh of Pericles the Sophiste, (as Eunapius witnesseth) who beinge

demaun

seeme to haue witten a verie scrupulouse Historie. This writeth Iosephus of others, and one Egippus correcteth him. Besides this many of the Historiographers write many thinges, but all not to be allowed, and there are some, whiche allowe thinges, not to be allowed, many do determine to followe very naughtie examples. For they whiche with wonderfull praises do depainte Hercules, Achilles, Hector, Theseus, Epaminondas, Lizander, Themistocles, Xerxes, Cyrus, Darius, Alexander, Pirrus, Hannibal, Scipio, Pompei, Cæsar, what other haue they described but greate and furiose thæues, & famouse spoilers of the worlde: I confesse that they were very good Capitanes, doubtles very wicked and naughtie men. **But if a man saie to me that by the reading of Histories** a singular wisdomē mate be gotten, I denie it not, so that he also graunte me this, that out of the same is receaued in like manner greate damage: and as Martial saith, There are many thinges good, many indifferent, and many naught.

Of Rhetorike. Cap.6.

There is a controuersie emonge men, whether Rhetorike, whiche is nexte to these, be an Arte, or not, and the matter is yet before the Judge. For Socrates in Plato dothe proue with very stronge reasons, that it is neither Arte, neither Science, but a certaine subtiltie and sharpnesse of witte, and that it is neither commendable, nor honest, but rather a dishonest, and seruite flatterie. Lissias moreouer and Cleanthes, and Menedemus haue saide, that Eloquence can not be comprehended in any Arte, but that it proceedeth onely of nature, whiche teacheth euery man when he shoulde flatter, and tell his owne matters, and to strengthen it with argumentes: and that true pronuntiation, memorie, and the finest manner of inuention did proceede of nothings els

*Eloquence
proceedeth
only of Nature.*

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but

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lyinge by nature and industrie, haue writen fained Hi-
stozies: as are the follies of Morgan, Margalon, Melu-
sin, Amadis, Florando, Tirante, Couamor, Arthur, Die-
ther, Lancelot, Tristan, I meane those fained and fowlshe
dotages of Poetes, moze fained and fabulouse, then Co-
medies oz Fables: emonge the learned sozte Apuleius,
and Lucianus, are chiefe in these thinges: mozeouer as
Cicero saithe, in Herodotus, the father of Histozies, in
Diodorus, and Theopompus, are infinite fables, & stuf-
fed full of lies: for we reade in them that the riuers were
drunke by the Medes, and that men might sayle ouer the
hill Athos.

And what soeuer lyinge *Greece,*

Doth dare to write in Histories.

And these be the causes, why in no parte any credite may
be thzoughly geue to Histozies: although we chiefly seeke
this in it, it is a very harde matter to attaine to Iudge-
ment, which should be needeful in discerning the truthe,
for so muche as they wrote not publikely of thinges that
happened, whiche declared the truthe of thinges, & stop-
ped the mouthes of Liars, but euerie one was suffered to
use his owne opinion. Hereof they haue gotten Au-
thoritie to erre, and lie: whereupon emonge the Histo-
riographers there is risen so greate a discorde, that, as
Iosephus saithe againste Appio, they reprove one an o-
ther with their Bookes, and write verie diuersly of one
selfe thinge. In howe many places, (saiethe he) is Hella-
nicus repugnant to Agesilaus as touchinge Genealogie
oz Pedegree, and in howe many thinges dothe Agesilaus
correcte Herodotus, and howe Ephorus in verpe many
matters sheweth that Hellenicus is a liar: Timeus re-
prooueth Ephorus, they whiche were after Timeus repro-
ued him, and all men in generall reprove Herodotus.
But Timeus hath vouchesaued to agrée with Antiochus,
Philisto, and Gallia in euerie thinge: in many thinges
mozeouer is Thucidides accused as deceitful, although he
seeme

worlde, when they are not able to ioine them in kinred, ^{flatteringe}
 they haue recourse to fables, and strange beginninges, ^{Historio-}
 and faine names of Kinges, and places, and there is no- ^{graphers.}
 thinge, wherof they make not a lie. Of this sorte, is that
 barbarous Hunibaldus, who, writinge the Historie of the
 people Franci, hath deuised Scithia, Sicambria, the yonger
 Priamus, and other names of Places & Kinges, of whiche
 no auncient Historian euer made mention: and not
 withstandinge, men of like witte, haue followed his trif-
 fles: as, Gregorius Turonensis, Reginus, and Sigisber-
 tus, with many other. Of this kinde is Vitelkindus also,
 who saith, that the Saxons, the Auncientest and firste in-
 habitours of Germanie, weare offspringe of the Macedo-
 nians, and dothe deriue them from the remnaunte of A-
 lexander the Greate, whiche hathe in this erreure many
 other companions. There be mozeouer many, whiche
 write Histories, not so mutche to tell the Truthe, as to
 deliue that thei maie expresse, and depainte, the Image of
 a noble Prince, in whom they please. Whiche if any shal
 reprove for lyinge, they saie, that they haue not so greate
 a regarde, to thinges done, as to the profite, of the poste-
 ritie, and to the fame of witte, and therefore they haue
 not declared all thinges, as they haue benne donne, but
 how they ought to be declared, and that obstinately, they
 will not defende the truthe, but where the commo vtili-
 tie dothe require, either a faininge or vntruthe, citinge
 Fabius for witnesse, who saithe, that suche a lie is not
 to be dispised, whiche anaieth to the persuation of hone-
 stie. Furthermore, seinge that they write to the poste-
 ritie, it maketh no greate matter, with what name, or
 what order the example of a good Prince shoulde be pu-
 blished abroade: Such an example hath Xenophon sette
 out of Cyrus, not as it was, but as it ought to be, as a re-
 semblance and paterne, of a singular good Prince, writ-
 tinge a proper and trimme Historie, but without truthe.
 Hereof at length it is come to passe, that many apte to
 lyinge

lyinge
 in
 of hon

done, notwithstanding overcome with bencuolence and affection, flatteringe their owne doinges, do preferre faishode befoze the truthe. Emonge these are some, whiche takinge in hande to write Histories, to accuse or defende other mens causes, wzing suche thinges only, whiche make for their purpose, dissemblinge, ouer passinge, or diminishinge the residue: do write corrupte and vnperfecte Histories, for whiche vice Blondus dothe reprove Orosius, because he hath kepte silente that great

The Gothes well neare spoiled the whole Countre of Italy.

ruine of Italie, wherein the Gothes ransacked Rauenna, Candanum, Aquilcia, Ferraria, and in a manner all Italie, that he might not debase his enterprised mattier. There are mozeouer many, whiche corrupted thozowe feare, rancoure, or with hatred of some, do write vntruthes: Others, whilest they desire to extol their owne doinges, do diminish the other mens prowesse, and write that which is not, but that which they couet, that which they wishe, and that whiche pleaseth them, stedfastly trustinge that they will not faile to be companions and defendours of their lies, and be their witnesses, whome they haue notably flattered. Whiche vice in times passe was comon

well neare all Historians at this daie, are flasterers.

emonge the Graeke writers: but at this daie well neare the Historians of all Nations haue the same vice: as Sabellicus, and Blondus, in the affaires of the Venetians. Paulus Emilius, and Ganguinus, in the exploitcs of the Frenche men, whiche Princes entertaine for no other commoditie, but that as Plutarch saithe, because they by the meanes of a good witte, chokinge vertue with other mens merites, accordinge to the maiestie of an Historie, with trifles and faininges may sette out their beedes. After this sorte the Graeke Historiographers wzinge of the inventours of thinges, would attribute all thinges to themselues, but they were not theirs. Beholde an o-

A corrupte and lyinge kinde of

ther moeste corrupte kinde of flatterers, whiche whilest they go aboute to enlarge and extende, the beginninge of their Princes, to the moeste Auncient Kinges of the worlde,

by him touchinge the hills Pirinei. Furthermoze the things, that Cornelius Tacitus, Marcellus, Orofius and Blondus, doo speake of the places of Germanie, for the moste parte they are farre from the truth. Likewise Strabo falsely writeth that the Riuer Ister, that is, Danubius, springeth not farre from the Sea Adriatike: and Herodotus saithe, that he flæteteth from Hesperus, & springeth neare to the people Celti, the whiche are the fardest people of Europe, and entreteth into Scithia. And againe, Strabo saithe, that the Riuers Lapus, and Visurgus, doo runne into the Riuer Hanafus, whereas Lapus is mingled with the Rhene, and Visurgus, is discharged in the Oceane Sea: So Plinie also teacheth that the riuer Mosa renneth into the Ocean Sea: whereas he plungeth himselfe, not in the Ocean but in the Rhene. With the like errors among the latter Historians, and Geographers, Sabellicus falsly woulde haue the people called Alani, to take their beginninge of the Almans, and the Hungarians, of the people Huni, mozeouer he termeth the Gothes, and the Getes Scithians, and confoundeth the Danes, with the people Daci, and placeth the hill of Sainte Otilia, in Bauaria, whereas it is not farre from the Cittie Argentine. Volaterranus also confoundeth Austerania, and Austria, the Auarians and Bauarians: Lucerna also, and Nansium, and saithe, that Plinie hath made mention of the Barnensian Swifers, whereas they longe time after tooke theire beginning of Bartholdus Duke of the Zaringians: Semblablely, Conrades Celtes supposeth the people Daci, to be one with the Cimbrians, that is the Fleminges, and the Cherusci, to be them which wee call Cerusci, and mozeouer he saithe that the Mountaines Ryphei, are in Sarmatia, at this date Poland, and writeth that the gumme called Amber, groweth out of a tree. There are mozeouer other emonge the Historians, gillie of greater lies, who when they were presente at the things, or knew them otherwise then they are, or were

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in an armye, or begginge vnder pretence of prayer, or pilgrimage from one Hospitall to an other, traueling through those countries do rashly presume to write an Historie: suche a one as Onosicritus, and Aristobolus, in time paste haue written of India. There be of these, which for delectation and pleasure, do enterlase lies with true matters, oftentimes also omittinge the truth: for which vice Diodorus Siculus, dothe reprove Herodotus: and Liberianus, and Vopiscus, Trebellius, and Tertullianus, and Orosius, & Tacitus: in whiche number we will also place Danudes, and Philostratus. There are also some, which turne true thinges to fables, as Gnidius, Cresias, Hecataeus, and many other aunciente Historians: There are many, that impudently & shamefully auant themselves to professe Historiographie: that they may not seeme to be ignoraunt in any thinge, or to haue taken oute of others some other thinge, whilest with a nouité or straungnesse full of trifles, they haue presumed to write of vnknown countries, & vnable to be gone vnto, haue spoken of nothings but trimme trifles, and monstrous lies. Euen as the fables be, that are reade of the Arimaspi, of the Gripes, of the Pigmæi, and the Cranes, and of the Cinocephali, and Astromori: of the Hippodes, of the Phannisij, and of the Trogletyti, to whose erroure they are next that affirme the frozen Sea to be vnder the Articke, and yet they finde foolish men, and withoute iudgemente, that beleue them in suche thinges, and accompte them for Oracles: emonge whiche Ephorus may be numbred, who saide that there was one onely Citie in Iberia, knowinge that they do inhabite so greate a parte of Spaine. And Stephanos the Greeke, whiche saide, that the people called Franci, were Italians, and that Vienna was a Citie of Galilea, for Galatia. And Arriauns the Greeke, which affirmed that the standinge of Germanie, was not farre from the Ionike Sea, to whome agreeth Dionisius also in the thinges whiche are falsely writen

Historiographers entermedle lies with the truth, for delections sake.

