



TO THE RIGHT Honourable and my good Lorde the Earle of Oxeforde, Lorde great Chamberlaine of Englande.

MY GOOD LORD, I can geue nothinge moore agreeable to your minde, and my fortune, then the willinge performance of such seruice as it shall please you to cōmaunde mee vnto. And therefore rather to obeye then boaste of my cunninge, and as a newe signe of myne olde deuocion, I doe presente the booke your Lordship so longe desired. VVith assured hope that how so euer you mislike or allowe ther of, you will fauourably conseale myne imperfections which to your Lordshippe alone I dare discouer, because most faithfully I honor and loue you. My long discontinuance of study, or rather the lacke of grounded knowledge did many times discourage me, yet the pleasure I tooke in the matter did counteruaile all dispayre, and the rather by encouragement of you• L. who (as you wel remember) vnwares to me found some parte of

this worke, and willed me in any wy^{••} to procede therin. My meaning was not to haue im|parted my trauaile to any, but your honour hath ⟨◇⟩ to countermaund myne intencion. Yet I ⟨◇⟩ hūbly beseech you either not to make any pertakers therof, or at the least wise those, whoe for reuerence to your L. or loue to mee, will willingly beare with myne errors. A nedelesse thinge I know it is to cō|forte you, whom nature and fortune hath not onely not iniured, but rather vpon whom they haue boun|tifully bestowed their grace: notwithstandinge sith you delighte to see others acquitted of cares, your L. shall not doe amisse to reade some part of Cardanus counsell: wherein consideringe the manyfolde mis|ries of others, you may the rather esteeme your owne happye estate with encrease of those noble and rare vertues which I know and reioyse to be in you. Sure I am it would haue better beseemed me to haue takē this trauaile in some discourse of Armes (being your L. chiefe professiō & mine also) thē in Philosophers skill to haue thus busied my selfe: yet sith your plea|sure was such, and your knowledge in eyther great, I do (as I will euer) most willingly obeye you. And if anye either through skill or curiosity do find fault with mee, I trust notwithstāding for the respects a|^{•••}esaide to be houlden excused. From my lodginge ⟨◇⟩ first of Ianuarye. 1571.

Your L. alvvayes to commaunde Thomas Bedingfeld.

To my louinge frende Thomas Bedingfeld Esquyer, one of her Maie|sties gentlemen Pentioners.

AFTER I had perused youre letters good maister Bedingfeld, findinge in thē your request farre differing from the de|sert of your labour, I could not chose but greatly doubt, whether it were better for me to yelde you your desyre, or execute myne owne intencion towards the publishinge of youre Booke. For I do confesse the affections that I haue alwayes borne towards you coule moue mee not a little. But whē I had throughlye considered in my mynde of sondrye and diuers argumentes, whether it were best to obeye myne af|fections or the merites of your studyes. At the length I de|termined it better to denye your vnlawfull request, then to graunte or condescende to the concealment of so worthy a worke. VVhereby as you haue bene profited in the transla|tinge, so many may reape knowledge by the reading of the same, that shall comfort the afflicted, cōfirme the doubtful, encourage the cowarde, and lift vp the base minded man, to atchiefe to any true sūme or grade of vertue, wherto ought onely the noble thoughtes of men to be enclyned. And be|cause next to the sacred letters of Diuinitye, nothinge doth perswade the same more then Philosophye, of whiche youre booke is plentifully stored. I thought my selfe to cōmit an vnardonable error, to haue murdered the same in y^r wast bottomes of my chestes, and better I thought it were to dis|please one, then to displease many: further consideringe so little a trifle cannot procure so great a breach of our amity, as may not with a little perswasiōs of reason be repayred a|gayne. And herein I am forced like a good and politicke Captaine, oftētimes to spoile & burne the corne of his owne cōutrey, least his ennemyes therof do take aduaūtage. For rather then so many of your countreye men shoulde be de|•ided through my senister meanes of your industry in stu|dyes, (wherof you are bound in conscience to yelde them

an accōpte) I am content to make spoyle and hauocke of your request, and that that might haue wrought greatly in me in this former respect, vtterlye to be of no effect or operation, and when you examine your selfe what doth auaille a masse of goulde to be continuallye imprisoned in your bags, and neuer to be employed to your vse. I do not doubt euen so you thinke of your studyes and delightfull Muses. VVhat do they auaille, if you do not participate tbem to others? VVherfore we haue this latine Prouerbe. Scire tuū nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter. VVhat doth auaille the tree vnlesse it yeld fruite vnto an other, vvhat doth auaille the Vyne vnlesse an other delighteth in the Grape? Vvhat doth auaille the Rose vnlesse an other toke pleasure in the smell? VVhye should this tree be accompted better thē that tree, but for the good|nes of his fruite? VVhye should this Vyne be better then that Vyne, vnlesse it brought forth a better Grape then the other? VVhye should this Rose be better esteemed thē that Rose, vnlesse in pleasantnes of smel it farre surpassed the o|ther Rose? And so is it in al other thinges as well as in man. VVhye should this man, be more esteemed then that man, but for his vertue, throughe vvwhich euerye man desireth to be accompted of. Then you amongst men I do not doubt, but vvill aspyre to followe that vertuous pathe, to illuster your selfe vvith the ornamentes of vertue. And in myne opynion as it beautifyeth a fayre vvoman to be decked with pearles and precious stones, so much more it ornifyeth a gē|tleman to be furnished in mynde wyth glittering vertues. VVherfore considering the small harme I do to you, the great good I do to others I prefer myne ovvne intention to discouer your volume, before your request to secrete y^e same: VVherein I may seeme to you to playe the part of the cun|ninge and experte Medeciner or Phisition, vvho althoughe his pacient in the extremitye of his burninge Feuer, is desi|rous of colde liccour or drincke to qualefy his sore thirst, or rather kill his languishinge bodye. Yet for the daunger hee doth evidentlye knowe by his science to ensue, denyeth hym the same. So you beinge sicke of to much doubt in your owne procedinges, throughe which infirmitye you are desirous to burye and inseuill your workes in the graue of obliuion. Yet I knowinge the discommodityes that shal redounde to your selfe thereby (and whiche is more vnto your Coūtreymen) as one that is vvilling to salue so great an incōuenience, am nothing dainty to denye your request. Againe we see, if our frendes be deade, vve cannot shewe or declare our affection more then by erectinge them of Tom|bes: vvhereby vvhen they be deade in deede, yet make vvee them liue as it vvere againe through theyr monument, but vvith me behold it happeneth farre better, for in your lyfe time I shal erect you such a monumēt, that as I saye in your life time you shall see hovve noble a shadowe of your ver|tuos life, shal hereafter remaine vvhen you are deade and gone. And in your life time againe I say, I shall giue you that monument and remembraunce of your lyfe, vvhereby I may declare my good vvill thoughe vvith your ill vvill as yet that I do beare you in your life. Thus earnestlye de|syringe you in this one request of myne, as I vvould yelde to you in a great manye, not to repugne the settinge forth of your ovvne proper studyes. I bid you farevvel.

¶From my newe countrye Muses at VVienghole, wi|shing you as you haue begunne, to proceede in these ver|tuos actions. For when all things shall els forsake vs, vertue yet wil euer abide wyth vs, and when our bodies falles into the bowels of the earth, yet that shall mounte with our mindes into the highest Heauens.

By your louinge and assured frende. E. Oxenford.

The Earle of Oxenforde to the Reader.

The labouring man, that tilles the fertile soyle,
And reapes the haruest fruite, hath not in deede
The gaine but payne, and if for all hys toyle
He gets the strawe, the Lord wyll haue the seede.
The Manchet fyne, falles not vnto his share
On coursest cheat, his hungrye stomacke feedes
The Landlord doth, possesse the fynest fare
He pulles the flowers, the other pluckes but weedes.
The Mason poore that buildes the Lordlye halles
Dwelles not in them, they are for hye degree
His Cotage is, compact in paper walles
And not with bricke, or stone as others bee.
The idle Drone, that labours not at all
Suckles vp the sweete, of honnye from the Bee
Who worketh most, to their share least doth fall,
Wyth due desert, reward will neuer bee.
The swiftest Hare, vnto the Mastiue slowe
Oft times doth fall, to him as for a praye:
The Greyhounde thereby, doth misse his game we know
For which he made, such speedy hast awaye.
So hee that takes, the payne to penne the booke
Reapes not the giftes, of goodlye golden Muse
But those gayne that, who on the worke shal looke
And from the soure, the sweete by skill doth chuse.
For hee that beates the bushe the byrde not gets.
But who sittes still, and holdeth fast the nets.

Thomas Churchyarde gen | tleman, to the Reader.

IF I had (gentle Reader) as greate Art to perswade as desyre to do the good, the force of my wrytinge and truthe of the matter shoulde bee a sufficiente meane, to make thee delight in the deuine discourses of this booke: whereon as Cardanus hath bestowed great studye, so maister Bedingefelde hath shewed no litle labour. And setting forth to sale the hiddē treasures of the minde (that long might haue lurked in the latine) hee biddeth euery man bie somewhat of the ware (or cheapen at the least) those things that serueth best for their purpose, & peraduenture by touching of tryfles, they may be attempted wyth noble Iewels, & so fall to beate a price of more mighty matter. For sure in this shoppe of secrets, are sondrye sorts of farre fetched marchandise, the goodnes whereof maye as well content the inwarde iudgement, as the gayest riches of the worlde doth please the gazinge eyes, but if wyth han | dlinge alone and carelesse lokinge of the same you laye it a syde (refusing that is offered) I skarce thincke you worthy of so worthy a benefite, and misdoubt ye wante a storehouse for so stately a treasure. O who could hold you from gad | ding after Maye games, runninge vnto tryumphes, staring on strangers, wondring on Maskes, waytinge for Piayes, & blasinge of your owne braueryes. Whose beggery beauties in

generall, are all as vayne, as the shadow of the Sunne: & Ioe beinge so vnbrydled in suche baggage, so readye to wretchednes, so apte for apishe pastimes, so gredy of vaine glory, and soe glad to gaze on games whereon no gayne groweth, but losse of witte wealth and time. Mee thincke you shoulde blushe to forgoe the blessednes this booke may bring you and blesse the beginner of the same and setter forth of the worke. But I feare as the horse waxeth whot when his ryder takes him vp from stombling, or as a churlish childe waxeth worse for the checke of a wyse father, you wil fling away the glasse, that shal bewraye your blotted browes, and so followe your follyes so farre, that neither Cardanus Comfortes nor no other y^t calcs you backe againe (to see through your selues) shal anye whit preuaile, if so you be bewitched and rather yeld to Cyrses charmes then Vlysses coūsell, I lacke Apollos pype to please your eares, and leaue you in a labourinth of endles trauaile, me thincks the hard nut being cracked and presen|ted vnto you with clouen shell, argues of it selfe, if you scorne to pill awaye the skin of the kynnel, ye ought not to tast anye peece or part of the fruite: so if you but reade your sences a sleepe, and wyth slacke searche of knowledge slomber oute a sentence conninglye shaped for the safetie of man, you gaine little by this woorke, and loose but labour with slobberinge handes or head to blot or blemishe the beauty of this booke. For neyther y^e mislyking of your head, nor tryfling with your handes, can hinder the fame of so famous a studye. And I pray you consider how hardlye it comes to your hands. The translatur therof (as many others the more pittie do y^r like) sent the coppie to a noble man to be reade and lapt vp in sy|lence, hee groping the gronde and bowels of the booke, sets incontinent openlye abroad the body, y^e euery good imagina|tion might make a noble notamy of the matter, yet making courtsy (in any cause) to offende his frend, he shewed me the booke, and the translatur desyre (alwayes eger to pleaser good people as I coniectured by his countenance) & I who founde mine owne infirmityes finely healed (or fauourablye handled by this good happe) perswaded as I durst the pub|lishing of this precious present, hoping that some as sicke as my selfe shalbe cured or eased by this good counsell. The person y^t puts it out, I tel you may a little (yea & very much) leade you to good lykinge: My Verses though simple they are, somewhat shall tel you of the nature of the booke. Giue credite as you please, disdain no good meaninge, doe some|what your selues eare you finde fault with others, cloke not your slouth with the barennes of barraine braynes, yeld fruit as you flourishe, and beare wyth the blossoms that buddeth from this tree. So fare you vuell.

Thomas Churchyarde in the behalfe of the Booke.

YOu troubled mindes with tormentes toste,
 that sighes and sobs consumes:
 (Who breathes and puffes from burning breast,
 both smothering smoke and fumes.)
 Come reade this booke that freelye bringes, a boxe of balme full swete,
 An oyle to noynt the brused partes, of euerye heauye spriete.
 A souplinge salue for euerye sore, a medicine for the sicke,
 A seede that eates vp cankred fleshe, and searcheth neare the quicke.
 Eche griefe y^r growes by error blinde (that makes mā*s* iudgemēt iarre)
 May here a precious plaster finde, eare corsye creepe to farre.
 The blinde that mournes for want of sight, coulde he but heare this red,
 Would take his blindnes in good part, and beare a quiet hed.

The lame whose lacke of legges is death, vnto a loftye mynde,
Wyll kisse his crotche and creepe on knees, Cardanus woorkes to fynde.
The begger bare bedeckt in brats, and patched rotten rags,
In budget if he bare this booke, would scorne the roysters brags.
The shephearde that in skortching sunne, sits skowling on the skyes,
Would leaue the wolfe his flocke of sheepe, to see this booke wyth eyes.
The surlye snodge that sweepes vp golde, and makes his God thereon,
Would sure cōfesse this pearle shold shyne, whē glistring gold were gon.
The wyldest man or monster strange, whose natures naughtye are,
Would stand a ma•de as bucke at baye, vppon this booke to stare,
This is no fable finelye fylde, as cutlare workes the blade,
This is a substance of it selfe, this is no sillye shade.
This speakes out of the brasen heade, full many a golden word,
This strykes the stordye stomackes dead, and yet it drawes no sworde.
This threatens thonderboltes for fooles, yet weather fayre it showes,
So such as can beare of a storme, and calmye weather knowes.
This teacheth mē to tune theyr strings, who would sweete musicke make
This showes who faynes, or sweetely sings: & where the tune we take.
The poore that playnes on pinching plagues, by this doth stand content,
And yeldinge thanks for foode and cloth, takes well y' God hath sent.
The rich whose raging reach would reape, the sweete of euery soyle,
Shall learne to singe a mixrye meane, and leaue the poore the spoyle.
The hye or hautye hart shal here, a liuelye lesson learne,
How wysedome holdes himselfe vpright, and halting heades deserne.
The lowe that lours at lothsome locke, and lingers out his tyme,
Shal see how safe the simple si•s, and how they fall that clyme.
The strong that striues to winne the goale, by strength & stoutnes vaine,
Shall shunne the shouldring croked play, and walke the path full plaine.
The weake whose wits wyth woes are worne (which breedes in brest de|bare)
Shal laughe y' giants strength to scorne, & prayse the feeble state,
The sicke that seekes a syrope sweete, for soure disease wythin,
Shal helpe the heapes of harmes in hart, eare blister rise on skin.
The proude y' poultes and pickes his plumes, & prunes his fethers gay,
Shal meekenes showe and forthwyth fling, his painted sheath away.
The prisner that in fetters lyes, shal thincke his fredome more,
In closed walles than al his scoope, that he hath had before,
The banisht wight that beates his braynes, wyth many busy broyles,
Shal see what gaine exile doth bringe, by sight of sondrye soyles.
The seruaunt that in seruage lyues, shall fee hee hath more ease,
Than hath his maister who of force, must many people please.
The fearefull man that hateth death, shall see that death is best,
And death is most to be desyrde, where life can breede no rest.
The dronken dolt that doth delite, in sosse, in swashe, and swill,
Shall see some snib or soure rebuke, to breake him of his will.
The foole that all sound counsell hates, perhaps in reading this,
Maye waxe more wyse and fondnes leaue, and so amende the mis.

The flatterer here may finde his faults, and fall to better frame,
The currishe earle may ciuill be, in noting of the same.
The cowarde shall win courage great, as he this booke shall vewe,
And he that is not shaped right, may here be made a newe.
The plowman that wyth sweat of browes, doth dearely win his bred.
Shall see what daunger dwell they in, that are wyth daintyes fed.
There is no state that beareth lyfe, of hye or lowe degree,
But for the sickenes of his minde, a medsine here may see.
This booke bewrayes what wretched wracke, belongs to life of man,
What burthens bore he on hys backe, since first this world began.
This is a glasse to gaze vpon, where man himselfe may finde,
A shyning sunne that plainlye shewes, A man is but his minde,
And who that reads and marks a right, the reasons couched here,
Shal win such treasures by the same, as he shall hold ful dere.
Passe on plaine booke of pearelesse price, and preace in worthye place,
Dread no disdain of froward heads, nor feare the frowning face.
A worthy worke doth iustly craue, a worthy patrone still,
Whose noble bucklar shall defende, this worthy worke from in.
And he that made thee Englishe speake, his tongue and penne be blest,
Wyth happye hope of vertues hye, from heauen, here possest.
FINIS.

Of Comforte the fyrst Booke

AMonge suche and so manye auncient monuments as perished in y^e Barbarian warres: would God (that at least Mar|cus Tullius bokes of comforte, written at the deathe of his daughter, had bene tyll this day preserued. For as in all o|ther matters hee declared him selfe more then a man, so may it be thought that herein he had writ|ten most excellently: the matter being neyther cō|mon, fayned or touchinge others, but procedinge from his own naturall affection and extreme per|turbation of mynde. And suche is the condicion and qualitie of comfortinge, as al be it no persua|tion or eloquence were there in vsed, yet wan|teth it not reason and sufficiente prooffe to trye it selfe: wherein so excellent, wise, and eloquente a man as Marcus Tullius hauing trauailed: it muste be presumed he framed a worke not only worthy prayse, but also aboute all expectation.

And albeit these auncient warres haue among many other noble workes depriued vs of so lear|ned a boke, yet haue we thought mete to entreate thereof (not because it is so praiseable as amisse it cannot be praysed) but also so necessary (as in all thinges whiche of necessitie must be had) better it is to haue the worst, then none at all. For exam|ple we see, that houses are nedefull, such as can not possesse y^t stately pallaces of stone, do persuade themselues to dwell in houses of timber and clay, and wanting them, are contented to inhabite the simple cotage, yea rather then not to be housed at all refuse not the pore cabbon, and most beggerly caue. So necessarie is this gifte of consolacion, as there liueth no man, but that hathe cause to embrace it. For in these things better it is to haue any then none at al. And wel we see ther is none alieue that in euery respect may be accompted hap|pie, yea though mortall men were free from all

calamities, yet the torments & feare of death should stil offend them. But besides them, behold, what, and how manye euilles there bee, that vnlesse the cloude of error bee remoued, impossible it is to see the truth, or receiue allay of our earthly woes.

And aboute the greues that all other necessities do bring with them, this hath somewhat more greiueous, and intollerable: for they satisfied withe that they desire, forthwith they cease to offend: as hunger is eased with meate, thirste is appeased to drinke, labour contented with reste. But the memory, of euils is so settled and manifolde, as wanting good persuasion doth neuer cease to torment the minde, but from one discontented imaginaciō to an other, from one calamitie or miserie to an other, cōtinually leadeth on our displeasīg thoughts And for y^t cause we haue framed this booke, which although it profiteth nothinge to driue awaye the cares and anxietie of minde in others, yet shall I therein not a litle content my self, for which respect thieflly I toke the matter in hand. And as menne saye, that Asclepiodorus without colours did right cunningly paint: so shall we voyd of all craft and skil, with true reason declare how much each man erreth in life, iudgement, opinion, and will. Yea, somethinges there are that so wel do proue them selues, as besides nature nede no profe at all.

Of which kinde in this our incertaine lyfe, vain glory, and in nature of thinges, great plenty was euermore to be found, and in al such the more cunninge and eloquence is vsed, the lesse wee see oftentimes they receiue credite and beliefe. Who is so much misaduised as wold paint the pillars of perfit marble or Porfery? or who dothe coloure the vessels of Allabaster? When the naturall glosse doth geue chiefest grace and reputation to y^e work we plaister and painte the ragged walles of mortar and claye, to the ende that arte should supplye, that nature hathe left vnsemelye. Neither do I think our worke here in so great as at the beginninge we thought to bee. For albeit we knowe y^e number of miseries and cares to be many, yet diuers of them be of suche kinde as being wel considered do nede no medicine at all. As those whyche men willingly and vnconstrained do force thē selues to beare: for who would take in hande to comfort Marcus Regulus, amidst his miseries? whō neyther the pitie of his children, nor the prayers of his kinsfolkes, could perswade to remain in Rome and not to retourne to the handes of the Carthaginians. Of the same greatnes of minde were the holy martirs, Paule, George, Laurence, with almoste innumerable others. Some other sortes of payns and trauaile there are which the faintest harts do not refuse to abyde, either in respecte of y^r glory or gaine that groweth thereof. As some we see vncompelled do serue princes, others do labour to please their louers, some cōsume their time in studies some follow trafficke, and some seeke auctoritie and rule. So litle trouble they fynde in these trauailes as being remoued from them, they are greatly greued. Some led on with onely hope, doe voluntarily take vpon them a life with patience & trauaile to bee endured: as those that passe their daies in solitary places, as they that liue in citties continually, as they that obserue religion straight lye, praying & fasting, who being asked for what ende they so do: answere, for hope that after death they shall receiue eternall felicitie. Some there are that take greate paynes and willinglye suffer in respect of swetenes and delight (as they think) that is ioyned there vnto. As haruest labourers, who after longe toyle and sweat in sommers son, do not withstandinge daunce when the pype doth sound. Others with colde feete doe leaue the fyre to cast the dyce: for though the cold do pinche, yet the pleasure of the play is more. But far greater incoueniencies doe Cupides knightes with aduerture of life abide and yet, withe all their hartes they hazarde all, that in the ende all their desyres may be obtained. Some

there are that although they seme euell eyther in respect of natures neces|sytie, as old age▪ or of comparison, as breaking of prison, yet are they more paciently borne: because before they came they were desyred, and beinge com may not therfore be vnwelcome. Wherefore if in perticuler I should entreat of euery of these, be|sydes y^t no fruit should grow therof, I might also seme combersome & tedious. I do therfore thinke best to speake of those which men do condempne & flee as euyll. Among which nomber somewhat I wyl say of the euils abouesaide, for y^e one thinge is not to euery man alyke pleasant or disconting, but of them old age semeth y^e chiefe, whiche though no calamity, but a gift of nature (& yet in some respect may be so called) because we se it vnwillingly born of many, & therefore Cicero hath thereof curioslye written, & though it cānot be iustly nombred amōg y^e euils of mans life, yet of vs shall not be omitted.

We say therefore that among thinges wee ac|compte euyll, there be three sortes. That is to saye, Comon calamities, priuat calamities simple, and priuat calamities manifold: comon calamities we cal those that happen to al men, or the greatest nō|ber of our acquaintance: as hongering, pestilence, sub|uersion of coūtries, and such lyke. Priuat calami|ties simple, be of two sortes, the one discōmenda|ble, as if a thief lamenteth that hee loseth the opor|tunitie for murder: or dishonest as the weping of Vrsus in Papinius. The other honest and in no wise worthy greate discommendacion: as the destruc|tion of houses, the losse of children, & death of fren|des. Priuat calamities manifold we accōpt those when a man by many mishaps at one instāt is mo|lestēd: as y^e holy scripture telleth of Iob, who de pry|ued of his house, children, cattel, & substaunce, was also tormented with most pitiful diseases & sores.

Some men do hold for true opinion that albeit, a mā may sustaine one kind of calamity, yet y^e suf|ferance of so sondrye myseries is not to be fōūd in any. Wherefore of priuate & simple euils in general we wyl first take in hand to wryte, next we shall entreate of sorrow and death eyther of our selues or nere frendes: In the seconde booke, and in the last, we wyl not omit to speake of tormente, bon|dage, imprisonment, exile, iniury of old age, pouer|tye, & in general of many miseries assembled toge|thers. But fyrst let vs begin at priuate euils, de|claringe y^e the good or euill fortune, importeth no|thing to blessed life, and y^e the fruit of al felicity (as Plato sayth) resteth in vertue, or as the Poet sayth.

VVhose conscience giltles is, doth not grovve pale for feare.

And yet (as at y^t beginning I said) who so would consider how many discontentatiōs do happen & diligently marke euery one of thē, should finde to what smal purpose in aduersitye a mā tormenteth himselfe, considering how short, frayle, incertain, & myserable the life of man is. So as if at any time for y^t misery it is to be lamented, then after the ma|ner of Heraclites, is continually to be bewailed, & as Palladas sayth. Al vweeping vvas I borne, all vweeping must I dye: my vvhole life in vweeping haue bene consumed. O lamentable life of man remayninge on earth in sicknes, sorrovv, and continuall miserye. Therefore if at any time we must take leaue of la|menting, thē ought y^e same either euer or neuer to be done, for life is eyther euer to be lamented or neuer.

Among other myseries what I pray you cā be greater then whē a man riseth frō bed in the mor|ning, to be incertaine of his returne to rest againe? or being in bed, whether his life shall

continue tyll he ryse? besydes that, what labour, what hazard & care, are men constrained to abyde with these our brittle bodies, our feeble force, and incertayne lyfe: so as of no nacion I thinke a man better or more fytlye named then of the Spaniard, who in their language do terme a man, shadow. And sure ther is nothing to be found of lesse assurance or soner passed then the lyfe of man, no, nor y^o may more rightly be resembled to a shadow. Somtime I consider with my selfe, and thinke (yf the chrystian lawe were therunto consentyng) that the soules of som wicked deuils were entred into the bodies of men as torments for synnes, and so after death none other hell or punyshment to folow. So greate is y^e masse of worldly miseries, as this lyfe is eyther for wicked folke, or by some wicked god appoynted. But when I duly consyder al, I leaue this cōmon opynion as altogether vntrue: & perceiue that in this lyfe ther is nothing found y^o may iustly be called good or euyl, & do allow of those phylosophers as wyse, who thought that al thinges consyded in opynion. For what custome, what law, or what iudgement, is so certein, as is not encoūtered with contrary opinions? and surely beleue me, y^o the phylosophers wold not so long haue contended amōg themselues, if the matters of theyr contentiō had not rested only in opynion: what man is so mad as wyl say the swan is blacke? or that the rauē is in colour whyte, when the matter is otherwise to be iudged by cōmon sence. But what is good or euyl (O lord) how much speach, how great disputa|tion, and howe longe contencion hath beene. The blynd man sekēs a mote. How can it be other thē discention, when the thing dyffreth from it selfe, & the philosophers do disagre among themselues as of that, that no wher is to be found. And here vpon cōmeth to my memory a certayn fable written by an aūcient poet, whych doth lyuely in my iudgement set forth mans lyfe. It is told that when myghty Iupiter had made the heauens, the earthe the seas, the beastes, and men, he soberly consyded that vnlesse he allotted both punishment & reward for mens desertes, it should so come to passe as they would not only approue al kynd of dysorder but also dysdayne the gods theym selues, for whych consyderation the greate Ioue cōmaunded Vulcan to frame two brasen tunnes, the one to receyue all that was good, the other to conteyn the euyl, and made both good & euyl thinges wynged, to thende they myght more fytlye be sent amonge mortall men, accordinge to the quality of theyr desertes. But Pandora being a busy goddes and greedy to loke into the vessels, dyd open them, & sodēly both the good & the euyl brake forth & flewe theyr wayes, the good houered vpon to heauen, the euyl made speeche to the hel, and in y^o baryl of euyl remayned only hope: & in the vessell of good was founde suspycion as that wherw^t they were maynteyned, which newes when Iupiter hard (as he is an angry god) toke the empty vessells, and in a rage threwe them down, whych mortal men seing, desyrus of newes drew nere & embraced the emptye barrells, some of the good and some of the euyl. But they that layd hold of the empty tonnes dyd neuerthelesse persuade thē selues to haue gotten both good and euyl, and yet in dede neyther good nor euyl fel to any mortal man, sauing that they y^o hapned vpon the better barrell found in themselues opiniō of good with suspycion, & the other opinion of euyl w^t some hope. And so it came to passe, not vnlyke as when men in darke nyghts walkyng in Arabia do happelye trede vpon some piece of yron or other cold thing, are sodenly affrighted with feare leaste they haue hapned vpon a venemous serpent, & yet haue not: euen so the only suspycion of good and euyl is that, that perplexeth al mortal creatures, because al that is good is ascended to heauen, and al that is euyl, gone down to the infernall sprytes.

And therefore euer synce the great Iupiter haue dis|dained to take acompt of mortal mens deseruings Truly although this be a fayned fable, yet doth yt aswel declare the originall both of good and euyl as yf it had bene set forth in the learned scholes. But as these earthly ioyes are vayne and instable, so in the world to come al thyngs are certain, assu|red, & euerlasting, whether throughe sufferance of these afflictions whych we call euyls, the godly loue doth cal vs: according to the sayinge of y^r prophet, because thou were accepted by god, it was expedi|ent y^r temptacion should try the: for the almighty God not vnlyke a father that entierly loueth hys chyl|dren doth bring them vp in all contynencye & sober lyfe, restrayning their pleasures, not suffring them without chastisement to exercise any euyl or vngodly lyfe. And contrary wyse such as hee este|meth not, and that lyue lyke chyl|dren destened to perdicion, wythout regard he doth suffer to pursue their dronken and disolute maner of lyuing. Shal we therefore say the life of such seruauntes is more happy, or more to be wished for then those sonnes. For none are admitted to heauenly ioyes, but those that in all good lyfe and perfection do deserue the same: for as gold is fyned in the fornace so the life of a iust man, by aduersity in this world is tryed. And yet if al eyther good or euyl should be compa|red to y^r heauenly hope, yt were no more then one grayn to a hole heape. S. Paule therefore sayd that al we suffer in this worlde was not meritorious enough to gayn the glory of y^r world to come, who so euer then that fyrmely embraceth thys faythe, should he not in aduersity reioyse & in prosperitye lament? and amids his miseries persuade himselfe that god doth make tryal of hys fayth, after tryall to cal him among the number of his chosen? If in getting worldly glory thou doest so much reioyse, the reward therof being smal, the cotinuan|ce short and mortal: what should we do for this heauenly glory, which is euerlasting, great, & assured? So great is this comfort, y^r if ther were not manye y^r swerued in fayth, the holy office of coforting were al ready finished, who wold not chaūge this short life, with that life euerlasting? this frayl with that fyrme? this vnhappy, w^t that most happy this trou|blesome, withe that moste quiet? but in wante of beleefe is synne, and in synne is wante of believe: where by the condicion of man is berefte bothe of hope & faith, For what can be vnto man either more profytable after deathe, or more to be wished in this life, then the hope of the life to come? And though y^e same were not, yet ought a mā no whit to be discouraged, because there is almost no my|sery so great but may be conuerted to better hap. Neyther is there among mortal men any opinion so assured, as that nothing is sure. For as aduersi|tye and misfortune hath bene to some men a way to good chauce: so hath prosperity bene to others the occasion of miserye. But it is not our determi|nation to discourse hereof, though by often profe it is to be tryed. Our care onely is to entreate of ca|lamityes: for if I should write of all such as mis|fortune hath aduaunced, this booke could scantly containe them. Neither do I beleue y^e holy Scrip|ture to meane other by the history of Iob, thē ther|by in one example to shew the varietye of fortune which y^e Gentiles by dyuers examples were taught to beleue. For Iob being first happy, hauing health, children, abundance, land, possession, & cattel, was bereft of all hys worldly goodes, & such as in pros|perity were his greatest frends, became in aduer|sitye his most cruell foes, yet afterwarde in more abundance then before, he receyued the goodnes and liberalitey of fortune. Such and so many be the occasions both of good and euil fortune, as no|thing is more incertaine.

The seruitude of Ventidius was cause that after he became Consul and gayned great glorye, which he without decaye of the Romaine fortune could neuer haue loked for. But by his bondage hee had occasion to shew his vertue which was the waye to felicity. The profe thereof is dayly seene among the barbarouse nacions, as y^r Turkes, & those peo|ple which were called

Mamaluchi, Among mortal creatures what can be more intollerable then sicknesse? yet did the same greatly profyte the Emperoure Augustus being in armes against Brutus.

For hee, warned by his phisicion to remoue from his paultion by sleape he recouered health, whyche yf for other respect he had done, the same had beene to his great dishonour, or if he had abydden he had bene slayne or forced to flee. Plotinus a philosopher of Platoes sect, had amonge others a scholer named Ornucius Marcellus who was greatly diseased w^t the gout & palsey, through diligent hearing his master (who disputed & red with great swetenes & facillitye) he forgot ofte times to eate: and so wth at tentiue hearing became a singuler philosopher, and with much abstinence recouered his healthe. So throughe sickenes hee gayned bothe learninge and good recouery.

The euill disposition of the bodye doth ofte tymes profyte the vertue of mynde, for sicknes make the the surfyter to become of good dyet, y^e proud more couetous, the wicked religious, yea other whiles it profiteth the body also, for more men of sickly body then healthe doe attayne to old age. Suche is the change of worldlye things. For as wyth in the tayle of a Stagge lyethe mooste presente poyson, and all the reste of his bodye is holsome Fleshe: So the Serpent Tyrus whose venom is vncurable, hathe fleshe so holsome, as it is medicinable against all other poysons.

Paulus tertius thoughe hee was learned and not vnlike to aspire to the papacye, yet the opinion of his olde age, and syckelye bodye did, greatlye enforce to his aduancemente. The great aduersitie of Sparticus condemned to dye in combat was the occasiō he became glorious and while he 〈◇〉 to the Romaines terrible. When the memory of many kinges is wor^e away. Among the reste of such commodities as aduersitie bringeth withall, this benefyte it hathe, that a mans misfortunate dayes once paste, hee lyueth the reste of hys lyfe with greater delighte. Who esteemeth his health that hathe not tasted of sicknesse? Who knoweth the swetenes of his countrie that neuer hath bent banished? Or who can bee happie or take pleasure in riches, that neuer hathe liued in pouertie? Or whye doe childlesse olde men take 〈...〉 in children? But because they haue bene 〈◇〉. We reade that Agissolaus kinge of the 〈◇〉 was a wise and seuerer man, yet in hys age hee so muche loued children, as hee seemed to 〈◇〉. As falte 〈...〉 aduersitie by paste, maketh 〈...〉, and the more if it be not long. And 〈...〉 verye well 〈◇〉 the example of 〈◇〉 comfortinge his felowes sayinge.

O mates (quod he) that many a 〈◇〉, haue bid and borne or this,
VVorse haue we seene, and this also shal end when Gods wil is.
Through Scilla rage you wot and throug he the roring rockes we past,
Though Ciclops shore were ful of fear yet came we through at last
Pluck vp your harts and driue from thence, both dread and feare away
To thinke on this may pleasure be perhappes another daye.

Among the reste of Marcus 〈◇〉 Cicero his oratious of life and proceding what was more to hys auayle, then the banishmente from his countrie: when his goods was solde, his house subuerted, & he him selfe confyned only, then hee learned howe welcome he was to the citizens, how necessarye to his country, how deare to his frendes, and (had he modestly vsed his glory)

nothing that euer hap|pened to him in lyfe was more to his reputacion: for after his reuokement, he became more glorious then before. And in all misfortunes of mans lyfe, this reason is of no small importance, that necessari|tie driueth vs to comfort oure selues: as whether we patiently or with impacience beare oure aduer|sities, yet nedely in the end we must beare them.