Here are reckned the errors of diuers Historians.

Macedonian famous for the murder of Kinge Phillippe, and as Gellius, Valerius, and Solinus made relation of Herostratus, who burned the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. the goodliest worke that in two hundred yeeres before was builte in all Asia. And although it was provided with moske extreme Lawes, that nowe should name this man in worde or wrytinge, not withstandinge, he obtained the ende, for the whiche he had committed so greate offence: the same and name of him beinge broughte thoroowe so manye hundzethe yeeres, vnto oure age: but lette vs retourne to an Historie. This Arte, albeit it dothe chiefly require an Order, Agramente, and Truthe of all thinges: notwithstanding, it perfourmeth it leasse of all. Historiographers do so mutche disagree emonge them selues, and do wryte so variabe and diuers thinges of one matter, that it is impossible, but that a number of them shoulde be verie Liers, I speake not onlie of the beginninge of the Worlde, of the Antiuersall Floude, of the buildinge of Rome: of the whiche beginnings they professe the selues to wryte of thinges which were donne, for so muche as the first of these, all men be ignorant of, the other al men wil not beleue, the thirde is vncertaine emonge them. Wherefore sithe these thinges be very farre of, neither allowed of all men with an vpright consideratiō, let vs forgeue the their errors. But as touching these latter times, the faulte of lyinge muste needes be imputed to them: and so great occasions thereof are the multitude of discordeances. For the mosste parte of menne, because they were not presente in the times, in the places, with the personnes, and at the doinges of the thinges recited, gatheringe in one the comunication of the people, by the relation of an other, do wryte no certaine & stable thing: of which vice Erstaotus, Metrodorus, Septius, Possidonius, & Patrocles the Historiographer, are reprovoued of Strabo. There be some other, which whē they haue seene parte of thinges, as by passing

hero

The cause why any Historiographers write false

Doctors. Hiero nameth it the meate of Diuels. Moreouer it is a verie slender, and bare Arte whiche of it selfe, is altogether a foolish thinge, excepte it be attired and saoured with some other Discipline. An Arte that is alwaies hungrie, and eatinge by other mens breade like mife: and yet I wote not what immortall glorie of name, it presumeth to promise emonge trifles, and fables, with the Grasshoppers of Tithones, with the Frogges of the Licians, and with the pismers of Mirmidones, and saye,

Leade ye a happie life, & if my verse maie ought auaille
No time with vile obliuion shal euer you assaile.

Whiche same in deede is either none or nothinge analinge. But the Historians teache, that this is their office, and not of Poetes.

Of Histories. Cap. 5.

The definition of an Historie.

A Historie is a declaration of thinges done with praise, or dispraise, whiche, as it were in a certaine liuely picture, doth set befoze our eyes y^e Coussailes, Deedes, & Endes of great thinges, y^e Enterprises of Princes, and Noble menne, with the order, and discription of times, and places: and therefore all menne, for the moste parte, calle it the Mistresse of life, and verie profitable to the framinge thereof, because that with the examples of manye thinges, shee dothe partelye enflame moste excellent menne, for the immortal glorie of praise and renowne, to all woorthye enterprises, partely, because for feare of perpetual infamie, shee letteth all wicked and naughty men from misdoinge: albeit this thinge oftentimes hath chaunced otherwise: and many, (as Liue writeth, of Manlius Capitolinus) had leiser haue a great, then a good fame: and many menne, because by their vertue, they cannot be knowen, they will for their mischeuous deedes be remembred and written in Histories, euen as Iustine recozdethe of Trogus, of Pausanias the Macedonian

For Verses are vnto them foode,
Lies are to these both golde and good,
And what they liste, they speake and faine
They thinke it to their praise a staine
If on true tales they beate their braine.

There are mozeouer most greuous contentions among Poetes, not onlie for the Carracter of the verse, for the fecte, for the accentues, and quantities of sillables, for al the common sorte of Grammarians doe contend for these thinges, but also for these their trifles, fainings, and lies, that is, for the knot of Hercules, for the Chaste tree, for the letters of Hiacinthus, for the children of Niobes, for the trees, vnder whiche Latona broughte forth the Diana. In like manner for the Countrey of Homer, and for his Sepulture, and whether Homer and Hesiodus were firste, whether Patroclus were before Achilles, in what state of bodie Anacharsis Scitha did sleepe: whye Homer did not giue honoure to Palamedes in his verses: whether Lucanus is to be reckened in the number of Poetes, or Historiographers: of the rubberie of Virgil, and in what moneth of the yeere he died.

And who did firste inuente the doleful songes
The lettered sorte incessauntlie contende,
And yet the matter dooth on iudge depende.

All the verses of Poetes are full of fables, written to no other ende, but to the delite of soles, vnder colour of flatterie, or reprove of the vilest Vices. What thinges soeuer Poetes declare, praise, inuocate, and flatter with their fables. They doe againe reprove, bite, accuse and rastle with their fables, and are alwaies madde. Moztely therefore Democritus termeth this, no Arte, but a madnesse. And the opinion of Plato is, that he, that is wel in his wittes, knocketh in vaine at the dore of Poetrie. Then Poetes write marueilous thinges, when they are mad or droncke. For this cause Augustine calleth Poetrie, the Wine of error, ministred by drunken

cause he made warre against the Athenians. Licophon writeth, that Penelope, made famous by Homer for her singular chastitie, did bedde with certaine of her louers. The Poete Ennius settinge out the deedes of Scipio, was the first that fained Dido, the first buildresse of Carthage, a verie chaste widowe, to haue ben enamoured of Eneas: the whiche yet according to the reckening of times, could neuer haue scene him: whiche lie, Virgil did afterwarde so beautifie, that it was beleued for a true historie. In the ende this libertie of lieing, and lewdnesse of ill speaking, came to this passe, that it was necessarie for the Censours to make a Lawe, whereby suche reproche and lies of Poetes might be repressed. *But emonge y^e au-
c*cient Romaines also, Poetrie was publikelie had in dishonour: and in suche sorte, that as Gellius and Cato witnesseth, he that studied therein, was called a common murderer, and mozeouer Quintus Fuluius was therefore reproued of Marcus Cato, because he beinge sente Proconsul into Etolia, tooke with him the Poete Ennius. And y^e Emperoure Iustinian iudged not the professors thereof worthise to haue any franchises. The Athenians mozeouer, cōdemned Homer in fittie grotes, as a madde man, who is called the Philosopher of all Poetes, and the Poete of all Philosophers: and they laughed to shoone the Poete Tichteus as a man of a weake witte: and mozeouer the Lacedemonians commaunded the booke of Archilochus the Poete to be caried out of their Citie. In this manner, all vertuose men haue dispised Poetrie, as the mother of lies, seeinge that the Poetes doe lie so monstrously: as them that haue spent their studie not to speake, nor write any good thinge: but with bodged verses to delite the eares of fowles, and to make a clattering noise with the craftie coveringe of fables, and disceitefullie to deuise all thinges vpon a matter of nothinge, as Campanus wrote in a certaine place.

The peuishe Poetes pine awaie,
If that their triflinge toies decaie,

loues, their bawdie practises, their luxuriousnesse, their fornications, their aduouterie, their accompanying with men and beastes, & worse then these, if any maie be more shameful and dishonest, dothe not onlie deceiue & infecte them which then liued, but dothe mozeouer make the posteritie parttaker of these furious venims, preserved in goodlie verses, & meters, & who so euer shee shal once infecte with her doctrine & lies, she constraineth to rage with the like woodnesse, as it were with the bitinge of a madde dogge. For her lies are fained with so greate skill, that oftentimes they hinder true histories, euen as the matter is manifeste by the fained adulterie of Dido with Eneas, and Troye taken by the Gretians. There are yet some, whiche haue come to so greate furie of maddenesse, that they beleue that they haue in them certaine diuine Oracles, because in times paste Sprites gaue answere in Poetical verses, for that cause they call them Prophetes and Poetes, inspired with the diuine Spirite, and do vse the triflinge verses of Poetes & Oracles to diuine. For that cause the Auncietes surnamed Homer his Oracles, of the verses of Homer, as of Virgil his verses, the Oracles of Virgil, of whiche Spartian maketh mention in the life of Adrian. *That Diuine answears are falsely attributed to Poetrie.* The whiche superstition at this daie is transferred to the Holy Scriptures, and to the verses of the Psalmes, not without the consente and agrémente of many greate Doctours. But let vs retourne to Poetrie: Augustine willethe that it shoulde be banished out of the Citie of God: Plato the Pagane driueth it out of his Common Weale. Cicero forbiddeth it to be admitted. Socrates admonisheth, that if any man be very careful of his Honour, and desireth to saue it harmelesse, let him foresee y he haue no Parte his enemye, because they haue not so greate force in praisinge as in dispraisinge, & ill speakinge. The moste rightuous Kinge Minos, renowned of Hesiodus and Homer, incensed the tragical Poetes againste him, whiche bannished him to Hell, because

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what place wil shée leaue voide of peniſhe trifles, and fables? Shée beginnige her fables with Chaos, doth reckē the diuisions of the Heauens, the birthe of Venus, the fighte of the Titanes, the childhode of Iupiter, the deceits of Rhea, and the supposition of the stone, the imprisonment of Saturnus, the rebellion of the Giauntes, the theſte and punishment of Prometheus, the errours of Delus, the labours of Latona, the death of Pitho, the wiles of Tyrus, the deluge of Deucalion, the birth of Men out of Stones, the dilaniation of Bacchus, the deceipte of Iuno, the burninge of Semeles, the two kinredes of Bacchus, and what thinges so euer are declared in the Græke fables of Minnerua, Vulcane, Erichthonie, Borea, Orithia, Theseus, Egeus, Castor, Pollux, of the rape of Helena, and of the death of Hippolitus. Furthermoze the wandzinge of Ceres, Proserpina taken awaie by force, and founde againe, and what thinges soeuer are founde witten of Minos, of Cadmus, of Niobes, of Pentheus, Attæus, Edipus, of the labours of Hercules, of the fighte of Sol and Neptunus, of the madnesse of Athamanthes, of Io transformed into a Cowe, and of Argus, her keaper, slaine by Mercurius, of the Golden fleefe, of Peleus, Iason, Medea, of the death of Agamemnon, of the punishmente of Clitemnestra, of Danaes, Perfeus, Gorgon, Cassiopea, Andromeda, Orpheus, Orestes, of the wandzinges of Eneas, and Vlisses, of Circes, Thelagonius and Eolus, Palamedes, Nauplius, Ajax, Daphnes, Ariadna, Europa, Phedra, Pasiphaes, Dedalus, Icarus, Glaucus, Atlas, Gerion, Tantalus: of Pan: of the Cētaures, of the Satires: of the Sirenes: and of other suche notable lies. In the meane season not content with earthlie thinges, finallie shée placeth the Goddes emonge her fables, and with venemous eloquence of woordes, and with pestiferous pleasauntnesse of verse, witing of their natiuities, their deathes, their contentions, their brawlinges, their hatred, their anger, their fighte, their woundes, their lamentations, their imprisonment, their

loues,

rians, one Seruius, who deserued well of the Latine tongue, and Beroaldus resisted againste him: finally, the later Grammaticians haue afterwarde reproued him as barbarous: So all the Grammaticians are accustomed to strue one againste an other: Finally by the meanes of them it is brought to passe, that the translation of the Holy Scripture, so many times chaunged, vnder the pretence of cozection, dothe now altogether disagree from it self. Thoro we the censure of these men, so longe time men haue doubted of the Apocalipse, of Saincte Iohn the Apostle, of the Epistle of Saincte Paule to the Hebrewes, of the Epistle of Iude, and of many other Chapiters of the Newe Testamente: and which is moze, they haue gone aboute to reduce the Gospel it selfe to questions, but let vs passe to the Poetes.

AC

Of Poetrie. Cap. 4.

Poetrie, as Quintilian writeth, is an other parte of Grammar, not a little proude in this thinge onlie, that in times paste, the Theaters, & Amphitheaters, the godliest buildinges of men, were erected not by Philosophers, not by Lawiers, not by Physitians, not by Rhetozitians, not by Mathematiciens, not by Diuines, but with exccading great expenses, by the fables of Poetes, an Arte, that was deuised to no other ende, but to please the eares of foolish men, with wanton Rithmes, with measures, and weightinesse of sillables, and with a baine sarringe of wordes, and to deceiue mens mindes with the delectation of fables, and with fardels of lies. Wherefoze, thee dothe deserue to be called the principall Authoure of lies, and the maintainer of peruerse opinions: and as touchinge that whiche doth appertaine to furie, and drunckennesse, and to impudencie, & boldenesse, wee pardon it, what is he that is able to endure with a quiet minde, that vnscareful boldenesse of lieinge: for

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and Etynim . They seeke in Aristotle an easines, they re-
proue his darkenes, and call him Sepia . They reprehend
Virgill, as one of little witte, and accuse him as a robber,
and vsurper of other mens doinges : Demosthenes did
not contente Tullie, and that greate Rhetozician of the
Latines, is by the Grækes, called into Iudgemente, to
restoze that, whiche he had wrongfully taken awate, and
he is accused foꝛ many faultes, as fearefull, superfluous
in his Repetitions, colde in his merie talke, slacke in his
beginninges, idle in his digressions, seldome times in-
flamed, slowly behemente, y^e, and he is blamed of our
men too, of Marcus Capella, as he that hath spoken in a
troubled measure : Apollinaris calleth him feeble, and
slouthfull . Trogus saithe, that Liuius Dattions are fai-
ned : and Plautus contenteth not Horace, who blameth
Lucilius foꝛ his vnoꝛdered Verses . Plinie is saide, that
in manner of a troubled Riuer, he heapeth together ma-
ny thinges, without settinge any in order . Ouide is re-
ported, to haue ouermuch followed his owne nature . Sa-
lust is reprehended of Asinius Pollio, foꝛ a curious coun-
terfaitour . Terence is noted to haue stolē, & recited other
mens doinges, & to haue ben holpen of Labeo, and Scipio .
Seneca was called Line without Sande, whom Quinti-
lian reproveth with these wordes : If he had dispised
none of his equales, if partely he had not desired them, if
he had not loued all his owne doinges, if he had not bro-
ken of the weightnesse of woordes with cutted sentences,
Seneca should rather be allowed by the iudgement of lear-
ned men, then by the loue of children . Marcus Varro
also, was called a Pigge : and Ambrose was termed a
Dawe, and a teller of Fables . Macrobius, a very well
learned man, was reprovod of a shamelesse & vnthankful
witte : Laurence Valla, the beste learned of al the Gram-
marians, did not spare any of them, that had writen in
Latine : and Mancinellus afterwarde inueyed againste
him . There was in times paste, emonge the Gramma-
rians,

A fische cal-
led a Cuts
sell.

Quintilian
his wordes
of seneca.

and in other faculties of Learninge. For the Gram-
marians declare nothinge, but leane to authorities alone,
whiche verie oftentimes are emonge them selues so va-
riable, and disagreeinge, that it muste needes be, that
moste of them are false: in whose preceptes who so doe
greatly truste, speake worste of all the reste, because that
all the manner and force of speache is not in the Gram-
marians, but emonge the people, and getteth the vse of
well speakinge by common custome: But after that the
Barbarians began to haue the vpper hand, the purenesse
of the Latine tongue ceased to be emong the people, not
withstandinge the rule thereof is not to be taken of
Grammarians, but of substantiall and learned writers,
as of Cicero, Cato, Varro, bothe Plinies, Quintilian, Se-
neca, Suctonius, Quintus Curtius, Titus Liuius, Salust,
and other like, emonge whome onely doe remaine the
aunciente eloquence of the Latine tonge, and the vse of
well speaking, not emonge the lettered Grammarians,
who with their rules of Declensions, of Verbes & Cases,
Compoundes, and Deponentes, doe muche abuse the La-
tine tonge, and oftentimes, inuent suche wordes, which
are not lawefull for a Latinist to vse, excepte perchance
a Sorbonist of Paris, reckon it in the number of the Arti-
cles. If any saie, that credence is not to be geuen vnto
the Grammarians, as touchinge the veritie of the Latine
tonge, and not withstandinge these lettered Grammati-
ans, make themselues the onely correctours, iudges, and
interpretours of all writers, and presume to set all
Bookes in order, or to put them out of rule. There hath
ben no Authoure, of so excellent a witte at any time, the
whiche hath escaped the sclauderous tongues of these
men: whome haue they not reprovoued? or in whom haue
they not blamed many thinges? In Plato, they reprove
a confusion, and doe wante an order, of whose faultes
Georgius Trapezuntius, hath writtten Bookes, who, as
Crinitus saith, was therfore called of others, Conotimon

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the Communion of bothe Kindes is necessarie, because it is witten: Excepte yee shall eat the fleshe of the Sonne of man, and drinke his Bloude, yee shall haue no life in you. From whence came that Opinion of the VValden-
ses and their followers, and of others of later time, about the Eucharist, but of this worde, is, whiche they woulde haue onely to be spoken Symbolically, and significatiuely, and that there is a figure in the wordes, the Romische Church expoundinge it essentially? There are besides other damnable Heresies amonge the Grammarians, but so obscure and so subtile, that excepte the verie wille Diuines of Oxforde, and the Sorbonistes of Paris, had perceiued them with their percinge eyes, and condemned them with their profounde iudgementes, scarcelie any coulde beware. Of this sorte are these, if any will vprihtly iudge this a like well spoken, Christus praedicas, Christus praedicat, Ego credis, tu credit, credens est ego. And that this worde Manens maie be depriued of al his Accidentes. And that no Powne is of the third person, and suche like. The whiche truely if they shoulde be called Heresies, firste of all the Prophetes Esay, and Malachie, shalbe Heretiques: bothe of whiche, brynge in God speakinge of him selfe: the firste to Ezechiel, with these wordes: Ecce ego addet super dies tuos &c. For he doth not saie, Addam in the first person, but Addet in the third person. The other saithe in this manner: & si Domini ego, vbi est timor meus? in the which place he maketh that God calleth him selfe Domini in the plurall number. There be infinite thinges like vnto these: and it is a pittifull case in our age, to see what greate contentions and errorrs the obstinate Grammarians, & the proude Sophisters do stirre vp, with their peruerse interpretations of wordes, while some do gather of wordes, sentences, other contrarie wise, gather wordes of Sentences. Here of infinite contentions and errorrs do daiesly arise in Phisicke, in bothe Lawes, in Philosophie, in Diuinitie,
and

upon the Priestes of the Saturnalia in times passe beinge deceiued in the ambiguitie of the worde, offered euerie yeere a man to Saturnus, when they mighte aswell haue appealed him with of burninge lightes. The whiche Nation beinge so foolish, in the ende was redressed by Hercules, that afterwarde they became wise. At length also the Diuines, & the hooded Friers puttinge theselues in emonge the Grammarians, were at daggers drawinge, for the signification of wordes, with many additions of Heresies, turninge topsitturall the Scriptures, by reason of Grammar, beinge become naughtie interpreters of thinges, that are well spoken, vaine men, and verelie unhappie, makinge them selues blinde with their owne arte, sleinge the lighte of the truth: & whilest ouer curiousely they searche out the vertue of wordes, they will not vnderstande the sence of the Scriptures, but takinge holde on the bare wordes, doo staie vpon them, subuertinge, and losinge the wordes of the truth. As it is saide of a Prieste (whether it be true, or a Fable) who when he had many burnt offerings, to the ende he mighte not offende againste Grammar, he consecrated them with these wordes, Hæc sunt Corpora mea, that is, these are my Bodies. But from whence came that wicked Heresie of the Antidicomariatans, and of the Euidians, the whiche denie the perpetuall virginitee of the gloriouse virgine Marie, mother of Christe, but of this onely worde Donec? where it is reade in the Gospell, that Ioseph did not knowe her vntil shee had brought forth her firste begotten Sonne. What greate contention haue these two little wordes, Ex, and Per, raised betwene the Græke, and the Latine Churches: the Latins affirminge that the Holy Ghoste proceedeth of the Father and the Sonne, and the Grækes sayinge that not of the Sonne, but of the Father, by the Sonne. Againe how many Tragedies hath this worde Nisi, moued in the Counsaile of Basell: The Bohemians affirminge, that

A Fable of
a Prieste.