Neither is sorowe or sadnes to other ende, then to encrea•e care, and make our mindes more vn|meete to receiue good counsell: and therby bothe hope and helpe are clearly taken away, and what good or allay of grieffe <◇> continuall teares or de|speracion procure? Trulye syth in thy power it is to aggrauate or decrease thyne owne care, it is the parte of a wise and wel aduised man to disburden himselfe of sorow, and with pacient mind to beare all aduersitie, calling to memory.

A giltlesse mynde all sclauholders do dysdayne.

Alas, what shall thy languishing life auayle the or what can thy pensyue thoughtes preuayle. It hath bene sene oftymes that patience or sufferance of aduersitie hath helped valiauntemen. For wee sonest take pittie of those that couragiously do suf|fer miserye, and presume more of their innocencye and vertue, then of those that impacientlye inlike fortune abandon all courage of mynde. Agis the Lacedemonian kinge; beinge by certayne officers of auctoritie condemned to dye was drawen with a corde towards the place of execution: it hapned he espied a seruauent of his standinge by wepinge to whome he sayde these wordes. I praye the my frende forbear to lamente my deathe▪ for beinge vniustly condempned to dye, I am become more worthy lyfe, then they that enforce me to it. And hauinge spoken thus, wyllingly strangled himself:

We reade also that a noble minde do moue men to cōpassion▪ When Sceuola had determined to kyl the king Porsenna, for his valiant & voluntary con|fession receiued pardon, which if he had not done, but with deniall craued mercy, besydes dishonour he should haue suffred most cruell deathe. <◇> taken for M. Brutus, Seruius Terentius, for D. Bru. & fallinge into Antonius handes gayned both perdō and the frendship of their enemies, more throughe nobility of mynd then submissiō. What nede more wordes? patience in captiuitie, & magnanimity in aduerse fortune haue euer bene praysed and helped most. And thus <...> I saye, that seinge the guilty conscience doth only <◇> a man vnhap|pie, he is to euil aduised that <◇> his mynde to misfortune when wholly hee might remaine in ly|bertie. A man is nothinge but his mynde: if the mynde he discontented y' man is al disquiet though al the <◇> well, and if the minde be contented though all the rest misdoe it forseeth little. I re|member a certayne rich man growing mad, snat|ched at his strawe and complained that he should dye for Honger because there was no Corne within the emptye eares, did not (I pray you) his discontented mynde only make him vnhappy.

An other one there was that ymagined himselfe to be made of glasse, and euer feared to be broken: was not this goode foole without all miserie the moste miserable man aliue? But some there bee that through imperfection of mynde or error are causers of their owne euill, who ought therefore withe more patience beare it. As chyl dren who though they byte their own hands neuer so much do not complaine, yet if neuer so little they be hurt by others do crye out. But it were vnfyf for vs to follow the manner of children & vnseemelye to be more foolishe and of lesse

courage then they. What can bee more fond then a man to hurte him selfe and then complayne, better it were to folow the counsell of the Poet.

Thyne owne deserued woes beare thou with patient mynde.
Such pay•es are ⟨◇⟩ with greatest grief, as causles men do finde.

What can be saide more deseruingly to chaunce vnto vs, then that, where ⟨...⟩ feare, haste or (which is ⟨◇⟩ of all) disorder, geue occasion of oure owne grieffe. Why woulde they complaine? sythe there is none other cause of thy sorow? against whome seing ⟨...⟩ ? vpon whom would thou be reuenged? ⟨◇⟩ thine owne selfe. Who so doth marke it wel, shall fynde that for the most part we are causes of oure owne euill. And though it is playnlye declared in the boke De Arcanis eternitatis, yet being here requi|site, we wil againe speake therof. And yet were y^c same nedelesse, if men were not so far in loue with themselues, For euerye one be hee neuer so simple perswadeth himselfe to knowe moste, imputinge the good successe of thinges to their owne wise|dome, and the euill to the default of fortune. Nei|ther doth it suffise them to accuse the follye of for|tune, but also fynde fault with some euil spirite & lurking deuill. In which error princes do more of|ten fall then others, not only because they are per|takers of all kynd of imperfections, but also for y^t their eares are alwayes open to all sortes of para|sites and flatterers, who make them beleue they wante no vertue, wisdomes or other perfection y^r man or god can be endued with al. And these faire spoken people do study nothing more then to prac|tise that princes may knowe nothings, for other|wise they would not entertayne suche Gnatoes as they be. How muche more comely were it in mor|tall men, to impute al good successe to God (or yf they thought not so good) to fortune: and al euyll successe to their lewdnesse, vilety, and lacke of iud|gemēt. But wouldst thou know why thou art a foole? because thou doest accompt thy selfe wise.

Socrates who by sentence of Apolloes oracle was iudged the wisest, confessed himselfe to knowe but one thinge, and that was he knewe nothing But thou that in dede knowest nothing at all, wil wo|manlyke take vpon the to speake of Mazageta India and rather then fayle, of thinges aboute the skyes.

Ptolomeus the noble astronomer was wonte to say that a man y^r pleased himself was hated of god And he pleaseth himselfe that imagineth himselfe wise or prouidente, and imputeth all to his owne glory and profyt. Such kinde of people be y^t moste part of mortal men, and therefore subiect to so ma|ny euils and misfortune. But now we haue a lyt|tle disgressed frō our determined purpose: because we should rather haue proued then disproued that men be causers of their own euyl. And if we res|pect all sortes of euils, the matter wil so fall oute. What tyrant is so terrible, as persecuteth the sim|ple and innocente soules? who is so vnskyful an artisane as can not earne his owne lyuing? what man so cruell as murdereth the humble and wyse people? for it is the part of a wyse mā to obserue y^r time the persōs & their aucthority among whō we lyue. Nero was a cruel Emperour yet in his time Ves|pasianus did not only lyue vnoffended but also bare office. So was Tiberius to his own subiectes ac|cōpted seuere, yet Thrasilus y^t mathimatrician cōty|nued in fauour, & so did dyuers grāmarians. But who so hapneth to lyue in y^c gouernment of these vnmerciful mōsters, the sureste waye is to lurke & lyue vnknowē. A most assured rule it is y^t

without a mans own folly, he cānot become miserable. And although al other vertues wer banished frō men, yet wisdom should euer retayne her place and re|putacion. As for iustice, fidelity, liberality, and cur|tesy, are hondred but as certain strange wandring byrdes: but fortitude moore often, because it en|countreth wyth all kynd of perrilles, and yet som|times occasyoneth rather hynderaunce then good fortune: yea learning it selfe, is nothing but moc|kerye, and subiecte to all iniuries. But wisdom is an heauenlye gyfte, and dwelleth amonge men in greate reputacion and reuerence.

Wysedome I saye, is that whiche Kinges doe seeke for, whyche people haue in admyracion, and on euery syde is necessarye. Therefore who so wante the wisdom, hath none other cause to complayne.

As a mans health is dyuers wayes empeached euen so is wisdom: as wythe anger, pleasure, cowerdyce, dulnesse, ambition, couetise, and fy|nallye euery vyce of mynde offendeth wysedome in man. A Follye I do thinke it to comfort those that through debilitye of mynde doe caste themsel|ues into miserye: as foule delyghte, and despe|rate reuenges.

Some there be who not vnlyke to gudgines, knowinge the hooke lyeth hydden within y[•] bayt, doth not withstandyng, drawen on with gredy|nes of Venus ioyes, or suche lyke fonde delighte cast themselues into apparant misaduentures, Men say that the gudgine, craftelye (and yet foo|lishely) doth firste wythe her tayle beate the bayte from the hooke, but if that auayleth not, do forth|with assay to byte it. To what purpose shoulde a man w^t such peryl playe the parasyte, when other|wise hee mighte safelye lyue? But wee moore wyttlesse then these bruyte Beastes doe not abyde the beating of the hurtefull baite. And yet what bitternes doth this sorow bring withall, be|ing bred with such delightinge pleasure, yet happe|ly thou say, I would haue pleasure without paine If this difficultie doth offend thee, then good fole thou seekest a thing impossibly to be atteyned: be|cause euery ioy is accompanied with his discomodity. Glory is folowed with enuy, wisdom not gotten without labour, wealth is won with care children are kept with trouble, banketting is bac|ked w^t sicknes, ease bredeth pouertye, ambition be|getteth hate, auctory hath folowing feare, quiet|nes engēdreth disdain. So I pray you wherunto tendeth the end of al mortal thinges? And this in allayinge of mens discontentations is most cōfor|table, that euery mā is afflicted w^t one misfortune or other, or as men say, ech man feleth his own pri|uate offence. Some are afflycted w^t pouerty, some with want of children, some with sycknes, some w^t feare, some with wrong, some with children, some with wiues, some with craft, som wyth foes: and that whych is greatest, & most to be meruayled at (such is the condicion of man) to be moste happy & subiect to no gryef, is also a calamity. It is there|fore sayd that Polycrates beinge lothed wyth abun|dance of fortunes grace, did greatly desyre to feele some offence, & therefore cast into the sea a ringe of merueylous prise, of purpose to haue some cause to complain But fortune (as it semed) hauing sworn his happynes in a fyshe restored it again. But lest I seeme altogether to perswade w^t fables I praye you what pleasure do princes take at their diners? when continual eating of delycate dishes haue ta|ken away the taste of theyr mouthes. The physyti|ons affirme that delicacye, is when a man from e|uyl releste recouereth his perfyte nature. Then I pray you what iudgement haue they in delicacy y^t neuer tasted any grosse or dyspleasant meate? Or how can he be happy that neuer felt of gryef? doest thou not se how happy pore men accompt

theym | selues, when they are inuited to rich mens tables what is the cause? seing pore men haue no better fare then the rich? surely nothing but the noueltye of the dyet. Wherefore yt is most assured that with out aduersitye a man may not be happy▪ nor take delygth in myrth wythout <◇> > sorowe. The• is it not a comferte in these calamityes to haue not only one man for a companiō, but also al mankind and as it is commonly saide. Consors est miseris <...> .

But of how much more force shal thy comferte knowyng that myseries do not happen at al aduē|tures, but rather in respect of felicitie: and that y' greatnes of euell is accompanied wyth the great|nes of good. And to begyn in generall: there ys nothyng more noble then a common weale well gouerned: yet what can be more hard, thē to liue there? at the beginninge suche a one was the Ro|maine gouernment, and by that meane conquered the whole worlde. But what can be more hardlie born, then a lyfe vnder such lawes, when subiects are exercysed only in labour, constreined to mary|age, education of children, and chyeflye to followe warres? And amonge these thinges that labour whych husbandmen do vse, seemeth to our eares most intollerable. The bringing vp of chyl dren (& specially manye) to a pore man, semeth to surpasse all sorowes, for as a few children are great deligh|tes so many to a pore man is cause of the greatest care that can happen.

What can for trauaile and peryll bee compared to the warres? where men do labour, dygginge, & deluinge, sleaping in the wynters snow, and mar|ching in the sommers sonne, watching, and war|ding, day and night, clyming the mountaines and sayling the seas: somtimes afflicted with hunger, somtymes with thyrst: yea and in the end, eyther to kyl or to be kyllled. So as no meruayle it is, to see how willingly souldiers do behold the dysplai|ed ensyngnes, and receyue knowledge of battayle, when either by happy victory they shalbe dischar|ged of trauaile, or by death receiue ende of painful lyfe. The Lacedemonians therfore led so harde a lyfe at home, as it neuer greued them to serue abroade in the wars. Then is it manifest that in a cōmon weale wel gouerned, men be moste vnhappy, and happyeste bee those Citizens, that lyue in mooste disorderly countries. And kinges (whom men be|guiled with false ymaginacion do thinke equall to gods) are also folowed wyth their afflictions. As fynely the tragicall poetes haue fayned the trage|dies and furies to be only in kinges courtes, & the comodies & pleasant playes in priuat houses. The pallaces of princes are euer open to great euils, nei|ther are these monsters at any time from thēce: as enuy, hate, grudge, poyson, & persecution. Yea the princes mynde is the seat of al these, wherby it is neither suffered to sleepe quietly by night, nor reeste by day. Nowe assayleth him the memorye of wic|kednes, now the suspition of familiers, now y' my|strust of people, now feare of other princes, wyth care day and night to preuent their practises. But be it, the prince, be neuer so iust, neuer so holy? yet feare and suspicion doth neuer wante, and as the poet fayneth of Ixion and Lapithis.

VVhome ouer hangs a stone that euermore, doth seme to fall.
The bride beds fayre are spred, and golden carpets shine full bright
And precious princely fare, before, their face is set in sight.
Then coms the foulest feend, and al their dainties ouerbroodes.
Forbidding them to touch, and frō, their hands do snatch the foods and beates vvith burning
brondes.

Such is the estate and condicion of courtes, as Virgilius liuing in the happy house of Augustus was wel acquainted withal, But let vs a whyle omyt to speake of princes, and turne our talke to priuate persons. I can not with care or diligence fynd any, that in euery respect can accompt himselfe free from misfortune, suche a one I thinke as hardlye founde as are those beastes called Rinocerotes, of whyche kynde Plynius confessed hee coulde neuer fynde any, though long tyme he hunted throughe the whole worlde.

Therefore seyng all mortall men bee subiecte to some kynd of misfortune: who art thou y^e sekest to liue fre frō y^e law which al others are subiect vnto? why doest thou not complayne, that thou art not made mortall, winged, and king of the hole world free from al misfortunes?

But yf thou can beare that lacke whiche nature could not help, why shouldst thou not also be content with the other whych is no lesse vniuersal? & according to the fable, thinke thy calamities y^e lesse that thou seest the aduersities of other to be greater. Men saye that in olde tyme, the hares beinge caste into desperation, for that of all other beastes they were most persecuted, consulted together and determined to drowne themselues in the next ryuer: being assembled on they went to execute their determination, the frogs that hapned to be vpon the banke, hearinge the hares comminge for feare cast themselues into the water: whych noyse whē the hares hard, they studyed to know the cause, & fynding that for feare of them the frogs were fled chaunged their entent: because the frogs more vnhappy than they, sought notwithstandinge to preserue theyr lyues: and by y^e meanes the hares haue tyl thys day bene preserued. Surely the aduersity of others, did neuer make my miseries seme y^e lesse, but the necessity of euyl whyche is knowen by other mens misaduentures, hath geeuen me greate allay of my pryuate greues. For when a man shal truly consyder hys myshaps to procede of natures necessitye, and not iniuriouslye, then wyl he yelde himselfe to suffer al, vnlesse that altogether he bee voyde of iudgement, symple and foolyshe. A wyse man therefore foreseeinge the necessity of many myseryes, and wel remembring, the frailtye and instabilitye of euery condition of mankynde, doth patiently loke for al sortes of mysaduentures, & when they come, it is therefore mete he shew himselfe armed with fortitude, least changed by reasō of their comming he may seme to forsake his honest determination, or els be vnprouided. It is also to be cōsydered that time is a medicine to all sorowes, yt taketh away mourning, it bredeth forgetfulnes of iniuries, yt remoueth y^e memory of misaduentures and fynally bringeth forgetfulnes and disdain of al sortes of calamities. What man hath beene so impacient in fatherlye affection, as doth take care for the death of his son, thirty yeares synce departed? or his goodes lost so long agoe? Such is the condicion of tyme, as fyrst it deminisheth som part of extreame sorow or ioye, next it weareth away al feruency of affection, and lastly doth clerely rote it out of memorye. Therefore sith y^e couetise of time doth in the moste symple worke this effecte, whye shouldst not thou do the same to thy self? and loke what benefyte time in short space should geue the, the same may thou throughe fortitude, learninge, modesty, and good example geue vnto thy selfe. Perswade thy selfe, that thy displeasent dayes bee neare passed, and hope that better hap is at hande. Call to memory how many worthy men haue vn|deseruingly & cruelly by fortune bene cast downe, and patiently suffered her most extreme disgrace.

There is nothing more requisite in a wyse man, then modesty to suffer both fortunes. For who so knoweth not how to do in prosperitie, forgetteth hee is mortall: there is no greater argumente of wisdom, then when a man doth that presently which others by benefyte of time haue learned.

Be not therefore burdennous to thy selfe & though thou art chaunced into this shadow of calamitie yet cast not thy selfe downe into very misfortune.

Thinke assuredlye that some bee free from euery euyl, and that tyme bringethe wyth all the moste certayne and sure consolacion.

Not that we haue all ready spoken of, but that which Auerroes & other philosophers haue written.

When soberlye thou consyder that the lyfe of manne compared to the eternall worlde, is not a moment, and in that short tyme al to be vayne, in certayne and by assured lawe of nature shorte, so as it makethe no matter at all, what a one thou haste beene or shalte bee. And when wythe my selfe I ymagine of this matter, I remember that whiche in bookes of common fables wee reade, where some are fayned riche men, some mightye kinges, and some so stronge, as for strengthe surpassed Hercules, what difference there should be betwixte these fayned men and Caesar or Pompey, tyll this daye I coulde neuer learne, vnlesse that eyther for oure learninge an historye is made differente from a fable. or that we haue consideration of soules that lyue for euer.

For otherwise when thou shalte no more bee, it skillethe not at all what thou haste beene. Onlye Follie of man hathe founde oute this inuention that we should perswade oure selues to be happy or vnhappye, not onelye in this worlde, but also after in the opinion of others.

Some I see mooste carefull that after deathe they maye leaue behynde them riches or fame.

And entysed wythe suche desire Herostratus burned the Temple of Diana, that thereby (though for wicked doinge) hee might gaine eternal fame.

But who was this Herostratus? by what father begotten? or of what mother was hee borne? In what countrye dyd hee dwell? what was hys parson, or whiche waies did hee lyue? what doe we knowe hereby, other, then either to knowe nothinge or a fayned man? And admitte thou gayne this desired glorie? what shall it auaille thee after three hundrethe yeares whether thou were happie or vnhappye?

And if no glorie bee, within fiftie yeares after deathe what difference shalbee betwixte a kinge and a Carle. Betwixte Lucullus and Iruus betwixte Xenophon and Cleon, betwixte flauus and fremen, betwixte happie and vnhappye. But least perhaps thou lyue in doubte that time doth styll abyde, and the course of heauens be staide, or that the lyfe of man dothe not of necessitie and speede decaye, beholde that one stone where in was graued three Faces, a Childes, a Mans and an Olde mans. So sodeine are the chaunges and so nere as the Poet doth not vnfyttlye call our age, Fleinge. Consider what number of yeares since the beginninge of the worlde, and thyne age haue passed, so shalte thou learne, that no shaddowe more swiftlye fadethe awaie.

Imagine assuredlye that all tyme were passed, and so shall perceiue that all wyll retourne to no|thyng. Not vnlike to theym that wythe cer|tayne Hope of deliuerie remayne in Prison, whose thoughte in misfortune, yet doe but lyttle lament, chieflye if they be of valiant mynde. So men that in this troublesome lyfe, syth they looke for and abyde one equality in respect of death, I cā not conceiue why happy folke should not bee more sorowful then those that be vnhappye.

For if euen now it were proclaymed as it was in the time of Licurgus that al lands & goods should equalye amonge al sortes of men be deuided, whe|ther doest thou thinke that beggers or riche men, would be moste sory? Surelye I thinke no man thinketh the rich men would reioyce; and the po|rer sort be sorye. If therfore law of lyfe is so equa|lye made as there is none that can auoyde, I see no cause but that euery man here lyuing in misery, ought willyngly to embrace the benefite of so iust a decree. What care I praye thee shalt thou haue two hundred yeares hence, whether thou dyed ha|uinge children or childelesse? olde or younge, rich or pore, & bounde man or free, in thy bed or on the gal|lowes, or whether in aucthority, or without honor thou lyued or dyed? But follye hath broughte in these opinions, by which we onely become happye or vnhappy. Because follye enduseth forgetfulnes of reason: it maketh Pigmeans to seeme Gyantes: somtimes oure euyls, somtimes oure good it clo|keth, it multiplyeth it maketh them obscure, it clo|keth it, encreaseth, darkneth, hideth, euen as it plea|seth of vs determineth. But if in this lyfe ther be any thing good or euill: or any differēte of pleasure or sadnesse, the same resteth only in conscience and vertue of the mynde. For the memorye of wicked and sinful doinges exceedeth al other tormentes.

The harte of the wicked (as sayth the prophet) fo|meth lyke the swellynge seas: and their myndes are euer vexed with feareful visions: because ther is no greater affliction then when their glytlye thoughtes do continually accuse their consciences As the poet sayth.

VVhose mynde most giltye is, and harboreth cruell thought
A secret scourge vvithin himselfe, such sinful dedes haue vvrought
And paynes more great he tastes, vvhom vvhyp of conscience beates
Then did Seditius euer fele, or Radamantus freates
VVithin thy breaste to beare, thy grieffe both night and day,
Thou hast at hand, that vvytt to obtayn, thy hidden vvoes bevvray
[Page \[unnumbered\]](#)

Of Comforte the second Booke

BEcause in the former booke wee haue discoursed copiouslye, (as coude bee generallie) of the com|fortinge of all miseries, the consi|deracion of euerye seuerall euyl, seemed scantlye needefull: seinge right reason, wise counsel, & then our talke might suffice to remoue al sadnes out of the mynde of e|euerye wise man, but for that it was oure purpose at the beginninge, to consyder withoute affection, and with righte iudgemente to speake diligentlye of euerye aduersitie that maye happen to men: it seemed also more necessary for vs to doe the same, because some woulde thinke, those thinges which should be let passe, to be left vntouched of purpose, rather because they coude not bee proued, then be|cause they were superfluous.

Moreouer this history of euils hath both for varietie and for example no smal pleasure, wherwith it may washe away from the readers, that spotte of sadnes whiche is wont to be lefte of the sensible minde, and also of nature it selfe in greate mishappes. For often times, though reason comforte vs and teache vs that neitter mourninge is meete, neither that ther is anye cause of mourninge, yet the sad mynde of it selfe can not be merie: whiche thinge where yf hapneth not seldome with out any aduersitie at al how muche moore lyke is it to be lefte behinde in them that pine with long wearynes, not withstanding the verye wounde to bee cured.

Therefore that now we maye returne to oure purposed talke: of al thinges that happen in mannes lyfe, sorrowe, and deathe, bee moste bytter. For to be bereft of the companie of oure moste dearlie beloued for euer, and withoute hope, is wonte to seeme a mooste cruell thinge vnto all men. And deathe it selfe (as saith the Philosopher) of al terrible thinges is mooste extreame, wherefore if anie thinge be able to shake a valiaunte and wise man, doubtles that oughte to be the deathe of hym selfe and his moste neare frendes.

For whiche cause I perceiue excellent Poetes to haue mourned bothe for theirs and theimselues and also to haue fayned others mourninge for their frendes. Amonge whome Papinius bewayleth his father sayinge.

Gyue vvyt and vvoful voyce, O Syre, let me my vvoes complayne.
For this the moone hath hyd her face, and thrise come backe agayn.
Syth first I set me dovne, in slouth and sobbinge cheare
No muse to comfort care.

An other in the same cause.

What man can make a spring of teares, to feede my gulfe of grieffe
Or vvho hath store of teares so great: and far from al reliefe.
Pitye hath bereft my sight, and hart hath cleft in tvvayne,
Which suffereth not my vvoes to sound, my tong cannot complayn
Such is my grieffe.

But would to God this complaint, were not that which is commonlye spoken of. The weeping of y^e heire is the weepinge is of one that laugheth vnder a vizer: for so rarely is the tender loue toward the parentes wont to be found, that none is lesse, Yet admit it were such as these verses expresse. Surely this booke shalbe thought lesse nedeful in no parte, then in comfortinge the sorrowe whiche chaunceth by the death of parentes. For some examples ther be of brothers which haue slaine them selues for their brothers, of parents for their children, and of husbendes for their wiues: but y^e loue of chyldren toward their parentes hath bene confirmed almoste by no experience. Where by it hapneth that the complaint of Catullus maye seeme rather (as they say) to come frome the hart. For thus he bewayles his brother.
Loe novv my study stayde is, for cruell death haue slaine.
My brother deare: shal I pore vvretch in vvretched life remayne?
The only hope of all our house, O death thou hast bereft me
Myne earthly ioy this brother vvas, none other ioy is left me.

Virgil counterfayteth a more bitter lamentatiō not without wrath and indignacion of the mynd, in Mezentius lamenting his slayne sonne saying.

My countrie vvrought my vvoe, my frendes dyd hate me all,
If death had tane my giltles soule, no grieffe had made me thrall.
Lo yet among you men I liue, and styll enioy this lyght
But long I may not so.

Yet how much more cruell sorow is fayned of the same poet in the mother bewayling her onely sonne Eurialus, for that shee both a widowe and an olde woman, sawe him slaine cruellye in his enne | myes handes. There truly he contayneth the wo | manly tendernes of harte in these wordes.

Your deadly darts (O foes) for pittye cast in mee:
VVith cruell svvorde before the rest, let me destroyed bee.
Els thou Almightye God, on me such mercye haue,
As that my vvretched head may rest, vvithin myne earthly graue.

The slaughter of the sonne bewayled of y^e mo | ther, in my iudgemente coulde not be better descri | bed of y^e Poet. And Homer bringes in Achilles, sor | rowinge sore at the buriall of his frende Patroclus, when he saide.

But him a carefull cloud, did compasse rounde about,
And on his head vvith heauy hand, the dust he poured out.

And after horriblye he cryed oute. Yea so farre forth is the vehemencye of his sorrowe declared, that his familiar frendes feared lest he should kill himselfe. But another more moderately mourneth for his death, and complayneth of destines, when no fayned feare in others, but his owne enforced him sayinge.

And in my greenest yeares, vvhen youth hath hiest povver,
Shal this my spirite depart avvaye, and death my corps deuoure?
The Gods I cannot guide, their vvill vvee must obay,
VVhere destny dryues I yeld my selfe: vvith vvilling mind alvvay.

But while I set forth the follies of others, me thincke. I haue framed a mourninge ditty: and haue not only described, but rather encreased hea | uye mourning. Notwithstanding the very mat | ter could not be vnfolded vnles I had also put to the iudgement of Poetes, for that is the common peoples opinion, not onelye because the Poets be carefull to speake those thinges which be populer and liked of the common sorte, but also for that if otherwyse they would speake they could not, whē they be so farre wyde from all studye of Philoso | phy. For which cause also they be shut out of Pla | to his common weale. And herein we must either condempne Plato if he banish them vniustly: or the Poets if he do it iustlye. Therefore surely the bet | ter opinion is that they be banished worthilye: for agreing wyth the people, they spake those thinges which be in the opinion of the ignoraunte. For no man denyes that wyse men be few: and the com | mon people contayneth y^e most part of men: tho | pinions therefore of the Poets and the common

people, in which they disagree wyth the Philoso|phers be all false, and vnprofitable. Certes it is of necessitye, that the opynion of the common sort is false: it the iudgemēt of wise mē be true: but who doubteth whether wyse mens sayings be true? o|therwyse trulye they should be no wyse men. But if in any thinge at al the Poets deserue small cre|dite, no wher lesse then in those thinges which cō|serne maners and vertues.

Neyther is it any maruayle though Archilochus a passing good Poet (but so much worse Philoso|pher) was compelled of the Lacedemonians the very same houre that hee came into towne, to be pac|kinge awaye agayne, for wrytinge this sentence. [Page \[unnumbered\]](#) Better it is to want armes, then suffer death. Verilye manye tymes lewde talke corrupteth honest maners.

Therefore seinge wee wyll speake of sorrowe and death, it seemeth necessarye firste to examine whether in our owne death, or in the death of our frendes there be any euil: and if there be, whether the euil maye bee ouercome by good, or rather the losse by gaine. That shalbe easye to discern if •irst we distiguish and diligentely vnderstande this: whether after wee be deade, there remaine anye thinge of vs besyde the bodye. Or all the whole dye awaye together wyth the bodye. In whiche cause althoughe wee haue alreadye spoken many thinges in the booke De Areanis aeternitis, & minds to speake in the bookes of Deathe, yet is not this question, in this place meete to be shadowed who|lye wyth sylence. But as in this Booke chiefelye we followe the truth, and euery where briefenes, so one onelye reason of the reasonable soule shall suffyce vs for the knowing of his nature. For se|inge man hath vnderstanding, hee is endued with many habites of knowledge. That is to say Sci|ence, as Geometrye, Philosophye, and Logicke. Artes, as Saylinge, Husbandrye, Phisicke. In|telligence which is of principles, as that the whole is greater then any part thereof alone, and equal to all his partes together. Prudence, whereby hee consydereth and disposeth all thinges that he hath to doe. And Sapience wyth these, by which hee knoweth GOD and embraceth Religion. And some menne do more excel in some one or other of these or in manye of them, whereby it comes to passe that man doth so vse his vnderstanding and reason in his owne arte, as though in other thin|ges he may seeme rude, yet in that one thing he ex|ceedeth right notable men. Some though they haue neyther learninge nor arte, yet by reason of exercise proue very wyse. That it may plainly ap|peare, that mans vnderstāding is in all men alike, and differeth onelye in exercise, we perceiue in the barbarous & vplandishe men: Wherefore I wō|der at the doltishnes of some which professe wyse|dome, who thincke that onely learned men be rea|sonable, & others differ little from beastes. Wor|thelye therefore it commeth (as they say common|lye) that the cleane contrary falleth out, that is to saye, that these learned men besyde their Booke, knowe nothing at all, and may easely be beguiled of any vnlearned soule.

For if they would waye wyth themselues, that all men (vnlesse they bee hindered with some dis|ease) haue the vse of reason and vnderstandinge, and that so muche the more in one kinde of exer|cyse, howe muche further they bee from another, they shoulde well perceyue themselues to be ouer|come of them. What a number leauing theyr vile occupations, haue proued famous Philosophers? Simon Coriarius when Socrates came often vnto his shoppe, hauing talke wyth his prentices became a perfit Philosopher, and left vnto his posteritye no small number of monumentes. So he that was a curryer, onely by exercise is stertt vp to be a Phi|losopher. The

cunning therefore of artesanes and others that want learning is not to be despised as boyde of vnderstanding. But as it is wont to be sayde, Howe farre Megara is from Athens: so farre is Athens from Megara. So, howe farre a learned man passeth an artysan in speakinge, so farre doth an artisan passe a learned man in his facultye. Of both then the reason is alike, the vnderstandinge a like, and nature all one, differinge onely in endes and vse. But seing there is in other lyuing creatures an excellencye aboue that is in man, as memorye in horses: strength and life as in the Elephant, power of sight, as in the Eagle: hearing as in the boare, touchinge as in the spider, swiftnes as in the hare: and yet of those habites of knowledge no other lyuing creature is any whit partaker, much lesse able to go beyonde man in anye of them. It is then most apparant that mans minde is seuered from all corporal or bodely matter. Verilye whereas man in all those thinges, which depende of the bodye maye be overcome of some lyuing creature, and in these vertues of the minde no lyuing creature is partener, no not of the lest part, it is not possible at all that the vertue of vnderstandinge shoulde not be both seperable, and vnmixt and euerlasting. Neyther yet remayneth it naked and bare.

For whereas of all other lyuing thinges, the Dogge, the Marmysset, and the Elephant be without controuersye endued wyth most wit, though a man would spende his whole life, he shal neuer teach them y^e least rule of any Arte or wysedome, besydes that which of nature is bred in them. And surelye to speake of the easyest thinge, if you traueyle to learne them to vndoe a knot, they keepe in memorye how they maye drawe and slake, and so fynallye loose the knot: but if you chaunge the knot neuer so little, they shal neuer know how to vndoe it, vnlesse it be mere chaunce, so as you may well perceyue they be vtterlye deuoyde of reason. Likewise foules learne to speake, and (as the Poet sayth) so well, that the Pye wyth him braggeth saying: If thou shouldest not see mee, thou wouldest denye that I am a fowle. Neuer yet shal you plainly teach her what she should saye, or any coupled sentence, to make a showe of any printe of reason. And the nerer they seeme to attayne vnto man in speakinge, so much surelye is it well knowen that they be able to conceaue no vnderstanding. In like maner also dogges know theyr owne names, & are by teachinge learned to hunt fowles: but all these thinges they keepe by memorye, and trulye cannot tell how to put or chaunge any thing more then they be taught, what occasion soeuer they haue. Neyther is it to be supposed they knowe moe thinges whiche for want of speache they cannot vtter: seinge the apertest foules to learne (among which is the Popin gey) althoughe they can learne well to speake as men, be neuer more fit to any vse of reason. Brute beastes therefore be able for one onelye arte by nature, and for all thinges vniuersallye onely by memorye, not conceyuinge reason at anye time, neyther by continuall teachinge theyr race, neyther by processe of tyme, neyther by endeouere and dilligence. Therefore as Aristotle hath taughte, memorye is no part of reason: but in deede wyth Plato, remembring is the same that vnderstanding is wyth Aristotle. Trulye these two differre onely in this, because Aristotle beleueeth the conceyued formes of thinges come newly into the minde, he giueth them the name of vnderstandinge: but Plato thinketh they be borne in our minde, wherfore he termeth it memorye. Of neither of these two, therefore seing they be the powers of reason, alone can anye brute beaste be partaker, but onelye of that which Aristotle calleth memorye, Plato opinion. But because Plato in euerye place vseth names of thinges confusely, he attributeth vnto men, recording or euerlasting memorye, being part of reason: vnto other lyuing creatures opinion and memorye, latelye conceyued of the fences. And it appeareth plainlye that that arte proper

vnto beastes is simple of nature, not of any skill, in that it is most excellent in Swallowes and pismiers, and other vile and base creatures far wyde of al perceyuing. For if it were wroughte by discretion as artes be in men, it shoulde be so muche more fine, by howe much y^e liuing beast were more excellent in sence & memorye. But it happeneth otherwise whē dog|ges, horses, & Elephants know not how to do any such thing as either the swallow, the pysmyer, or the worme. Ther should be also in them as in mē, imperfections and diuersityes aboute the same Arte, yea and passing ouer into the like works as ther is in mē, of which forasmuch as there is none, it cannot be doubted that this is wholly the insti|tution of nature. And to speake generallye, if any brute thinge could haue euen the shadowe of rea|son, it were simplye necessarye that a reason fra|med of two particuler propositions should inferre a conclusion, which no waye can be. Therefore be brute creatures gouerned onlye by nature, not by reason. But certainly seing nature it selfe the mi|stres and teacher of the lyuing creature, is doubt|les immortall, though the lyuing creature be mor|tall. Howe muche more necessarye is it, that mā's vnderstandinge, which knoweth all the Artes of all lyuing thinges, and more and more excellente, besydes also the disciplines and principles, God & all the furniture of Heauen and the Elementes, besides these to bee immortall and vncorruptible? For as nature it selfe is not the lyuing thinge, but that whiche doth teache the lyuing thinge, and therefore remayneth when the lyuing thinge dy|eth: So contrariwyse whereas vnderstandinge is the whole man, and it selfe knoweth the same, as longe as the vnderstandinge remayneth, the whole man is also vncorruptible, though the bo|dye vanishe away. Wherefore mee thincke Crito was rightlye reprov'd of Socrates. For when Cri|to for good wyll asked of him where he woulde be buryed (for nowe had Socrates in prisonne dronken his poyson readye to dye) Hee aunswared, alas what labour haue I loste, that coulde not per|swade Crito, that I shall flye away from hence all whole. For the soule though it be most sim|ple, yet comprehendeth it al vertue in manne, not receyuinge manye vertues because it hath diuers partes, but accordinge to the nature and qualite of those things which be handled of it, it is called Intelligence and Iudgement, and witte, and de|liberation, and will, and prudence, and sapience, & Arte. Also brute beastes must needes clearelye wante all these thinges. For neyther doth anye of them vse eyther iudgement, or deliberation, or wil (properly called) or intelligence, or counsell, but are all equallye and vniuersallye voyde of all these, like as on the contrary part all men are furnished wyth these. Forsothe because theyr nature, which is vnderstanding or soule, or reasonable minde, cō|taineth and is by possibilitye all these. And ther|fore is transformed into euerye one of them, euen as it lysteth. Wherefore I wonder not a little at theyr vanitye, who esteeme men onely of tem|perate Regions for reasonable: and imagine the inhabitauntes of the furthest Elementes of the earth like wilde beastes, and to haue the monste|rous shapes that Solinus the Cosmographer des|cribeth. But sure they be much deceyued in iudge|mente. A fewe yeares since Leonarde Apisan when he trauayled into India and Ethiopia, broughte oute of India Arithmeticke, and oute of Ethiopia, Alge|bras Arte of reckeninge: Argumentes of moste fine wittes. No man almost denyeth the Aegip|sians to be inuenters of all Artes, but chieflye of A|stronomy. Latelye Iohn Mounteregio of Germany, and Gulihelmus a Zelander a manne of excellente witte, Erasmus of Roterdame an Hollander, and nowe all the Northe Countryes floweth in good learninge. What an impudent matter is it, that they will compare theyr wittes wyth beastes, and preferre ours more dull to them: from whom out of Affricke and Sarmatia be brought artes of greate subtiltye, as we Italians are no waye able to imi|tate the same. The temperate countrye hath ney|ther better wittes nor quicker mindes, but

onelye more gentle maners, and more moderate affecti|ons, wherein the plentye of all thinges holpen w^t the clemencye of the ayre, laboureth to challeng to it selfe the chiefe partes. But if the armyes of y^r Romaynes had not beene, Italye for fine wittes had lyen still, and geuen place to a great manye of prouinces. So Greece passed the Barbarians, in studye, not in witte. What makes it matter that the Barbarians are more enclnyed vnto some af|fections of the minde, that therefore they shoulde be sayde to haue lesse reason? wheras wee maye see for the most parte famous menne to haue ben naturallye prone vnto anger, by reason of the sub|till humour so plentifullye feedinge those partes of the sence which serue vnto y^r reasonable minde. Neyther for all that, oughte angrye personnes to be called vnreasonable, vnlesse it be in this sence, that they suffer the reasonable power of the soule to muche, to be ouercome of the affections of the bodye. In which sence if it like them to call the in|habitauntes of the furthest clymates vnreasona|ble, I agree that they be more ready to yelde vn|to vices. Not for that they want anye thinge at all of the reasonable power of the mynde, when commonlye they exceede vs in witte, and counsel, and subtiltye of artes. For I aske this question, if two men be equallye riche, and the one vseth his riches, the other will not, shall wee therefore call him the poorer who vseth them not. All the noble Philosophers therefore seinge this, and be|inge enforced to define the soule immortall, and neuer fading, were fayne to flye wyth lye and all to the vnitye of it▪ seinge in deede our vnderstan|dinge to be vnfadeable, but neuerthelesse to be all one in all menne. Marye this they affirme, some one waye and some another. For some (as Auer|r•es) make both the passiue and agent all one, eche one of theym seperable, but the one the forme of a man, the other a certaine accidentall thinge, and vtterlye separte from the man. Some other more reasonable of these opinions, holde that the agent onely commeth from without yet not so to be coupled vnto man that it maye be simplye hys forme and part of him: But as for that that Auer|roes affyrmeth of the double vnderstanding, I ne|uer founde it wyth Aristotle. Forsothe it is all one whiche commeth from withoute, and is not vn|seperable, all the reste proceede of the matter and vertue of the seede. But to make in manne two vnderstandinges, and both euerlasting is a mar|uelous absurditye. But this at this time is no|thinge to vs, let vs nowe shewe that vnderstan|dinge whiche is not mixte, and commeth from withoute, that it cannot possiblye be all one one|lye. For if it were suche a one, and also the forme of manne, howe could it afore it were exercised in vs, bee compared to a bare shauen table, beinge already imprinted wyth all manner of discipline in others. All men shoulde also a like continue, yea than (that is more) all men should be one man, be|cause theyr forme shoulde bee one in nomber, and one thinge that vnderstandeth. And if it be not y^e forme, what is more fonde then to saye man vn|derstandeth, when vnderstandinge it selfe is no parte of man. Althoughe these thinges be verye trifles, yet let vs bestow them on these good fello|wes, and fetche vppe againe the foundation from the bottome. Eyther this onelye and euerlasting vnderstandinge is onelye in men: or els as it were a Sonne beinge separte in substance, it assisteth all men wyth the light. If it be in men onely, howe is it seuered? howe commeth it from withoute? howe doth it not flowe from the power of the seedes? yea what more excellency hath man then other lyuinge thinges? seinge they haue both e|uerlastinge matter, and nature of whom they be gouerned vnfadable: for soe to continue, is no o|therwyse to remayne the same thing, then in like|nes, not in nomber. For the same power shoulde be nature in an other lyuing creature, and vnder|standinge in manne. But herefore is the lyuing creature gouerned of an other thinge, because na|ture cannot be the same that the lyuing creature is, because that, of which it is gouerned, conti|nueth stil when the lyuing creature is deade. If

therefore man be ruled of himselfe and that be immortal which ruleth it cannot be one in diuers, for nature which ruleth is seuered from y^e lyuinge thinges, that it beinge one mighte serue manye▪ but the power of vnderstandynge is coupled in man. Wherefore one power of vnderstandinge, cannot serue many men, but euerye man hath his owne vnderstandynge assigned him by himselfe. But it doth not as it were a sonne, shyne vnto vs wythout vs, first for that we perceiue our selues to vnderstand, none otherwyse thē to haue sense. But sense is proper vnto vs, and all the foūdatiō therof is part of vs, ergo our vnderstandinge also. Then moreuer and if it should shine without, wee should be gouerned of an other thing, as the brute beastes be, which for no other cause are gouerned of an other thinge, then that same of whiche they are gouerned without them. But this is a thing most proper vnto vs men, that wee shoulde com|maunde oure selues. For the vertue within vs, moueth oure lymmes, because it commeth from vnderstandinge (is ruled wyth a straunge and forraine rule, doth alwayes obaye after one sorte, and is not oure owne simplye, nor knowen vnto vs, but we vse it not knowinge, howe we vse it. And so of those thinges whiche come from other where, we be not full maysters of them. So bea|stes because they be gouerned by the motion of the natural power, and sence, which hath an outward or foraine cause, in like sort be quite voyde of liber|tye, and vtterly subiecte to an others gouernment, nothing differing in theyr affections from y^e sence and seruice which the members in man are wont to do vnto the wil. For if those members be hurt, of theyr owne accorde, & without the commaun|dement of wyll, they shrinke backe, although they know not wherfore they so doe. Moreouer and if vnderstandinge were without vs, we shoulde no more differ from other lyuing creatures, then they do one from an other, and nedes it muste folow, y^e brute beastes should not want vnderstandinge. Forasmuch as in the same maner the nature both of brute beastes and men should be illumined in y^e same sort, & of the same eternal causes. And nowe is it shewed how brutishe lyuing creatures are for euer, by no kinde of meanes able to attain vnto e|uē the least shadow of that part which is reasona|ble, but by memory, or els nature sometime to haue geuen a certain show of some conceiued reason. Wherefore it is manifest the mynd of mē to be hea|uenlye and deided according to the nūber of men neither fading nor waxeing olde at any time. But like as y^e beames of the son, if they fal vpon a thicke shadowed place or cloude do not shine bright, but if they light vpon glasse, or water, or christall, shine so much the brighter, how much clearer the matter is: and yet these beames be no purer nor more last|inge then the other, but be a lyke perpetuall: So the mindes of men when the partes in which thei chiefly shine▪ be decayd either by age or by sicknes, do cease to vse their proper glistring, and faculties so that vnto som men they seme to fade, when for al that in no parte they are made eyther faulty, or faynt, or sickly, but continue, sound & vntouched e|uen to death: & flitting from thence geue vnto vs a probable opinion of thē, for otherwise how could any man iudge the myndes of goode men for euer blessed and happye, the mindes of euyll men wret|ched and vnhappy. Hereupon groweth the opiniō of Plato, that after the worldes ende mens soules should returne to their bodies. Other thinke they dye not tyl the worlde be consumed with fyre, why|che after long tyme they loke for, and of that mind be the Stoikes. By eyther of which Phylosophers, seing nothing we haue assuredly cōfirmed I mea|ned not to say much, supposinge it should suffice to haue shewed y^e the soules of al men do remayn af|ter with those faculties which bee moste properlye theirs, As wil, vnderstandinge, wisdom, know|ledge, deliberacion, reason, the knowledge of artes and such like vertues. But now let vs returne to our determined purpose. It was agreed y^e deathe could be neither euill, nor worthy to be lamented, for profe wherof, the disputacion of the immortality of the soule was no more necessarye, then as men say to light a candle at

mydneday, for death did neuer seme lesse greuou to any, then to those that afterdeathe believed no lyfe at all. Neuerthelesse syth we haue fallen into this talke, and nowe doe assuredly know, it is also our determinacion to instruct others. Let vs therefore show that death is neither euil nor to be bewailed, and most dishonest of al it is, a mā either to lament or feare his own departing, frō life, which no pitie nor mercy can preuent. But feare, imperfection of nature, & to much desyre of life muste nedelye be the cause, yet hereof whye is thy care so greate, or what happines haste thou, that mightest make thy lyfe so desyred? doest thou alone possesse anye delight that we haue not tasted of, whyche mighte make thee wyshe for longer life? For euery of vs haue seene y^t starres, the Heauen, mountaynes, seas, ryuers, lakes, fielde gardeines, Cityes and townes, we haue also had sport, dalliaūce, musicke, songes, banquets, venerye, loue, maskerye, & finally euery sort of earthly folly, neyther haue we wanted commendable exercise and indifferent skill of science, and besydes that, we know the manner of contentions, disputacions, publicke Orations. Yea for our condition we haue borne dignitye and office, we haue satisfied the honest desyres of our children, friends & kinsefolkes, and together wyth them liued in glorye, moneye, apparell, and other necessaryes of life, we haue enjoyed: and in euery of them find greater offence then pleasure, so as we maye say with the Prophete Vanitas vanitatem & omnia vanitas.

Yet if any man hath founde a more noble felicitye, or can teache a waye more straight to happiness or newe delight, I know not, but for my part in euerye thinge haue felte more grieffe then pleasure. But I thincke it happeneth to these men y^e luste so muche after life, as it doth to those that laboureth alteration of mettals, who fynde euerye thinge soner then that they seeke, for besydes that they make neyther goulde nor siluer, y^e little which they haue is also consumed. Euenso, such as with greatest care do seeke for felicitye, not findinge it, do wyth losse of theyr laboure, also departe wyth quietnes of minde, and become most vnhappye. Wherefore sith this exceding desire of lyfe helpeth nothinge, yea though life were good, yet were it better without trouble to laye by his masse of cares and lyke a faithfull man restore that thou haddest borrowed. But if perhapps thou in vayne torment thy selfe, what, doest thou win thereby, other then to consume in dyinge that litle lyfe which is remayning: seinge what soeuer time is spente in thinking of death, may iustlye be so called. Howe much were it better to follow the counsel of Agathius who right wel commēded death saying, that it did not only remoue sicknes & al other grieues but also when al other discommodities of lyfe did happen to man often, it neuer woulde come more then once. Neither can death bee accompted anye extreme euil considering it commeth of most light occasions and is on euery side at hand. Such thinges as we take for hurtful be also rare & not lightlye founde, but ther is nothing more commonnor more quickly had then death. For death is takē by ayre, wynd, thonder, water, fire, earthquakes, wild beastes, fishes, foules, dust, smoke, serpents, meate, drinke, bed, trees, sleape, sorowe, ioy, laughter, company, anger, discorde, and fynallye of innumerable other occasions death doth procede. Philomenes seing his Asse eating raysons said vnto his boy, seeing thou hast lefte the Asse raysons to eate, geeue him also wine to drinke, fell into a great laughter and not being able to stay him selfe, coughing hee dyed. Coma the brother of Diogines y^e notable thief, beinge by Rutilius the Consul taken and examined touching outlawes fled, he required time to think of his answer, & putting down his head betwixt his knees he stopped his owne breathe, and in the handes of his keeper dyed so quietlye, as none of them perceiued when he toke the last leaue of lyfe.

Seing therefore with such ease men dye, what should we accompt of death to be resembled to any thyng better than sleape, for as in sleape and wa|kyng be we neuer so hedeful, yet fele we not when yt cometh: euen so when frō lyfe we passe towar|des death, our senses declyning w^tout all sence, at last we dye. When Socrates had drunk poyson & de|lyuered hys garment to hys seruant ready to dye dyd notw^tstanding iest w^t Crito: saying. I pray the remēber to sacrifice a cocke to Asculapius, for that was the auncient custome when anye man hadde drunke a holsome potion. Doest thou then think he felte any extreame gryefe? surelye no, for in ex|treame pangues ieastyng is neuer seene nor the mynd knoweth not it selfe. Thys is also greatly to be meruayled at, that though euery man semeth to feare and flye death: yet seke they to eschewe nothing lesse, but rather follow euery thyng that bryngeth death withall. Neither seme they lesse carefull to seke death then to shun yt. The leche|rouse man wythout regarde of lyfe preferreth hys pleasure, the irefull reuenge, the eater hys glotony the ambycious honour, the couetous ryches: the souldier spoyle: the mother chyldren, the marchāt traffycke: the student learninge, and in somme: there is nothyng that doth not occasion forgetful|nes of death. So we plainly see that we both shō and seeke for death, but not wythout good cause, for that there is nothyng that hathe in yt lesse e|uyll, and they are therefore worthy prayse that do disdayne to dye, yf those thynges for whych they neglect lyfe be eyther honest or necessarye, and yet, for lyght causes to seeke death is no token of cou|rage, but rather a sure sygne of an abiecte mynd.

Therefore the contempte of lyfe ys not so com|mendable, as intemperancye is reprochfull, and yet as the feare of death is not to be praysed, so not to dye chyeflye at necessarye occasyons and tymes, is moost reprochefull cowerdly and exceedeth all other vylety of mynde. But some percuse do allow the sayinge of Epicari|nus. Dye I would not, but to be dead I care not. As though that which followeth death is neither pleasaunt, or not greatlye euyll. Alas what e|uyll can it be to want honger, thyrst, gryefe, labor▪ sadnesse, feare, and fynallye the whoole heape of e|uylls, whych the soule beyng parted from the bo|dye we must of necessitye want, and seinge it dy|eth not, but in stede of these troubles, enio•eth hea|uently ioyes: why should we not accompte thys chaunge good and most delectable?

Therefore Socrates was wont to say, that death might be resembled eyther to sound sleape, a longe iorney, or destruccion, as is the death of bruit bea|stes: If the soule doth lyue and after death feeleth nothyng, then is it lyke vnto a sound sleape, be|cause therein we rest without eyther felinge or vn|derstanding, and after a whyle return to the same exercyses. Mooste assured it is that such sleapes are moste sweete as be most sound. For those are the best where in lyke vnto dead men we dreame nothyng. The broken sleapes, the slomber, and dreames ful of visions, are commonly in them that haue weake and sickly bodies. Whereupon Horacius sayth.

Vayne are the dreames, of sickly folkes.

But quiet and sound slepes and such as weary men commonly haue, are accompted sweetest.

So Homer•doth cal those sleepes the beste, that be moste lyke to deathe. And Virgil.

The svvete and soundly slepe, vvhich death resembleth most.

I remember my father Faucius Cardanus while he lyued was wont to say that he euer desired death, because whyle he soundly slepte hee tasted the pleasa^sntest part of life, (meaning as I thinke) that e^euery pleasure, that we take by our sences hathe in it more displeasure, then sweetenes. And therefore there could be nothing better, then to lack y^e know^lledge of theym. But common opinion hath com^lpared death to slepe, rather thē trauayle or destruc^tion (therfore Homer doth call it brasen slepe. Virgil yron slepe, either of which importeth forgetfulnes of all thinges, the allay of cares, dulnes of sences, & careles mynde of hap to come. Betwixt slepe and death this only difference there is, that in death, y^e time of quiet is longer. Diogenes beinge sicke, & slea^ping, was asked of his phisicion how hee fared, to whom he answered wel, for (quod he) one brother enuieth an other, Such was the securitye of hys mynde: as euen at point of death he feared not to iest. In like maner did Cosmas Medices, a wise man in our age who beinge nerse death, closed hys eyes, whiche his wife seinge, asked whye hee so dyd, hee answered that hee did it to bringe his eyes in cust^lome. For in dede the eyes of dead men, are neither broade open, nor close shutte. And so I thinke the Poet did wel knowe sayinge.

Is not our sleape (O foole) of death, an Image playne?
For fatall course shal bring a rest, that euer vvill remayne.

But if thou compare death to long trauayl and that the soule beinge let lose from prison of the bo^dy seeth al thinges and walketh euery where.

Than what can be consydered more happye. For the soule beinge burdened with the body, is neither free, nor rightly knoweth any thinge, but beyng ouerladen with cares, doth beholde, only the fy^lgure of thinges, and as it were throughe a webbe or clothe, gesseth a syghte, and certainlye knoweth nothing, but beinge free, doth not only cast of all hyndraunce, but also beholdeth all thinges with^lout interruption, whiche beinge true, who is hee that willingly woulde eschewe deathe? yea who is hee that woulde not rather doe as Theombrotus Ambrociota did? who hauinge red Platoes booke of the immortalitey of soules, cast himselfe headlong downe from a wall not feelinge any offence or o^ther naturall sickenes, but onely for desyre of such heauenlye happynesse as spirites were partakers of. Therfore men saye that Socrates beinge by Crito perswaded to flye frome prison, aswel for sauinge hymselfe, as his frendes and kinsfolkes refused to doe it, answerynge wiselye. O Crito my chyldren shalbe left in charge to God, which gaue them. As for friendes I am going into those partes where I am assured to fynd as good or haply better then they be. And at length I doubt not but you wil al^so offer me your company meaninge thereby, that the lyfe of man was of small continuance.

Such were the wordes of Socrates thynking that death necessariylye myght be compared to one of these three, and most lyke of al to trauayle, whych may also be coniectured by dreames.

For there is nothing that doth better or moore truely prophecy the ende of lyfe, then when a man dreameth, that he doth trauayle and wander into farre countries, and chiefly, if he imagineth hym selfe to ryde vppon a whyte horse, that is swyfte, and that he trauayleth in countries vnknown without hope of retourne, in such sort naturallye de^ynyng of that shortlye wyll come to passe in dede. But if death be resembled to destruction, which as is all ready proued is moost impossible, yet can it no wayes bee accompted euyll: Be^cause what so euer is not, can not be euyll, els we

should lament for them that neuer were born, nor neuer were at all, and they that are not can no | thinge suffer.

But if thou bewaylest thy chaunge, sure it is that Death dooth take away more euylles, then it bringeth, and those more certayn. And although Death were euyll, and brought wyth it but one onely commodity whyche Epicharinus spake of, be | cause the partinge from Lyfe was painfull: yet by death art therof delyuered, for in all euilles, to haue escaped is a greate comforte. If then death be euyll, to be dead is to escape, but if it bee good, thou haste no cause to lament. And that, the one, or the other is, who doubteth?

I remember nowe that, longe synce hap | pened to my selfe (neither do I thinke to digresse from the purpose) that albeit the twentye and se | uenth yeare of myne age, I became sore sicke of a synge Tercian, after Seuen fyttes I •ounded, and lay for dead. In whych tyme althoughe eue|ry member was almoste depriued of his vertue, yet felt I neither grieffe nor payn, other then a cer | tain ticklinge throughout my whole bodye, euen such as we feele in vsing venery.

Therefore as I sayde beyng in suche estate I feeled nothings worse then that this tickelinge where in was not so greate pleasure as in Venus Spote. And there with all a certayne Feare, leaste in deede I shoulde dye, and truely as tou | chinge Sence or Strength I founde small dyffe | rence thoughe the peryll were greate.

Afterwardes askinge of manye that hadde beene neare Death, whether therein they felte any gre | ate euill or not, who aunswared that in the He | adeache, and in euerye other sicknesse of the Bo | dye was greater Griefe.

I founde that in myne opinion of Death concey | ued, I dyd not erre at all.

That prooffe maye also bee had, that althoughe Children and women be moste fearfull to receiue all sortes of Medecines, and yelde to Cuttinge of vaynes, yet being ready to dye do neither com | playn nor lamente, but rather are offended if wee seeke to preserue their liues. Who cannot therefore coniecture, that in death there is either none euyll at al, or very litle, seyng those paynes whiche we feare most are in dyinge not regarded. Thys is also worthy to bee noted that they that hope of no lyfe to come, do no lesse valiantly dye thē they that beleue the soule immortal. As Cassius who hauing killed Caesar, with the same dagger that Caesar was slayne, aspecting no messenger of death slewe him | selfe, so dyd Marcus Antonius, and Sardanapalus king of the Assyrians did cast into the fyre not only hym selfe but also, his bed and his concubines, but that he believed no lyfe after death is knowen by these verses.

Novve eate, novve drinke, novve make good sport:
For sith thy felfe on earthe, a mortall man do see
Take here thy fill of earthly ioyes, no ioyes hereafter be.

Therefore albeit it were that with the body y' soule did perishe: yet death could not be eyther euyl gre|uous, or any wayes to be feared, yea such as so be|leue are in greatest security for not beinge subiect, to iudgement and free from all suspicion of mynde either of punishment or reward,

which thing doth most torment men that are ready to take leaue of lyfe. But thou shalt beleue al rather then this, that the soule perysheth with the body. For as it is not altogether certaine what dothe presentlye folowe death: so is it moste assured that the soule of man, doth neuer dye wherof althrough none other profe were then the consideracion of lyfe, and death, yet death is patiently to bee suffered: because there is nothing more hard or miserable then this life. Be|sydes y^t by warning of god we are therof assured. Also al wise men haue so thought, and in thinges ineuitable the best is euer to be chosen. To return therfore to the beginnunge, what is our lyfe? other then a continual toyle, euermore bound to abyde y^t discommoditie of so many necessities, so much labour, so many suspicions and peril. There is no de|light in man, that repentance foloweth not. I am reuenged, then beware: I haue eaten my fyll: ful|nesse doth offend me. I haue lightlye dyed, myne appetite is not satisfyed: I followe Venus sporte: manifold repentance, sadnes and in the ende syck|nesse doth ensue. And finallye eyther thy desyre is not satisfyed and there by thou styll discontented: or els with saciety, repentance, and discomoditye doth torment thee. So the only way is to keepe y^t meane. For what cause haue all the Godds of the gentiles preferred death before the lyfe of man?

Vnlesse it were the worldlye miserye was to thē most apparantly knowen. Pindarus telleth y^t when Agamedes and Trophonius had builded the tēple of Apollo, they desired of the Gods, this reward, that where as Apollo, had willinglye promysed to re|turne within seuen dayes, that they in the meane tyme mighte continue in banquetinge, and ioyfull lyfe: but in the end of those days, in a sound slepe they dyed, wherby Apollo playnly taught that for mortall men there was no greater reward then death: after that time the same▪ God confyrmed y^t meaninge vpon Pindarus who being by the Bo•tian Ambassadour asked what thinge it was that best coulde happen to man? Pithius aunswere, that Pindarus do prooue true whyche alreadye he hathe wrytten of Agamedes and Trophonius whiche if hee doeth, he hymselfe muste shortlye followe.

In whiche aunswere the Poete did meane that he shoulde looke for Death: where in hee was not deceiued for within a few dayes he dyed in deede.

Plutarchus in an Epistle of Comforte written to Apollon•us, telleth this historye: When Midas had in Huntinge taken Silenus (this Silenus was of the Satyres stocke, nourished by Bacchus, who was also called Silenus, Surnamed Satyrus) of whome manye discended hee wrote (as Plyny tellethe) of wantonnesse and there in fayned thre Sileni. Hee asked of him what was mooste to bee desyred of man? Whereunto hee aunswared not, but at length enforced by the importunacie of the Kinge, brake forthe in this sorte.

O you tormented Deuils the seede of one daye why constrain you me to speake, that which were better for you if you neuer knewe it? That is, that the ignoraunce of your owne euyls, is the onelye pleasure of mannes lyfe. But seinge you knowe your own euils, the beste were not to be born, and nexte to that, not to lyue longe.

And your condicion is such as you are partakers of no part of those goode thinges whiche nature hathe made, this spake Silenus. The sentence of the Philosophers doe also here vnto agree and A|ristotle prince of the Peripatetian secte, doth call those mooste effeminate that murder them

selues, and those valiaunt which can abyde Trauaile, Payne, Misfortune, and all sortes of myserie which opini|on the Poet folowed sayinge.

In fortunes high disgrace: each man may death disdayne.
But he most valiaunt is, that can, in vvretched state remayne.

But Plato chiefe of the Academian Sect, saythe that a man ought not to yelde to Death, because we are ignoraunt whether it be good or euil, mea|ninge that in respecte of punishment or Ioye, that folowed it was euill or good, because deathe was the end both of good and euill.

Therefore euen in the whole scripture death is not accompted other then sleape, and to dye is saide to sleape. What maruayle is it then though for Hope of Life to come, we ought not to shunne to dye. We finde that Sainct Paule wished to dye and goe to God, which desyre ought to be not only in Holy men, but also in all good men.

For three sorts of euills there be that may happen to men. The firste within vs and our mindes, with which temperancy do mete.

The second without vs, and they by wisdom are preuented. The thirde are those, that al be it they be in deede without vs, yet are they vneuita|ble, and against them none other defence we haue then fortitude. And I pray you, to what purpose should fortitude serue, if to feare death were either goode or necessarye? As therefore temporaunce and Wysedome are proffyttable for Man: So is also fortitude, yet what profite coulde proceede therof, if necessarily we feared death? or if that fe|are were eyther good or honest, syth of necessitye, death must come to man one tyme or an other, one of these three must necessarilie folowe, eyther that lyke vnto beastes we should be ignorant of death, which cannot be, eyther that with willyng minde we will dye: or els that we torment our selues.

Were it not more naturall to man (and the rather seing that bruit beastes with ignorance escheweth the feare of death) that he wiselye in place of igno|rance shuld vse fortitude, geuē him by God against the necessitie of death. Neither can wee thinke y^t God hath more fauourablye forsene for brute bea|stes then men, yet they, without al care do yelde to dye. So we armed with the fortitude oughte not to feare any death. What profyte can we procure to our country or friendes? or what good can ver|tue bringe, if we dysdayne to dye? Callicratides the Lacedemonian captain hearing the Soothsayer pro|nounce victorye to the Lacedemonians and death to himselfe, answered: Sparta by losse of me shall no|thing at al be weakened. How noble were the de|des of men that feared no death, how happy was their liues, how comme•dable were their endes? how glorious was their fame? and in briefe, wh• refuse we to yelde to that equality, wherin a com|mon parson is like a kyng, a monster lyke a most semely man, a tyrant like the symple & most harm|lesse soule. The huge armye of Xerses, neyther the treasure of Tyberius, nor the crueltye of Antonius, a|gaynst death did any thying preuayle. All men are subiecte to one equallitye (exceptinge true vertue) there shalbe no difference, and thereinto without disdayne, hate, enuye, or wronge, to nature, by de|stenye we shalbe all called, though no man is ex|pert in that iorneye. Onely false opinion of man hath made death to be

accōpted a feareful thing, not vnlike as those that haue not the experience of trauayle, studye, or concurse of kinges do make of them great admiratiō: when others that are ac|quainted wyth such things, do know them with|out maruaile at all. And some we see without ex|perience haue disdayned death, & for lighte causes killed themselues. Of which nomber was Dioxip|pus the Champion, who through enuye of the Ma|cedonians falsely accused of thefte before Alexander, & protesting the iniurye, w^t his owne sworde slewe himselfe: we haue also seene a scholler a coūtry mā of ours, for not beinge requited in loue at the han|des of a gentlewoman in Padoa, wyth poyson pro|cured his owne death: One other in oure Citty, hauinge sustayned losse by the pryce of corne, wil|linglye hanged himselfe. One other (and hee also of our Nation:) finding he could not with commo|ditye paye his dettes, threw himselfe into a water and so drowned: I my selfe did see a womā who for verye sorrow that she had committed adultrye (askinge God forgiuenes for her offence) sodenlye dranke poyson. Cleopatra although she might haue liued in honor, yet because she would not be caried about in tryumphe, caused a Serpent to bite her bodye, & thereof willingly dyed: Porcia the daugh|ter of Cato and wyfe to Brutus (in honest life farre e•celling Cleopatra) hearing that her husband was slayne didde eate burninge Coales and there|of died. For cause more iust dyed Democles a Boy of notable beauty in Athens. He being by the king watched when he should enter naked into a bath, (and knowing the king ment to abuse him) caste himselfe into the bottome of the whot water and so presently dyed. The death of Lucretia is wel kno|wen, who violently bereft of hir honor, sticked hir selfe: The wante of successe and not will, was cause that Alexander the greate escaped voluntarie death: for hauing in dronken mode stain his frend Clitus, he would presently in the house haue murde|red himselfe, from whiche doinge in space of three daies both by force & sute he could scātly be entrea|ted to refrayn, and afterwards being at y^e siege of Sudracarus a citie in India, he leaped from the wall in|to the towne of purpose to dye. For by meane ther|of he did both fal farre, and alone among his ene|mies, but fortune woulde not permit that successe he desired. This booke would not receiue y^e nūber of ensamples of such, as for feare loue, grieffe, anger & other occasions of no waight haue sought theyr owne deathes: Besides whom we reade of hole legions that haue offered themselues to apparant destruction. As they did that were w^t Leonida a|gainst the Persiās and fought nere vnto Thermopile.

What woulde these people haue aduentured for great cause, or if death were a great euyl, that vpon so light occasion did not refuse to dye. From whi|che determinacion no respect of age, sexe, or honor, could feare them: But I se what thou wilt say? death I doe not feare, for as it is not euill, so is it necessarye, and to feare that is of necessitye, were vaine, cowerdlye and hurtefull. Yet woulde I dye easelye, and olde, suche a death as Augustus desired and did obtaine. For by lyuinge olde I shall not onelye gaine a longer life, but also a more easier death. Aristoteles in his Booke De Respira|tione thincketh that verye olde men dyed not one|lye withoute payne, but also withoute anye fee|linge of death, because the heate of their bodyes was quenched, whiche maye appeare by this ex|ample: If thou goe aboute to drawe a tothe, that is not loose, thou feelest great paine, but if of it selfe it were loose before, withoute anye grieffe at all it commeth awaye. Euen so greene youthe wyth extreeme paine do yelde to death: but olde folke in dying feele no grieffe almost at al: As the tragicall Poet sayth.

In slomber svveete, the aged sprite departeth.

How can it be other thē that death is greuous to yonge men, when as sleepe against nature is offensiue. Oft times it happeneth that such as vp|pon custome seeke sleepe at vntimely houres be|come thereby drye, pyned, and slouthfull, so as in steede of delight they get disease.

Theophrastus be|inge readye to dye (though he were an olde mā) complayned of Nature: because she had ordayned so longe life in Staggs & Rauens (al most vnpro|fitable beastes) and to mā, being the most noble & wysest creature allowed so shorte a terme to <◇> in. What may they say then that dye in y^r flower of theyr youth, haue they not iust cause to lament? Surely no. But here the reason why nature hath not: among other creatures made man of longest lyfe, and then that he that dyeth in youth doth suf|fer nothing more greuous then they that lyue old. For fyrst it is doubted of manye, (and chiefelye of Aristotle, whether anye creature (the Elephant ex|cepte) doth liue more longe then man. Because he maketh no mentiō either of the Phenixe, y^e Crow, the Rauen or the Stagge: nor affirmeth them to be of longest life. But let vs confesse that whiche is imputed in Virgill, though it doth little importe to the matter, where he speaking of men sayth.

A life more longe nyne times, the cacklinge Crowve doth lyue.

But confessing with Aristotle that y^r Elephante doth liue more longe then man: why neede we cō|tende whether man be of one or more creatures in longe lyuinge excelled? Omittinge also that the holye Scripture affyrmeth lyfe more long to man then other lyuinge creatures: let vs now dispute that y^t alreadye is taken in hande, that is to say, for what cause some beastes be of longer life then mā? The reason is this: seinge all creatures are made eyther for the vse or honour of man▪ they were fra|med accordinge to the descretion of Nature: at which time she made theyr minds, as wel for their bodyes, as theyr bodyes for their mindes: & were therefore made simple with fewe instruments, as plaine thinges to enduer longe. But the bodye of man being made onely for his minde, neded many more instrumentes, to thende that the vnderstan|ding might the more fitlye do his office. Therefore although Nature hath made for man the best pro|portion of bodye, yet could she not geue therevnto the longest lyfe, by reason of exceeding concau|ties, and subtilnes of the members: which if they were great (besides that we should be al Giants) they woulde bee troublesome eche one to other. Which is wel proued in y^r no creature hath so infi|nite members or part of mēbers, which were of necessity made smal & slender, to y^r end they might the rather be fit to yeld: & so the breath (an instru|mēt of the soule) became y^r more subtil. Wherefore nature hath not in this behalfe omitted any parte of her duty▪ but rather w^t such dilligence helped our life, as for the length thereof wee haue no cause to complaine, which is nowe wel proued in y^r people of India latest founde, where men liue commonlye a hundreth and thirty yeres, because there the ayre is good, and the people without cares. But wee cōtinuing incares, riot, & vntimely labour, chosing ayre for profit & not health, yea altogether forget|ting the length of life, wee cast oure selues into ex|treame sickenes, discōmodities of body and presēt death, without cause accusing nature, for the short|nes of oure liues: Howe muche better were it to know which way to vse the benefit of nature? if so deare & pleasāt a thing thou doest accompt this life? what is y^r cause that Philosophers and Her|mits haue liued so verye long? & yet theyr to great stinens and earnest contemplacion hindered their health? vnlesse it were because they liued voide of care and temperatly. How much were this rule of lyuinge to attaine long life more delicate, then to feede vppon fleshe and honye? But in this age mē continue carefully in labours

and care, watching the halfe night baskinge in Venus bathe, abyding in cloudye Regions, and not in good ayre, & drinke boyled wyne: do notwithstandinge com|plaine of short life. And howsoever in deede oure liues be short, it is opinion that doth make it so to appeare. The people called Garamantes do not liue aboue fortye yeares. I omit to speake of the Pig|meians as people rather fayned then in deede, but wee if we dye before fyfitye or threscore, do thincke that iustlye we lament: and yet who so dwelleth in those countryes do highly thanke God if he at|tayneth fortye yeares, and thou lyuinge muche el|der do neuerthelesse complayne. Surelye euerye lyfe is long that is continued till death sith at the beginning the terme is destined, and as sayth the Poet.

In birth vvee breede our death, our ende, on first beginning hangeth.