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from an other, but also in the Letters, without geuinge of any reason. Sutche a sighte did Lucianus Samothenis sportingly write, in a very pleasant booke, of the conso- nantes S. T. the example whereof, may be geuen in thalassa and thalatta. One Andreas Salernitanus, wrote also with studious eloquence the Grammatical warre, v- pon the same matter. But these thinge are fewe in num- ber, and meane. We may speake moze thinges & great- er, of the corrupte interpretation of wordes, with which they doe so muche deceiue the whole worlde: of the which arise no small mischiefes in the Common wealth, while they expounde bondage to be subiecte to the lawes, and interprete that to be libertie of Citisens, where it is lē- full for euery man to doe what he listeth, and they terme that Isonomia, that is, equalité of lawe, where to all men, without difference, is ministred one iustice, one honoure, and one rewarde. In like manner they saie, that Emppze to be quiet, where all thinges are gouerned to the Princes pleasure: mozte happie, where the people doe abounde in Lecherie and Idlenesse. And with infi- nite like expositions, Whisicke, the lawes, and Canons, are corrupted, with the whiche, they doe euer compell the Holie Scripture, and Christe him selfe, to disagree from him selfe, wrestinge them, not to the meaninge of the Holie Ghoste, neither to the common saluation of men, but to their owne commoditie. Of the whiche thinge oftentimes men haue incurred verie great daun- gers, as erreure in wordes is wonte to cause erreure in thinges. Like as Saule the firste kinge of the Hebrewes, in tymes passe was deceaued in the worde Zobar, the which signifieth, Masculine, and Remembraunce, when God had spoken, I will rase out the remembraunce of A- melech, Saule supposed, if he had destroyed the Males, he had obeyed Gods commaundement. There chaunced the like erreur to the Grækes, & to the Latines, in the word Phos, the which signifieth a Man, and the Lighte: wher-
upon

*Gramma-
rians cause
much mis-
chiefe.*

them, whether he were Græke or Latine, hath rendered a reason, howe the Partes of Speache should be distinguished, what order is to be obserued in their construction: whether there be xv. pronounes onlie, as Priscian thinketh, or moze as Diomedes and Phoca would: whether a Participle put by him selfe, doth remaine sometime for a Participle: whether the Gerundes, be Nounes, or Verbes. Why the Greekes do ioine the plural notones of the neuter gendre, with a verbe of the singular number. By what reason is it lawfull for the Latins to pronounce in um, nownes endinge in u and us, as for Margarita, Margaritum, for punctus, punctum. By what meanes the nominatiue case of Iupiter, maketh Iouis, in the genitiue case. And by what reason, some do allowe Verbes newters, some other do exclude them. Why some do write many Latine wordes with a Græke diphthonge, some not, as foelix & quaestio. And whether in latine these diphthonges œ, and æ are only written, and not pronounced, or els both bowels, as they are written, so vnder one sillable be pronounced. In like manner why it is, that in many latine wordes some vse y græke y, other the latine i, only, as in confidero. Also certaine mē in some wordes do double the letters, some not, as in caussa and relligio. Why caccabus, hauing the firrse sillable longe by the position of the double cc, notwithstanding of many Poetes is for the most parte made shorfe. Also whether Aristotles anima should be written endelechia by delta, or entelichia by tau: I leaue to speake of infinite contentions of theirs, which wil neuer cease, of Accentēs, of Orthographie, of Pronuntiation, of Letters, of Figures, of Etimologie, of Analogie, & other preceptes, & rules, Declensions, & modes of signification, of y Alteration of cases, & varietie of times, of modes, of persons, of nūbers & of diuers impedimētes & order of cōstruction. And finally, of y number, and genealogy, of the latine letters: and whether H, be a letter or not, and many other like things. So not onlye in wordes and sillables they do differ one from

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of lifferature or grammar, consisteth but in the only vse and authoritie of the Elders, to whom it liked that euerie thinge shoulde be so called and witten, and that the wordes shoulde be so construed and made, the whiche thing they did then terme to be wel spoken. Wherevpon Grammar dothe of righte boaste her selfe to be the arte of speakinge, but falsly, lithe that we learne it much better of oure mothers, & of nourises, then of the Grammarians. Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, framed their speache, the whiche were accompted verie eloquente. Istrina taughte her sonne Siles the græke tongue, whose father Aripithes was Kinge of Scithia. It is knowne that in manye prouinces people were broughte in out of strange Nations, and that their sonnes alwaies kepte their mothers speache. Hereof Plato & Quintilian did so carefullie ordaine, that a meete Nourise shoulde be chosen for childzen. God forbide then, that we should deriue from them, to the Grammarians, this maner of wel speakinge, the whiche, for so muche as they professe nothinge besides Grammar alone, do knowe nothing lesse. For Priscian coulde not learne this, no not in all his life time: and it is saide, that Didimus wrote thereof fowre thousande bookes, or as somme saie, sixe thousande. We reade, that Claudius Cæsar, was so mutche geuen to the græke Letters, that he added threë newe Letters to that tongue, which afterwarde, being Emperoure, he did not omitte. And Charles the great, deuised a Grammar of the Germaine tongue, and gaue newe names to the Monethes and Windes. And continuallie vntil this date menne labour day and nighte, Commentaries are witten, Elegancies, Questions, Annotations, compendious expositions, Observations, Castigations, Centuriæ, Muscellanea, Antiquities, Paradoxes, Collections, Additions, Lucubrations, Edition vpon Edition. And in the meane space, there are published so manie Grammars, as there be Grammarians. Notwithstanding, none of them,

Hebrewes them selues: and this is the alteration of times, that there are no Letters, no Tongues, the whiche at this day doe acknowledge, or vnderstande the forme or manner of their Antiquitee.

Of Grammer. Cap. 3.

But of these biginnings, so vnconstant, and at euery season so mutable, of letters (I speake) and tongues, did Grammer firste proceede, and after that the other Artes of well speakinge, of the whiche we haue made mention. For seeinge that it seemed not sufficient to knowe the letters, excepte they were ioygned with a certaine degree, and forme, and so of the letters sillables, and finally, of these were framed woordes, and for the vnderstandinge of speache were ioygned together, wyse men haue taken in hande to make rules of speaking, that is, the constructions of the Regiments, and of the Significates, and, as it were, to bridle the tounge, that what soeuer should be spoken according to them, might be well spokē, & should be the Arte of well speakinge, & they haue termed this Arte Grammer: it is sayde, that amonge the Greekes, Prometheus was the firste inuentour therof: the firste that broughte it to Rome, was a certaine man called Crates Mallotes, sente by Attalus to the Senate, betwēne the seconde and thyrde Punicke warre, the which afterwarde Palemon professed with greate pompe, in so much that he gaue name to the Arte, and Grammer was called Palemons Arte: he was a very arrogant man, that he auanted that knowledgē toke beginnunge with him, and shoulde die with him: and so proude, that he had in contempte all the best learned men of his time: and was so bolde to call Marcus Varro him selfe a pigge. Notwithstandinge, the Latine Grammer is so poore & needinge, & bounde to the Greeke literature, that he which vnderstandeth not this, is incontinentlie to be reiected out of the number of Grammarians. Wherefore all the scate

at this date the forme of them is scene in the aunciente Monumentes, but altogether vnknowne: for when the Romanes in times past, had all the worlde in subiection, the aunciente and proper Letters of euery Nation being canceled and rased, they by compulsion ioygned them to vse their Letters. In this manner perished the Letters of the Hebrewes, when they were ledde captiue into Babilon, and their language was corrupted by the Caldees. In lyke sorte were losse the auncient Letters of the Germans, Frenchemen, Spaniardes, and other Nations, when the Romane Carracters were brought in their place, and the languages of these Nations were corrupted & chaunged. Contrarywise the Letters and language of the Romans, were againe corrupted and altered by the Gothes, Longobardes, Frenchemen, and other barbarous Nations: Neither is the Latine tounge in these dates, as it was in times past: and there is a great contention of the Hebrewe tounge and Carracter, betwene the Thalmudistes: For maister Iehuda saithe, that the firste parente Adam spake in the Aramean tounge: Marsura saithe, that the lawe geuen by Moises, was in the Carracter, which is called the Hebrewe, but in the Holy tounge, the whiche beyng chaunged by Esdras into the Aramean tounge, and Asirian Carracters, a while after, kepinge the Asirian Carracters, toke againe the Holy tounge, hauinge lefte the Hebrewe Carracter, with the Aramean tounge, to the Chusi, that is, to them, that together haue receaued the Lawe, and worshippe Idolles, as the Samaritanes were. Some other say, that from the beginninge the Lawe was not wozitten with other Carracters, then with them that be vsed at this present, but for sinne sometimes the Carracter was changed, and after repentance restored againe. Rabbi Simon, the sonne of Eleasar, thinketh that the language and Carracter, was neuer chaunged, in so much that touchinge Hebrewal matters, there is founde nothinge of certaintee amonge the
Hebrewes

nitus saith, that he read in an auncient booke, these verses followinge,

Firste *Moses* wrote the *Hebrew* letters
 The *Phoenices* with witte the *Greeke* did deuise.
Nicostrata and *Abram* made Carracters,
 Of one the *Latine* letters did firste rise,
 The *Sirian* did the other firste finde out,
 The same man eke the *Chaldean* did inuent.
 VVith no lesse arte did *Isis* goe aboute
 To write the *Gyptian* letters. The last sent
Galsilla letters to the *Geetes* abroad.

Afterwarde, the other People, and barbarouse Nations, in the later times inuented Letters: For the *Bishoppe Gordianus*, gaue Letters to the *Gothes*, and the auncient *Frenchemen* (the whiche made *Fraunce* subiecte to *Marcomir* and *Pharamonde*) had the Carracters of their Letters little differinge from the *Greekes*, with the whiche *VVastalde* wrote an *Histozie* in their tounge, but he is not knowen whiche inuented these Letters: there are yet extante other letters of the *Frenchemen*, the whiche a certaine man called *Doracus* did deuise, but muche differinge from the Carracte of *VVastald*: and other afterwarde inuited by *Hichus* the *Frencheman*, who came with *Marcomir* to the entrie of the ryuer of *Rhene* from *Scithia*, Moreover, *Beda* hath written of some, but the inuentour is not knowen, whiche were the Letters of certaine *Normans*. And many other Nations, in like manner haue either made newe Carracters of Letters, or haue partly chaunged them, beyng taken of the Auncientes, or els haue corrupted them, as the *Dalmatians* haue the *Greeke*, and the *Armenians* the *Calde*: but the *Gothes* and *Longobardes*, haue disfigured the Carracters of the *Latine* Letters. Moreover, many aunciente Letters haue perished, as them of the auncient *Tuscans*, the whiche (as *Plinie* and *Liuius* testified) were in times passe, had in greate price amonge the *Romans*, and

Cornelius Agrippa

Of the Charecters of the Letters. Cap. 2.

Firste of all, who dooth not see, that the Artes of well speakinge, I meane Grammer, Logike, and Rhetozike, the whiche onely be entries, and dozes to Sciences, and not Sciences, oftentimes they byinge with them no lesse pestilence then pleasure, in the whiche yet there is no other rule of the Trueth, then the decrees and will of some, that did firste teache: the which thinge is moste manifestly sene, euen by the very inuention of Letters, whiche are the firste elementes, and instrumentes of these Artes: Of the whiche, the firste were the Chaldean letters, inuented by Abraham, as Philo saeth, whiche the Chaldeans, Asirians, and Phoenicians did vse: but there are some whiche say, that Rhadamanthus firste gaue Letters to the Asirians. Afterwarde Moises gaue Letters to the Iewes, peradventure not with these Characters, which are vled nowe adayes, which are thought to be inuented by Esre, who is supposed to haue witten almoste all the bookes of the Olde Testamente. Furthermoze, a certaine man called Linus Chalcides, brought the Letters of the Phoenicians to the Gracians, whiche vled them, vntill Cadmus, Agenors sonne, gaue them newe Letters, with an other Carracter, which were sixtæne in number, to the whiche Palamedes in the Troiane warre added sower, afterwarde Simonides Melicus added other sower. But the firste that taught the Egyptians the vse of wittinge, was a certaine man named Memoura, by the figures of beastes, as it is sene in the Piramides: and the firste that gaue them Letters, was Mercurius, that is he, whiche Lactantius saith, to be the fiste Mercurius, to whom, Vulcanus the sonne of Nilus, succeeded in the Kingedome. A woman called Nicostrata, surnamed Carmenta, gaue Letters to the Latines. Wherefoze in times paste, seuen kinde of Letters were had in price, the Hebrew, the Greeke, the Latine, the Syrian, the Caldean, the Egyptian, and the Geticke, of the which Cri-

The Caldean Letters were first before other.

If some certaine Principles, which must be beleued, and can not by any meanes be declared: which if any will obstinately deny, the Philosophers haue not where with to dispute against him, and immediately they wil saie, that there is no disputacion against him, whiche denieth the Principles: or els will constrain him to flie vnto some other thinges, without the limites of learninge: As if any (say they) shall denie the fyre is hote, let him be cast into the fyre, and let him be demaunded what he feeleth: so finally, of Philosophers, they are made tormentours and hangmen, for they will by force, compell vs to confesse that, whiche they shoulde teache by reason. Therefore there is nothinge more noysome, nor more hurtfull to the Publike weale, then Learninge and Sciences, wherein if there be men endowd with erudition and knowledge, matters are, for the moste parte, executed at their will, as those which knowe moste: and trustinge in the simplicitie of the people, and in the ignorance of the multitude, they take to them selues, againste righte and reason, all the authoritie of Office, whereupon the state of the Common wealthe passeth from the peoples rule, to the rule of a fewe, and afterwarde, deuided into partes, doth sone turne to Tyrannie: whiche, no man is reade at any time, in all the worlde, to haue obtained without Science, without Doctrine, or without Learninge, excepte Lucius Scylla the Dictatour onely, who toke rule in hand without learninge: wherein notwithstandinge, the Weale Publike is very muche bounde to the ignorance of Learninge, for this, that in the ende, of his owne free will he layde Tyrannie aside. Moreover, all Sciences are nothinge els, but the ordinaunces and opinions of men, so noysome as profitable, so pestilent as holsome, so ill as good, in no parte perfecte, but doubtful and full of error and contention: and that this is true, we will nowe declare it, passinge from one to one, throughout all the doctrines of Sciences.

*sciences the
ordinaunces
and opini-
ons of men.*

the man whiche knoweth it thus, is better then he
 whiche knoweth by Demonstration, which is done by
 the cause. Theophrastus, in his booke of Transnatu-
 rall thinges, saith this: We may contemplate, euen
 vntill some thinge by the cause, takinge the begin-
 ninges at the Sences: but when we haue passed ouer
 with the endes and the beginninges, we can knowe
 no more, either because we haue not the Cause, or for
 the infirmitie of our vnderstandinge. And Plato in
 Timæus, saith, That to expounde these thinges, is
 aboue our reache, but willethe credite to be geuen to
 them, who haue spoken of it befoze, albeit they speake
 not, with any necessitie of Demonstration: For the
 Academikes were had in price, the whiche saide, that
 nothinge might be affirmed: There were the Pirro-
 nikes, and many other, that affirmed nothinge.
 Therefore, Science hath no especiall thinge, aboue
 the very Beliefe, that is, where the goodnesse of the
 Authour, moueth the free will of the Schollers Be-
 liefe. Hereof springeth this saynge of the Pythago-
 reans, spoken of their Maister, Ipse dixit, that is, He
 hath spoken it: And that common Prouerbe of the Pe-
 ripatetikes, We must beleue euery cunninge man in
 his Arte. So we beleue the Grammatician, in the sig-
 nification of wordes. The Logitioner, geueth creditt
 to y^e Partes of Sprache, receined of the Grammatician.
 The Rhetozician, taketh of the Logitioner, places of
 Argumentacion. The Poete hozoweth measures of
 the Musitian. The Geometrician, taketh Proporti-
 ons of the Arithmetrician. The Astrologian, geueth
 credite to bothe. Furthermore, the Supernaturall
 Philosophers, vse the confectures of Naturall Philo-
 sophers: And euery Artificer, doth presume well of
 the Statutes of an other. For euery Science, hath in
 it

of all Sciences, is so difficulte (I will not say impossible) that all mans life will faile, befoze one small tote of learning, maie perfiteley be founde out: which thing, it seemeth vnto me, that Ecclesiastes affirmeth, when he saith: I haue vnderstoode, that man can not finde out any reason, of the woorkes of God, of them which are vnder the Sonne, and the more he shall labour to searche, the lesse he shall finde: although the wise man saie, that he knoweth them, he shall not be able to finde them. Nothinge can chaunce vnto man moze pestilente, then knowledge: this is the very pestilence, that putteth all mankinde to ruine, the which chaseth awaie all Innocencie, and hath made vs subiecte to so many kindes of sinne, and to death also: whiche hath extinguished the light of Faith, castinge our Soules into blinde darkenesse: which condemneinge the trueth, hath placed errours in the hiest throne. Wherefoze Valentianus the Emperour seemeth not to be despised, who (as it is reported) was an ennemie to learninge: neither Licinius the Emperour, who was accustomed to saie, that Learninge was a poyson, and a publike pestilence: but which is moze, Valerius saith, that Cicero him selfe, the moste abundant wellspringe of Learninge, despised it at length. And so large is the libertie of the Trueth, and the largenesse thereof so free, that it can not be perceiued, with the speculations of any Science, nor with any straitte iudgement of the Sences, nor with any argumentes of the Arte of Logike, nor with any euident prowe, with no Sillogismes of Demonstration, nor with any discourse of mans reason, but with Faithe Onely: whiche who so hath, is named of Aristotle, in his firste booke of Resolutions, better disposed, then if he were learned: the whiche thinge Philopomus expoundeth, sayynge, that

Ecclesiast. 3.

Nothinge more pestilent then Science.

Valentian^v an ennemie to learninge.

the

nature without learninge, hath auailed moze to gette
praise and vertue, then learninge without nature.
It shall not then be necessarie for vs, to fill the minde,
with so longe, so difficulte, and vneth vnsearcheable
learnings of all Sciences, as the Auerroistes doe af-
firme: the whiche, Aristotle him selfe saieyth, to be the
moste common felicitæ, and to the which, al men may
easely attaine, throught a certaine doctrine & diligence,
whiche (he saieyth) to be an easie, and as it were a com-
mon power of beholding the obiecte, the noblest aboue
all other, that is God: the whiche acte truely of con-
templation, beinge so easie and common to all men,
is not made perfecte with Syllogismes and Demonstra-
tions, but with Belæse and Worshipp. What felici-
tæ then, is there now in Sciences: Or what is the
praise, and the blessednesse of wise men, and Philoso-
phers, of whom all Scholes doe ringe and sounde,
with their glorie, whose Soules Hell heare and see,
to be tormented with cruell punishmentes: Augu-
stine knewe this, and was afraide, speakinge with a
lowde voice, this saynge of Paule: The Ignorante
arise, and take the Kingedome of Heauen: and we with
our learninge, fall headlonge into Hell. And if it be
læfull to confesse the tructh, the doctrine of euery Sci-
ence, is so dangerous, and vnstable, that it is much
moze suretie, to be ignozante, then learned. Adam
had neuer bene banished out of the Paradise of Bles-
sednesse, if he had not learned, of his maister the Ser-
pente, to knowe good and ill. And Paule willeth, that
they shoulde be chaled out of the Church, that would
knowe moze then they ought. Socrates, after that he
had founde out welncare al learnings, was then iud-
ged, by the Oracle, of all men the wisest, when open-
ly he confessed, to knowe nothings. The knowledg
of

worlde, be more proude and vnreasonable then he; for besides that whiche he hath in him of natural folie, the authoritie of Learninge defendeth it, and hath the Letters, for an instrument to mainteine his madnes: the whiche, because that other soles doe wante, they frensie is more milder, as saith Plato of the Dracour. For (saith he) the more vnwise, and vnlearned he shall be, the more thinges he wil speake: he will counterfaite all thinges, and will thinke that nothings is vnmeet for him. Wherefore, there is nothings more pestilente, then aduisedlie to dote. But, if some good and wylse man possesse the same, peraduenture the Sciences, wilbe good and available to the Common Weale, yet therefore they will not make their possessor the more blessed: for (as Porphirius and Iamblicus say) the heapinge together of wordes, and the multitude of learnings, is a blessednesse, whiche receiueth no increase, accordinge to the quantitie of reasons & wordes. But if it were so, that nothings shoulde hinder them, from beinge happie, whiche haue gathered together all learnings: and he whiche wanteth these, unhappie: so the Philosophers, shall be more blessed, then Gods Ministers. For the true felicitie, consisteth not in the knowledge of godnesse, but in a good life: not in vnderstandinge, but in liuinge, with vnderstandinge: For not the good vnderstandinge, but the good will, toygneth men vnto God. Neither doe the Sciences any thinge els, beinge outwardly applied vnto vs, but that they geue vs, a certaine purgeinge estate, abailynge somewhat to Felicitie: yet they shewe not the verie waye, whereby wee maie be made altogether happie, excepte they haue a life translated into the verie nature of Godnesse: For as Cicero saith, descending Archias, It hath bene very often founde, that