Reade we not in holye Scripture, that y^r nom|ber of dayes and monthes is appointed by God? he hath set the terme which cannot be passed. The lyfe of man therefore is ended wyth olde age: for old age is the last part of life. Olde age is also the necessitye of death: wheresoeuer therefore death is necessary, old age draweth neare Whoso dyeth in youth in this onelye is the more happye, that he escapeth the discommoditye of old age, will thou make life to seme long or short by comparison? A kinde of beastes ther be called, Ephemera which are made in the morning, and before sonne settinge do dye. If happelye they dye at noone, theyr lyfe is called shorte: but if they continue till nighte, they accompte it longe, and yet it exceedeth not twelue houres. Wee maruaile at flees for theyr long life, if they liue two Sommers, and at flees that con|tinue three monethes. Yet whiche of these is thoughte any thinge towardes mans life? we call dogges olde that passe a leuen yeares of age: but a man passeth all these in longe lyuinge thoughe hee dyeth in youth. But the life of mā must not be ac|compted longe or shorte: in respecte of his yeares. The life of all mortall men is but shorte: because wyth death it shalbe most certainlye ended: It is vertue & worthy actes that maketh the life longe, and idlenes that shortneth thy dayes. Alexander, thoughe hee liued not aboue thirtye three yeares, dyed an old man, through the greatnes and nom|ber of his noble exploytes. Argantonius hauinge lyued a hundreth and twentye yeares, maye bee sayde to haue dyed in youth, because (besydes the rarenes of his age) in all his life he neuer did anye thing that deserued memorye. It ought also wor|thelye to be noted that for the most parte, all nota|ble men haue dyed in theyr youth. Amonge the kinges none almoste continued to olde age, Her|cules, Athilles, Castor, Pollux, Ajax, Iason. Amonge the Poetes Lucanus, Catullus, Tibullus, neyther was Vigill long liued, neyther Demostenes nor Ci|cero: howe true, yea to true is the sayinge of the Poet.

Their liues are short, and age is rare: vvhether life doth lacke good rule.

IVLIVS CAESAR Seuerus, Alexander, Probus, Aurelianus, Claudius the seconde of that name dyed in youth: which men a I thincke liued the lesse, the more honest they were, because being deare to the Gods were the souer called vnto them. Wher|vppon grew that sayinge from the Poetes, whom Iupiter and Apollo do loue, do neuer attaine to old age. This is also to be noted, y^t choise is to be loked for, wher wil may anye wayes auayle: but in thy power it is not to make thy life, eyther more long or more shorte. Yet if thou cā do it, there is none offence at al, but if thou cānot, thou lamentest thy shortnes of life for no greater reason, then thou may thy mortality. And y^t care of thinges impossi|ble is vayne, & onelye proper to fooles. But admit thou maye continue thy life and become olde, arte thou not therby the more vnhappye? because thou lovest that

singuler commodity which by God al|mightye is gauen to men for the allaye of sorrow: which is ignorance of time. While wee continue yonge, wee liue meerelye, because wee imagine death is not at hande: But how can olde menne thincke that death is farre awaye? when alreadye they are entred the laste ende of life. Howe true and worthye memorye is that sayinge of S. Au|sten, A yonge manne maye soone dye, but an olde manne cannot liue longe. And yet no couse there is why thou should not be sorrye, seing a yong mā maye also dye sone. Syth thende of life is vn|kno|wē, a yong man neuer ought to dispayre whether he laboureth of deadly diseases, or be cast into cru|ell tormentes and prison. The chaunces of mor|tal creatures, do shew that men are subject to law of nature and fortune: so as withoute cause they loue certainties for most incertēties of al. But ad|mit thou doest attaine to old age it selfe? how ma|nye euils commeth therby? labour, grieffe▪ sadnes, losse of sences, disdain: & (y^r which is almost worst of all) as Caecilius doth well discribe, therby thou shalte see they companye of all men eschewed: vn|welcome are olde menne to their children, vnwel|come to frendes, disdayned of yonge men, and o|diosus to their owne familiars. Theyr sences serue not theyr bodyes, theyr bodyes obeye not theyr mindes, they passe the nighte withoute sleepe, and eate without all tast. They lothe themselues, how shoulde they be pleasant to others? We reade that when Zeno Citieus could not dye with age, he strā|gled himselfe. What dilligence and trauayle did Cicero take to perswade olde age to be pacientlye borne? but if of it selfe it had beene good, or as ri|ches, frends, children, and learning had apparance of good: there shoulde haue beene not cause for him to haue taken such trauayle. A mockerye it were to perswade that health or honour were pacient|lye to be suffered: and wee agree that olde age is sufferable, but not to be wished for. Howe manye olde men haue beene, for whom it had beene bet|ter to haue died in youth? Priamus for example, not for myracle in historye is resited. Not longe since Baccus Valor being olde and readye to take leaue of life, before his eyes behelde his owne sonne behe|ded, a yonge man of singuler hope. The next yeare before, two other olde men I sawe that behelde the like fortune in theyr owne children. Where|fore I wonder mucche at the greate wysedome of Theramenes, woo onelye escapinge when his house fell downe, sayde before his frendes that reioysed for his life: O fortune to what ende hast thou me preserued? neyther did he aske in vaine, for with|in fewe dayes after by the malyce of tyrantes, he was taken and put to death. Therefore such is the condition of men, as althoughe beinge olde thou mighte returne to youth againe & as the fable tel|leth of Aeson sayinge.

And as tvwise tvventye yeares bypast, so novve my force I finde
Myne aged yeares are vvorne avvay, I feele my youthful minde.

Yet who art thou so madde or greedye of lyfe, as would take vpon thee such a condition?
wher|in there is nothinge but sicknes, cares, contempte, peril, lothsomnes and sorrow. So as I see not for what reason thou seekest to liue. And if in lustye youth when strengthe, sences, beautye, wit, & auc|toritye, were all in thee, thou were notw^tstanding oftentimes wearye of life, what shalt thou doe at this age when thou hearest thy selfe called olde wretche, and dootinge olde foole? death doth ne|uer come so mucche to sone to a yonge man, as to late to them that be olde. But if feare of deadlye paines do offende thee, sicknes resembleth death, and in sicknes by little and little the life is taken a|waye. Or art thou loth to dye alone? Be of good cheare, thou shalt finde more deade then are left a|liue: and those also shall or longe followe. As the Poet sayth.

For eyther soone or late, in order as men saye,
The vvretched flocke of vvordly folke, to death do take their vvay.

Neyther doth GOD suffer any to deferre his destined tune. The destines do driue all men, and remayne as lawe for euer: they are y^r happyer sort that are sonest dispatched of paynes. And as a |monge condempned folke the Lawe executeth those first that haue least offended, to thende that the greate offenders shoulde beholde the terror of death: Euen so, God doth first take those away, whom hee loueth, because they shall not be lokers on, but messengers sente before: (vnlesse in consi |deration of profite eyther to theyr frendes, or the worlde) hee suffereth such menne to tarrye more longe. To conclude then seing in thinges that be euil, there is nothinge more greuous then dailye and certaine expectatiō, old age when it commeth, hauinge in it both the one and the other, doth force a manne to wyshe that in his youth hee had dyed. I my selfe beinge a childe, doe remember mine owne mother Clara Michera then a yonge woman was notwithstandinge wonte to wishe that in her infancye she dyed: beinge growen to greater age (for euer more she continued y^r speach) I asked the cause whye shee soe sayde? where vnto this she aunswared: Loe, now I know I shall dye and y^t with greater perill, besydes that in y^e meane time (who so doth marke it well) shall see there is nothing that doth not bring with it greater grieffe then pleasure: because pleasure beinge passed, doe chaunge to sorrowe. And that deseruingly. What is it in this life that can delighte? dailye trouble to apparell and vnapparell thy selfe, hunger, thyrste, sleepe not so plentiful nor quiet as dead mē haue, heate in Sommer, colde in Winter, disorder of time, terrour of warres, controlemente of paren |tes, cares of wedlocke, studeye for children, slouthe of seruaunts, contention of sutes, and that (whi |che is moste of all) the condition of time, wherein honestye is disdayned as follye, and crafte is ho |noured as Wysedome. Artisans for theyr cunning not accompted of: but for apparaūce and opinion of people preferred. So as it is necessarye eyther to displease God, or els to liue amonge men in mi |serye oppressed and disdayned. I omitte all euils, onely y^t which is cōmon to dead men is not euil, all other thinges which wee do not accompte euil are worse then those which deade men suffer. It is nowe requisite that somewhat be sayde of the di |uersityes of death, hytherto it hath beene deferred because they are many, & of diuers men, thoughte worthy consideration. For death doth seeme gre |uous to yong men, both for that it is painful for y^t minde to leaue the body, dishonourable, and cer |ten, al which in common iudgement are ioyned to gethers. And some cowardlye yonge men haue beene compelled to dye a knowen death, but syth I see diuers of the common people pacientlye e |nough do take their deaths. I know no cause why other should be greatly comforted, considering that not the maner of death, but the qualitye of the of |fence maketh death dishonourable. For if thou res |pect only the maner of death, thou shalt find that the greatest nomber of men put to vile death, were those that antiquity prayseth, and our age doe ho |nour, notwithstanding they fel into the handes of Tirantes in whose power it was to appointe the time and maner of death, though innocencye be in them that suffer. Neither can a publike death bee dishonourable: if his life so dyinge be voide of foule vice because publike death without offence, is not onely a signe but also a triall of vertue. We fynde in the new law how Christ did first gayne the glo |rye of innocent death, and after him followed in |numerable martirs and prophets, and the moore good and holy they were, the more cruelly forced to dye. Esayas cut with yron by commaundement of king Manasses, Hieremias by y^e people stoned to death Iohn Baptist beheaded, and fynally manie other cruelly murdered, neither was the fortune of other Good menne muche better at the handes of hea |then Kinges and in their Citties: for Zeno

Eleates, when quietly he might haue liued in his house, he conspired against the Tirant Nearcluis, but his en|tent was discouered and he hanged, yet at his de|athe he perswaded y^e people to stone the Tyraunt to death. When Lysymachus, the kinge threatned Theodorus Cyreneus to hang him, he answered thus what matter is it, whether on y^e earth or hanging high, my carckas do stinke. When Socrates myghte with sylence haue escaped death, being condēpned only in a pecuniall paine, did prouoke them y^r dyd condempne him to procure his death. And when his wife Zantippe complained that vniustly he suf|fered, he aunswered, An mallet iuste senciens non esse malum preter culpam. The dishonour therfore is not in dyinge, but in the cause of death: which proce|deth of thine own euill doinge. But as for paines: youth and certaine knowledge, of dyinge, they add none encrease of grief, to death, nor make it moore greuous, because the knowledge of that is not e|uill, cannot be euil after, and onely death after tor|ments is most pleasant. And torments either they can not be great, or not long. Christe for ensample to al men died, that for ensample it might remaine Besides this seldome shalt thou finde any innocēt to dye of great torment, no, scantly once, vnlesse it be at change of lawes, when innocentes are for|ced to suffer the insolency of nocentes: as in hysto|ries it appeareth most rarely is also founde exam|ple of violency in giltlesse men, yf wilfulnes be not the cause for such as so murder good men, do seme to do it of very will. But how easy a thinge death is eyther publike, or by sword, examples do beare witnes. When Iulius Caesar was in the murdering and felte the daggers of diuers men stubbed into his body, he sought neither to saue himselfe nor cry|ed for helpe, but falling kept hidden his secrete par|tes. Such memory hee had of comlines notwith|standing his woundes, and readynes to yeld vppe his ghost. And as Lucanus saith his sonne in lawe in such sort dyed. He discribeth Pompeius deathe in this wise.

In hast he stayde his vvofull voyce, and vvould no vvord complayn,
Least vveping teares might so vnvvares, his heauenly fame disdain.
And vvh•••is noble side vvvas pearst, vvwith fearce Achilles blade
No sig•, no sob, no careful cheare, no sorovving sound he made but in disdaine of crueltye.

Cato Vticēsis determined to dye, ordered his goods wiselye: forseinge the good of others, though he neglected his owne, which done reading Plato of y^e immortality of soules, layd himselfe down & slepte so soūdly, as he snored after being awaked sticked himselfe. And when throughe weakenes of his hand the wounde was not mortal, suche as were by saued him, tyl at length violently he brake lose & dyed. Such was his gredy desyre of death. Otho themperoure a yong man of thirte seuen yeares, of al men accompted soft and effeminate, after hee had won thre battels of the Vitelli for the sorow of one lost, gaue his mony and substance to his fren|des and willed his familiar companion to shewe himselfe to the souldiers, lest that after he should be suspected, and in the night with two daggers mur|dered himselfe. And yet neither dispayred hee of y^e holding of the Empire, nor wanted the loue of the Senate or his souldiers, but onlye for that nether in victory or victored he would hinder the commō wealth, Caius Iulius by Caius themperour condemp|ned to dye▪ obteyned ten dayes pardon: all whiche time careles he consumed in sleape, and table play, and when the hangeman came in to warne him y^r his tyme was euen at hande, hee tolde what ad|uantage he had in the game, and willed his play felow that after his death he should not boast of winning, and called the hangman to record: who led him towardes death accompanied with a phi|losopher Vpon the way, being asked wha• he mu|sed of? He aunswered I determined to obserue what at the last instant my soule shal feele,

when it parteth away to the ende that after I may aduertise my frends. Aratus knowing he had taken a lin|gering poyson at the handes of Philippus the Mace|donian kinge, speaking one secrete worde to his fa|milier frend, passed the rest of his life so pleasantly as semed not to haue any such grieffe or assurance to dye. The seuen brothers called Machabei, al yōg men and sonnes of one mother by the commaun|dement of king Antigouns one after an other, and in sondry sorte together, with their Mother killed themselues. Tectamenes condempned to dye, went his way laughinge, and being asked whether hee disdayned the lawes, answered no: but by dyinge I must pay that I neither asked nor borrowed of any. Which example although vnder the person of one vnknownen, was much prayseed of Cicero, yet in wise iudgements, such behaiour argueth: In Tectamenes, rather vanity, thē fortitude, for a man condempned specially for wicked doing, naturally can not loue death, neither was it our entente to proue that death should be desired or sought for.

But as it is the condicion of a faithlesse man, not to restore y^e he boroweth: so is it also an vnfrēdly and vnthankfull parte, not to kepe that hee boro|weth. As therfore death is not to be fled or lamē|ted [Page \[unnumbered\]](#)•o ought it not to be sought for. But as y^e Po|ete sayth.

Do neyther seke nor shonne: the ende of thine oovne lyfe.

Yet happely Craton may holde such opinion, and though it be not mainteined by reason, yet for the meruaile gaineth reputation among the common sort, The example therfore of Theramon is more ho|nest and more couragious. For he beinge vniustly by thirty Tyrantes condempned tooke the poyson saying according to the auncient maner of Athens, Critus I drinke to the, for so was the greatest Ty|rant and worse then: Theramines called, that done whatsoever remayned in the cuppe, he threw vpon the ground. The death of Phocion was more noble he seing his frend desyrous to drinke poison didde stay him, after findinge that which was not left to suffise did buy more, saying y^t in Athens a man was forced to buy his own death. But why do I labor to enduce more ensamples of men, when whoole Nacions may be called to recorde? As the Gala|thians, did so little regarde Deathe, as they feared not to fighte Naked. So did also manye noble Romaines and Germanes that nedelesse it wer to resytle their names. I do therfore thinke best in fewe words to declare that men were made mor|tall for three causes. First because there shoulde be some ende of their offences.

This life is displeasent and the nerer age y^e moore troublesome, and therefore the Gimniophista, (as men say) answered Alexander well, askinge whe|ther death or life wer stronger? (Li•e quod hee) because it beareth so many calamities. The second cause is, that goodmen without enuy might be ho|noured, and euil Men without feare cōdempned, and that riches and aucthority (for whiche menne commit greate wickednesse) might not be regar|ded. Yf those thinges whiche mortall men haue were iustly wayed, they shoulde as Cares and E|uilles be reputed. Yet if death were not, Menne would muse onlye vppon Thefte, and Violence, while in this short space that now they lyue, they thinke so much thereof. The third reason is for that men might receiue rewarde of good and euil, according to the quality of their deserts. For after death, such as haue passed a godly life, shall liue not only with their brethren & kinsfolke, but also accō|panied wthal honest and learned men, and aboue y^e starres receiue ioy and euerlasting felicitye. So contrary wise the wicked in darkenesse and solita|rye places shalbe tormented. Therfore for wicked folke

only death can bee thought euill, and yet is not, but Good men not vnlike the Swanne who only at his death do synge may boldly reioyse and be gladde. Some there are so ambitious that the care of their funeralles doth trouble them muche, who are not to bee comforted, but for their follye to be reprehended, what is the body of man, when the Spirite is passed awaye? It is no moore accounted as parte or member of him, but rather a Carckcasse vnprofytable, stinckinge and horryble. Seneca therefore didde well deuise that the same should be buried, not in respect of the Dead, but the liuinge, least they by sauour and sight therof, might be offended. Where vpon in sundrye nations hath growne sundrie customes of buryinge the Deade. The Grecians were wonte to wrye them in the earthe. The Romaines dyd burne them in fyre. The Nathabeians did burye them in their dungehilles. Yea their Kinges had none other Sepulchre. The Ethiopians do cast them into the ryuers to be deuoured of Fishes.

The Magi did geue them to wilde Beastes Hercaⁿi to Doggs. But the Massageti most meruailous lye do eate them. The Egiptians with their owne Nayles doe burie them.

The Persians doe wrappe theym in Waxe. So incertayne is the reason, where is no reason at all. Alas good Foole doest thou not heare the Poete sayinge.

To vwant a tombe, the lacke is neuer great.

What doth it preuayle the to lye in marble, aboute the ground, or in the bowelles of the earthe? doest thou take care for want of a workeman. There is no cause of feare at all. The Heauen doth hide hys bones, that can no coffyn fynde, as sayth the Poet. Who so were wise would not with one hafepeny spence, buy this felicitie. The fyrste inuentoure of names for these stately building, for buriall of stin^kynge bodies: what did hee other then make tryall of an insolente, and vayne ambitious mynde, that euen in deathe woulde declare the same?

But this care caughte beginninge at Silla, that Deade Menne should bee buried.

Hee was the fyrste that at the Deathe of [Page \[unnumbered\]](#) Cornelia caused burninge and not burying to be v^sed, because he feared to be digged vpe and suffer shame which he had care of in the buryinge of Ma^rius. But howe much better did Diogenes Cenicus, lyinge vnder a tree sicke and readye to dye, aun^swere them that asked where he woulde be bu^ried? sayinge, I praye you let me alone: whereto they replyed that then the beastes woulde teare him in peeces (why then quoth hee) geue me a staffe, naye (sayde his frendes) that were to none vse when the life is gone. Then Diogenes not vn^wiselye reproued them saying: what harme can I haue when I shalbe senceles and feele nothinge? it maketh also to purpose to knowe that it is in^certaine what doth become of mens carcasses cast awaye: sometimes it was thoughte they gayned an opinion of deuinitye as it came to passe of Cleo^y^e Lacedemonian kinge, whose body hanging whole vpon the gallouse, ther appeared in it a Serpent that broughte forth deuouringe byrdes. Whereof grewe a religion, as though the Gods were kee^pers of innocent mens bodyes, which foolishly the people honoured, It is sayd that Ctesias found the carcasse of Clearchus not vnlike to the other, out of which grew a woode, and became to be honoured for a God. Yea at this daye this superstitious o^pinion remayneth of them that lye vnburied, that theyr sprites should walke: So great force hath y^e memorye of aunciente error, and the feare which men haue

in walkinge alone. But nowe let vs leaue these vnprofitable matters, and (as at y^e be|ginninge was determined) turne out talke to sor|rowe. And fyrste let vs speake of Parentes be|cause not only Loue, but also Pitye was wonte for them to moue teares. Neyther can we with moore honesty lament any then theym of whome we came into the Worlde. This is the dutye of Loue, Charity, and Pitie: and if any whitte the teares of Children can preuayle to their good, sure lye then ought we weepe: But seing no weping, or Sorrowe doth helpe, let vs consider, whether honestly or reasonably we ought to do it.

VWherein first commeth to memory the vni|uersall reason of all theym, that by Deathe haue bene called awaye. For either we muste lament in fauour of theym that be deadde, or ells in res|pect of our selues. But if in consideracion of thē we Lament, eyther we beleue that their Soules doe liue, or ells together with their Bodies they are perrished. And if thou thincke that booth the Soule and Bodye be perrished, then so thincking and lamenting the Death of an other, thus thou Complaynest.

Alas alas hencefoorthe thou shalt not be Thirssty, Hongry, Colde, Not, Painfull, Sicke, subiect to iniuries, and Calamity, yea (that is moost of all) hencefoorth thou shalt not dye, as I shall, but I know thou wilt saye, I were to bee laughed at, i• so I should lamente, neuerthesse all this thou doest, and though thou confesse it not, yet wylte thou know that so it is. Surely there is no doubt that dye we muste (Death) as thou thinckeste, is Euill: Whie art thou then sorry for him that is paste it, and not for thy selfe that by no meanes can auoide it? But if it be superfluous to lam•t thyne owne Condition (because in cases necessa|rye, wepinge helpeth not) To what purpose doest thou be wayle his Death whiche is the moore ne|cessarye: that he is already deadde?

But if thou beleue his Spirite doth lyue, then of necessitie thus must thou lament. Alas alas frō a mortall man thou arte become immortall frome Paynefull Quiet, from Miserable Happie, from Sadde pleasaunt, and from obscure noble.

VWho is hee that heareth the in this sorte com|playne (though he were of the dead mans bloud) but should fal vnto laughinge? Neither doe then thinke I tel the an vntrothe (and therfore whiche I had almost forgottē) though thou alledge y^e for his cause thou mournest. Seinge then there is al|moost no manne so vnwise as dare saye hee com|playneth in respect of him that is deadde whether his Soule dooth remaine or not, so euery manne sayth he doth lament the want of his fryend, whi|che if thou acknowledge the eternitie of his soule, cannot so be, because (for so much as is ⟨◇⟩) he is not with the, and thou shalt shortly ⟨◇⟩ to him. But take thou heede to ⟨◇⟩ that thou bewaylest thine owne Calamitye, thoughe he ⟨◇⟩ not with thee.

To vayne and Enuious thou ⟨...⟩ thy selfe, if for thy proffite thou can not ⟨...⟩ this benefite, for as with ⟨...⟩ to preferre their Children to Seruice of Kinges, in hope of Fauour and Reward, that will come ther|of notwithstanding the mindes of Princes, ⟨◇⟩ times inconstante, the ⟨...⟩ faithfull, and generallye, ⟨◇⟩ Good ⟨...⟩ as serue little ⟨...⟩ will ought we ⟨...⟩ we ⟨...⟩ use Hate, Ambition not Disdayne.

The mynde of that Prince is neither 〈...〉 nor ignoraunt of any thinge. There is place with out perryll. Felowshippe without 〈...〉 without doubtte, and 〈...〉 And would thou for thine owne commodi•te de|nye him of these Ioyes? God forbidde. But be|sydes this thou maye perhappes seeme iustlye to complayne 〈◇〉 thy Commodities by 〈◇〉 of 〈...〉 which 〈...〉 reason, yet of thou consider at 〈...〉 to 〈...〉 enduce reason worthy thy consideration. And first seinge in respect of thy selfe 〈...〉 thinke that one other may be found euer 〈◇〉 to him for Frenshippe, Conuersacion; or necessari|tye. But admitte that coulde not bee, or that such a man were not redely founde: yet withe all remember what paynes thou haddest taken for thy deadde frende, howe often for him thou were called in question, how often than 〈◇〉 lesse, how burdenous he was to thee, and fynally, how hee hadde bene towards thee thou cannot cer|tainly knowe, and what hereafter he would haue beue, 〈...〉 . Alas how often haue some men beue 〈◇〉 by their owne Kins|folke, 〈◇〉 Children and Frennes, of whome in times paste they were helped.

Cassius and Brutus didde aide Iulius Caesar in fighte against his countrye, but beinge made Emperour they slewe him. Full foolishly didde Antoni•s com|mitte his counsell to Octavius, where in hee disco|uered his freendes, trustinge to him whome ofte|times in doubtful Fortune he hadde receiued help, yet then throughe his feare he was enforced to vo|luntary Deathe. Alexander while hee liued was faithfull serued of his Souldiers, but being dead, his Children, Kinsfolkes, and Friendes, were all by theym destroyed, and yet at the deathe of one of theym, hee felte so great Sorrowe, as searce, lye he could euer after leaue to lament.

The pitye of Parentes, Brethren and Children, both beginne and is as it were borne with theym▪ Yet how many haue bene thereby hindered, here|after shalbe declared, But now to the matter: what I praye you canne be moore vnprofitable among mortall Men or lesse certaine of ende, then Sorrow: whiche proffiteth not others, and hur|teth him that doeth lament. I maruaile not ther|fore at the Thrasians, and Casions, though at the de|athe of their Neighbour, they reioyse and make good Cheare, because they knowe theym deliuer|ed of all worldlye woe, and hope they are g•one to Felicitie. So cōtrary wise they waile and wepe when any childe is born, for that from most pleasaunt Quiet, it is come into this troublesome Life: whiche Custome a Cittizen of oures (as I haue harde) didde folowe, who dying desyred that w^t musicke & 〈◇〉 he might be 〈...〉 burial. Yet know I not whether his desyre was performed. But as touching sorow, it can not be reproued syth men do lamente that, that can not be eschewed, and that which doth saue them from al other inconuenients, yea while they bewayle y^e good of others, they forget their owne miseries.

What is so vayne, as either to lament nothinge, if after Death be no Sence, or if any bee to make them sorye that loue theym, or be laughed to scorn if they contempne theym. Truelye if we fynde faulte withe theym that doe weepe befoore theyr Louers, not being beloued agayn, wherby grow|ethe no good but the declaration of their Follye, how muche moore art thou to be blamed, if thou thincke no Sence remayneth, or doest thou ac|cordinge to the fashion of Fablers, (and yet they beleued there were Spirites) by weping hope to call backe any to Lyfe as Orpheus did Euridice.

Alas doest thou thinke that if sorrow had bene eyther of necessitie or proffite, that Nature why|che hath geeuen to liuinge creatures Knowledge of so manie artes, so manifolde circumspection, (and so sundrye customes, as to fyghte for their younge, to cherishe the olde in venerye, to obserue affinitie, wedlocke, and reuenge, that amonge the rest she would haue forgotten Sorrow. Besides man, there is no Creature after it bee broughte foorth, that dothe lament the Deathe of an other, though we see one Pysmyre doth burye another, yet Nature lefte nothinge vndone that for the ne|cessitie of anye Creature was to be required, but in education Sorrowe was necessarye, leaste the youge should forget their Parentes, and distroye their kinde, The wise and discrete makers of Lawes, haue lykewise wythe a certayne Godlye meane respectinge popular Follye, and proffite, ap|poynted shorte termes for men to mourne in.

Lycurgus commaunded that aboue eleuen days, no man shoulde lament or seeme to mourne.

Solon did clearly take away all Solempnities of Sorrowe, as wepinge, Cryinge, and Tearinge. Who doubteth but if Lawes had bene made only for common people, and not wisemen: But that mourninge should haue bene clearly taken awaye yea rather thereof no mencion made at al, because they woulde haue imagined Wyse men to haue needed none admonition, as diuers of themselues we haue seene to doe.

But now perticularlye let vs proceede whenso|euer one Kinseman, bewaylethe the Deathe of an other, let hym tell me truely, whether he had ra|ther haue dyed himselfe, or not?

For thus it must needes come to passe, that the Children doe dye before the Parentes, or the Parentes before the Chyldren, or els altogether: as though they were all destroyed by subuersyon of one House. But to perrishe all together is hol|den for mooste Calamitye and greateste Mysfor|tune. If thou desyre to haue dyed fyrste, there|by thou doest not onlye peruert the course of Na|ture, but also incurre one of these two that eyther Death is euyll, and therefore offendeth lesse in thy Parentes then thy selfe, or els good: And there|fore for Pittyes sake to bee wished fyrste, to fall vppon theym. For euery man studieth to eschew Euyll chiefly to him selfe. And Good is most com|monly wished to those we accompte dearest, or to those that for Pitties sake we honoure and reue|rence. What is that thou mournest for in theym? because they are deliuered of Old age? Or doeste thou lament that in others, which in thy selfe thou thinkest ought patiently to be suffered?

Or wilt thou weepe not vnlyke the Old woman that complayued her barren Lyfe. Vpon a time there happened a certayne Olde Woman to come beggine to the Gate askinge almose and there|withall alledged she was without Father, or mo|ther, with which tale at the first somewhat ama|sed one good felow standinge by, asked what age she was of. Wherunto she answered an olde wo|man of moore then seuentie yeares, foorthwith we changed our cheare to laughter, although we toke great pity of the olde woman beinge of so greate age, yet no meruail was her losse of parents. Ther|fore haue good regard lest while thou wepe thou moue not others to laugh, what wouldst thou do if according to an old custome vsed by the citizens of India in the ysland of Coius, y^t old men being past Threescoore yeares of age shoulde of the Citty bee caried in

Triumphe, and so in sight be slayne? Be|cause after that age they beyng vnprofitable their Deathes in respecte of the wante of Corne, maye greatly proffyte the common wealth.

This Lawe all be it, it be in deede cruell, yet e|uerye Lawe dooth promyse some commoditie to the common weale. Which I see the Claspianes haue doone: For that Region beinge plentifull of Menne, and of Corne scarse. Their custome is, after their Parentes be passed Threescore and ten yeares, to shutte theym vppe and so wythe Hon|ger to kyll theym, whiche vse as it is to cruell, Barbarouse, and of no brutishe Beaste vsed: So Deathe naturall beinge come to oure Parentes oughte pacientlye to bee borne, and thincke them to haue passed the whoole course of Miserye, and vs to remayne and abyde the Troublesome as |saulte of Earthely cares: Yea and the rather, for that they dyed when Olde age made theym com|bersome to the Common weale, and to theym |selues by Lyfe displeasaunte.

Doest thou thincke the olde menne of Babilon were wonte willinglye to yelde theymselues to Deathe, but because they acknowledged, that Death of olde folkes, was moore proffitable to the Common weale then Lyfe. And admytte thyne Auncestoure be not olde (because to lamēt Death in Olde age were woorse then the Follye of Melitides) but Younge, Strong, Proffitable for his Familye, necessary for counsayle, and so in his beste luste taken away? Thou wilt not lewdlye saye within thy selfe, Why taryed he so long? as one dydde who boasted himselfe to be of our house of Cardani. This young Man his Father then dyinge, in the presence of all Men Daunced, and beinge tolde by his familyer Frenedes that he was dead, sayd, al to late: but the wicked wretch or one yeare passed, was iustlye plagued, for after a longe consumption he dyed, and fulfilled that sayinge of Moyses: Honour, thy father and thy mother that thou mayest liue long vppon the earth: which I see the Gentiles also do. For Homer in his Eliades doth affirme those to liue short liues that do not render their parentes y^t due re|warde of education. Such is the counsell of true dealing: and surelye these vnnatural mindes, pro|cedes from some deuill, otherwyse they coulde not be giltye of so greate a mischief. The nature of man is diuelishe: and so wicked, as it woulde de|stroye all parentes, neyther can it gouerne it selfe, neyther doth it contayne in it selfe any curtesye, by meane whereof necessariy in shorte space it must be consumed. But as it is the part of an vngraci|ous sonne to hate the lyfe of his parentes, so it is y^r part of a wise sonne paciētly to take theyr deathes, and to turne the same to his cōmoditye, according to then sample of y^e good Phisitions, who hauinge medecins wil not vse poyson: yet hauing venome at hande after longe tryall of other thinges, will rather then faile by venome cure diseases: So the wyse man by well and discrete vsing of euill, doth make the same good. As first commeth to memo|rye the gouernment of household, the ensample of wysedome, and the desyre of glorye: in all which y^e reuerence and respecte towardes the father doth chiefly hinder thee, or altogether let thee. The au|thoritye of fathers contayneth in it somewhat more then seruice, and hindereth the execution of great thinges, be it in warres, learning or admini|stration of the common wealth: for all thinges ha|uinge euil successe, are imputed to the sonne, and al good to the father, whom if hee loueth he cannot dissemble it, though he deserued it not, or if he loue him not, it shalbe called his default or want of du|tye. And y^e examples of them that willingly haue geuen place to their sonnes, in glorye are so fewe, as the honour that Antiochus did to his sonne Deme|trius maye be taken as a myracle. The euent of worldly procedings haue also made prooffe of this opynion: because al such as haue become excellent, eyther in armes, learninge, or ciuill

gouernmente, were of those whose fathers in youth were taken awaye, as Iulius Caesar, Octavius, Augustus, Alcibiades, Cicero, Galenus, Aristoteles, yea what had Alexander beene if Phillippus had liued but one foure yeares longer? for had Phillippus ended the warres wyth Darius: being victorious he had gayned the whole glorye, or if he had been victoryed, hee coulde not haue left to Alexander meane and power of happye procedinge. As therefore to cowards and men of no vertue, the timelye death of the father hath e|uer brought hinderance. So to noble minds: it is occasion whereby to shewe themselues as they be. This muste also be set before oure eyes, that both life and death be the giftes of God, and do e|uermore depende vppon his prouidence. There|fore whosoever reproueth lyfe or death, doth in sy|lence disalowe & complayne of the deuine Iudge|ment, because both the one and the other is meete and profitable. And chiefely if thou offende or did not loue them, thou ought not to lamente for ha|uinge lost them thou hated: Or if thou lamente, o|therwise it must be because towards them thou were vnnatural. But nowe thou arte safe so as thou can neyther be appeached of impiety (if thou hast not before procured their harmes) nor after be thought vnfrendly, sith against thy wil or by mis|hap thou cannot offend. How much better had it beene for Priamus y^t Hector and Politus had dyed be|fore him? who founde himselve so greuouslye perplexed w^t theyr miserable chaūces as he disdayned his owne lyfe. Was not Hector more happye in death for Astianax thē Priamus? because to auoyde y^c sight of Priam{us} misery, he sought his owne death, and so by dying left hym miserable. All these were the actes of good parentes: but of thother, howe many haue bene? whom though to hate were vn|godlye, yet to loue them is not necessarye. Some haue taken away the common parent, as did Cli|temnestra, who hauing killed Agamemnon was her|selve betrayed by Orestes her cōmon sonne. So Al|menon murdered his mother Eryphiles for hauinge cōsented to y^r death of his father Amphiarus. These examples are common, neither is it necessarye to loue such parents: for notw^tstanding by them wee haue our being, yet against their willes (as it see|meth) we kepe it: because they sought the destruc|tiō of them of whō wee came. Therefore Licophon killed Periandrus his father, for beinge chiefe auctor of his mothers death, & would neither take regard of his fame, neither speake vnto him nor suffer him selve to be spoken vnto. But how much more wic|ked be they y^c seeke y^c death of theyr owne sonnes? of whom the ensamples are not so few as happe|lye thou thinkest. Mithridates murthered some of his owne sonnes, and had hee not wanted power, hee woulde not haue lefte one of his children on liue. Theseus was also causelesse the cause of Hippolitus death, and as they saye Medea cut her owne childrē in peeces. Of more certentye y^c same is tolde of Ca|telina, who to thende he might be maryed a new, with poyson killed his owne sonne, almost a mā. Matheus Duke of y^t Carthaginenses hāged his owne sonne Carthalus returning frō victory, only because meetinge his father thē in exile, he was appareled in purple wyth the badge of victorye. Should a|ny other sonne of hys suruiuing him, weepe or la|ment y^c death of so cruel a father? nay rather a ma|licious beast. Yet how much more vile was the acte of Laodices wyfe of Axioratus kinge of Capoda|cia? who hauing by that husband sixe sonnes with poyson murthered fiue, intendinge also to kill the sixt yongest of all, had it not by the pollicy of kinse|folke bene preuēted. What beast doth liue so hard harted, as can beare the crueltye of such a mother? Cattes and Connyes by reason of theyr excedyng great lust, do deuoure theyr yong newly brought forth, but other mothers among al y^c brutish kinde to destroye theyr owne yonge, I neuer redde, nor thoughe written it were, hardlye I durst beleue. Wyth like bestialitye of minde did Euergetes Ptolo|meus murther the two children he gotte vpon hys sister Cleopatra the one of good yeares, thother ve|rye yonge. Of these and such lyke

parentes to be | wayle the death, how great a folly were it? I my selfe haue seene, and so haue many others, a gen | tlewomen, that to enioye vnlawfull loue wythin xv. dayes wyth a sword slewe her owne husband, poysoned her owne sonne, and before theyr buriall was maryed to her newe loue. But nowe I see what thou wouldest saye. I mourne not for the death of suchan auncetor, but for one y^t was iuste, good, godlye, and that dearelye did loue mee: but howe doest thou know whether hereafter he wil | be such a one stil? for all such as killed theyr wyues or children, were at the first also good: yet grewe to this madnesse after many yeares, which shew | eth that theyr wickednes eyther came with time, or els thoccasion grewe by time. Therefore there is nothinge so vniuersallye incertaine, as the loue towards children, brethren, wyues, kinsefolke, frendes & maisters. Craft couereth many things, so doth base fortune, occasion and wysedome: all which when age groweth on like vnto staves in the tree, are increased and detected. So olde age beinge come, sometimes in respecte of power, but more often in regarde of follye and vtilitye, olde men do for necessitye vse the helpe & counsel of thē they loue not, and onlye because of theyr owne de | bilitye, which saueth the giltles children from many misaduentures at theyr hands, for whom they liue continuallye a most miserable lyfe: Others do disherit theyr children, others consume theyr patri | monye, and some seeke newe wyues, breeding the sorrowe that stepmothers most cōmonlye make. The iniurye of euerye of whiche ioyned wyth the combersomnes and seueritye of age, is encreased. And to conclude with one example of a wise man amonge all those fooles: let that of Cato C•nsori | nusa man of excellent witte, suffice thee, he hauing a sonne of good yeares, fell first to aduoutry, and after marying a moste defamed woman, thereby clearlye discredited the reputation of wysedome, and former life, yea besydes all this, ordayned the Nephewe of Clieus to be Coheyre wyth his sonne, at that tyme Pretor in Rome.

Why should I then neede to resyte Lysander, Ti | berius, and the reste of those olde Monsters, that in age were not onelye wicked but also withoute Mercye, when the integritie and Romaine wise | dome, through defaulte of age was worne away

Therefore seinge the number of manye brethren breedeth pouertye, where great abundaunce w• | teth, impossible it is that any of theym canne doe great things. It must then be confesses, that y•• | athe of the father ought much to be lament <...> sorrowed not at all. Much lesse ought the death of Brothers to make a man sorrowfull, it menne woulde rightly waye thinges as they are. And fyrst it must be considered (which is also to be thoughte of in the losse of children) when alone, & without brethren thou be born, whether thou wilt lamente because they were not borne? Truly syth I see no man so to do, I hardly thinke that any will saye it is worthy weeping, to bee borne with brethren▪ or if being a childe <...> dyuers brethren, wilt thou now renew the sorow of their death? which I know also thou wi•t not because we loue not y• we know not, but we lamēt for them we loue. If then thou think neither those that are not borne, nor those that are worthy to be mourned for, how much lesse the other that were borne and lyued a good tyme. For if to haue bre | thren it be euyll, then to loose them is a pleasure: But if it bee good (seinge in all good thinges it is better to haue hadde some thinge then nothinge who doubteth. But these that liued some reasona | ble yeares, if they dye, are lesse to bee sorowed for, then those that neuer were borne nor knowen. Such is the condicion of euilles, that what soeuer is euerlasting, is most displeasaunt, and in al such some rest is thought pleasaunt. In a tyme of fa | mine, is it not better to haue two Loaves then no bread at all? After long labour is not rest (he it neuer so little) better

then none? Dothe not one dayes libertie refreshe a man well that lyeth continually in prison? Are not suche as liue in miserie somewhat comforted, when they remember that some parte of their lyfe was pleasauntly passed? Seinge then it is better to haue had bretheren, to haue lyued in their company, to haue sorrowed & reioysed with theym, and therefore art more happy then they that vtterly haue had none at all, who for all that do neither weepe nor lament.

But false imaginacion and opinion, is the faulte hereof whereby thou thinkest that not onelye he, but also thy selfe should for euer liue together: of which hope worthylye deceiued, vnworthilye thou mournest for thy brother what if in thy choyse, yf were to liue brotherlesse, or w^tout one only brother who after fortie yeares should suruiue the? Whether would thou haue a brother with such condici^on or liue without? Surely thou would haue him vnlesse to haue brethren thou thinke it euill. But if to chose the brotherlesse lyfe: then wouldst thou not complaine. Yet hauing the better choyse thou doest. What is the cause? other then that now thou art vnprepared to disgeste thy brothers death, but when the choyse was made thou were prepared. Thus deathe therefore is not to bee bla^med but in opiniō only it semeth intollerable, and therein thou lamentest the commodities receiued, (as there is no necessty) thou neuer thinkest. But (be it for the purpose) that this thy Brother was good and loued the much which (as men saye) is not common.

In Brethren hard it is: to fynde vnfayned loue.

Truely if thou haue regarde to dayly experience the most brothers be cōbersome quarrelous, •••ous, discencious, captious, and disdaynefull. The Poet was wonte therefore verye well to resemble brethren to the windes, because they euer disagree^d among them selues, and lyued not lyke friends or fellowes, but as those whom discorde did beste become. Chain did fyrst shewe to Abel what brotherly loue would after be. Then Iacob deceiued E^sau: committing his eleuen children into the serui^tude of Ioseph his brother: yea some of them they ment to haue slayne, forgetting not only pittie, but also their common parentes, and the innocency of their age. After their daies Absolon killed Amnon, his brother. Abimelech the sonne of Gedeon murde^red his threscore and ten brethren, one only except.

No godlye lawe, no holye Religion, no feare of GOD, from so wicked a deede could withholde hym. Neyther are the examples of the Gentiles more mercifull, Atreus hauinge murdered the three sonnes of Thiestes hys brother, gaue hym theyr fleshe to eate, spoyled hym of hys Kyngdome, and rauished his wyfe. Etheocles and Polynues, Oedipi. Simulus and Rhesus did likewise one murther the other, so did also Romulus and Remus, Iugurtha was not contented onelye to kill his brethren Adherba^les and Hiempsales: but also before they dyed, cutte all theyr fleshe from theyr bones. Cambises hauinge one onelye brother called Smerdis a simple man and lyuinge in priuate lyfe, by reason of a dreame was by him slaine. So lighte a cause, can cause a brother to seeke the life of a brother. What did An^toni^us to G^ota? or Antipater the Macedonian Kyng? Phrahatas who wythoute cause slewe hys thyrtye bretherne, and wyth theym Herodes hys father by whom in the place of Pacorus latelye deade, hee was Crowned kinge. The Queene of Tilaea toke for husband her brother Hiperio by whom she con^ueyed two children, the one called Sol, the other Luna, throughe enuye killed Hiperio, then caste Sol into the ryuer Eridanus, and wyth sorrowe thereof dyed Luna. Cleopatra also (for women are not free from such

wickednes) to thende she mighte more safely aspyre to the kingdome of Egipte, flewe hee sister Arsinoes and her yonge brother of the age of fiftene yeares. If I resighted euery mischiefe that brothers haue committed to brothers, this booke coulde not contayne theym. My selfe haue knowen one man wise giltye of his brethern death: another the yere before, was beheaded for hauinge murdered thre of his brethren, but the death of two was appauntlye knowen. There is no thruste for Falernus more greate, then the desyre of wicked folke to committe crueltye in their owne kinsefolke. Yea sometimes this wicked violence is put in prooffe amonge kinsefolke of one name. But amonge this sinnefull sorte, thy brother is none. Admitte hee be good, of honest conditions, modest, and vertuous: yet what canst thou loke for more at him, then others? for if thou seeke good will? a frende can doe it: if necessitie? thy sonne must be preferred: if pittye? thy parentes are better: if dutye? thy fellowes are more fitte: if flatte|rye? thy seruantes do it best. Of all which nom|ber seinge thou paciently sufferest death, the losse of thy brethren oughte not more impaciently to be borne. And hereof a most euidente token maye be the greate constancye of the parentes, at the death of theyr children: the like loue of whom is neuer seene, neyther amonge brethren, nor amonge chil|dren towards theyr parentes. But thus thou doest saye, I loued my brother dearelye, & honou|red him trulye: but did he likewise loue thee? Alexius was brother to Isaac king of Germanye, and by him receyued as a companion in gouernment: taken of y^e Turkes: he redeemed him wyth great summes of money, notwithstanding al which at his returne hee deposed Isaac from his kingdome, put out his eyes, and kepte him in continuall pry|son. Thou mayst boldlye sweare by GOD that thou loued, and not be deceyued, but how thou art beloued is harde to knowe. Titus honoured Do|mitianus, yet howe many iniuries did Domitianus do, vnto Titus? and (as it is thought) in the ende, wyth poyson hee killed him. What can be more perillous (chiefelye where is greate inheritaunce) thenne to commit the children to thy brothers tui|tion: a thing almost impossible, it is to loue trulye both the brother and his children, or woulde thou haue thy brothers shoulde loue soe, as they should forgette theyr children? Who knoweth whether euill fortune shall rather take thy children, or thy good brother from thee? For hee lyuinge, eyther wythoute perill thy children mighte not bee lefte voyde of angouerour, or not without iniurye com|mitted to others.

Call to memorye the example of Childebertus the Frenche kinge, who by practise gotte from theyr mother Clothilda, the two sonnes of hys brother and slewe them, because (the lawfull heyres of his brother lyuinge) hee thoughte that quietlye hee could not possesse the whole kingdome.

Many there haue beene seene, to commit more crueltye vpon theyr nephewes then this: and common it is to take theyr patrimonyes from them, but the occasions both of perill and iniurye are all at once remoued. Lastlye this is to be no|ted, that nature as it deuideth inheritance, so doth it departe conditions, amonge brethren, If one be honest, an other dishonest, If one be noble of mind an other of base courage, if one be industrious, a|nother is slouthfull. If thou hate thy brother, why lokest thou to be loued? if thou loue him, loue bindeth thy iudgemente. And verye like it is, that as in thee there is singular honestye, so in thy bro|ther is no lesse dishonestye, but thou seest it not, occasion wanteth. Thy brothers inheritaunce was well gotten, howe well gotten? naye rather wonne by deceit: But admitte it be (as be it can|not) that thou knowe thy brother doth trulye loue thee, thou arte childlesse, hee hath children lefte be|hinde him, accompte of

them, and let them bee in place of a brother, in educatiō of them shalbe grea|ter charity, and in keeping greater reuerence. But if neyther thou nor he haue children, and hee that dyed is thy onely brother, if thou adopt children, they shall better serue then thy brothers. Siluer is lost and Gould is found. But if this thou cannot do sooner then thou woulde, yea against thy wyll thou thy selfe shal or long followe him: and had he suruiued woulde percasse skantlye haue wept one teare for thee: and if so hee had done, was hee not by so muche wyser then thy selfe? If before him thou would not haue dyed, why doest thou lamēt that he is fyrst deade? Other frendes do liue, other kinsfolke, and other companions. Howe manye brothers and kinsfolke in Christ do liue, as mortal men and do dailye pray for thee. And thyne owne brother is alreadye gone to GOD, arte thou sor|rye that he hath gayned libertye and euerlastinge lyfe? Tho•cation of euerye sorrowe is pacientlye to be borne notwithstandinge, the necessitie of na|nature, the custome of others, and the variable condition of worldlye thinges do woorke the con|trarye Neyther can there come any greater grieffe to men by death, then to be berefte of children, yet although the same doth happen to y^e whole nom|ber of any mans ofspringe and therewith all hope of other be remoued, yet is his condition not such as deserueth eyther weeping, sadnes, or sorrowe. And nowe let vs more deplye consider whether y^e life of him that is barren, or of him that hath chil|dren is more happye? The childles man hath one|lye to lament that he hath no child to leaue behind him, which if in respect of perpetuities thou foolish|lye hopest: amonge so manye thousandes of men, doest thou thincke thy posteritye should remayne, though the world were neuer to ende? But that y^e worlde doth ende, besydes that the lawes haue so determined, also al famous Philosophers, (Aristo|tle except) haue so agreed. And if thy life be not cō|tinued for euer, what is that to thee? or if thy po|steritye do alwayes remayne art thou for that re|specte the happyer? when the Paripatetians conclude that y^e seede of the father is no porcion of y^e childrē, but y^e they are whollye ingendred of the mothers bloud. Galenus thincketh y^e the vaynes, y^e synowes, and artires, are onely made of the fathers seede, al the rest of y^e mothers bloude: howsoeuer it be, no graund child is porcion of his graundfather. So subtile is this pleasure of posteritye, as in deede it maye be called nothing after a few yeares all me|morye of great graundfathers is worne out: who is he almost that euer knewe his great graundfa|ther? But on the contrary part, to so smal a plea|sure how great a care is ioyned, hereof commeth perill of life, charge in education, feare of hunger, care in learning, wantonnes in childhoode, rashe|nes in youth, contumacy, disobedience & disdain. All which in riche men and happye times, are soe common, as are accompted for necessarye euils.

Now what hope can be in posteritye, when onely charge and feare commeth thereby? People are opprest, kinges make warres, the Prince of Tur|kes with fyre and swoorde wasteth all, vile serui|tude of all euill the worst draweth on, some yelde, some are hidden in hookes, on euery syde disorder, euill men are not allowed, good subiectes persecu|ted. Dost thou then thincke that in times of such calamitye, it is not care enoughe for thee to pro|uide for thy selfe? but wil also be charged wyth an encreased burden of necessarye cares? what cā bee more wicked then this oure age? When Cicero lost his daughter Tulliola, being to him most dere, did repose the chiefest parte of his consolation in y^e affayres of Caesar, yet he liued vnder a milde prince in a Cittye plentifull, Cicero himselfe of Caesar belo|ued, frended of y^e greatest, & wāted neither wealth, honour nor reputacion. Then cōpare time w^l time, that security with this priuate peril, the goodnes & authoritye of Cicero with thine, the lenitye of Caesar with the seueritye of other

Princes? and then consider whether thou ought to wishe for childrē, whē Cicero did not much sorrow y^e losse of his? The life of men wythout childrē is ful of pleasure, ful of libertye, & ful of security, they haue no cause to frare eyther iniuries, seruitude, disdaine or daunger of others, in peace they are free, in warres not carefull. And beleue mee, y^t in common calamities ther is no greater care, then to thinke vppon thy kinsefolke. In time of plague, no place thou hast to flee to, in time of war thou mayest not remoue: in time of famine thou art vnprouided, whither to go. Consider wel these discōmodities, & see whether they are comparable to the want of children. But now let vs returne to our principall proposition: Why complaynest thou thy want of children? when for thy child thou ought neither to lamēt, who eyther feleth nothīg, or is in ioy: neither for thy self whose condition is best, in respect thou arte childlesse, syth thereby thou hast chaunged peril for security, toyle for quiet, bondage for libertye, and yet complaynest? This other day I harde certaine poore olde womē complayning, & wyshing the death of theyr childrē, and had it not bene better for them to haue bene childlesse then to become in such myserye as to wishe the death of theyr owne children? Marke well the prayers of poore people, consider howe carelesse they are of theyr children, and so shalt thou finde, I tell none vntrothe. But thou art riche? no sure, they are onelye riche that do dwel in common weales. And thoughe thou liuest nowe vnder a king, his successour maye be a tyrante, one onely night may make this chaunge. And in a common weale whyle thou fearest not one, thou must lye in wayghte and take heede of manye. If thou want riches, there can be no comforte in children. Euerye man most assuredlye is poore, and no mā rich: wher is no security, how canst y^u be happy? yet this is one most certaine condition of mortal men. That as some are subiect to the warres of diuers: vnder one all is whole at his deuotion. Remember Heliogabalus themperour, y^t sought togethers y^e children of al Italy: what did Astiages commit vppon Harpagus? or what did Cambises do to the Persians and chieflye to Prexaspes: Suche is the condition of men, as better it were to liue in feare of warre by sondrye Princes, then of one that maye at his will commaunde all. One Octavius Augustus was a good Prince, because in ciuil warres mercifullye enough he shedde the Romayne blood, but what beastes did continuallye succede him? As Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Claudius? What mischief coulede be more hardlye suffered then these monsters? But admit thou liue in happye tymes, yet of them do I receiue no prooffe, considering I wrote this booke, to serue my selfe in harde chaunces, not onelye in respect of the vayne opynion of some mortal men, touchinge priuate aduentures: but also that vnlooked for euentes mighte more paciently be borne: which thoughe they be not worse then other that are priuate, yet by reason of theyr sodennes do commonly trouble men most. Yet sith wythout mine assente this Booke maye come to handes of posteritye, I maye happelye be reprovde for hauinge attributed to mucche blame to some one time, and dispayred of better, wherefore let the blame of tymes be left to theyr place, and (as meete it is) oure talke be turned to comforte. Thy sonne is dead: what can more easelye be recouered? none age but the laste, no sicknes excepte the consumption that hindereth child getting: which being so we ought not to be so careful of children as of our selues. Aristotle concludeth that at threscore yeares of age or threscore & ten a mā liueth to get children, yet is it manifest, that some haue gotten children after fowerscore yeares, and though faouere and force were decayde. And among diseases both the gout and consumption do suffer generation. These onely are thought insufficient to get children, y^t wants their stones, or are depriued of their vertue? Or els those whose vaynes behinde their eares be cut. For such men as saith Hipocrates be all barren.

How wel therefore dooth Nature prouide y^r what a man most dispaireth of, the same by quicke occasion is supplied. There is nothing that can moore easlye or soner come or happen to man then the ry|ches gotten of thy father: because thy winninge of Glorye and Freendes asketh longe time: but a childe is gotten in a moment. What losse can then the death of thy Sonne be? and though it were the greatest, yet because so easlie and of euery mā may be supplied, it ought not to be accompted of. But beinge poore to get riches is very hard, For as the sayinge is.

Novv riches are not geeuen, but vvhere, as riches do habound.

But thou shalt see a man now childles and olde, yet or thou see him next he is become riche: If a|nye member be cut of, it groweth not againe, yf the father dye, or borther, their liues are neuer cal|led back, if thy fame be perished, harde is thy repu|tation recouered: but the losse of children is so eas|lye, [Page \[unnumbered\]](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page \[unnumbered\]](#) <1 page duplicate> shortly, and fully supplied: as in this respecte onlye is not worthy any comfort, no though thou were assured he were thy sonne in dede. And how incertaine that is (O Lorde) who knoweth not, thy beliefe must do it, beliefe is therein nedefull.

Only y^e fidelitie of thy wife, doth make him thine, other assurance hast thou none. But if a man doe happen to mourne for the death of an other mans childe, for by coniecture, Bastardes dye sonest, by reason they were gotten with feare, and most vn|quietnes of mynde, then looke what Laughter yt prouoketh? But now thine owne Chylde (a thing vnknowē but only to his mother) is taken away what part of him was thine? his soule? I neuer found any so wicked as would be of that mynde, his body? howe can that bee when he is made of his fathers seede? which is the superfluous nory|ture of the thirde concoction: as the donge fyrst, the vrine second, yf whatsoever commeth of super|fluitie be ours, then so shall wormes and Lyce bee ours and worthy our loue Remember how much seede in tymes past thou hast consumed in waste, eyther vpon harlots or vpon thy wife being withe childe: all that is loste and thou complaynest not, what is more in thy sonne then the effusion of thy seede? wilt thou then so mucche lament a vyle and disdained thinge, wherof is no reason. If thou re|spect the beginninge thou shalt fynde that thou la|mentest none other then a litle vnhappy excremēt, which being lost in dreames (as often it hapneth) thou carest not at all, but what matter is it howe it be lost? I meruayle the lesse of Aristippus, that disdayned his sonne so much as he cast him away. Other likewise I heare destroyed them, as Laus did Oedipus: Priamus, Paris, Neither do thou thinke this custome only of kinges obserued, but also of priuat men: which lawe by Romulus of infamous memorye and happy successe in Italy fyrst was ad nulled. Hereupon were erected almose houses, y^r children shoulde no more bee brought vp by wilde beastes. But this perhappes thou wilt saye: My sonne was now become lyke vnto me, I had spēt much mony care, and payn vpon him, and so was likely to haue ben noble, but these cōplaints were more meete for mothers: because if thou lamen|test thy losse of mony, thē hadst thou more nede to be cured of thy couetise, then comforted for losse of thy sonne: And hereof be most assured that chil|dren do not take three maners and condicions of their Parentes, and they will follow the condici|ons of none lesse then of theym: which is the rea|son why the children of pore men are more lyke to their parents, then the children of the rich, because pore men are both fathers & maisters of their chil|drens lyfe: but rich men not so. Whye shouldeste not thou then make an other mans childe thine?

For hee is moste lyke the in condicions that is of thine owne bringinge vp: Quintilianus telleth how Alexander had certain imperfections of Lionida his Tutor, which he kept styll beinge come to mans estate. For though we eschewe the immitation of vices, yet in vertues we seeke to folow them.

Therefore if he that is dead was loued for vertue, we commend thy meaninge, but yet (O Lorde) how pleasant, how happy is that life where vnto from this obscure darcknesse thy sonne is gone, yea how swete was that trauayle? Neither do I thinke it nedeful to declare those ioyes & pleasures which our soules hauing forsakē these earthly pleasures do possesse: for while the soule is loden with that heauy burden it cōprehendeth immortall thinges with the mortall. Scantly it can be expressed how much force, dignitie, and glorie the soule beinge at libertie hath. For the conceiuyng (and not the teachinge wherof) all be it a man in this lyfe, be neuer so excellent, he is notwithstanding imperfect, because he is onely a man complete that vnderstandeth which the soule beinge closed within the bodye cannot doe. Therefore what meruaile is it y^t the soule, so slowly and painfullye departeth frō the bodye? Lykewise with greate labour and much difficulty a man is from his mother brought forth to thys vale of misery. In consyderacion of all these the bitternes of sorowe for thy sonnes death should be the lesse, wayinge the glory whych he now hath and the reputacion of his youth together with the weary abode hee made in hys mothers wombe. Nature hath ordained, that al greate encrease of felicitye is attained through harde labour. With the same reason shalt thou be cōforted, yf thy sonne be an infant and thyne only sonn (I omytte to tel what hee maye hereafter be) but now he hath hit y^e marke for which he was borne. For is there any other end whereto we were born then death? as the body for the soule, and as sleaping for watching, so was lyfe geuen vnto vs for death, wherefore as sleape is necessary for all men, some more and some lesse, so is life for the Soules wherfore if thou want meane to get an other son, then choose thou some other one of thine affinitie, and bringe him vp in learning, & honest disciplyne & hardly shalt thou fynd such a sonne made by hys parents. If such a one by education thou makest, thou gainest thanks of God, whose children we al be & of thy coutry which is mother to al men. Neither in dutye shalt thou fynde him inferior to other children. It is not my meaning to wish the death of children, but that paciently men should beare it, neyther will I that the childe of an other shoulde be preferred before our owne: but rather that thy sonne be so brought vp as he may deserue to be preferred before others, yet if we consider succession, we shall fynde that excellent Maisters haue hadd notable scholers, noble fathers, vyle children. And to omit all others. Socrates was not esteemed of his sonnes, but by Plato his scholer was praysed to the skies. Did not Theophrastus commend Aristotle more then Nichomachus. The auncient examples do shoue that the scholars haue proued not only more worthy then sonnes, but also more thankful what sonne was euer so fauourably to his father, as would yelde him the glorie due to himselfe, as Plato woulde haue done to Socrates. Besydes that men of notable vertue haue not only wanted children but also neuer sought for any. As Thales, Zeno Plato, Apeles, Diogenes, Galenus, Virgilius, and Homer and to some they haue come as it were againste their willes as to Alexander and Iulius Caesar. And no meruaile y^r noble men haue seldome vertuous children. Surely I think for some great respects it commeth to passe, that of some noble parents, vile children should discend, which was very well and pleasantlye witnessed of Spartianus, whose wordes are these, Remembring vvith my selfe O Dioclesian Augustus, that almost none of these great men, haue left any sonne very good or proffitable. It appeareth then sufficiently that worthy men, haue either died without

children or haue bene without. And fyrst let vs begin at Romulus he left no children. Neither hadd Numa Pompilius any that could proffit the common weale, What had Camillus? were his children lyke him? What had Scipio. What had the two Catoes that were called the great? Then what should I speake of Homer, Demosthenes, Virgilius, Crispo, T•ren|tius, Plautus, with diuers others? What of Caesar or Tullius, to whome alone it had bene better to haue bene childelesse. What of Augustus? who though he had the choise of all, could not adopt one good,

Traianus was also deceiued in the election of hys heyre. But omitting adopted childrē let vs speake of babes begotten by Antonius pius, and Marcus the goddes of the common wealth. What man hadd bene more blessed then Marcus had hee not lefte be|hynde hym his heire Commodus? Or who had ben more happy then Seuerus Septimius, had he not got|ten Bassianus? What doe we learne other by these ensamples, then that Children do not take theyr myndes of their Parentes, but of God, other|wise they should be like to theim, Nor in dede we cannot call theym oures, but children of God the common father, and they ought to be imbraced for their vertue, not vertue for theym, which if men in worldly procedinges did marke, they should be like to Gods and leade a blessed lyfe. But nature hath labored somewhat to deceiue vs in the Loue of children: that is to say, y^e euery man do so much care of that, as for that, we fail not to forget y^e loue of our selues our coutry, of god and that (which is most) our childrē & al. So dotingly we do loue our children: as we seme rather to hate thē▪ We bring thē vp not in vertue, but in iniury not in learning but in lusting, not in feare of god, but in desire of ry|ches, not to liue long, but to y^e performance of foule delites, yet was it not nature y^e made this default, of folish care, & of imoderate loue, to whō she gaue a certain modest desire of honger & thirst to euery creature, so far as was nedeful. Yet though imper|fection of mynd, only man w^out honger eateth, & drinketh without thirst, & without necessity doth vse euery sorte of delighte. And in like sort doth he loue his children so much, as not only he suffereth them, but for them the fathers wil also do euil, and attempt al wickednes, and thincketh them of his owne makinge. But assuredly they are not, but •ee the woorkes of God, who gaue them minde, lyfe, forme, force, maners, wit, and encrease,

And of these the Father made nothinge. Then leaue I saye to lament for that is none of thyne, hee that made yt hath called it agayne vnto hym, to whose Commaundemente yt is boothe iuste and Godlye it shoulde obaye. And if thou de|syre to knowe whether this Loue bee Naturall, or like vnto other desires, an imperfection of mind Beholde other luyng thinges, who after educati|on do neuer knowe their owne, no nor loue them. But if this were a gift of Nature, it shold by rea|son of pitye, and necessity, rather be in children to|wardes their parents, then in parentes towards their children, which example Nature as it semeth did not forget in brute beastes: for among birdes, y^e Stork. Among four foted beasts, y^e Dormouse, doth feede his aged parents. But after the first e|ducatiō, of loue borne to their parents no sinne is extant, but men (by study as it were) doth passe o|ther liuing things, through the imperfectiō of mind esteming himselfe to much. The pitie of brute bea|stes cometh altogether, when both of education & loue thend is one, duringe which time the old bea|stes be weaker, labersome, leane, careful, and mise|serable, as to all men it doth appeare. Surelye it seemeth a great madnes to torment thy mind cō|tinually with this nedeles care of posteritie, for be|sydes that, this desyre is neither reasonable nor ne|cessary, some man may iustlye meruaile, why it is so common, but the answere there vnto is not dou|ted of. If fyrst thou doest show me the cause why so many men became couetous, ireful, and subiecte to desyres of lust. And all these besides they be vi|ces, not naturall nor reasonable;

are also dishonest. Yet thonly loue of children after educatiō though it procedeth neither of nature nor reason: yet is yt honest. But I haue perhaps in so apparāt & firme matter for wise men spoken more then was requi|site. And haue vsed reasons true, though subtil and shorte. Therefore let vs come to longer speache, & arguments more playne, lest I seme not so muche to proue, as to deceiue, thy son therefore being dead: consider fyrste, whether hee was well reported or accompted wicked? For manye times the son of a good father, is seene to proue an euil man, by reasō the homely vices are hardlier discovered then y^e ex|ternall: besydes that, loue byndeth iudgemente. Wherof a fable is come forth, how the Cuckovv in old tyme, for her young birdes, contended in sing|inge with the Nightingale and hers: appointing the asse to be their Iudge, whose sentence was y^e he knew not which of them did synge most swet|ly, but wel he was assured the Cuckovves did most playnlye and distinctly pronounce their notes. So y^e children of euery one are not only best loued, but also the euyl by the euyl are most allowed of. In which cases, as we haue also sene mē of right good iudgement, mete it is y^t we should not only lamēt but also reioyse. And in aūciēt time they did much more then this, for both Manlius Torquatus agaynst his son Deci{us} Silan{us}, pronouced so cruel a sētence as w^t a cord he hanged himself. And M. Scaurus finding his sonne among others fleinge, being only guiltye of feare, did force him to returne to his enemies & be slaine. Lykewise a woman of Lacedemon, killed her son for his slouth, and returning from y^e wars, of whom this noble verse was written.

Thou dastard knight, Damatrion, thy mother here haue slayne.
That doest both her, and Spartayn bloud: vvith covverdice distayne

Such and more wicked sonnes being bereft of lyfe do thereby sease to offend their parents & kins|folke, yea are also themselues saued frō greater in|famy. Some sonnes haue not forborne to cōspyre y^e death of their fathers. As Blandenius Zesides, who slewe his mother, and Euander that at the perswa|sion of his mother Nicostrata murdered his owne father, and for that cause was banished Italye. Such mōsters, as they are being left aliue, are cau|ses of many euils: so Paris was y^e subuersiō of both Priamus house & country: notwithstanding, whē he dyed, Priamus weped. So folish are mens cares, y^t they wishe they wot not what, excellinge (as they think) y^e Gods in wisdom, & reprove those that in their ignorance shall procure their good. For if thy son were wise, honest, godly, & noblye mynded, ha|uing hope of children y^t may support thyne vnwel|diage. What is wanting in the graund children? & if none be, a fond thyng it was to hope y^t he would not, nor could not do. But how soeuer it be, grea|ter is y^e daūger of them that are worse then death, then hope of those he hath, to proue better. And misery, vility, shame, continuall grieffe and disdain are al more euyl then death: deathe is common to all men, but these to fewe, who also are all subiect to death. Were it not better by dyinge to preuent all these iniuries, then to haue thy desyre so dearlye bought? For necessarye it is that who so wyll lyue old must suffer many euils. Ther is almost no mor|tal creature liuing long, but at somtimes before he dieth, doth hate his life wherto put the saying of y^e Poet.

Although vnvveldyage, vvhen lyfe doth vveare avvay,
None other ill did bring vvithall, but that, (as men do say)
By liuinge long ful oft vve see: vvich vvee vvould not behold.

Truly if such desyre thou haue of children, if thy sonne died thou beinge olde, thy time to follow is next: if in thy youth then hast thou hope enoughe to haue more. Finally Sorowe is a womanishe thinge, and not fyttē for men. Therefore the Licians were wont to constraayne mourners to weare wo|mens garmentes, to thende their garment might agree with the mynd, And surely not w^tout occasi|on, because among all people, the more vile they be the more beastly they lament. As women fyrste, next children, & then barrenous men, the greatest nomber of whom be effeminate. Contrariwise mē the more valiaunt they bee, the more they oppresse their grieffe and so•er driue their Sorow away.

This sort of Sorowe goeth to the infernall God and as it is his custome in many others, so dothe hee vse to call them nearest to hym, that mooste do honour him. But if at the beginning thou driue him away, and suffer not thy mynde to be infected full farre shall he be from thee: But beholde howe comelye and honeste a thinge yt is that a man of good yeares, beinge well counsayled by others, shoulde in womens weede, beastely weepe, wayl, crye out, and lament.

O gentle wit. But thoughe he doth none of all these, yet inwardly to torment himselfe with sad|nesse is the parte neyther of a wyse nor valiaunte man: but of one that searcheth rather the reprehē|cion of others, then knoweth what is seemely.

Howe muche better were it for hym often to remember Vmbresomnum Homo?

What could haue bene better sayde? So subtylle and fugitiue is the lyfe of man, as of al other thin|ges, seing shadow is most subtil and sleepe moste deceiueable and incertaine, what shal the shadow of sleape be? And yet notwithstanding this is the lyfe and glorye of man. One other wrote thus.

As the generacion of leaues is, so is also mans: for in dede what dissimilitude is there? leaues doe fall by force of Sonne, showers, wynd, hayle, yea (and if all fayle) by themselues: Euenso the lyfe of man, beleue me thou haste receiued none iniurye at all, Death is the gift of God, and God doothe wrong to no man. If condempned by voices of assente thou bee deposed from Authoritye, thou wouldest thincke that it were meete to beare it with pacient mynde, thoughe that iniurye cannot want suspicion, reproche, and falshode.

And now when thou fearest none of these, dare thou disalowe the Sentence of God? And doest thou not remember that whiche Leontius Neapoles, the Bishoppe, telleth to haue happened in the lyfe of Iohn, Patriarche of Alexandria. To whome when a certayn man hadde offered seuen pounds of Golde to praye for his onely Sonne who a mo|neth paste, was with a Shyppe and great riches drowned, after a few dayes obteyned of y^r Patri|arke his desyre. And while in y^r meane space he cō|tinued in sadnes, he dreamed one nighte y^r the Pat|triark appeared vnto him saying. Lo according to thy prayer y^r thy son might be sauēd so hee now is, because he is dead, but if he had liued, from wicked life & dāpnaciō after deth he could not haue ben pre|serued, god only knoweth what is expediēt for vs when we are ignoraunt our selues and know not what is to be desyred. Wherefore it is conuenient that we do not onely receyue comfort, but also re|ioyse at the death of our neighbours, of whome yf thou desyrest to continue any memory though of|ten times also thou wantest their company, it shal be both to the and thy posteritie continued by hys noble

tombes, pictures, statues, verses, orations, dedications, institutions of eternitie and Sacry|fyces. Is yt not more honest and pleasant to con|fyrme thy selfe to these comforts▪ to commend hys glory to mortall men? then with wepinge & wai|lynge to kyl thy selfe? Yet as to them that are en|dewed with vertue, and acknowledge the felyti|tye of soules these are superfluous, so to theym of maners more frayle, such kinde of confortes are not vnseemelye. For Augustus hanged in his bedde chamber the picture of his graundsonne beinge a childe of him dearye beloued, and so often as hee came vnto that chamber hee neuer fayled to kysse the picture. Alexander did set vp certayne ymages to Fabius Quintilianus not withe teares but withe a solempne oracion (conteyning the commendation of his sonne) dyd burye him. What dyd Iohn Me|sue who in his fathers name falsely turned the ty|tle of his booke? So did also Zoar & Aristotle wryte bookes to their sonnes. So did Cicero and Plato in their disputacions call vpon their brothers & fren|des, not in mourning garments and weping, but wyth monuments euerlastinge honored the same to their posterity. But now w^t reasons (I thinke) sufficiently it is proued, that the deathe of children is neither to be so lamented nor euyl. Let vs now procede to tel how manfully our elders were wōt to beare such mishaps. Octauianus Augustus hauing within twenty moneths lost .ij. of his nephewes was not moued so much as he refrayned to sytte dayly in y^e Senate. Demosthenes the .vii. day after y^e death of his only daughter put on his whyte gar|ment, was crowned, & sacrificed an oxe, More va|liantly did Dion, he being in counsel of the common weale, and enformed that his onlye son had fallen from the house toppe and broken his necke, gaue order to his frendes for his buryall, & notwithstā|dinge proceded in his busynes begonne. Like here|vnto did Antigonus, he seinge his son slayne in bat|tayle, gaue none other signe of sorow but sayde. O Alcionen later then thou ought thou art now dead, for so manfully assayling thy enemies, thou doeste not greatly esteeme my warnings nor thine own weldoinge. The constancy of Pericles can be infery|or to none of these, for when within eight dayes, he had lost his two sonnes. Paralus, & Xantippus, yonge men of singuler witte did notwithstandinge put vpon him his white garmēt, was crowned, made oracions to the Athe•ncians, & comming from hys house when his children were dead, w^t merueilous constancy of mynd gaue counsel & vttered reasons of y^e disciplyne of war. So vpon a time Anaxago|ras his scholemaister being in disputacion, woorde was brought of his sonnes death, wherat he pau|sed a little, but by and by confessing hee had begot|ten a mortall creature, proceded in disputacion.