Doth good: But let vs say, that there are againe some
 good men, shall not then the Sciences haue no good-
 nesse, noz trueth, exceptinge that, which they take &
 get of the that professe & possesse the same: For if they
 chaunce vpon any naughtie man, they shalbe hurtful,
 and of an ill man, they will make a worse: As a per-
 uerse Grammarian, a vaine Poete, a lyinge Histo-
 riographer, a flatteringe Rhetorician, a boastinge pro-
 fessour of Memorie, a struuinge Logitioner, a caue-
 linge Sophister, a pratinge Lullist, a lotcasinge A-
 rithmetician, a lasciuious Musitian, an impudente
 Dauncer, a vauntinge Geometrician, a wandringe
 Cosmographer, a pernicious Builder, a thèuisthe Ma-
 riner, a false Astronomer, a wicked Witch, a disloyal
 Cabalist, a dreaming Naturall Philosopher, a mon-
 struouse teller of Supernaturall thinges, a wayward
 Morall Philosopher, an vniust Politike person, a ty-
 rannouse Prince, an oppressinge Magistrate, a sedi-
 cious People, a Sismatical Prieste, a Superstitious
 Nunke, a Prodigall Housholder, a falseswozne
 Marchaunte, a robbinge Treasourer, a sluggishe Hul-
 bandman, a thèuisthe Sheaphearde, a backebiting Fi-
 sher, a stealinge Hunter, a spoilinge Souldiour, a Po-
 bleman powler of his tenantes, a murdering Phisici-
 on, a popsoninge Apothecarie, a raueninge Cooke, an
 abusinge Alcumiste, a subtile Lawter, an Advocate
 defendinge a thousande Ribaldries, a false Potarie,
 a Iudge corrupte, and a thèse in his Honourable seate
 of Iudgemente, an Heretical Diuine, and a mislea-
 der of the whole multitude. And truely there is no-
 thinge moze vnprofitable, then an Arte, & a Science,
 hedged in with wickednesse: and the greatest and best
 learned Artificer, is the worste anthour of naughtie
 thinges. But, if this Science be founde in some man,
 not so naught, as foliishe, yet there may none in the
 worlde

of Theophrastus, that euen the ignorant may speake in presence of the wyldest and mightiest men, so that they speake with faithfulness and reason. And that I may not suffer you to geue eare in vaine, I wil now sette befoze your eyes, with what footing, and trasinge (as though with houndes) I haue founde out this my saide opinion. If firste I shall admoniſhe you, that all Sciences be as well naught as god, and that it bringeth to vs, aboue the limite of Humanité, none other blessing of the Deité, but that perchance, which that auncient Serpent promised to our firste parent, saynge, Ye shalbe as Goddes, and shall know good and ill. He shall then vaunte himselſe in this Serpente, whiche boſteth himselſe to haue knowledge, as wee reade in déede that the Heretikes Ophiti did, whiche worſhipped the Serpente in their Sacrifices, sayng, That he hath brought the knowledge of Vertue into Paradise. with these agréeth the hystorie of Plato, that a certaine Spirite, called Theutus, enemie to mākinde, was the first deuiser of Sciences, no lesse hurtful then profitable: as very wisely saide Thamus kinge of Egypte, reasninge of the inuentours of Sciences and Letters. Hereof it commeth to passe, that all Gram- marians, for the moste parte, doe expounde this word Dæmon, that is, a Spirite, as if it were Sapiens, that is, Wise: but put the case it be so, let vs leaue these Fables to their Poetes and Philosophers, and lette there be no other inuentours of Sciences then men, and we knowe that they were the childzen of a moste wicked generation, I meane, the childzen of Cain, and of whiche is truely spoken: The children of this world,

ARE more wise then the children of light, in this generation. Wherefoze if men be the Inuenters of Sciences, is not euery man a lier, neither is there one that

The sayng
of Theo-
phrast.

ei
y

A Spirite
inuentour
of Sciences.

that this my Judgement be receiued of you, with that modestie, that ye thinke not that I woulde reprove other, whiche are of a contrary opinion: neither to attribute to my selfe any thinge ouer proudly. Therfore pardon me, if herein I disagree from others, vntill I shall beginne this mine opinion at euery Science by the order of the letters, not onely with common argumentes, and taken from the outward shewe of thinges, but with very stronge reasons, and suche as are sifted out of the inward bowelles of thinges: not with any subtile eloquence of Demosthenes or Chrysippus (the whiche shoulde be a shamefull thinge for me, professinge Diuinitie) as one that loueth flattery, if I should seeke for the counterfaite coulers of speech: For that a professour of the Holy Scripture, ought to speake Properly, and not Eloquently: and to searche out the veritie of the matter, and not the garnishinge of speache, for the seate of Trueth is in the harte, and not in the tounge: Neither doth it make any matter, what speache we vse in tellinge of the Trueth, because that a Lie needeth eloquence and pleasant speach, that it may pearce and creepe into the mindes of men: but the speache of Trueth (as Euripides writeth) is simple, not seekinge for painted and coloured wordes. If so be then, I shall printe in your mosse delicate eares, this my enterprize, without any flower of eloquence (the which is nowe of vs aswell to be neglected, as blamed) I pray you to endure this with that patience, with the which that Romaine Emperour in time past did, when he stode still with his armie, to here a poore woman speake: and the kinge Archisilaus sometime woulde here men of a hoarse and vnpleasent voice, because that heringe afterward eloquent men, he might conceaue greater pleasure. Remember this saynge

The duetie
of a Diuine

Trueth re-
quireth sim-
ple vwoords

*The Woorkes of Henry Cornelius
Agrippa, of the vncertaintie and
Vanitie of Sciences.*

Of Sciences in generall. Capit. i.



Tis an auncient, and
almoste an agréable and common
opinion, of all the Philosophers, by
the whiche they thinke, that euery
Science dothe bringe vnto man
some Diuinité, accordinge to the
capacitie and value of them both, so that oftentimes,
beyonde the limites of Humanitie, they may be recke-
ned amonge the felowship of the Godd. From hence
arose the diuers and infinite commendations of Sci-
ences, with whiche euery man doth endcuour with
no lesse eloquente, then longe discourse, to exalte and
extoll aboue the Heauens, these Artes and Disci-
plines, in the whiche by continuall exercise, euery man
hath whetted the strength of his witte. Notwith-
standinge I, beinge perswaded with other kinde of
reasous, am of opinion, that there can chaunce to the
life and saluation of our Soules, nothingse more hurt-
full and pestilente, then these Artes and Sciences.

Wherefore, I thinke good to entreate with a contra-
ry order, and my opinion is, that the Sciences ought
not to be extolled with so great praises, but rather for
the moste parte, to be despised: and that there is none
whiche is without iuste blame and reprehension, nor
that of it selve deserueth praise, but that whiche it get-
teth of his honestie that professeth the same. I desire,

Cornelius Agrippa

and enemies of the Holie Scriptures, are to be assailed, and their Fortresses and Castles ransaked, and to declare howe greate the blindenesse of men is, with so many Sciences and Artes, and with so many Masters and Authours, alwaies to erre from the knowledge of the Trueth: and howe greate a rashenesse, and presumptuous arrogancie it is, to preferre the scholes of Philosophers, before the Church of Christe:

And to set before, and make equiualent, the opinions of men, with the Worde of God. Finally,

what a wicked Tyrannie it is, to

bynde the wittes of Studētes to cer-

taine appointed Authours, and to

take from Schollers, the liber-

tie to searche and trace out the

Trueth. All whiche

thinges, sith they

are so apparant

that they can

not be de-

nied,

I must haue

pardon, if to any

I shall seeme to haue

declaimed somewhat large

ly, and peraduenture sharpely,

against any kinde of Learninge, or

against their Professours.

to the Reader.

Whiche boldely I wil holde againste these for a Buckler and Shielde. And if it be expedient for me, whiche haue for the loue of him, stirred vp so many enemies againste me, I will willingly dye before I will abandon it. And I woulde haue thée vnderstande, that I wrote not these thinges for hatred, for ambition, for deceipte, or for erreure: neither a wicked desire, nor the arrogancie of a lewde minde, hath moued me to write this: but the cause of all men, moſte iuſte and righteous, becauſe I ſee many waye proude in Humane learninge and knowledge, that therefore they do deſpiſe and lothe, the Sacred and Canonickall Scriptures of the Holie Ghoſte, as rude and ruſticall, becauſe they haue no ornamentes of word, force of ſillogiſmes, and affectate perſwaſions, nor the ſtrange doctrine of the Philoſophers: but are ſimply grounded vpon the operation of Vertue, and vpon bare Faith, but beſide this they haue it in greate contempte. Wee ſee other alſo, the whiche although they ſeeme to them ſelues very Godly, notwithſtandinge will proue and confirme the Lawes, with the Decrees of Philoſophers, attributinge moze to them, then to the Holie Prophetes of God, or to the Euangelistes, and Apoſtles, they beynge as contrary to them, as White is from Blacke. Furthermore, in many, and almoſte in al places of ſtudie, a peruerſe cuſtome, and damnable uſe is growen, in that they binde with an othe, the ſchollers which they receiue to teache, neuer to ſpeake againſt Ariſtole, Boetius, Thomas, Albert, or againſt any other of their Schollers, beinge accompted as a God, from whom, if a man differ a fingers breadth in thought, immediatly they will call him Heretike, a ſinful perſon, an offendour of godly eares, and worthy to be burned. Theſe then ſo vnauiſed Giances,

and

Cornelius Agrippa

of death. The subtil olde beaten Physitian, deser-
ringe the remedies, wil prolonge the sicknesse for his
owne auayle. The filthy Apothecaries, will sucke me
dzie with their Clifters. The geldinge Chirurgians,
will lie in wayte for my teethe and stones. The cruell
Anatomistes, will craue me for Infection. The filthy
Horseleache, will shutte me vp in a Brake, and will
blinde mine eyes with carte duste. The forginge Di-
eter will kill me with hunger. The thirstie Coke wil
put an vnfauey gobbet in my mouth. The prodigall
Alcumiste will forbidde me his richesse, and dzine me
from his Fornace. The inuincible Iuriste, will clove
me with greate and Huge Volumes of their Gloses.
The loftie Lawiers, will accuse me of Treason. The
arrogant Canonistes, will Excommunicate me with
cruell Cursinges. The brawlinge Aduocates, will
bringe againste me syxe hundzeth accusations. The
wylie Proctour, abandoninge my cause in Plea, will
by couine soygne in Plea with mine aduersarie. The
doubtfull notarie, will subscribe falsely. The vntrea-
table Judge, will condemne me in mine Action, and
deny me the Apostles of Appeale, as they terme them.
The imperious Archescribe Chauncellour, will not
admitte my supplication. The obstinate Diuine So-
phisticall Doctours, will call me Heretike, or compell
me to worshippe their Idoles. Our grimme Maisters
wil enforze me to recante: and the Atlantes of Sorbo-
na, will hisse and clappe their handes at me. Nowe
Reader, thou perceiuest thoroze holwe many daun-
gers I shall passe: Yet I hope easelie to escape these
assaultes, if thou, supportinge the truethe, and set-
tinge enise aparte, shalte come with a gentle minde
to the readinge of these thinges. Beside this, I haue
the Worde of God, wherewith to defende my selfe,
whiche

to the Reader.