When Paulus Emylius, had taken in hand the Perci|anwarre, he prayed the Gods that if any calamity were comminge to the Cittye of Rome, that they would rather lay the same vpon his house, whyche either through his prayer or hap was perfourmed And when of his four sonnes he had adopted two into the family of Scipio, within few dayes after he lost thother, neither did he with lesse pacience bere this, then valiantly he wished the other. Tynnichus also a Spartayn left his posterity, a monumēt of wor|thy ensample. When Trasibulus his son in the war|res against the Argini, was slayn, in this epigram, is declared the nobility of his mynde.

It seemeth vvel that covverds vvepe, vwhen they be brought to graue
 But thou my son a Spartayn true, no vveping teares shalt haue.
 He hath as me thinketh folowed the saying of Pa|pimus.
 A noble death doth parentes please, and God such soules do loue.
 The valiant myndes do gayn encrease, vwhen lyfe do so remoue

We see that some haue not onely in the death of their children witnessed their greatnes of mynde, but also did procure it, and thereof proceded greate proffyte, When Brutus openlye punished his two sonnes, what terror think you was it to his Cittizens? what desperation to his enemies? what admiration to his neighbours? So as the example of that valiant dede, was not onely the occasyon of great encrease to the empyre, but also, for fortye yeares after it continued in libertye not so muche for feare of the payns, as for emulacion in vertue.

What is by thensample of Abraham vppon Isaa shewed other then that men shoulde so loue their children, as in them to put no truste at all: but euer to honour God so, as we may forget oure chyl dren, and such are worthy great reward: For whiche his carefull obedience he is made father of many nacions, neither shall his seede at any time decay. This was a greater argumente of courage then that of Brutus, for hee murdered the gyltlesse & left the children of others his heires, the other in sleinge, became childles. Hee by the handes of an other commaunded his enemies to be slayne, thys man murdered those that obeyed. But let vs returne to ensamples of sufferance, and a shame (it were) that Women shoulde for fortitude exceede men. Among whom what may be sayd of Tomyris queene of Mesageta. who hauing her sonne slayne in battayle, (where in her enemye Cirus also dyed) without teares made great feastes, the hole army lykewise slayn. Also Cornelia mother to the Gracchi of a great number of sonnes, hauing onely C. and T. left, yet when they were in a time of sedicion, most cruelly slayn (besides calling only to memory their father, & their own worthy actes) did not otherwise make any shew of sorow. Argilion y^r mother of Brasidas the Lacedemonian kyng, hearinge her son was slayn, dyd neither mourn nor lament but asked if nobly & worthely he dyed. Gyrtias likewise a womā of Lacedemon when her son was broughte home almost dead, and his frendes lamented she sayd. Non Silebitis inquā, declaring of what bloud he was descēded, she said one body hath ouerthrowē other in fight, yet after being recouered & growen to mans state was slayne in battayl, which being told vnto his mother, she answered saying, was it not expedient y^r goinge to the wars he should ••ea others, or be slaine himselfe? but more wyllinglye I receyue knowledge of a death worthy of mee & his predecissors, then if in slouth and idlenes hee had liued. One other womā more valiantly bare the death of her sonne, promissing in the fyeld say|inge, let cowardes complayne, for I wyll wyth|oute teares and meereylye burye my sonne. And a nother, a woman also of Lacedemon, hauing lost in warres her fyue sonnes, standing vppon the wal|les of Sparta and listinge for the eunte of the bat|tayle, when she sawe a man comming asked what was done? (he thinking she had asked of her son|nes) aunswared, they are all deade: whereat the woman offended, sayde, it is not (that) ill lucke I aske, but how speedes our coutry, then he telling y^r the victorye was gotten by the Lacedemonians, the woman sayd wyth al good wyl I receyue know|ledge of my sonnes slaughter. In olde time such was the nobilitye of minde, both in men and wo|men, aswell for courage as counsell. But now e|noughe or rather as I thinke to much haue bene sayd aswel of them, as also appertayneth to deth. It is not therefore needefull to speake of frendes, kinsefolke, or wyues, seinge of them the plentye is greate, the conditions vncerteyne, and the necessari|tye little: yea the cares and disquiet of wyues, doe almost counteruayle the sorrow of theyr deaths. And though wyues were not shrewed nor com|bersome, yet can no man at anye time long want a wyfe, syth one may be taken after an other. And albeit y^t wyues were all good, all frends faythfull, and all kinsefolke kynde, yet seinge the death of a brother, a sonne and a father is pacientlye to bee borne, a follye it were to lament

them, or call suche doubtles matters in question. But rather resolute wyth thy selfe, that death is the end of euill to fooles, and to wyse men the beginning of all good. And as sayth Menander.

VVhom God doth loue: in youth he dyes.

FINIS.

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Of Comforte the thirde Booke.

Man longer then was determined, & more at large haue I discoursed that kinde of comforte which to sorrowe & death doth appertayne: not onely because I thincke y^e occasion of grieffe whiche groweth eyther of pryua^e death or losse of frendes is little, or lightly borne: but also that in these dayes men do so much desyre riches & auctoritey, as till death doth euen at hand drawe on, they take no care at all. Eche man in imagination alloweth himselfe longe tyme of life, disdayning death as a thing not knowen in this, but an other worlde. But riches, and present auctoritey, are on euerye syde soughte for, as ioyes which hee euerlastyng^e. Yet not contented with this, they also reprove, condemne, and despyse the quiet lyfe of such as are not with like madnes delighted. For the chiefest care suche men do take, is that of al other most wyse and happye: neyther of which (in iudgement of those that disdayne them) can be allowed. Then when these wealthy men perceiue that the others are not greatly greeued, forthwith they fal to hate and persecution. So as although men could willingly suffer theyr base estate: yet beinge driuen into any kinde of necessity or calamity, straight wayes they lament and complain: so as by confession of them, for great desyre of riches, the rich men are allowed of and prayd for the wysest sort of men. But seinge the estate of tyme and worldly procedinges are not euer alike, wee meane not to speake muche of that calamitye which these ambitious men do thincke y^e greatest, but of that miserye whych may so trulye be called: for suche kinde of men do labour to continue after death, and glorye in theyr owne happines. As the Poet wryting vpon the tombe of a certayne happye man sayde.

Vpon my corps poure forth thy vvyne, O frend that comes this vway,
And on my tombe vvith pleasant hand, thy precious spices laye.
No gulfe of grieffe my graue shalbe, but springe of lasting blis,
I am not dead but changd my life, lo such my fortune is,
My former ioyes are not decayd, but as they vvere before,
If ought or nought I beare in minde, yet blest for euermore.

O merye man, howe aptlye hath hee nothinge sayde, for this presumption to continue felicitye after death, is a thinge altogether vaine, and forsaken of the very authors thereof. For well we see that after death, the glorye of riches doth in short space decay. Not onely because great numbers do daylye aspyre to this prayse: but also riches it selfe deserueth no glorye at all. And amonge so manye thousād thousands as in theyr time was famouslye rich, yet few of them haue come to our knowledge. Gilius, Cressus, Mydas, Pythius, Meander, Erictonius, Sysiphus Tantalus. Of the Romaines that had beene bonde men, Amphion, Menecrates, Heron, Demetrius, Pallas, Calistus, Narcisus. Of Frenchmen, Drusus, Caecilius, Sylla, Lucullus, Liuius,

M, Crassus. Of Kinges, Salamon and Ptolomeus, were all reported for notable ryche. But Gylias became famous for liberalitie, Cresus and Crassus, for theyr misfortune, Sylla & Lucullus for theyr victoryes, Mydas through Silenus. The Romaynes that had bene bonde men by the abuse and riot of Rome: Salamon for wyse|dome, Tantalus for wicked lyfe, Meander and Pythi|us for theyr bountye to the Persian kinges. C. Caelius for his Testament: Ptolomeus for princely maiesty, Erictonius and Sysiphus through Poets libertye L. Drusus for hys magnificence. So as none almost for onely riches gayned glory: although they were such mē as might easylier attaine to fame for ver|tue, then so greate riches. To what vse that after death riches should serue no manne knoweth, nor can imagine. And although that after death they did yelde glorye to thee, and vse to others, yet the same is to thee nothing at all. Rather ought thou remember to passe in to those partyes, whether thou can carrye nothings besydes thy vertue and vices of mynde, When soeuer therefore thou shal dye, wyll come to memory not thy ryches, but thy sinnefull offences, not thine honour or auctoritie, but thy hope and fayth of Saluation. For at that instant (I omit thy former myseryes) all thinges shalbe subuerted, and to thy sighte the hole worlde shalbe turned to the first Chaos. And as y^e land doth seeme to moue in y^r sight of such as sayle in the ship (& yet in deede doth not) but it is the shippe y^t remo|ueth and not y^e land: so in the houre of death shal the whole world seeme to be subuerted, whē thou shalte for euer take leaue of earthly life, neuer a|gain to see thy worldlye frendes, nor thy riches wherein thou so much delighted. Therefore if af|ter death thou hopest of anye lyfe, why doest thou not cōsume thy tyme in vertue? or if none? yet why seekest thou not thyne owne quyete? syth for other lyfe thou lokest not, nor hopest to returne againe to this. But happilye it maye be sayde that this sorrow is sweete (as it is to rubbe a soore) A plea|sure it is to be riche, to gouerne, to be prayesed and to oppresse others, & this is y^e vttermost marke of mans felicitye. O foolishe imagination: but let that passe, so thou disproue not others of sounder opynion. Yet (if wythout offence I maye so do) let me aske why men lyke vnto children do builde houses that wil by and by fall downe? whye doe they vainlye trauayle, not onely in bodye, but also in minde? Yet let vs a whyle conuert our speach to other matter (for I am enforced many wayes to degresse from our purpose) and let vs fyrst de|clare why my former booke became so longe: and therewythall shewe that for all calamityes (if any seeme intollerable) there is one remedye. It was therefore wyth greate diligence approued y^r death is not to be nombred amonge the euils: for seyng the meane to come therevnto is open to all men, none (but such as willinglye are) can iustlye be cal|led vnhappye. Tiberius suruayinge his pryso•ers, was asked by one of them howe sone hee shoulde dye? answered▪ I am not as yet reconsyled vnto thee. A true aunswere surely in respect of the mat|ter, but tyrānous if y^r consyder the meaning. And this was one other cause why my last booke was y^e lōger. For against al sortes of myseryes thre spe|cial remedyes we haue, Death, Wysedome, and Fortune. They are cōmonly constrayned to vse y^r helpe of death, that cannot take commoditye of y^e other too, being fallen into those calamities which seeme the greatest. Wherefore Damidas the Lacede|monian seemed discretelye to aunswere one saying vnto hym, that vnlesse the Lacedemonians were re|consyled to Philippus, they shoulde be in greate ha|zarde (for at that tyme the Lacedemonians were the kinges ennemyes, who had wonne Peloponesus:) O cowardly man quoth Damidas what can be in|tollerable to vs if we feare not to die? In lyke ma|ner a boye of Lacedemon being taken by Antigonus, and solde in seruices meeete for free men, did wil|linglye yelde himselfe to take paines, but when he was employed to vile works (and amonge y^r rest, to emptye vrinals) he refused to do it. For which, whē his master did sore threatē him, he forthw^t cli|med vppon the toppe of the house, and sayde, now shalte thou knowe whom thou

hast boughte, and therewithall cast himselfe downe headlonge. So Crassus beyng taken prysoner and fearinge disho|nour, with his ryding rod he strake oute the eye of a barbarous souldiour, who moued w^t ire forth|wyth did slea hym. A common experience it was in y^e old time, by willing death to eschewe long or shamefull kinds of dyinge. And if I should write the names onelye of such as in the raignes of Ne|ro, Caligula, and T•berius, did willingly kill themsel|ues, the historye would be to longe, or if I rehersed the number, no manne woulde beleue mee. Nowe whilst wee speake of these voluntarye deathes, it commeth to memorye, that not longe since in the Cittye of Venis there lyued a certayne Apoticarye, he for some great offence being cōdemped to dye, desyred to speake wyth his brother, who in kissing hym deliuered certayne poyson which he broughte in his mouth closed w^t in a nut shel, by force where|of, after a fewe houres he dyed: whereby he saued himselfe from longer sorrow, and eschewed the re|proche of dishonourable death. We reade y^e some men to auoyde extreame sickenes, haue volunta|rily ended their liues: of which number was Pom|ponius Atticus, a famous man extremelye tormēted wyth a greuous disease, & at length fynding some rest, pyned himselfe for not falling into his former paynes. In lyke maner dyed Corellius Rufus to a|uoyde the paynes of the goute. But oure Lawes do not permit any mā to procure his owne death: and for good reason: For that nothing shoulde be intollerable to a Christian man (onelye extreame tormente) which the Lawe doth not allowe, yet by law is permitted. Now let vs proue y^e besydes this intollerable sorrow (and y^e not altogether ex|cept) there is nothing that can make a mā discou|raged, and that all men beinge wyse, are equallye happie and vnhappy. So as I may thincke with Socrates, y^t if all mens cares and euilles were by one assente layde togethers on one heape, and equallye deuided to euerye man alike, after wee had seene the greatnes of others greeues, we would choose to take vppon vs our owne, rather then to abyde the chaunce in deuision: because eche man know|eth his owne euils, and is ignorant how great the greeues of others be, which is the reason why ech mā thinketh himselfe most vnhappy. In discourse whereof two thinges may be obiected: the one, y^e this booke can onely profite those that be learned: and also withoute this, the learned by readinge of Cicero, chiefelye his bookes, De Finibus bonorum, his Tusculane questions, his Paradox, and De Senectute, Plutarchus, Petrarchus & Boetius, with diuers others, shal finde no small remedye in all calamities. And how shal the simple and vnlearned sorte (as is the most part of the people and many gentlemen also) take profite of this booke? So as in comfortinge the learned I shal seeme presumptuous, and for y^e vnlearned superfluous. But I neede not feare to be herein accused, because (as at the beginninge. I <...> other bookes were made for others •se, but this onelye for my selfe, which thoughe it can|not compare with the eloquente of Cicero, the gra|uitye of Plutark, the subtiltye of Petrark, or Philoso|phye of Boetius, yet is wel lyked of my selfe, for that reason I alledged at the beginninge in children, y^e euerye one loueth his owne worke. Yet haue we erred? who knoweth it not? but those errors are tollerable which harme not others, and procedeth of nature. The other whereof I must accuse my selfe, is, that some will happilye saye, that when a man enioyeth health, he maye easelye counsell the sicke: which is as muche as to perswade wyth vaine words, that in works we do not performe, and therefore in speache onelye doe make a showe of vertue. Of which blame Cicero, Plutarchus, Petrar|cha & Aristotle himselfe do excuse mee, because they extolled magnanimity & yet in aduersitye did not shewe it, and chiefelye Cicero, who of all others de|clared himselfe most bace and abiect of minde. The others endured no great aduersitye, for besydes a little tyme in banishmente they liued riche and fa|uoured wyth Princes,

and that worthilye. Also it is not requisite that all good men, though they be •aliaūt of minde, with peril of their persons shold put theyr valure in prooffe, the one is a tryal of for|tune, the other of vertue. Neyther is it euer neces|sarye that such as saye well, shoulde also 〈...〉 for truth somtimes is maintayned by wicked 〈◇〉 . But although by dissembling I might escape these reprehensions: yet where I saye that for allaye of myne owne grieffe this labour is taken in hande, hardlye it is allowed in reason that they that 〈◇〉 alwayes liued in prosperity, can 〈...〉 •|thers comfort in aduersitye. For if a man woulde so do, yet were there small good liekly to followe. This booke shal therefore gayne the more 〈◇〉 wyth others, that I my selfe haue bene in my 〈◇〉 . And although (as erst I said) euery mā may praise vertue, yet is it not the parte of those y' bee 〈◇〉 to directe a life contrarye to theyr owne wordes. How can we leade the like life, eyther in fortitude or pacience, or declare y' same to others, if we haue alwayes liued in prosperity? Therefore should I o|mit y' greatest & most necessary part of this booke, If I leaue vntold, y' (as I thincke by deuine de••|nye) I was begotten, borne, & brought vp, in great misery, & so haue almost til this day liued. For such as do perswade others to sustayne greate payne, if they themselues haue done the like, thereby they procure their words both credit & auctoritye to be the rather beleued of others. So did 〈◇〉 , Pho|•ion, Socrates, Plato, Cato, all the Prophetes and holy men, yea y' author of al good IESVS CHRIST. Yet haue I not mdured these worthy men be|cause I would• seeme to contende wyth them is vertue, but rather followe theyr order of lyfe. And the more barely I was borne, y' more maye others (if they wil) hope to excell my 〈◇〉 〈...〉 in aduersi|tye. You shal therefore first vnderstand, that in y' time of pestilence I was conceyued, my mother as (I thinke) vndeliuered became partaker of my misery & was forced to flye. The 8. daye of the 〈◇〉 of October, in the yeare of Gra••. 1501. halfe deade came• I into this world, when all men dispayrīg of lyfe by vertue of a bath made of vyne I was recey•d: within thre monthes next after I lost two of my brethren & one sister, the plague continuing in our Citye. The sicknes spreadinge more abrode in Pa••a, sodeinly of y' same death died my foster father. Afterwards I was bouldly and charitably r•c•yued into y' hands of Isiodo••• Resta 〈...〉 man & frende to my father, where 〈...〉 few dayes I fel sicke diseased with the drop|•• 〈...〉 of the lyuer, yet neuerthesse preser|ued eyther through the ire or merryed of GOD, I know not on• kinde of 〈◇〉 was afterwarde vnapproued, 〈◇〉 I attayned eyghte yeares of age. At whiche tyme I became seruaunte to my father till I 〈...〉 the age of ninetene. O Lord euen thus I passed the flower of my youth both wyth|out delight and studye. At length perceuinge that by force I might not compell my father, entreate him I could not, and to deceyue him I thought it dishonestye: for loue of learninge I intended to haue entred into Religion. My mother then se|inge her want of children, entreated my father to put me to schole, where I remēbringe my time al|readye lost, and the shortnes of mans life, earnestly applyed my selfe to studye, euer in feare lest my fa|ther hearinge some euil reporte shoulde take me a|waye. And there as one neuer in schole before, I was not a little troubled wyth hardnes of the la|tine tongue. Yet amonge all these labours my fa|ther did graunt me leaue to studye the Science of Geometrie & Logick, wherin although hee helped me onlye with a few good lessons, bookes & liber|tye, yet through study at spare times I did attaine vnto them. Then absence encreasing my fathers good opinion, the plague beinge great he dyed, ha|uing newlye begonne to loue mee. At that time y' cruel warres began in oure countrey, being poore and voyde of all other helpe, throughe great care & dilligence of my mother I was sustayned, when my small patrimonye suffised not.

For suche as it was, I did consume it in the office of 〈...〉 Vniuersitye. Neyther had I anye other 〈◇〉 then Chesse playe to procure my selfe a lyuinge. So being from one misfortune to another trans|ported, I settled my selfe in y^e towne of PAVIA▪ where by practise of Phisicke (thoughe poore lye) I sustayned my selfe and my familye, as one (that besydes I had nothinge) was indebted by reason of my vaine office. Then by my mothers letters was I called home to my coūtreȳ, wher I found nothinge well ordered, nor no frende, my cos^{••}s sued in lawe against mee, and in oure Colledge of Phisitions I was repulsed, being suspected a ba|starde because my father did so euill entreate mee. Neyther can I boast of any fauour founde in the Phisitions of Padoa, where hauing twise deserued to haue beene made Doctoure, I was notwithstandinge iniustlye denyed my grace, and at laste through the earnest suite of the Podestate, scantly graunted. A shamefull acte, if mine owne euil for|tune, and not theyr leudenes did offer me so great iniurye. Then dispayring of all good, I fel into y^e sicknes which we call Consumption, a sicknesse (as the Phisitions saye) incurable. And yet (whe|ther through good prayer or for other purpose pre|serued) after seuen monethes, w^tout helpe of Phi|sicke and beyonde al expectation I escaped Consi|der now what cares, what sorrow & vexation my minde endured: when on the one syde mine owne great pouerty, & on y^e other my mothers vnwilydly age was considered. Besides this, y^e frowardnes of my frendes, the wronge as I thought of Phy|sitions, the threatning of a great man, the dispayre of health, lacke of frendes, and wante of abydinge place, did altogether molest me. I wanted wherw^t to liue: labour I could not, & to begge I thoughte it shameful, Amids so many calamityes wherein|to vnfreundlye fortune, the hardnes of my father, y^e mislyking of kinsefolke, and the mysery of the time had cast me, through good counsel I eschewed (at least wise) y^e presence of my myseries by returning to the Citty, where many frends did comfort and helpe mee, and throughe Gods grace sodeinlye I escaped my sickenes. Afterwardes to meete with mysorder of sickenes I vsed abstinēce, against the affliction of fortune, pacience, against pouerty, spa|ring, against suite, dilligence, against repulses, y^e stu|die of learning. And alwayes from the beginning till this time, this booke (though not then wryttē yet conceyued did greatly comfort mee. Thus re|turned to my countrye I founde my mother in health. Before which time, euē til this day hauing suffered many myseryes (perhappes to others in|tollerable) by disdayne I ouercame them al. First I was releued and defended by my good Patron the reuerend bishophe Phillippus Archintus both for vertue and learninge, a wyse and worthy man. After, throughe commendacion of that excellent Prince Alphonsus Auolus, (to whom I dedicated my booke De eternitatis Archanis) I was by pro|curemente and singuler fauoure of Franciscus S^{••}•|dratus the noble Senator, chosen into the order w^t the good lyking of euerye honest man, beinge then almost fortye yeares of age. Such hath beene y^e course of my lyfe, crased wyth continuall & greate calamityes. Wherevnto what my studye hath helped you may coniecture. As for greater giftes of fortune I did contemne them, wyth like minde that I suffered all offered iniuryes. Wherefore to the continuance of my lyfe and recouery of quiet, I haue not obtayned of God any thing more pro|fitable, then pacience: for by vertue therof amids my greatest myseries, I founde fauour and helpe in theym of whom I neuer had anye good deser|ued. For Franciscus Bonafidus a good and faythful Phisition, so stoutlye defended my cause agaynst the wronge of the Phisitions of PADOA, as no brother for a brother woulde haue done more.

Greate assistaunce did I also finde in Franciscus Cruceius a most vprighte Lawyer, my suite depen|dinge in the Citty of Mylan: Who was also the occasion whye in diuers sayinges,

teachinge, wry|tinge, and inuentinge, I bestowed much trauaile. And albeit a minde vnmoolest maye beste doe all o|ther thinges: yet haue I found that inuention re|quyreth a quiet mynde, which may appeare by di|uers and sondrye my Bookes. &c.

But of my selfe perhappes I haue to muche spoken, not in myne owne commendation, but for examples sake. For what prayse canne base pa|rentage bee, the displease of my father, frendes, and Countreye, my health hindered, my fortune vnfrendlye, myne estate poore, and nexte to beg|gerye: who so therefore doth thincke mee to haue spoken all this for glorye, whiche tendeth rather to shame, must needes condempne mee of greate fol|lye. And hee wyll thincke mee vtterlye vnwyse, who so euer iudgeth me to haue spoken these thin|ges for ostentation, which are rather matters to be ashamed of it (leauing oure purpose) wee yelde to the common opynion of others. But it was myne intente by one example to teache these three thinges. First y^o without a conscience guilty of euil, no mā is miserable. Secondly, y^o the valiency of minde doth greatlye helpe, not onlye to contentacion, but also to procure the mutacion of fortune. Lastlye y^o the reading of this booke was profitable both to per|swade vnhappye men wyth pacient minde to suf|fer aduersity, & those that be happye in their owne opynion, to be modest and continent. Besydes y^t (as is already said) though mē do wāt this or such like bookes to read, yet shall they in theyr myserye be depriued of all comfort? surely no. For so should we take vpon vs a thing almost deuine. Because this onelye is necessarye to saue thee from myse|ry, y^o thou perswade thy selfe thou art not mysera|ble. Which rule in one worde may be taughte and learned of euery man. And whosoeuer shal not cō|ceiue this reason which is auaylable to perswade y^e wise, then let them read this or some such booke as necessary. But the simple sort, & cōmon people, be|leuing this rule, neede not these reasons which our law of life doth also approue. But such as woulde instruct others, maye receiue of this Booke some profit, though I vntaught haue writtē it onely to my selfe, & being vsed to demonstrations, haue be|leued what followeth death: yet y^t here on earth should be neither felicitye nor misery, onlye by rea|son of aunciente writers I coulde not proue. I thought therefore expediēt not only to reduce their sayings together, but also to adde thervnto what soeuer I could. Wherefore to begin at the discom|modities of pouertye, seing the burden of them se|meth to some intollerable, and as Menander affyr|meth. No burden is more heauye then pouertye, And on the contrarye part Riches haue alwayes bene had in price. The saying of the Poet is yet vnchaunged.

Novv vwealth doth vvield the vworld, and vwealth doth vvorship gayn
Yea vwealth doth vvyn the frends at vvyl, the pore ech vvher cōplayn

But nowe let vs not at all aduentures, but or|derly as we can (because it containeth many poin|tes) enter into our matter. First we must proue that the pore man is no lesse happy then the rich. Secondly that pouertie is no impediment to glo|rye. Thirdly that there is nothinge more hurtfull to a pore man then to desyre to become riche. Fourthly that after death ryches doth neither pro|fyte the dead man nor his posterity. And to y^o fyrst part this I say, that in a poore common weale the felicity is more then in the rich, there is euer foūd lesse hate, lesse ambicion. and lesse disorder. Titus Liuius telleth that albeit the cōmon weale of Rome, was at the begynning afflicted with sundry sedi|cions, yet among so furious a people besydes wor|des nothing was done, so as without iudgemente was executed. Tiberius Gracchus was the fyrst mā

that without lawe was put to death, syxe hūdrēd twenty and one yeare, after the buildinge of that Citty, euen then newly attayned to some ryches. Plinius witnesseth how great commendacions the ambassadors of the Carthaginences (being enemies to the people of Rome) did geue vnto the Romains for their mutual loue. But after that riches grew to estimacion in Rome, nothing continued in assu|rance, nothing vndisquieted the people withoute concorde, the Senate without authority, slaugh|ter without respect, gouernement without lawe, wicked lyfe without controlment, cōmon persons without reuerence, youth without bashfulnes, old men without grauity. Al things were prophaned and mixte, with the dregs of slaues and strangers From hence sprong vp y^e fruit of al mischief, wher|by it appeareth playne, that miserye followeth the footsteps of rich common weales, and quietnesse procedeth from pouerty. The Lacedemonians lyke|wise while they lyued almost in beggery were glo|rious and happye.

In witnes whereof we fynd that when the king of Persia did send certain ambassadors to Lacedemō, they were there through fury of the people robbed and slayne. There was in Lacedemon a temple of Talthibius, Agamemnon's cryer, a sanctuary for am|bassadors, which vpon a tyme not yielding to the sacrificers any lucky prophesies (for that was ta|ken for a religeon) it moued the penitente Lacede|monians that in stede of the ambassadors slayne, as many (that is to say too) should offer themselues, to death. Then Sparthius and Bulis offered theym|selues departing thence to Lacedemon, before they should come to Xerses sonne of Darius, (who before had sent the ambassadors) they came to Hidernes y^e kinges Liutenant, who entertayning them cour|teously, after he knew the cause of their comming, and the greatnesse of theyr myndes, perswaded theym rather to choose the Kinges fauoure, then deathe, for Xerses would make theym rulers ouer all Greece, and that he him selfe was one of hys Lordes, whose State he willed them to consider and if they would follow his counsell, they should not refuse the kinges frendshippe.

Then aunsweared they, Thou knoweste not Hi|dernes howe ioyful a thinge the pleasure of liberty is, where of thou euer seruinge a kinge hadde ne|uer prooffe, but if once thou mightest taste thereof, thou wouldst preferre it before all the kingedomes of Percia. Such felicitye hadd these men in their Common weales, eyther of pouerty, or at the lest wise with pouerty. And yet was the lyfe of the Lacedemonians (as before I sayde) hard, by reason of theyr vse in warres, notwithstandinge, by the benefyte of pouertye (hauinge no monie at all) so deare to theym was liberty, as they esteemed it a|boue a kingedome.

But omyttinge to speake of Common weales let vs inqyre of priuate Lyfe, where in is greater Pleasure, greater Quiet, then in kingdomes, nei|ther can a Kinge bee assured of freendes, neyther can he feele the chiefest sweete of Venus ioyes, be|inge in dout of desembled loue. For wel you know the chief and greatest delight of that pleasure is, to loue and be loued. And how can he know himself beloued, whē feare of power or hope of reward do make the willinge suspected. It is no meruayle th•rfore that so many doe declare themselues vn|thankfull to princes, for they cannot be accomp|ted as freendes, that eyther for hope, feare, or day|lye rewarde, bee entertayned. Therefore Phi|lippus reprovod his sonne Alexander, because wyth geuing he thought to gayne the good will of peo|ple. Albeit the lyfe of princes is most noble, yet wā|ting loue and friendship, by no meanes can be ac|compted happy, because they are to seke of such

be|nifyts as do nearest approch the happines of mor|tall men. But let vs now consyder that although in these thinges they were equal to pore men, whe|ther then the lyfe of Princes, or common persons, were more pleasant. The pore man rysing earlye, after his handes be washed, resorteth to his labor, where hauing a while exercised him selfe (besydes the helpe of his hongry supper the night before) w^t his fellow in labour, where, with hongrye Sauce they sauour all sortes of meate, what soeuer com|meth to hand semeth pleasant, delicate, and preci|ous. In dyning time, they common of pleasaunt matters, and tell what hope hee hathe of tyme to come. This company breedeth no discention, this dyet causeth no sacietye, no disdayn, no suspicion. The diner ended, after pawsinge a while, they re|turne to accustomed labor, wherein they get good appetite to supper. There being met, they want no mirth, gentill ieastes, and pleasante tales accor|ding to the quality of the guests, Then to bed thei goe, whereunto preparing themselues, the shining starres doe stirre them vp to looke to heauen, and remember that at length they shal come into that most blessed country, promising in mynde (if anye thinge were sinfully done) thamendment of theyr offences. Thus wearied with long labor by daye so sone as he commeth in bed, sodenly he falleth in to sound sleape. In such a sorte lyuinge, the simple man gayneth healthy and long lyfe, neither trou|bled with repentaunce of passed time, nor feare of that wil after follow. When holy dayes do hap|pen he resteth his weary bones. Then wandreth he at will, and if ought therebe in towne pleasant or worthy sight, he may without offence see it.

He veweth the suburbes, the greene fieldes & men dowes, he meeteth his companions & taketh each where his disport. He mindeth no displeasing im|maginacions, he ioyeth in lyfe, and liueth prepared for death. And if happely he be learned, maye bee som what the more accompted happy.

But the Princes life is cleare contrary. He hauing shaken of his yesterdayes surfyte ryseth vppe, hys mouth not well in taste, but on the one syde offen|ded with vnsweete sauour of his owne stomack, on the other distempered with euyll rellesse, Then assemble on euery hand his Garde, souldiers, ser|uantes, parasytes flatterers, and suters, hys men <◇> about him, they exclaime, crye out, & com|playne, because all thinges are out of good order. The porters kepe backe the importunate people, & some perhaps they promise liberty to passe in.

And if the prince be of good disposicion secretly he examineth his affayres, which fynding to be infy|nite in nomber, he lotheth his owne lyfe. For some thinges he dispayreth to bringe to passe: and some thinges he hath great care of. Now he blameth y^r infidelity of some persons. Now hee accuseth the slouth of others, now he fyndeth fault with some mens couetise.. Now he forecasteth some necessa|rye matters. Now he heareth prayers. Now hee harkneth to suytes wherin y^r more attentiuie he is, the moore is his trouble, and care of mynde, so at last he referreth all to his Counsayle. Thus you se that as to a prince nothing is displea|saunt, so doth he nothinge with pleasure. When diner time commeth, then is he solemplye serued wythe Dishes, Platters, Cuppes, Carpets, Wyne Sallets, Sauce, meat, bread, Dainties of strange deuise and all sortes of princely prouision, But be|inge thus settled at meate, either he hath no compa|ny at all or hauinge, they be commonly inferiours, and forced therefore to be placed farre beneath him, who though outwardly merrelye disposed, yet in|wardely loden with many cares. And as the Poet saythe.

VVythyn vvwhose fearefull face the palenes dyd appeare, of great and greuous loue.

But now to returne to a kinge who fed withe delicate daynties and clothed in rich <...>
 glutted with yesterdayes cheare) doth neyther <◇> his meate, nor take pleasure in syght of any
 thing• he can beholde. But clothed with all delicacye, he leaneth backe looking round about, and
 at <◇> chooseth some one meate that leaste doth offende him. And admitte he could take
 delight in eating or drinke, should that much please him? surelye no: Because all hee doeth
 is ioyned wythe sus|picion. He feareth his meate, his drynke, his stole his Chayre, his Trenchour,
 his napkin, and knife for in euery of theym may <◇> secret •oyson What pleasure can eatinge
 be, beset with so many suspy|cions? Were it not better to Suppe withe simple sallets, rootes, and
 fruite, then with all these rich dishes and daungerous delicates? what can bee worse then
 suspicion, where perill may also lurke and feare is neuer away? which Dionisius by good
 ensample proued, For when Damocles had longe flattered him (as parasites doe alwayes followes
 Tirantes) for prooffe of such felicitye he caused Da|mocles to put on his princely apparell placed
 him in his owne princely chayre, and set before him all the pompe, ioyes, and ryches of Sira•usa:
 whiche done by a smal threde he hanged ouer his head a sharpe sworde naked, which Damocles
 seinge, he durst not stretch out his arme, nor make any mocio to <◇> himselfe of those
 delicates which were set befoo•• him but finding himselfe on euery syde beset wyth feare, hee
 prayed Dionisius to deliuer him from thys royal feast, where he learned so much as neuer af|ter
 hee desyred to become a kinge. Moreouer to speake of a princes life when he hath royally &
 sūp|tuously di•ed, and all his dishes with greate cere|mony taken away, incommeth ieasters,
 iuglers & minstrels: some they craftely flatter, som thei back bite, & som they seke to disgrace:
 some fal to laugh|inge, & some to mopping & mowing, while others do sound the instruments. In
 euery of which acti|ons, y• more kyndly a man plaieth the para•te, the more he is allowed of.
 Duringe these doinges the prince w^t fayned cheare, museth on other matters, more waightye: and
 happelye occasioned by some aduertisementes wrytten •nto him, to counsell be goeth: where <◇>
 > matters be called in <◇> Neither pleasaunt to be hard nor good in the exe|cution. Because
 some are vniust, some euill, & some perilous. Such displeasent imaginations a kyng hath, now
 he fyndeth offence, now he discouerethe treasons, now feeleth ingratitude, nowe he reuea|leth
 suspicion now he discouereth errour, and euill procedynge of ministers, and now hee fyndeth y•
 in fydelity of princes. Hys mynd thus molested, hee sigheth and soroweth hoping to remoue the
 memo|rye of such imaginations, perhaps he hunteth, ry|deth, or beholdeth others ryding.
 Whither forth•• the people run, and bring that to mynd which hee would willingly haue left
 vnthought of. Then af|ter speach of sundrye matters, to supper hee goeth, wherof he fyndethe the
 lyke annoyne that his <◇> did offer him. At length to bed, where before sle|ape he museth of
 many displeasent matters, howe many men are• or must be executed, though not al|together
 iustly, yet necessarily, What practises are made, what feare, what enuy, what iniury, what warre,
 what spoyle, what subuersion of Citties, what suspicion of death, and last of all desyreth ey|ther
 not to be, or els to enjoy a more quiet life.