me into banishment. The furious People, and the many headed cruell beast, without hearinge my cause will put me to death. Every decayed Common weale will condemne me of Treason. The Couetous Priests, will excommunicate me. The Hooded Maskers, and spitefull Hypocrites, will rayle againste me out of the Pulpit. The Almightye Bishoppes, will reserue my sinnes for Euerlastinge fire. The Lecherous Whores, wil threaten to geue me the French Pocke. The grædie Kuffian, and the bowlinge Balwde, wil gelde my purse. The scabbed Beggers wil exclude me out of their Hospitall. The wandzinge Pardoners, will offer me S. Anthontes fire, furious sclaunder, and depziue me of their Indulgences. The vnfaithfull Steward, will make me indebted to the Bocherie. The blasphemous Harciner, will dashe me againste Scylla. The false Marchante, will eate me out with Erchaunge and Usurie. The thèuishe Treasourer, will scale my stypende. The churlishe Husbandmen, wil forbid me their pleasant Gardens. The loytering Sheapherdes, wil geue me to the Wolfes. The watercoursing Fisher, will laye a priuie bayte for me. The hallowinge Hunter, will set his houndes and hawkes vpon me. The mightie armed Souldiour wil take my purse. The gallant Gentlemen wil caste me out of their companie. The Herauldes cladde in coate Armour, will take away my Ancestoures Armes, & forbiddinge me from ridinge at the Tylte (which they terme Turnamentes) will proclatme me for a tributary countrey man. The perbrake Phisitians, will embzue me with Urine and Ordure: of the which the hablinge Logitioner, disputing of sickeuesse, wil take from me a remedie in season. The rashe Practiser, with a doubtfull experiment, will put me in daunger

Cornelius Agrippa

The Interpreter of darke Dreames, will feare me
with his horrible night Sprites. The furious Pro-
phet, will deceiue me with his doubtfull Oracle. The
monstruous Magitiens, wil transfozme me, as it were
an other Apulei or Lucian, into an Ass, yet not of
Golde, but perchance of dyt. The blacke Necro-
mancer, wil persecute me with Sprites and Dinels.
The Churchrobbinge Theurgist, wil offer my head to
the crows, or perhappes to the iakes. The Circum-
cised Cabalistes, wil wishe me their foreskinne. The
bayne and foolish iuggler, will make me appere ey-
ther headlesse or without stoanes. The contentious
Philosophers, will feare me in peces with most repug-
nant opinions. The iuggling Pithagoreans, wil make
me go into a Dogge, and a Crocodile. The filthy and
carpinge Cinickes, will close me by in a Tunne, or a
Graue. The pestilent Academickes, will crise vpon
me to make my wyse common. The deuouringe Epi-
cures, will kill me with surfettinge. The wicked
Peripateticke, will make my soule mortall, and ex-
clude it out of Paradise. The seuerer Stoikes, takinge
away the grieffe of mans minde, will transfozme me
into a stone. The vaine Metaphisici, wil euery howe
confounde my minde with Paradoxes of thinges that
neuer were, nor neuer shalbe, as of the Demogor-
geon Chaos. The Morall Philosophers, correcters of
manners, will write me in a hundzeth Tables. The
politike Lawemaker, will forbidd me to beare Office
in the Publike weale. The Voluptuous Prince, will
bannishe me the Courte. The Ambitious Noblemen,
will put me out of the Senate. The bzainelesse Peo-
ple, will exclaime on me in the Streets. The terri-
ble Tirante Phalaris, will include me in his Bull to
tormente me. The sedicious Gouvernours, wil drine
me

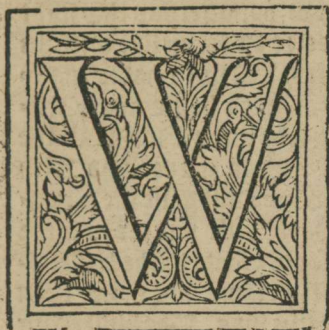
to the Reader.

with their many tunes, will me a laughinge stocke
thozowe the streates, and with iarringe soundes, and
vnplesante ringinge of pannes, basons, and dishes
will trouble me moze, then they are wonte at their
weddinges which be wisely married. The stately da-
mes will exlude me out of their daunces. The wan-
ton maydes will not kisse me. The bablinge hande-
maydes will scoffe at me as a daunsinge Camell. The
daunsinge player wil make a tragedie of me vpon his
bawdie stage. The Fencer with his hundzeth hande
will assaulte me on the righte side, and on the lefte.
The doubtfull Geometricians, laynge on me Trian-
gles, rownde, and square figures, will take me pry-
soner, beinge as it were entangled in Gordions knot.
The bayne worker in the arte Perspective, will en-
graue and depainte me moze bzuitithe and deformed,
then an Ape or Therfites. The wandzinge Cosmo-
graphers will bannishe me beyonde Moscouie, and the
frosen Sea. The Dedalean builder, with his mozte
mightie Ingins, will priuely vndermine me, and
compel me to wander in confuse Laberinthes. The
Infernal Miner wil condemne me to the Golden Mi-
nes. The Fatal Astrologers, wil threaten me to be
hanged, and with the vnsitable turninge of the Bea-
uens wil forbide me Paradise. The threating Di-
uiners, will wishe me all euill. The vnrasonable
Phisiognomer, wil defame me for a colde man, and of
small force in the acte of Venerie. The dotinge Me-
toposoper, wil pronounce me a bzainesicke Ass. The
Diuintuge Palmester, wil declare by his Diuination,
that al thinges shalbe to me vnfortunat. The fore-
knowinge Southsaier, will geue me his blacke curse.
The monstrous Gunner, will cast against me the
reuenginge flames of Iupiter, & the fier of lightninge.

Cornelius Agrippa

With greate labours, and with no lesse daunger, be-
yng of no lesse trauaile, then perill to ouercome these
monsters of Studies and Scholes. And I well per-
ceiue what a blouddy battaile I haue to fighte with
them hande to hande, and how daangerous this fight
will bee, seeinge that I am beset on euery side with an
armie of so mightie ennemies. O with howe many
ingins will they assaile mee, & with howe many sha-
mes and villanies will they lode mee? First of all the
loosie Grammaticians will make a stirre, and with
their Etymologies vppon Agrippa wil geue me a gou-
tie name: The pœuill Poet? will put me in thep-
berfes for Momus, or for Esopes Goate: The triflesel-
linge Historiographers will defame me more then
euer Pausanias and Herodotus was. The blustering
Oratours with irefull eyes, with terrible lookes,
with shrill soundinge voyces, and with cruell gestu-
res, will accuse me of robbery. The monstrous Re-
membz~~ers~~ will breake my braine with their Ima-
ginations. The obstinate Logitioners, will caste a-
gainste me infinite dartes of Sillogismes. The longe
tongued Sophisters, which wreast to euery part their
falke, with intricate snares of wordes, like a bzidle,
will stoppe my mouthe. The barbarous Lullist with
vnfittinge wordes and Solecismes, will bringe my
head in a maze. The wicked Mathematiciens, will
bannishe me from Heauen and earthe. The Arith-
meticiens, Sonnebeame describers, will incense the
Warers against me, compelling me to render an ac-
compte of my debtes. The bzawle^{er} Dicer wil driue
me to the gallowes. The lotcastinge Pythagorist wil
calculate for me infortunat numbers. The Geoman-
tian with his prick?, will caste for me imprisonment,
sadnes, and infortunat Figures. The Musicians
with

Cornelius Agrippa, to
the Reader.



Fl not this my en-
terpryse (studious Rea-
der) seeme vnto thee vali-
ant and aduenturous, &
almoste comparable to the
attempts of Hercules, to
take by weapons against
all that Giaunt? soze of
Sciences and Artes, and
to challenge into the fieelde

all theese moste hardie hunters of Artes and Scienc-
ces: The statelinessse of the Doctours, the learninge
of the Practisers, the authozitce of the Maisters, the
endeuours of the Bachelours, the enuie of all the
Scholers, and the sedition of the Handicraftes men,
will murmure againste mee. Whiche if I shall van-
quish, will not be somuche, or more, then to stryke
the Nemean Lyon with a mase, to kyll the Hider of
Lerna with fire: to slea the Boare of Arimanthus: to
take the Golden horned Harte in the Fozesse of Me-
nalus: to throte thozowe the Birdes Stymphalidæ in
the ayze: to strangle the Giante Anteus in mine ar-
mes: to fasten Pillers in the Oceane Sea: to ouer-
come the Triple headed Gerion: to driue awaie the
Oxen: to slea the Bull: to conquere Achelous hande
to hande: to steale away Diomedes hozses: to drawe
Cerberus bounde in chaynes: to take awaie the Gol-
den apples of Hesperides, and many other noble ad-
uentures of this sozte, whiche were done by Hercules

To the Reader.

enormities, in part also he renounceth his Canons, as in the 94. Cap. appeareth, he inueigheth against the foule abuses of Bishops, Abbotes, Monkes, and Freers, and other suche like, defending also the Royal presence of Christ his body. It is likely, that if he had ben in as good a time as this is, he would haue don accordingly, but being in a corrupt time, he did as the time required: where darknes is, menne muste needes sale, and where wickednes raigneth, menne of force become naught. Like as the poisonous Cokratrice infecteth all thinges, so oftentimes the shadowe of naughty menne hurteth the good. One euill corrupteth an other, and euill put to euill, is cause of mutuall destruction: *Epicetus* the Stoicke Philosopher saith: Vnderstande, if thy companiō shalbe defiled, that he also whom he shal touch must needes be defiled, notwithstandinge he were cleane before: wherefore his faulte is to be ascribed to the time wherin he liued, and to the parsons with whom he was conuersant. I conferred an *Italian* translation with the Latine Copie, in the whiche I founde more then was mencioned in the Latine, whiche I haue put into my translation, the places where this is added, are in the 96. 98. 100. 101. Cap. betweene twoo starres with this forme * placed in the Margent. I coniecture that this booke in the *Italian* was translated out of that Copie, whiche the Authoure first published, and since that time other bookes of the same sort haue ben printed, and in printing some thinges haue ben either depraued by negligence, or leste out of pourpose, because they sharply inueigh againste the Popes folowers, whiche coniecture is likeliest, for negligence of the Printer woulde haue appeared aswell in other places, as in these, if he beinge rechelesse, had don things without aduifement. VVherfore (friendly Reader) wel construe my doinges, take in good part my labours, amende the faultes that are ouerpassed in printinge, and defende this againste the malicious detractions of enuious *Zailus*, then shall I accompte thee my friende, thinke my time well spente, and my paines requited.

To the Reader.

hereof walked in darknes, and together with his excellency of wit, he declareth in some places his blindnes of vnderstandinge: for in the. 2. 6. 57. Cap. he confirmeth as vaine things as he disproueth. Some peraduenture wil obiecte, that it is impossible for so excellent a man to erre and be deceiued, who in al learnings (as appeareth) was conuersant and well exercised: vnto whome maye be saide that whiche *Tullie* writeth in the firste of his *Offices*, where he saith. To be deceiued, to slide, to erre, and to be beguiled is mans propertie: and doubtles, no one man with exceeding great vse and experience of things, can attaine to so great skilfulnes and cunninge, that of himselfe he maye decerne al things, and not halt and be ouerseene in any, according to the saying of *Euripides* the Greeke Poete. One mā seeth not al things. *Socrates*, who by the Oracle of *Apollo*, was iudged the wisest of his age, cōfessed that he knew nothing at all, beside a certaine slender discipline of loue. If *Socrates* knewe so fewe things, then cannot this Authour knowe all things, whose knowledge, although it were great, yet greatly he erred, and no marueil, for he gaue his minde to vnprofitful Artes, contrarie to the Lawes of God and man; for it is saide, and his workes testifie the same, that he exercised the *Arte Magicke*, and therein farre excelled all other of his time, but in the ende, his wicked knowledge was the cause of his miserable death: for as *John Manlius* a Germaine writer doth recorde, when he was at the pointe of death he called to him a dogge, whiche wente aboute with him and spake to him with these woordes. *Abi a me perditā bestia, quā me perdidisti*: that is, Depart frō me thou wicked beast whiche hast destroyed me. So foorthwith the dogge departinge from him, caste himselfe headlonge into a riuer, this dogge was without doubt a Diuel of Hell. The naughtines of the time caused him to be naught, and to perseuer in erreure, for if he shoulde altogether haue reuolted and gone from the Pope, his life would haue ben in daunger: in part he helde with the Pope and his ministers, maintayning his

enor



Fin al things (gentle Reader) with which God endowed man at his creation nothinge is more to be esteemed then Reason, it foloweth, that the frutes thereof, that is, learninge and knowledge shoulde be had in price. For what is more to be desired then knowledge, the learning, then wisdom, whiche teacheth man to aspire to heavenly things, which guideth his doinges, and ruleth his affaires: wherefore *Phocilides* saithe very well, *Wisdome governeth Fieldes, Cities, and Shippes*. For al things be happely exploitied, which by the helpe of wisdom are governed. Sapience proceedeth of perfecte Reason, ioygned with Learninge, and Knowledge, whiche if it be true, then consequently it foloweth, that Artes and Sciences are good. And although this Authoure sharply inueigheth against them (which to the rude multitude for that cause, maye seme naught and noysome) yet his intent is, not to deface the worthinesse of Artes and Sciences, but to reprove and deteete their euil vses, and declare the excellencie of his wit in disprouinge them, for a shewe of Learning: which euil vses, doubtles haue crept in, thorough the peruerse doings of men. There is nothing in this world, which is not corrupted, nor any learning which is not abused, not withstanding the whole circle or compasse of Learning (the Seue Liberall Sciences I meane, called *Encyclopaedia*) is not to be neglected, and all humane Artes reiected: for like as diseased bodies, hauinge some infirmitie, are not to be abandoned, but to be recured, preserued, and chearished, so ought Sciēces and Knowledges (though there lurke in them some abuse) not to be dispised, but with all endeouour ought to be purged frō their chaffe, and brought to their former perfection. VVho woulde geue credence to this Authoure, and allow him, if he endeouored to disallow al learninges? it is a vaine thing to dispraise all Knowledges, and a praise to deteete their vanitie. The Authour

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

ned Philosopher, and a wise Capitaine, saide, That the wisdom of a man, is not somuche knowen by withdrawinge himselfe from the euill, as by choosinge the good, because that commonly under the euill any good cannot be hidden, but under the good muche euill maye be dissembled. Euen as the Enseigne beginneth Per signum Crucis, and endeth in Satanas and Barrabas: So likewise the great euils, take their beginnige in some good deedes, in suche wise that they be counterfaieted like Maskes, sugred like Pilles, and gilted like Renbarbe. There is no man so senseles, which keapeth not himselfe from the euill, whiche is notoriously euill, but a wise man will beware of that whiche is knowen not to be altogether good. Themistocles the Philosopher, put all his felicitie in descending from a noble linage. Simonides the Philosopher, accompted the greatest happinesse to be well beloued of the people. Antisthenes put all his felicitie in renoume after his death. But Herillus placed the soueraigne good in learninge and knowledge, who shooteth wide of the marke for that, in no wise can be good, whiche is vaine, and uncertaine: howe than can the chiefe felicitie be founde therein? I neede not make in this place, any longe discourse to disproue the vanitee of Artes and Sciences, sith this Authour hath written thereof at large whiche Englished, I addresse to your Grace, moste humbly beseechinge you, to accepte it as a pledge of a minde well affected towardes your Honoure, whiche haue not onely the felicitie of Themistocles, to wete, honoure of Parentage, but which is more, haue also confirmed the same with Honour purchased by your owne vertue: you haue the felicitie of Simonides, for you are well beloued of the people: and also dyinge, shall haue the soueraigne good of Antisthenes, for your fame shall foreuer sounde in the eares of men: but to you liuinge, I wishe Nestors yeares, with continuall health, and encrease of Honoure.

Your Graces, moste humblic
to commaunde,

James Sanford.

To the Noble and Vertuous Prince
Thomas Duke of Northfolke,
 Earle Marshal of England, one of the
Queenes Maiesties moste Honorable Priuie
 Councel, and Knight of the Honorable Order
 of the Garter, &c.



Eneas the Lapitha

(renowned Prince) he that
 fought with the Centaures, was
 so harde to be wounded, and with
 weapons to be pearced (as Pin-
 darus writeth) that when the
 Centaures with one consent as-
 sailinge him, had layde vppon
 him a huge heape of woodes, he
 notwithstandinge was not van-

quished. But this our Agrippa, toke not weapons of Vul-
 cane, as Achilles and Eneas did, but of reason, whiche not
 onely maintaineth and defendeth the truith, but also with deape
 insighte trieth, and as it were, sifteth the same from the false.
 So that the truth, by reasons meane, is made pure and inuiolate,
 and the untruth, whiche obscureth it, is plainly perceaued. This
 man, made not sharpe warre with the Centaures, as the other
 did, but well neare with all Estates, Artes, and Sciences, whose
 abuses, he hath so vanquished and put to flight, that moste menne
 will asigne him the palme and price of Victorie. How many haue
 desired knowledges, Artes, and Sciences, and how fewe haue dete-
 cted their deceitfull abuses? Many seeke the good, but few find out
 the euill that lieth hidden therein: it is no lesse prayse to embrace
 vertue, then dispraise not to shun vice, the rewarde of vertue is
 euerlasting fame, and the guerdon of vice, is shamefull infamie: he
 is wise that is not deceaued by the counterfait shew of vertue, and
 he moste vnwise, that rashly chuseth that whiche semeth good: for
 vices oftentimes put on the colour of vertue. Mironides a lear-

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The Image of a Noble Prince, the Lion doth expresse,
The Humble harmles scape, the Rebels he doth aie suppress:
And as he Huntes the Woulfe, so they that rule and governe well,
Muste Theues destroy, and wicked men from publike Weale expell.

R 80 89 C 36

Holland

¶ Henrie Cornelius A-
grippa, of the Vanitie and
vncertaintie of Artes and
Sciences, Englished by
Ja. San. Gent.

N^o

72

Ecclesiastes. I.

All is but moſte vaine Vanitie: and
all is moſt vaine, and but plaine
Vanitie.

¶ Scene and allowed according to
the order appointed.

¶ Imprinted at London, by
Henry Wykes dwelling in Fleete ſtreat,
at the ſigne of the blacke
Elephant.

ANNO. 1569.

10. 5004

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William Shakespeare, 1564-1616.

James Sanfords, HENRIE CORNELIUS

AGRIPPA, 1569.

On the lower right hand margin of the title-page of this book, which was published five years after the birth of Shakespeare, there are certain curious marks, (almost obliterated, though easily read under a magnifying glass) which are so like Shakespeare's autograph signature in the second folio edition of his plays that they seem to indicate this was Shakespeare's own copy. This belief is strengthened by the fact that at the top of the title-page is the autograph signature of Hugh Holland, under the latin motto, "Secreta mea mihi," in his handwriting. The two Hs. written as a double H. intertwined.

The poet Hugh Holland flourished in Shakespeare's time, and wrote verses which were prefixed to the first folio edition of Shakespeare's plays. Mr. Stoddard considers this book one of the most extraordinary literary finds of recent times. For verification of Shakespeare's autograph see W. Carew Hazlitt's "Shakespear," recently published, p. 74.

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Alchemy

Philosophy - Renaissance

JEREMY MORRIS

FEB, 1973

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