And thus from one fancy to an other, he turneth & tosseth his mynde, yet in the ende findeth all
 thin|ges so confuse, as nothing is assured or parmanēt & thus he desyreth to sleape, whiche is
 not easlye had his stomacke beinge ouercharged wyth a sur|fytinge supper. And admitte he doth
 sleape, in slea|pyng he meeteth vnquiet ymaginacions, fearfull dreames & visyons. Though hys
 bed be rych, soft & delycate, yet hys rest oft tymes hard & shorte. What life is this then sinfull of
 cares and anxitye of mynde. And as Antigonus answered his sonne Demetrius telling him, that

more mildely hee beha|ued him selfe towardes his subiectes then stode with his honoure? O sonne (quod hee) thou kno|weste not that a kingedome is nothinge ells then a glorious seruitude. So Tymo•ion the most hap|pye of all the Grecian Dukes, sayde that princes were the ministers and seruantes of many. Be|sydes all these cares which kinges are combred w^t|all, such as are Tyrantes bee occupied with incest rape, murder of innocentes, poyson, threatninges, violence, tormentes, and sacrilege, yea feare and suspicion are on euery side at hand. As many there be whom a tirante feareth as are those that liue in fear of him, whiche the verse of Laberianus againste Caesar the Dictator doth well set fourth, sayinge.

Of force he must feare many: vvhom dayly many feare.

What gard is so vigilāt as can defend him: He sus|pecteth his wife, his childrē, his paramour, his cup|bearer, his barber. A misery sure to great to be wi|shed to enemies, or y^o mooste wicked persons. But now I see much hath bene said of felicity thoughe confusely. Let vs therfore at length more inperti|culer touch euery on. And first I say y^o life of a pore man is longer, more healthy, & strong, then y^o whi|che rich mē haue, neither do I think y^o and do dout thereof. Only thre men I do remēber y^e haue pas|sed the age of a hundred yeares, & all they almoste beggers, one was a Carpenter, the other Apothic|arye, and the thirde a plowman. How can hys lyfe belong that lyueth in lust, ydlenesse, and surfy|tyng, wherof richmen do scarcely eschewe any one How diffring therfore be the orders of mens lyues the one in abstinence and exercise, the other in ban|quetting and euyll rule. Euer continuinge in ydle|nes or preposterous labour, watching by night & slepinge the day? Hereof commeth dropsies, con|sumptions, and goutes to richemen: But what poreman almost doth complayne of theym? The complexion of their faces doothe often tymes also shew what lyfe they leade. A poore man other whyles hathe moore beautifull Chlydren then hath the rich man, & in hauing them as fortunate. They many times are barren or haue children ve|rye weake and sicklye: but poremen neuer want, yea rather are ouerburdened. And the reason ther of apparāt. For children are made of their parents feede, whiche beinge plentifull geueth the childe a liuely spyryte and strong body, both which are en|creased by labour. In noble personages it is far otherwise: if they mete seldome they make manye children, but weake ones: if they mete often none at all. But poore people haue manye children, or not, yet som, & those strong. For which cause Licur|gus ordeined a good law, y^o when women were w^t chylde, they should be enforced to labor. Besydes al this pore men haue liberty, wherof princes pos|sesse little. Poremen do visit euery place, but prin|ces may not, and wher they go, great preparacion is made. So nothing is done sodenlye, but longe thought vpō. A prince is enforced, to tary y^o leisure and flouth of his seruantes, to beare with their er|rors. In sommer notwithstanding all prouision he is annoyed with duste. In winter he shonnethe the colde, and yet do feele it. But the pore man in sommer exersiseth him selfe in the shadow: and in winter with laboure driueth the colde away, and that with pleasure. The richman carefully defen|deth his own Lands, but the pore man beholdeth all, and the seldomer he hath liberty to se the grea|ter pleasure he hath in seinge. Neyther do thou y|magin I saye otherwise then I thincke: my selfe haue neuer wished any thing lesse then to haue gar|dens in the suburbes, for the reason abouesayde, that other mens for their rarenes do more delight and to haue them myne owne were nothing pro|fytable, All men do study to lyue, whiche lyuinge the pore man by labour doth gette, his Nature is stronge, hys bodye vncorrupt. But happelye thou wylt prefer arte before nature. I yelde to thine o|pinion. We see that arte though not exquisyte, doth also helpe pore men, but to

rychmen arte is an hyn|derance. And some things which pore men ac|compt vyle and bace, are wyth rych men hadde in greate pryce. As lettyse, apples, grapes, and radish And contrary wyse rych men make none accompt of partrydge, hares, peacockes, and plouers, which pore men esteeme for excellent delycatees. What choyse is there in thinges, when it is only change, that breedeth the dyfference? Cicero telleth that Suppynge wythe Lentulus hee surfyted of sweete Beetes. The lyke reason there is to proue that a pore man sleapeth more soundly then the rich. And as men saye.

The grassy flag, the silke more soft
doth yeld the sleapes vvith great delight:
But stately beds in tovvers alofte,
the richmans rest vvith feares, affright.

The rich man troubleth his minde with cares. The pore mā careth only by labor to get his liuing The richmans cares are earnest & manifold, howe to kepe his welth, how to bestow it, & which way to accompt with his receiuers. The pore mā careth only for himself, The rich man is enforced to kepe others, wherof groweth so great sorow as somty |mes we reade y[•] they haue not only lāguished, but also killed themselues. The pore man with losse of goods is neither so tormented as he killeth himself nor so desperate as to occasion others to lay hande vpon him. One only feare the poreman hath, why |che is, lest he lack wherwith to lyue. And yet what a number of helpes hath hee? Freendes, aliaunce, kins•olke, good men, and hospitalles, Neither shalt thou almost fynde any (vnles they be dishonest) y[•] can want any thing. For whoso getteth by arte any thing, ought not from day to day spende all, but euer keepe somewhat in store, whiche rule ob|serued, there is no daunger of beggery.

Thus wee see the wantes of pore men manye wayes supplied. And among the rest a pore man in time of famine maye liue by seruinge the riche, whoe are subiecte to suche inconuenients as can not bee eschewed as Imposicion of Princes, sub|tilty of seruants, craft of heyres, deceite of enemies and men vnknown. Whereof came the Satyre.

Som hourding vp great heapes of gold, not knowving hovv to vse thē,
Lyke sacred stuffe doth store vp vvealth: so folly doth abuse them,

But who needeth to meruayle or thinke I haue alledged a fayned reason, whē I my selfe haue sene an hundred men by sundry meanes through their riches to perish w^tout fault. Others haue ben poi|soned by their familiers, others slayn w^t the sword others hanged, some robbed by the waye, as was Curtius in our citty, and Aluisius Donatus in y^t town of Saccensi. But of such as haue perrished throughe honger, in my lyfe I haue scarcely seene four, and they not with out fault. For ensample wherof yt were superfluous to resite any histories, the prooffe therof being dayly sene. Therefore among so fewe richmen, seing so many for riches do miscary, and among so many poore men so fewe do perrishe for honger: is not in that respect the condicion of rich men much worse then y[•] state of the pore? The rich man prouideth shift of apparel & household stuf, not only nedefull, but also burdenous, whiche asketh care, kepinge, and dayly reparacion. And yet god knoweth no gold is more holsome to drinck in thē glasse, neither is Siluer more cleanly then stone, nor brasse more mete to boyle in then the pitchers of earth. Garmentes the more symple they be, y[•] more holsome & lesse burdenous. A man comethe into this world naked, hee needeth a garment but no burden. The Romaynes, and Lacedemonians, were at the beginning

so basely appareled, as that kinges had them in admiracion. As touchinge nedeles garmentes what should I saye other then as Socrates said, beholdinge the wa|res to be solde in the fayre: How many things are there I neede not? Hee accompted them nexte to the Gods that wanted fewest thinges. The gods haue no want to be supplied, and all thinges super fluous is troublesome, chieflye in apparell. Duste doe decaye it, water dothe rot it, the thief dothe steale it, thy freend do weare it, the walles do rub it, wearinge doth make it threede bare, thy neigh|bour doth borow it and seldome restore it so good as it was lent. What is this apparell, other thē a troublesome and burdenous brauerye: If thou regarde their beautye, paynted clothes be best, or if thou respect the ambicion. that shal hereafter be declared.

But let vs consider whether loue be more tow|ardes the poore or the riche. A pore man is simple and truly loued, the richman is either feared or ho|noured. And if happely he be loued none assurance he can haue thereof. But percase it may be sayde that a richman is more sure from iniury? surely no A pore man may best be reuenged, for nothing hee hath to lose, nor that he feareth to forgoe. The rich man carefull both of life and liuinge suffereth ma|nye iniuries. It is magnanimity of minde and no worldly goods y^l maketh a man to liue in security, yet perchance you saye: A rich man may mooste safely offend others. But how? A pore man per|fourmeth his offence alone in person: but the rich man hauing cōmitted offence (though none other perill were) hath felowes in offendinge and euer feareth to be by them detected. He hath also cham|pio•s & ministers to whome hee is indebtet why|che I thinck the Poet knewe speakyng of Domi|tianus whome for his cruelty he called Nero sayinge in this wyse.

But vvould to God hee rather had, his time consumde in toyes.
Then cast such care on cruell dedes, or sought such vvicked ioyes,
VVhen noble states he pluct a dovvne, and men of vvorthy fame,
His subiects loue forthvvith he lost, and gaynd eternall blame.
But vvhen in bloud of simple soules, he bathde his bloody hand,
VVithout renenge he felt the smart, and could no longer stand.
Such guerdon God doth geue, to men of cruel mynde
that seeke the liues of harmelesse folke.

Then I pray you what hath a rich man better thē a poore? Lyfe, health, chyldren, meate, sleape, fren|des, liberty, security, delight, quiet. garments, vtē|siles, loue, rest, with all other thinges more desyred. It is therefore no meruayle that Horacius sayde.

Happy is he vvhome God hath prouided suffycientlye vvhervvith to lyue.

He lyueth in best estate that possesseth so muche as maye mainteyne him to lyue, whiche as Aristoteles sayth is so much as is needefull, for a mans owne person and his womans. The Prophet doth wit|nesse the same sayinge: O Lord geeue me neither riches nor pouertye. And if nedely I must decline from the meane, Riches are moore peryllous then pouerty. For pouerty is relieved by industrie and arte, but there is no remedye againste the discom|modities of Riches.

[Page \[unnumbered\]](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page \[unnumbered\]](#) <1 page duplicate> Also the fall from riches is greate and without re|couery, but pouerty diffreth litle from sufficiency where of to lyue. In pouertye a man hazardeth only his body, but in vsyng riches both bodye and Soule is aduentured. Finally if pouertye be re|moued all inconueniences that it dothe bringe bee also taken away. But suche as loue riches, they fallinge doe notwithstandinge keepe styll their imperfections both of body and mynde. Pouerty therefore vndoubtedly is more happye & more

assu | red then riches, yea and more fyt to attayn to glo | rye. For who but pouertie dyd first finde oute the arts as saythe. Theocritus, O Diophante•, Pouertye is the only mistris and inuenter of labor and arte. Surelie vnlesse I be deceiued riche men were neuer parta | kers of this praise. And when these Artes were inuented, such as had bene in estimacion were also pore. And first to begyn with Philosophy y^e flow | er of all knowledge, the Princes therof were pore men. Socrates, Plato, Aristoteles, and Cleantes, who all night drew water, and al day studied Philosophy But this is the lesse to be meruayled at y^e Socrates (as Seneca sayth) beinge in the market and seing a cloake to be solde, taking leaue of his frendes said: fayne would I buye that cloake, if I had monye wherewith to do it. The prayse of his death and also all they that enuyed his glorye do witnes hee was almost a begger. Plato became riche by his second voiage into Sicilia, Aristoteles longe tyme liued pore, and almost an old man was enriched by Alexander.

I thincke it Needelesse to tell others as [Page \[unnumbered\]](#) Homerus and Virgilius the Lanternes of Poetrye, the one a begger, the other a poore mā. The whole route of Gramarians and Oratours were suche kinde of men, Pompilius, Andromicus, Orbilaus, Vale | rius, Cato, Laenius, Iulius Higinius. The Epistle of Pli | nius Caecelius reporteth that Quintilian {us} was meane | lye furnished wyth wealth. Iuuenalis mocking Sta | tius the Poet sayth he begged.

Vnles perhappes some tragedye, he hath in store to tell for hunger let him pyne.

But now a dayes that rich men can gayne glo | rye in scholes I doubt not. Let vs therefore talke of armes wherin they are no more happye then in learninge: What saye you to Paulus Aem•lius, who being dead had not left wherof to make his wyfe a dowrye. Also Marius and Sextorius were Romay | nes of base condition, yet on the one depended the safetye of Rome, on the other some whiles greate perill. What riches had Camillus the terror of the warre? Or Scipio Affricanus that for debte had lyen in prison, if Gracchus had not helped. Arator Cincina | tus, Calatinus Fabritius that fought wyth Pirus, Valeri | us Publicola, Menenius Agrippa, Q. Aemilius, Aristides, Photion, Meltiades, Cimon, Spartacus, Viriatus, all y^e Du | kes of Lacedemonia, and as chiefe of them Lisander were all called from base condition. And whom can you alledge against these? the desperat Alexan | der or Caesar the subuerter of his countrey, or rather Sylla wyth his proscriptions. There is no doubt therefore but that in the iudgement of the discrete, poore men are to be preferred. But nowe a dayes throughe perswasion of parasites, princes doe not traine vp Captaynes, but rather bye them. Men are not aduaunced for vertue but ryches and pa | rentage. Wherof it groweth that gouerners, ma | iestrates and chiefetaynes, are not appointed for desert, but through fauor of nobility. And though therof they gette no good, yet this cōmoditye they gaine, y^e through custome and y^e smalnes of y^e nom | ber that is aduaunced, rich men onely do possesse all dignities. But counsellors cannot erre? And would to God that Princes we no more decey | ued. For trulye they do well in preferringe nobili | tie, yet therwithal to consyder that those are wor | thyest honour, whom vertue commendeth. The one is sufferable, but the other intollerable: when neyther vertue nor good parentage, but false flat | terye is the onely waye to aduaancement. And suche kinde of men commonlye are voyde both of vertue, learninge and honestye. But nowe I con | fesse wee haue a little to farre digressed from oure purpose. For more speedye ende of this Booke let vs consider what is the occasion of glorye, seinge poore menne in discipline of warre, learninge, and inuention of artes, do gaine reputation: whether rich men are

admitted to glorie in the artes them selues? when in deede they neuer knewe them. But admit that riches are more precious then po|uertye? Alas what myserye can come from the gods greater then the desyre to haue them: which the more we gette, the more it increaseth. It is la|bour wythout ende and not vnlike the turning of Sysiphus stone. Who (as Poets fayne) for reueling the secretes of heauen is forced to remayne in hell, and there continuallye to carrye a heauye stone to the toppe of a steepe hill, which forthwith falleth downe, but he without ceasinge doth follow, and on his shoulders doth bringe it vp againe: Euen so to get riches is nothing els then to toyle they bo|dye in continuall trauayle, and exercise thy minde in innumerable cares. But admit thy lucke bee good: what happines can it be in thy lyfe if thou cannot vse the wealth thou doest possesse? as Ho|ratus wryteth.

Excedinge care of coyne, doth mortall men begile,
and loue of vvordly pelfe, all other ioyes exile.

And if liberallye and bountifullye thou wil vse them, what a madnes were that with so long la|boure to become riche, and so sodenlye to consume all. The womē called Danaides being condemned to hell for their detestable murther, do suffer there none other tormente, then continuallye to drawe water. And admit goodes were wyth labour to be gottē? whether doest thou desyre them for thine owne vse, or thy posteritye? when in the meane tyme thou neglectest thy quiet, & pleasure of thine owne lyfe. Thou shortnest thy dayes, and hinder thy health. Some mē I haue seene liue a nigard|lye life, onelye to the ende to make theymselues a|sumptuous tombe, and honourable buriall. Which folly and superfluous care Socrates laughed to scorne, when lying at the pointe of death he re|fused a riche cloake whiche Apollodorus did offer vnto him. For surely there is among mortal men no vayner care, then the pompe of funerals, which I thincke thou will confesse and flee to the cōmo|dities of inheritaunce. Thou seekest to leaue thy sonne riche, what heyre can bee better? yet in the meane space thou labourest, thou carest, thou wat|chest, thou hazardest infamy, thou offerest wrong, & chargest thy conscience, to thende thy sonne may spende, consume, deuoute, & keepe hauock. Where|by he becommeth proude, slouthful, madde, and in euery respect for his riches the worse. But besides these euilles (alas) how manye ennemyes are got|ten by seekinge of riches? oftentimes also men do want a sonne, or hauing one, he proueth such and of such cōditions, as they repent that euer they be|got him. And sometimes we see that great inhe|ritaunce is cause of their destruction, whiche hap|peneth most often to the children of Princes, who committed to the gouernmente of others are by them berefte both of kingdome and life: as was Tryphon appoynted to the tuition of Antiochus, by whom it was by practise reported, that the childe was greatly diseased wyth the stone, and that hee must in any wyse for his onelye remedye be cutte: which done Tryphon not passinge the age of tenne yeares, through the onely grieffe of his wounde, & not otherwyse greeued dyed, Cicero in his Orati|on for Sextus & Roscius, doth shew what discōmodi|ties his great riches did bring w^{al}: & among the rest (thoughe the greatest) he was accused of mur|ther. But seing among men of meane possessions, wee see these practises dailye put in vre: it is no maruaile to heare that fathers haue spoyled theyr sonnes, sonnes haue slaine theyr fathers, and bro|thers haue sought the life of brothers, onlye to in|herite worldlye kingdomes. So as the sayinge of the Poet is well verified.

That fayth did neuer long in Princes court abide.

But to what ende serueth the power of mens riches, yea though it be well gotten? what pleasure doest thou take to haue aboute the number of seruantes and companions? what secreete foes arte thou forced to keepe, chaunging libertye for ambition? For a rich man in deede is none other then a Peripatitian god, that is to say confyned by lawes: a seruaunt, yea an improfitable seruaunt. O foolish imagination of man, to yelde hymselfe to so manye labours, to muse on so manye cares, to attempte so manye mischiefes, that looseth so manye pleasant dayes, onelye to make his son riche. Not vnlike the Moyles which fatte and fayre, are without vse of sence, constraigned to serue in yoakes, & obeye the bitte, yea sometimes do suffer iniurye of the poore flees. But the children of poore men beinge wyse, vertuous and stronge, haue libertye to walke at will, disbordened of all kindes of care. Being attayned to rype yeres they hunt, they fish, they hauke, they play & wander wher they thincke best. Is not this liberty to be preferred before K. Cresus riches? But among such as haue by inheritance come to great riches, the most of them haue consumed all. Neyther can I thincke y^e couetise fathers on theyr death beddes, do feele greater tormente, then to remember y^e those riches: which wyth long labour they haue gotten, shalbe by theyr prodigall sonnes in short space consumed, on strompets, dycinge, paracites, and flatterers of court. I my selfe haue seene a man whose father and grandfather in fiftye yeares had gotten to the value of a thousande poundes, all whiche hee consumed in lesse then three yeares. The sonne of Ruinus hauinge receyued from his father a rich inheritance, fel into such a fransye as he lost both lyfe and gooddes. Howe manye wayes are lawes offended? howe manye rebellions happen? how many treasons? whereinto such as liue in meane fortune do seldome fall. Besydes this, who hath not a greedy heyre, a sonne, a brother, or a brothers sonne y^e wyll not wyth one farthinge redeeme thee? Yet suche is the madnes of men as wyth losse of theyr owne quiete they labour to make them riche. Therefore seinge riches doth procure neyther glorie nor felicitye to oure selues or oure posteritye: there is nothinge worse thenne not hauinge riches to desyre them, or go about to gette them. But seinge we meane not to perswade any thing Rethoricallye, but rather according to the Philosophers examine whatsoever maye on eyther syde be objected: mee thinckes it may be sayde that euerye man seeketh riches, but no man wyseth for pouertye. Which reason albeit by diuers argumentes maye be refuted, and happily truly, yet in this worke ther is nothinge more allowed of, then y^e simplicity of minde, so as reason shoulde not proceede of will, but rather that Will should follow Reason. To returne therefore to oure purpose I say y^e whatsoever is by any creature required either for commodity or necessity, y^e same creatures do naturally desyre them. In which desyres brute beastes directed onelye by naturall sence, do not transgresse the lawe of necessity: But man hauinge libertye of sence & reason to perswade with himselfe, doth eate, drinke, & sleepe, more then eyther commoditye or necessity doth requyre. So as though eating, drinking & sleeping, be things natural, yet superfluously takē, do work effects contrary to nature. In like maner are riches to be desired, not in abundance, but so much as suffyceth to liue: whatsoever is requyred more, is not onely not good, but also contrarye to nature. And how can y^t be good which is contrary to nature? This exceding desyre of riches doth not therefore procede of imperfection of nature. Al men naturally do desyre riches, as meate or drinke, not because excesse of them is naturall, but because in them somewhat is natural, y^t is to saye, so muche as suffiseth wherew^t to liue. Which sufficiently we get, either by industrie, as those y^t are learned in artes: or by reuenuē as gentlemē:

or by consent as fryers: or by deuotion of others as Courtiers & beggers: As therefore w^out eating & drinking we cannot liue, so is it lawful to desyre riches. For to haue nothing, nor know which way to get, is cōtrary to nature. And yet as society & dronkennes be not onely euill, but also vnpleasant, so is also riches and auctoryte. But notw^ostanding it may be obiected that those cōmodities which poore men are partakers of, as labor, exercise, industry, pacience & abstinence, may be enjoyed by them that be rich: and the choise of both being in the riche man, he should be the more happye. For if willinglye wee wante pleasures, in wanting them is eyther none euill, or iustly cannot so be called. Yet whosoeuer thus thincketh doth greatlye erre. Because a man being brought vppe in delicacye, his minde becommeth effeminate, his bodye tender, and vnfit to suffer trauaile. Nature accustomed to sondry meates, do make dilicate di|gestion. And if any man so brought vp do change his diet to poore mens fare, he shortly becommeth diseased, full of obstructions, and subiecte to con|sumption. Or if they fall to trauaile, eyther by cō|pulsion, or for ambitiō, they grow vnhealthy, sicke of agewes, and in short space die. If any of these fine eaters do applye themselues to earnest studye, they commonly dye in youth: as did Ioannes Picus Mirandola. A thinge impossible it is, that a man borne to great riches should become in learninge excellent: vnlesse at the first he liued a poore life, or in his youth fell into some frensy. But contrary|wyse in the prayse of pouertye it may be sayde as Dionisius sayd to Aristippus, y^e poore men did begge of the riche, seeke theyr houses, and liue of theyr ly|beralitye. Yet if thou respecte the necessity of thin|ges, it shall appeare that the necessity of poore mē is greater for the riche, then the necessity of y^e riche for the poore. The rich man needeth a Phisitian, a barbar, a mulyte•• a plowman, a cooke: & which of them needeth a riche man? Notwythstanding the ambitious mindes of men doe make suche to seeme to gouerne ouer poore men. Also the emu|lation in worldly glory, do make poore men seeme to haue more neede of the rich, thenne the riche of them. Yet if wee respected onelye necessitye, then shoulde the riche haue more occasion to seeke oute the poore, then they to seeke for them. Neyther can anye man doubt, but that riche men do dailye for necessitye vse the industrye of the poore: And if the riche mans goodes be needeful for the poore mans vse, it is scarcelye once in they care. Also the riche onelye for riches do gaine reputacion, and in that respect onelye thought meete for honour and auctoryte. But farre otherwyse it is in the com|mon weale of Venis, and was in Rome while it remayned in glorye: farre otherwyse it was in La|cedemon, where pouertye was accompted a praise. Farre otherwyse in Athens, where Photion, Aristi|des, Cimon and Miltiades: continued longe tyme in glorye and aucthoritye. But in Cittyes euill go|uerned where mighte is holden for lawe, vertue for simplicitye, and ryches for decree: ryche mē are preferred before the wyse and vertuous. Neyther do I thincke meete y^e any poore man (be he neuer so good) shoulde desyre auctoryte. For as Socrates sayd, hast thou nothing wherof to repēt thee? But if I woulde reherse the discommodities of aucto|ritye, I mighte easilye proue that the felicitye of pouertye were a singuler vertue. Yet meane I not to perswade y^e ryches well vsed in a good cō|mon weale were hurtful: for that were to absurd. Hitherto by true (though subtile reasons) we haue taughte the discommodities whiche riches dothe bringe wythall. But remembre that at the be|ginning I determined not to proue any thyng by shorte and subtile argumentes, I wyll procede in playner speache. And therefore I saye that nature lyke vnto fyer issuinge out of the ground, hath ad|uanced al thinges some more and some lesse, and some most of all, and being at the hiest, vanisheth and decayeth awaye: so the race and dignitye of man, being growen to the greatest honoure & glo|rye, a while stayinge there, doth declyne, and

at length is clearely quenched. For where is now a|nye braunche of Alexander, of Darius, Antiochus, Pto|lomeus, Daud, Caesar, Antigonus, Maethridates: or anye other of these auncient kinges? who so attayneth to that highe estate of glorye, let hym not forget himselfe, but say: Lo now y' ende of humaine glo|ry is at hand. Then who forcasteth not what ca|res and sorrow are likely to follow? what say you to Charles the fifte, though he gouerned mightely & happilye from Ethiopia Hispania and Italia, to the cō|fynes of Dalmatia and other Nations vnknownen, (wherein he shewed more vertue then mighte be hoped for in any man) in consulting dailye how to gouerne so many nations, in traauylinge to holde them in obedience, what man would say he was happye? when sometimes he remembred how So|limanus did threaten the confynes of the Empyre, somtimes he museth how the Islands of Beleaues & the kingdom of Spayne were perturbed. Some times he doubted the inconstancye of the Italian Princes. Sometimes he feared the weakenes of Cycillia and Pulia, against the Turkes. Somety|mes he bethought hym of the Princes of Germa|nye, and howe his Nauye sente to see was tossed wyth Neptuns ire: Some fledde to Hongaria, and some to Illerico: And wyll you call this man most happye? whom so great cares, and so manye fea|res did dailye tormente? Surelye for my parte I wishe my selfe rather a Religious manne of Car|thusia, though theyr lybertye doth not farre differ from prisonners. If then Charles beinge so great and mighty a Prince was alwayes accompanied wyth cares, and so farre from felicitye: wilt thou saye that Fraunces the Frenche kyng mighte be called happye, or rather Solymanus? which of them lyued not in feare? whiche of them tasted not of euill fortune? And though perhappes tyll this day they neuer felte anye thinge greatelye euill, yet by ensample of others haue they feared the worst.

Polycrates that in hys whole lyfe neuer feeled a|nye mysfortune, before hee dyed, by the Persian Kyng was brought to the gallowse and hanged. Darius the Kyng (whose Empyre was thoughte equall to Gods) before death was depryued, and lyued in myserye. Loke vppon Syphax, Perseus, Mi|thridates, Pyrrhus and Cambyses. To greate a follye it were to nomber all Kynges whom Fortune hath laughed to scorne.

In oure age wee haue seene the subuertion of foure kingdomes, Pannonia, Egipte, Gallia Sicalpania, and Pulia. Suche is the alteration of tymes, that Princes are constraigned to become eyther infor|tunate, or miserable, in keepynge theyr Kyngdo|mes they liue in myserye, infortunate if they leaue them.

O Lorde howe liuelye did Lucanus describe the lyfe of Kynges sayinge.

O safe estate of life,
The pleasant dayes vvhich poore men passe, a blisse aboue the rest,
to Gods almost vnknovven.

But thou not beholding what is wyth in Prin|ces, lyke vnto men that gaze vppon the outward pictures and monuments of Tombes, doest iudge them onely happye, who in deede of all other mor|tall creatures are most vnhappye. This must also be cōsydered when y^u cōplainest onelye of pouertye, howe many there are so vnhappye, as in respect to them, thou mayest be accompted happye. Howe manye be sicke? howe manye deafe? howe manye blinde? howe many in prison? how many in exile? how manye condemned? how many enforced to aduenture theyr liues? then

all which no doubt thou art more happye. Besydes all this, if thou cō|playne onelye of pouertye (vnlesse thou would be|come a kyng) there is no cause to complayne. Be|hold how many do liue miserablie in Citties: how many beg in the Subberbes: how many in vylla|ges do passe theyr liues almost w^tout any thing, yet burdened w^t children and familye. And neuerthe|lesse constrayned to paye •ribute of y^r little, which wyth extreame laboure they haue earned. But (a|las poore Christian people) nowe am I fallen into that speache which neuer earst I thought. So as in seeking to acquite others of care, I am my selfe caste ther into. But doest thou desyre to vnder|stande plainlye that in riches is no felicitye? then behoulde those people which inhabite the country, and glorye in theyr small riches, thinckinge them|selues happie, because they see none of theyr neigh|bours to possesse more then themselues, who are not riche. But if the selfe same men do resorte to the Cittye, where they see others that for ryches do excell them, then they lamente, complayne and accompte themselues poore. But is this pouerty? surelye no: naye rather maye be called enuye. Who is hee that possesseth a thousande. Crownes, that maye iustlye be called poore? and dwellinge in the countrye wyth that wealthe, wyll not accompte himselfe a Prince? yet if hee happeneth to come to the Courte, where no man almoste hath fyue hun|dred Crownes, forthwyth hee beleueeth and cal|leth himselfe poore. But if it should come to passe (as it did in the time of Noie) that all moneye, pro|uision, cattel, and other commodityes were drow|ned wyth water, I thincke then that no manne woulde perswade himselfe to be iniured by pouer|tye. Howe is it then, that now hauing somewhat thou complaynest? which declareth plainlye, that no pouertye but enuye doth moleste thee▪ And what can be worse then this? why doest thou not desyre the treasures of Kynges and the riches of India? vnlesse it bee in respecte they are farre from thee▪ But howe manye Countryes and people hath pouertye preserued and gouerned, as Sythia, Asia, the Assyrians, the Medians and Parthians. Also Alexander possessing nothing but bodies and wea|pon, conquered all Asia. Likewyse the poore com|mon weale of Rome, subdued the proude French|men, the valiaunt Italians, the pitifull Gretians, the riche Asia, the crafty Carthaginenses, and the dis|dainfull Iewes. All which was done by pouerty. The Persians, the Perthians and Germaines, beinge lyke vnto the poore Romaynes, did in des|pite of theyr power defende & keepe theyr libertye. But so sone as Sylla grewe to greatnes, & by him riches set in reputacion, lyke vnto yse against the Sunne, al libertye and glorye decayed away. Thē began sedition, ciuil warres, w^t slaughter of fami|liars and frendes. So as in shorte space throughe enuy of barbarous nations, y^t whole empyre came to vtter destruction. Neyther do I thincke y^r pri|uate riches be better or more profitable, for by thē oftentimes men become ambitious, slouthful and ful of cares, which the Poet pleasantly describeth in Mydas, when he had obtayned of Bacchus that all he touched should be goulde. Sayinge.

Amazed at this mischiefe nevv, novve riche and yet in vvo,
 His vvished vvealth lo novv he lothes, that erst he loued so,
 No store can honger stanch, drye thurst his throte tormentes,
 Thus vvorthilye amidst his gould, his former vvishre repentes.

So great is the mysery of rich men, that amidst the desyre of riches they perishe. There is nothing contenting to the rich man, but that which accor|deth wyth hys couetyse mynd. For he to encrease hys ryches hazardeth hys soule, his reputacion & frendes. Who can thincke that either lyfe or fame is gotten by riches, and for the most parte riches do not longe remayne wyth anye

man, and neuer descende to the thyrd degree? And seldome shalte thou see the grandchylde of a ryche man, dye in a bundance. I marueyle not therfore why so many worthy men disdained to become rich. And fyrst of al (omitting al Christians) let vs begin at Crates the Theban, who y^r more fitlye to study Phylosophye, sould his goods & cast the money into y^r sea. More discretely did Apollonius & Tyani{us}, who selling theyr goods which were in deede great, did giue y^r same to theyr Cittizēs, reseruing to themselues nothing at all. Zeno Citticus being rych, was impoueryshed by shypwrak, & afterwards studying Philosophy, sayd y^r when hys shippe perysched his voyage was most fortunate. But Diogines deserued double glo|ry because he dyd not only paciētly suffer pouerty, but also therein lyued a glorious lyfe. For beinge asked by Alexander what hee wanted, aunswered nothinge: though by bountye of that noble kinge, he myght haue receyued great ryches. Therefore Alexander was wont to say, if I were not Alexan|der, thē would I be Diogenes. So wel did this no|ble king know the felicitye that grewe vppon the disdayne of riches. Likewyse Photion after he had receyued one hundred talentes, would neuermore be releued by Alexander, thoughe in deede▪ he were so poore as for want of a seruaūt, was forced him|selfe to drawe the water wherein he washed. So|crates refused the great rewards of Alcibiades. And Artaxersis seeking the frendship of Hipocrates and E|paminundas, y^r one for his excellencye in Phisicke, y^r other for his companye, did presente theym wyth great giftes: and yet by that meane could not win them. For the liberalitye of the kinge, did not syr|mount the disdayne they had of riches. The trea|sure of Pyrrhus coulde not corrupte the fidelitye of [Page \[unnumbered\]](#)Fabritius, who preferred honest pouertye before the riches of kinges. Such was the nobilitye of these mens mindes (though for wante of Christianitye not to be nombred amonge others) yet in respecte of generositye, meete examples for oure consola|tion. Do not therefore lament for thy pouerty, <◇> call to minde that saying of Plato. VVho so vvould become riche, must leaue the desyre of riches.

A man encreaseth his riches, by y^r decay of others, and so a riche man is either wicked or the heyre of one that was wicked, as S. Hierome wryteth.

The next calamitye to pouertye, is exile. Wher|in assuredlye it is imagination onely that maketh a man myserable. For who so marketh the liues of manye, shall fynde that they haue spent some parte of theyr lyues in straung Countryes, as Pla|to, Berosius, Galenus and Dioscorides. Some others their whole liues, as Zeno, Citticus & Crautor, who thoughte theyr forraine habitation pleasante, be|cause it was volūtary. The like desyer had a Cit|tizen of oures: hee in threscore yeares not further trauailed then the Subberbes of y^e Towne, was for a myracle shewed to the Prince, who did com|maund him that neuer after he should passe those bounds. The poore olde man misliking this com|maundement, desyred leaue to trauaile in his age, which in youth he had forgottē to do: Which suite beinge denyed, the selye old fellow of very sorrow fel sicke & dyed. What can be greater follye then to neglect y^t is good, or wishe that is euil. And surely trauaile cānot be euil which so many princes, kin|ges & Emperors haue takē in hand. Who wil thē lamēt ther of, whē it is perforce. For what so euer is well done though by enforcemēt, yet is it not e|uyll. But call to thy consideracion how many cō|modities commethe of trauayle. As experience of forrayne customes knowledge to eschewe misad|uentures, sight of Cities, Seas, Mountaines, Ry|uers, woods, variety of ayres, and y^e nature of sō|dry living Creatures. Also the practise of artes, & sciences, the difference of mens wits with manye other miracles by trauayle

are dayly learned. So as I nothinge meruaile at diuers excellent Philo|sophers that consumed their Lyues in continuall trauayle. And amonge the rest I call to minde y^e great Alexander that trauayled more to excell Trai|anus who enuied his glorye, then for the desyre hee had to conquer the whole world or keepe the same in subiection. Antonius, as he was soft of sprite, so did he trauaile countries rather for experience, thē for desyre to conquere. But to returne to priuate persons. I say that all such as haue inuented anye excellent knowledge, were those that lyued in tra|ualye Homer commended his frende Vlives for no|thing more, then for hauing trauayled sondry coū|tries. And haue not al excellent men beene driuen to exile? Demosthenes, Cicero, Aristides, Thusidides, The mistocles, Alcibiades Codrus, Theseus, Eumolpus, Trax, Aristoteles, Camillus, Corialanus, Marius, Datanus, Trisi|bulus, Dion, Anniball, Demetrius Phalerius. And some other that willingly banished themselues as Conō the Athenian into Cyprus. Iphicartes into Thracia, Chares into Bigeo, Timotheus into Lesbia, Zenephon in to Eleus. What nedes more wordes? Say then as Socrates saide that the whoole worlde, is a wise mans country, and a wise man while he is in the worlde is neuer from his country, and not to bee in the worlde cannot bee. It is the part of euery wise man to eschewe death, imprisonment, & exile and yet of these three, is not exile the least?

And yf death be not euyl, what euyl can it bee to lacke our country? When it was tolde Diogenes y^e the Synopenses had condempned him to exile, he an|swered sayinge, euen so do I condempne them to dwel for euer in Pontus, & w^tin the confines of Eux|inus. Did not Camillus of such hard fortune receiue the occasyon of his noble victorie.

And where were y^e bokes of wise men made more often then in banishmente? Ouidius Naso beinge in exile wrote his bookes De tristibus, De ponto, in Ibin Triumphus Caesaris and De piscibus. So as it see|meth that in eight yeares exile, he performed more then in those fyfye and foure, which before he had liued in Rome. Plato wrote the greatest parte of his bookes, whyle he lyued from his owne coun|trye: For when Socrates dyed, hee was aboute the age of twenty and seuen yeares. Truly whosoe|uer lyueth in his owne naturall countrye an indu|strious lyfe, doth gayne greate enuye, and y^e more if he be basely borne. Where was Chryste worse entreated then in Nazereth beinge there borne, yet hated, disdayned, afflicted, and at length in Ieru|salem slayn. So it seemeth true and that no mā can be a Prophete in his owne countrye.

Thus we see that exile is not onely good, but al|so glorious, chieflie to a wise and learned manne. Neyther ought any to mislyke of that which hath forthered many. Would God all men knew how profytable a thinge it is to trauayle, and chieflie for such as dwell in those countries where riches do rule as Lawe, power take place of Order, or Tyrannye in any sort is put in practyse.

Wherfore I saye that exile is neyther euyl nor to be nombred amonge those thinges which haue of euyl any resemblance. But exile doth not so much offend these, as iniuries do torment others, affir|myng with the Lacedemonians, that who so recei|ueth one iniury doth occasion an other, But who euer thincketh iniuries ought to be reuenged doth greatlye erre. For in so doinge no ende of iniury|inge can be taken, when one iniury reuengeth ano|ther. Who so offereth the fyrst must he not reuēge the seconde? Hee therefore doth mooste well, that offereth the fyrste iniury, and

nex̄te to hym, he that seketh reuenge, deserueth blame, because the third iniurye, of necessity must folowe.

And how can he paciently suffer wronge, that vn|prouoked willingly offered the fyrst iniury. What can therfore be bette, then to refrayne from doing iniuries, and call to memorye the sayinges of Pla|to, that a wise man, dyfferethe as far from a com|mon person, as a common person from a chylde.

For children do reuenge euery iniury yea thoughe against the iniuryous wyll it be offered, most lyke vnto Beastes, vpon whose tayles yf (thoughe vnwares thou treade) sodenly they byte without consydering whether wyllingly thou did it or not. But farre otherwyse oughte Menne to reuenge those iniuries which willingly are offred. If then a wise mā do not reuenge those wrongs which by mishap do happen vnto him: is he not therin more worthy then the common person voyde of all wise|dome? how muche were it better to obserue that deuine precept. Michi vindictam et ego retribuam.

That wise men haue so done, no man doubteth. Amongs whom we reade that Socrates beinge stric|ken vpon the Shynnes and aduised by his fren|des to seeke reuenge answered. If an asse haue stricken me shal I therfore be so foolishe as to call him in question? And when Xantippe hys wyfe in a rage toke his cloake from his shoulders, hys frē|des perswadinge him to reuenge he sayde, thys is done only to occasyon you to looke vpon vs, & saye here is Xantippe and here is Socrates.

Diogenes receyuinge a blowe sayde. Nesciebam quā|do michi cum galea è domo sit pro deundum. Crates also beinge stricken on the face by Nicodromo Citaredo, made none other reuenge, but wrote Nicodromo his name vpon the place he was stricken, and in that sorte shewed to the hole cittye the iniury offred vn|to him: because to offer iniury without cause is a greater reproche, then to receiue it. The one by of|fringe wronge sheweth himselfe plainly wicked, & an euylle man, the other is giltie of nothings mys|done. When it was tolde to Antistines that Plato had spoken euyll of him he made this answer.

It is the parte of a prince to heare euyll when hee doth best. But Plato beinge tolde that Zenocrates, did slaunder him, said fyrst, he could not beleue it: and after better prooffe answered sayinge. I can not thinke he would haue thus spoken withoute cause. What could haue beene sayde more wiselye or more safelye. A christian kinge stricken on the right cheke, ought to turn the left. And S. Paule sayth, that if thou do good, to those that speake e|uyll of the: thou heapest burning coales vpon their heades. There is nothings more wicked then in|gratitude, nor more cruel then to oppresse innocen|tes: either of which faults he committeth that of|fereth iniury to his benefactors. Let vs now fol|low the law of Nature, and consider when anye iniury is offered, whether safelye, or withe perill the came may be doone.

For what can bee moore foolishe then to seeke re|uenge, when safelye it can not bee perfourmed.

So did Pausanias reuenge himselfe vpon Philippus, but for his labour was hanged. So did Andreas Lampugnans wreake his ire vpon Galeazeus Sforza: but thereby he wrought the distruction of himself his son, & his brother, besydes many discomodities of his country. But how many haue bene punish|ed & put to death, before they, had performed their intent to reuenge? as were those that conspyred y^e murder of Phaleris, & that wrought treason against Nero. The multitude of ensamples doe make mee leaue them vntouched. Who doth therfore beinge neuer so symple cōmend y^e peryl that reuenge brin|geth? which though performed doth more hynder thee. then him to whom it is offered, and sometime before performance doth vndoe both the and thine Is then reuenge good when safely it maye bee ex|ecuted? Surely at no time. Because the pleasure of reuenge is when there in a man may declare courage and magnanimity of mynde. And as the Poet sayth.

Shevve not thy force on yeldinge foes, let proud men be opprest.

Me thinckes therfore that Aristides deserued praise For when Cleomines had sayd a man must do good to frendes, and euyll to Foes: Aristides turned the wordes, sayinge. A man must do good to his fren|des and seeke the reconsiliacion of his foes. The glory gotten by forgeuing of foes, whō thou may oppresse is greater, then the pleasure of reuenge. The man y^e doth good for euyll is lyke vnto God. For he that defendeth and doth well to all menne doth most nearelye folowe God. And howe great a sygne of noble mynde it is to forbear reuenge y^e auncient examples doe beare witnes, wherein Iu|lius Caesar gayned so great prayse, as no man more. Hee hauing ouerthrowen Pompeius and his army Commaunded that none shoulde bee hurte that were not present in the fyelde agaynst him.

He spared M, Mercellus his mortall enemy. He sett at lyberty Petreius the chieftaine of his foes. Afran|nius, Vero, Korfinius, L. Lentulus, L. Domitius. He tooke mercye vpon the Sonne of Cato a notable Ene|mye. Hee touched not Sextus Pompeius. the youn|ger Sonne of the great Pompeius, at whose death hee weeped

He pardoned Ligarius at the suite of hys Freendes and Bretheren, thoughe hee were an apparaunte offender, and many waies gyltie. He spared Cice|roand freely pardoned al other Princes that were in the battayle Pharsalica. He sette vppe the Pic|tures of Pompeius and fynallye gaue so manye syg|nes and Monumentes of mercy as Cicero both be|fore the victorye, and after his deathe affirmed his Quarell the better: sayinge that Pompeius defen|doure of his country might more iustlye be condēp|ned for his crueltye to Enemies, then Caesar in re|spect of the greate Mercie he vsed. In lyke ma|ner didde Octavius his successor procede.

For when Liuius the Historiographer had Percy|ally written against him, hee vsed none other Re|uenge but called him a Pompeian, Lykewise when Asinius Pollio, had in his Booke prayed Cas|sius Brutus, Affranus and Scipio, he sought no reuēge agaynst him. Besydes all thys, he receiued in|to hys House Tymagines whoe in wrytinge hadde defamed Octavius, Liuia and her daughter. For all whiche doinge hee vsed none other Reuenge then these wordes. Fruere mihi Pollio fruere.

But beholde howe nobly Andrianus Caesar did mitigate his ire? Hee beinge made Emperoure and meetinge his Enemy sayde. Thou hast escaped. Declaringe that as befoore hee wanted power to be Reuenged, so nowe in aucthoritye he woulde wante will, and therefore did acquite him of feare It is also to bee considered that there is nothinge that encreaseth aucthoritye more then to forgeue.

And therefore PELECRVS the Lacedemonian, Complaininge to hys Brother that hee was not so Beloued amonge the Cyttyzens as hee was: hee aunswared Pelecus, sayinge the cause thereof is that thou can not suffer iniuries. It is lykewise greatly to be noted that who so euer hath aspired to authority or greatnes, they haue born w^t many iniuries, because they y^e reuenge might be resemblid to the fable of Praxitelis. Who beinge (as men saye) of Nature angry, and beholdinge hym selfe in a glasse, espied there a visage euyl fauoured and deformed: and therewithall more moued, increased his collerick & angry countenaunce which plainly appeared w^tin the glasse, but in the end hee brake the glasse, in euery piece where of he found a face much deformed. Wherby Praxitelis had experience that in seeking to reuenge himselfe of one discontentacion, he occasioned many: Euen so if thou murder one man, thou makest his frendes and familiye all thine enemies. Thus in seeking to acquit thy selfe of one foe thou gettest manye, yea some tymes for so doinge thy name groweth odious, and thou condempned for an euyl man. Fynallye who so is accustomed to reuenge, mindeth none other thinge, which reason and experience doth wel declare. Alexander the greate (in whose chamber whyle he lyued, good fortune slepte) knowing the vnfriendly hartes of the Athenienses and other people of Grecia, who vnder the ensigne of Darius made warre againste him, did notwithstandinge seeke any reuenge: which greatnes of mynde, Darius, & other vnderstanding, of enemies they became subiectes and faythfull frendes. But if contrarywise hee had vsed reuenge, the whoole number of the Grecian youth yea all India and Peloponesso had reuolted and bene destroyed: so as of Alexander he had in shorte space become a poore obscure Prince. Farre vnlyke to hym dydde kinge Pirrus procede, who beinge a famous Capitayne, yet folowinge Reuenge, lefte his doinges imperfyte and dyed in mysecye. IULIVS CAESAR in priuate lyfe and towards reconciliacion to hys Ennemyes, beinge greatlye slaundered by Caius Caluus and Catullus dyd, notwithstandinge wryte fyrst vnto Caluus and pardonned Catullus.

What greater Ennemy hadde he then Clodius that defyled the honoure of wedlocke? Beinge apprehended he woulde not onely not condempne him, but also saue him from periury. But Marius dydde far otherwise, hee thyrstinge for the bloud of enemies and followinge Reuenge hadde euyl ende, and was the distruction of himselfe and all hys.

What hath bene seene more worthely done then that acte of Fabius? who contrary to al right, was forced by the people to receiue Minutius mayster of his horse, as his companion in the empyre, whoe doinge dyuers thinges contrary to Fabius desygne, dyd (notwithstandinge forgetting the iniury) ioyn with Minutius agaynst Hanniball, and to saue hym from peril vsed al care & cunning, which afterwar^des wrought such effect as the people cōfessed how vnworthely they had abled Minutius to bee his equal, which Minutius also vpō his knees confirmed prayinge Fabius to take into his handes y^e hole aucthority and Empire. Such be the rewards of noble myndes, that can forget al iniuries. So dydd not Cicero when with staunderous speach he

perse | cuted Clodius, but for so doinge was himselfe ban | nyshed. And in seekinge to banishe Antonius oute of the common wealth, he there by hindred himself his friendes, his countrie, and all good men.

But is it not a thing worthy to be noted, that we disdayne the iniuries of brute beastes, and reuēge the wronges offered by men? Also we pacientlye suffer the displeasure of tyme, and can not beate, the offences of men? But in the one Ambicion wanteth: in the other is meane to Reuenge whi | che I graunte: and yet in the Iniuries of men, it is to be consydered, that man is, wyll thou, Nyll thou, thy Companion in lyfe: And manye times (thoughe thou marcke it not) by the prouoked.

What doth it then moue thee to suffer iniurye? Is it Harme or Losse, by reuenge it cannot be re | couered. If Harme, thou seemest to Sorrowe that thou arte honeste, or that thou would be so thought. Seing it is the propertie of an euyl man to do iniury: & the property of a good man to dys | dayne it. Also when any man doth sclander thee, disdayne thee, stryke thee, or hurte thee, consyder whether the same be wyllinglie done or not? Be: cause an vnwyllinge offence may hurt, and yet be none Iniurie at all. Cresus was commended for pardoning Adrastus when he had killed his sonne▪ because Adrastus meaninge was to haue shotte at the Bore, and not to haue slaine the Chylde. But if wyllinglye the offence bee offered, examine thy selfe if thou haue geeuen cause, for then is it none iniurye, but deserued punishmente.

And if thyne ennemye hathe hurte thee, thincke withe thy selfe whether thou woulde haue doone the lyke to him if thou might, for then it was none Iniurye but contencion.

The ende of all stryfe is when y^e one yeldeth. And therefore a boye of Lacedemon beinge deadly woun | ded and Comforted by his Freendes, saying that or long they would reuenge the iniury done vnto him, aunswaerede, that in no wyse they should so doe, because the hurte he receiued. he entended to his Enemye, if his entent hadde taken place.

But let thy mynde be voyde of euyll, free from hate and displeasure, then consyder the qualite of the offence and the state of the offender, whether it be so small as is not to be regarded, or the man so mad or vyle as is to be disdayned: because to be reuenged vpon anye suche Iniurious occasyons, or men, is both dishonourable and wicked. But admitte the offence be not such, doest thou not re | member that it is the propertye of a good man pa | ciently to suffer iniuries, not for feare, but through Fortitude. So Phocion beinge by the Athenienses, condempned to death, his Friendes askinge what he woulde haue sayde to his sonne? answered, tell him that in any wise he forget this iniury here offered vnto me. Aristides also vniustly remayning in exile, prayd the Gods that the Athenienses might bee so happye as neuer after to thinke vppon him. Also calle to thy consyderacion that against all In | iuries three Remedyes there are, that is to saye, Reuenge, Oblyuion, and disdayne.

Of whiche three who doubteth but Dysdayne, is bothe the beste, and mooste assured? Because disdayne through the courage of mynd wherwith it is accompanied, is not lyke vnto obliuiō ioyned with reproche, neither perilous in respect of new iniuries, as is a reuenge, which bringeth therwith boothe peryll and repentaunce, and in the meane tyme, the desyre of offending doth not

molest thee but arte there in moste lyke vnto God. For suche as contempne iniuryes are mooste happye and ly|keste to God, and suche men they are, or must bee that would become happye. For seeinge no man lyueth free from iniuries, and the greater in aucto|ritye he be, the more followed with slaunder euyl report, & iniury, it is expedient that euery man doe determyne himselfe to beare them.

Neyther is it lawfull for anye mortall man to vse reuenge. Who hath bene more slaundred thē kin|ges, and emperours, whose power is greatest?

Whoe, or what is of greater force then God and Nature? and yet they delighte not in Reuenge. Shall man then be lyke vnto Beares, pursuyng the Bees, seeke for reuenge? God forbydde. For although we might in lyfe reuenge all Iniuryes: what good were that after Deathe, or what care should wee then haue of iniuryes? It is all one whether with sufferance of Iniurye, or not after Death wee be remembred. Who so therfore liuing seemed to contempne iniuryes, by death he is free from the peryll whych Reuenge might cast hym in to. Wherefore there is nothyng better then an in|uysible mynde, whyche lyke vnto a man placed on the toppe of an highe Tower, in dysdayne castyng downe stonnes vpon the heades of hys Ennemyes, doth make lyght of all Iniuryes (and as yt were) dysdayne them. For as women, for lacke of mag|nanimity can not beare offences: so men (as they are men) may take what Reuenge they thinke best Then make thy choyse whych of them thou wilt bee lyke, But happely thou wilt saye some worthy men haue bene reuenged. For Caesar commaunded Faustus Silla and Affranus, to be slaine.

Lykewise Antonius reuenged him selfe vpon Cicero and Alexander & vpō Calistines, caryng him abrode when his Eyes were putte oute, and in the end shutte him vppe into a caue with a Dogge. But alas (good manne) thys was no Reuenge, though some saye that Antonius beinge of Mynde moore abiecte then a Woman didde lyke vnto his other doinges committe this acte, and therefore had an ende aunswerable to his deseruinge. But as for the other they mynded nothyng lesse then Re|uenge, for the respecte of their doinges was secu|ritye, whiche in lyke case by oure Lawes is suf|ferable. For if Affranus had gotten libertye, hee woulde neyther haue kepte Promise nor lyued in quiet, Also Faustus Silla, was by Lawe giltie. Pompeius frende and for his fathers Tyrannye odious to the people of Rome.

So as beinge a necessary Friende for Pompeius, he could not haue lyued in quiet. But if he had, for the Mallice borne to his Father beene slayne, the same shoulde rather haue beene doone vppon Cato, who (as was well knowen) after that Caesar conquered the Germaines, did perswade y^r Senate to haue him deliuered into the Enemies Handes, because hee had foughte contrarye to the truce taken. But Sylla when easly he mighte haue slayne him, he woulde not.

So Alexander beinge settled in his Empyre a|monge the barbarous People, did not condempne Calistines, for Mallice, but Securitye because throughe hys woordes hee coulde hardelye keepe the Persians. And the Macedonians beganne to dis|dayne hym.

Full well knewe Antonius that if Cicero hadde e|scaped, hee woulde neuer haue lyued in quiet, be|cause beinge all readye once Pardoned, hee not|withstandinge didde followe hym wyth Hate vn|reconsiliable, and if the Death of CICERO had beene soughte for Reuenge, eyther a lyue he

might haue beene tormented and kepte, or elles executed wyth more crueltye. It commeth also to mynd, that Iniuries haue not a little proffyted Some menne and therefore Ouidius saythe.

A vvronge somvvhiles vve see: doth helpe the vvronged vvight.

It happeneth ofte tymes that wee take Com|passion of theym wee loue not: eyther for the ma|lice wee beare theym that offered the Iniurye, or throughe believe that the Iniured is condempned, rather by power of hys Enemye then his own of|fence. And by suche meanes it is well knowne that many haue escaped great peryll.

Amonge whiche number Valerius Maximus tel|lethe howe Gabinius throughe the Sclaunder of Sisenna, and Flaius, for the Iniurie of Valerius were delyuered, and Cotta onelye for suspicion of wronge founde the same faouore. In which ca|ses if none iniurye had beene, no hope had remay|ned. It is also to be consydered, that the occasi|ons of Sclaunders are so common, as nothyng more. The People doe backbyte the learned, the Learned dysdayne the vnlearned, the Iuste doe condempne the wicked, the Wycked do laugh to Scorne those that bee good, the Mightye doe Enuye the Mightye, agaynste whome they pro|uoke Seruaunts and Subiects by sclaunderous Speache, Robberye, Practise, and vntrewe dea|lynge. Were it not better with noble mynde to disdayne all Iniuries, then thus continuallye to liue tormented in minde. Lucius Murena was pray|sed, because he tooke Cato vnder his Gowne and saued him from Deathe, that not longe before had accused him.

Publius Pulcher beinge by the three Lentuli accu|sed of inceste did notwithstandinge afterwarde saue one of them from perrill. Marcellus being hay|nously accused by the Siculi did not only forgeue them, but also receiued them into his owne tuiti|on. So Menedemus bestowed manye Bene|fytes vppon Alexinus of whome he had bene great lye iniured. How wisely sayd S. Gregorius, that who so can not beare iniurye, dothe shewe by hys impacience that he is not good. The kinge Arche|laus, when vpon a time one caste water vpon him, beinge perswaded by his frendes to reuenge: an|swered, saying, I know he would not haue cast yt vpon me, but some other. By which answer he sa|ued y^r offender frō hurt, & him self from the impor|tunity of his frendes.

A notable example remayneth in memorye of the seruaunte of Antius Restio, who beinge longe time kepte in prison, and by his maisters commaunde|mente ofte times burned with hot yrons, yet after|wards folowing him in y^e triūphe triuimiral did notwithstanding all their iniuries saue himself frō peryl, when comodiously he might haue bene reuē|ged & also rewarded. Such wisdom hath not on|ly bene performed by priuate men, but also by hole Citties. For Dionisius the yonger bothe at the play|es of Corinthus and also before hee was sente into exile might haue beene by them of Syracuse slayne, whome befoore tyme hee hadde mooste Tyran|nouslye vsed. But they with disdayne didde lette him passe. Likewise didde the Romaines, when Silla hadde resigned the Offyce of Dictator, and liued in priuate state: notwithstandinge hee had greuously offended the people, yet did they suffer him to passe without hurt, thinking that reuenge is to be vsed vpon mighty men, & those that beare rule, & vpon those y^t were by law or assent

dismoū | ted from authority courteously & cōpassionately to entreate thē, was a signe of a good man.

Therefore there is no greater argument of felicity, no redier waye to glorie, nor better meane to qui | et, then to disdayne iniuries.

Beholde the dogs which be of many other beasts the most improfytable, yet are much more made of then eyther Oxen or Horse, onlie because they suf | fer all iniuries their maysters do offer vnto them.

If thou Stryke theym, they fawne. If thou dryue theym awaye from thee, they retourne vnto thee: if thou chide them they flatter. Finallye he is much worse then any beast, that cannot dis | dayne iniuries. No brutishe beast is mindefull of offence done vnto him. Therefore that man that seeketh reueng is not wyse, loued of God, nor lōge happye. If thou suffer a whyle thou shalt see thy wronges reuenged by nature, by chaunce, or by some other meane. And him whom wyth extreme care, trauayle, and hazard of thy selfe thou sought to offende, shalbe wythout thyne euill or myserye destroyed. The liues of all euill men that do per | turbe the quiet of y^e good, are short: or at least wise that happines of small continuance. If therefore forbearing iniurye no man is miserable, then is it better for all men whether they can or not, not to be reuenged: because it is manifest that before re | uenge of iniurye no mā is in mysery. The offence that men in these dayes do thincke the greatest, is the infidelity of wyues. But in so dishonest a mat | ter not to trouble the eares of good men I meane nothing to speake, notwithstandinge I call to re | membrance y^t Pompeius for aduultry cast of his wife Metia, and for the like faulte did P. Caesar put awaye Pompeia, both excellent men, and amonge the Ro | maynes inferiour to none for auctoritye, deserte & wysedome. All which notwithstanding eyther y^e importunacy^e of adulterous, or the wantonnes of women, did make theyr beddes defiled. Septimi | us Seuerus, and Antonius the Philosopher had disho | nest wyues, yet canst thou not fynd any better, or more worthy men in that common weale. When a frende of Antonius did wyshe hym to put awaye his dishonest wyfe, he aunswared saying: euen so I may do and therew^t all loose her dowrye: which dowrye was the Romaine Empyre, because Fau | stina was daughter of Pius Antonius the Emperour. Therefore though Antonius wittigly, or Seuerus vn | wittingly kept theyr aduulterous wiues, I can | not thincke it was preiudiciall to theyr reputatiō, vertue or felicitye. Neyther do thou thincke that this blot doth blemish the reputation of common persons more thē these most noble personages: for seing the fault is in others, the dishonoure cannot appertayne vnto thee. Therefore a Cittizē of Spar | ta finding an adulterer a bed wyth his euil fauou | red wyfe sayd, alas vnhappy man what necessity hath driuen the to do this deede? To cruel it were to impute that to thine owne follye, whiche by no pollicye can be preuented, as though thy vertue & estimation were stayned by y^e default of another. Yet nowe a dayes this reproche is cast vpon the man. So did not Salethus Prynce of Crotona, who made an ordinaunce more harde then the Lawe Iulia, which was that cockould makers should be burned quicke. Supposyng that none offēce was more wicked. Yet when afterwards hee hymselfe had defyled hys brothers wyfe and was taken, he made so wyse an Oration, as he people were cō | tent to punishe his offence wyth exile onelye. Not | wythstanding, knowing the greatnes of the fault, willinglye he cast himselfe into the fyer, and was burned. Thus we fynde hee desyred not pardon (though his words were to such effect) but rather sought to shew y^t none offence could be so greate but might deserue to be pardoned. Therefore this iniurye

cōmeth not of the wyues defaulte, but the imperfection of tyme: wherin we being vxorious, the reproch is cast vppon men, & the periury vppō God: neither shal this plague cease till y^t (as men say) Polipus haue eaten out himself, & the power of Mahumet hath stayed theyr slaunder.

But of iniuryes we haue now enoughe sayde, let vs therfore speake of other calamityes, among which imprisonment seemeth the chiefe.

In prison is darckenes, vncleanenesse, lacke of companye, fetters, and fynallye (as it seemeth) all sortes of myserye: which prouoked Boetius to crye out sayinge.

You mourning Muses reache, vvherof I should endight,
And bathe▪ my face in bitter teares, vvhervvith my vvoes I vvright.

Alas (good frende) what is this lyfe other then an imprisonment of mynde, much worse then that of the body, & would God this quiet might chaūce to me, which so manye worthy men haue desyred. Amongest whom Demostenes y^t excellent Oratour to the end he might be enforced to kepe the house, cut of the one syde of his bearde. Where is truer contemplacion then in solitary life? what place is more fit for studye, then wher is quietnes? neither did Boetius write any worke better, then y^t he inuen|ted in prison, did not Aesopus long time lurke w^t in a tub? & Democritus willingly inhabite the dennes of dead men? studying & wrytinge? And y^e more their eyes were darckened the more theyr mindes were lightned, Plato telleth y^t Anaxagoras while he remay|ned in prison wrote the booke De Circuli quadratura, To whom could imprisonment be more greuouse, then to Socrates when the end was death, the time long and incertaine? yet neuerthelesse he slept swetely, studyed Philosophie, and wrote Verses. So as Socrates gaue more light to the pryson, then the pri|son gaue darcknes to Socrates. PAVLVS the Doctoure of the worlde sent the greater parte of his epistles from pryson, as to the Ephesians, to Ti|mothe and Philemon. For like reasō is seruitude pa|cientlye to be borne, seyng nature hath not more liberally bestowed her gyftes on the mayster, then the seruaunte: They are equallye wyse, equallye beutifull, equallye healthfull, and finally in body & minde therin excelleth his seruaunt. And for quiet|nes of mynde the seruaunt hath the aduauntage. For he seeketh onelye to content one, whych is his mayster, for whiche doinge hee is prouided for, of meate, drinke, apparell, and all other necessaryes. But a mayster must not onelye be careful of him|selfe, but also of others. Euerye losse is hinderance to the mayster, but to the seruaunt not so. There|fore if it were lawfull, more men woulde commit themselues to seruitude, thē desyre to become free. Who so doth consyder well, shal see, that when we thincke oure selues most free, wee serue maysters more seure: as Princes, God, necessities, lawes, and pleasure, which bee also common to seruaun|tes, yet there withall they haue foode, apparel, and houses, which y^e maysters haue not. It is the lesse maruayle why some bondmen haue refused to be made free, as did Melissus a Gramarian of Spoleta.

Surelye it is a goodlye pleasure to eate at other mens tables. Would God it were as honest. And doest thou thincke the fauorites of Princes are o|ther then seruauntes whom ambition hath decei|ued? besydes which, theyr estate is more perillous and more vnhappye. Neyther is seruitude anye hinderance to glorye, for Plato, Xenocrates, Calcedo|nius, Diogenes, Phedrus, Epitetus, and Esopus the fabler, did al liue in seruitude. Besides them diuers Gra|marians, Sibonius, Aphroditius, Taberius, Crotus, An|tonius Gniphos, Phosius y^e excellent player, and

Manli|us in Astronomye, a singuler Poet. What shoulde I saye of riches? and shall I agayne resight tho•e monsters of the Romaine pleasure Drusilanus and Menecrates, yea the seates of Kinges haue beene by bondemen possessed. Tullius one of the aunciente kinges, was a bondman. And so was Oedipus and other. The kinges of Syria and Palestina in our age chosen out of this sorte of men. But let riches rule and beare the sway, yet let vs resight knowen ex|amples of manye such as seruitude and the patro|nage of a good maister haue aduaunsed, for y^e ver|tue of the maister dependeth much vppon y^e wyse|dome of the seruaunt. And some seruauntes haue not onlye gayned libertye, but also deserued to be|come heyres to theyr masters. Neyther shalt thou finde vppon the aunciente monumentes, more re|cordes of loue of wyues, children, and brethrene, then ensamples of seruauntes deuotion towards maysters, and maisters towards them.

The lyke perswatiō may make for thy comfort, if thou liue wythout glorie: which kinde of life is [Page \[unnumbered\]](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page \[unnumbered\]](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page \[unnumbered\]](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page \[unnumbered\]](#) <1 page duplicate> the more tollerable if thou remayne in seruitude, whereinto Vlysses (as Plato sayth) being werye of hys former life did willingly cast himselfe. Ther is no happines y^e can happē to mā greater, thē eyther not to desyre glorie, or not to haue it. Who so doth y^e one, liueth in great quietnes of mynd, y^e other en|ioyeth gret security. For is y^e glory of this world o|ther thē a swete poysō for mē? wherof if thou taste, thou becomest blinde & senceles. Herevpon grow|eth vain labour, peril & care, which way to kepe & get frends, authority & riches. Enuye also like vn|to a shadow inseperable doth follow glory, which in a moment fadeth awaye, and the rest of thy life the more vnpleasant. How many worthy mē haue geuen the glorie of theyr owne deserts to others? Socrates being victorious in battaile, gaue al the ho|nour prayse and rewarde to Alchibiades. But who can therein excell Plato? he commēded for his lear|ning, did yelde all the prayse to those y^e had taught him: as Socrates, Tymeus, and Permenides. Surelye there is no greater glorie then the contempte of honour. Who so is not ambitious getteth no glo|rye: why seekest thou that, y^e to haue thou ought not? if thou be ambitious, thou accusest thy selfe: and yet ambition were no vyce, if glorie myghte lawfully be desyred. I cannot resight the number of all suche as haue honoured vertue, and yet con|tempned the prayse. And yet in deede euen at this daye also, who so lyuinge vertuouslye doth lurke, may be called good & happye. What doth the am|bitious man gayne other then set to sale al▪ his im|perfections. And whoso euer doth marke it well, shal finde that euery man hath more defects, then customes worthy commendation. To preuent the peril of this condēpnation there is no way so sure as to lurke and liue vnknown.

The like cōmodity bringeth ignoraunce wher|of notwithstanding many do complaine. Who so seeketh knowledge, findeth care and laboure, as the Prophete sayth. I tell not that Paule hath preached, that this worldly wysedom is ennemye to God. Let vs consider what is commonly gay|ned by learning, profite is disdayned, the soule ha|zarded, the body consumed, thy children & substāce neglected. The learned do get great enuy & short|neth his lyfe, and all for knowledge, or rather to be thoughte to knowe. For arte thou more wyse then Socrates, Plato, or Aristoteles? Socrates did glorie that hee knewe nothinge. Plato doubted of manye thinges. Aristotiles speaketh so obscurelye, as one woulde thincke he knewe little. Alasse how many haue bene hindered w^t being thought learned? A|monge the rest, y^e small knowledge of myne, haue bene to my disaduantage, for thereby I haue bene oftentimes reiected, euill handled & oppressed,

and would God that eyther I had bene such a one as they thought me, or y^t they had thought me such a one as in deede I was. Hereof grew against me so many vndererued euill reportes, al which I dis|dayned, perswading my selfe that one mā excelled an other, in that he was better. Like vnto al other things doth y^t opinion of learning brede slaūder & diuers other incōuenients: as we see by Alexāder, Achillino, Tiberio of Bononia, Petrus Leo, & Marcus An|tonius of Verona. For Achillinus was poysoned, Pe|trus Leo cast hedlonge into a ponde. Tiberius & An|tonius occasioned to shortē theyr owne lyues. So we finde that this wysedome is accompanied w^t many discommodityes. Howe much better had it beene for these learned men to haue liued by some craft or industrie? what man haue thou knowen both learned and fortunate, yea whom hath not learninge hindered? Socrates was slayne, Anaxago|ras kept in pryson. Plato soule, and put in perill of hys heade, Aristotiles sente into exile, where eyther willingly or not greatlye against his wyl he dyed. Demetrius Phalerius banished and condempned. De|mostenes poisoned himselfe, Easimes sent to exile, and so was Solon. Licurgus depryued of hys eyes, and after banished wyth manye perils of lyfe. Ioannes Scotus stabbed in wyth daggers by y^r handes of his companions, Cicero betrayed and slayne, Varro cō|fynded, and who was not molested and disdained? Budeus a notable man of oure age, did also iustlye complaine, what and how many persecutions did Erasmus suffer? were the Prophetes and wyse mē in the lawe of Moyses more happye? surelye no. The cause is learning, which who so hath not, let him not desyre it: who already hath it, must thinke to haue boughte a iewell of great pryse, and kepte wyth more care and perill. But to much haue we spoken of these matters, for fewe or none shalte thou finde that complayne of ignoraunce, seinge willingly they deceyue themselues.

Now as touching sorrowe it selfe, which wor|thely seemeth intollerable, Let vs consider it com|meth chiefly of three causes, that is to say of sick|nes, folly, or enforcemēt. How soeuer it be, or what|soeuer grieffe we feele, eyther it is not great, or not long, and seldome it happeneth to honest men: but if it doe, must of necessitye be endured. Whosoever falleth into sicknes either willingly or agaynst his will, would he not be ashamed that womē should excell hym in pacience and sufferance of grieffe? for women in bearing of children do endure most extreeme paynes, yet notwithstanding do not re|frayne the company of men, & suche as be barren, do not desyre any thinge so muche as to haue chil|dren. The grieffe which women suffer in childing, is of all other the greatest, and nearest to death: yea many of such grieffe do dye in deede. No gout, no ache, no collicke or other tormente is compara|ble to this paynes. Notwithstandinge how great soeuer they be, they leaue not to liue in delight, and (as wonte they were) approue the ioyes of Venus short wythout the desyre of well doinge. There is no grieffe so great, that a resolute minde will yelde vnto. Possidonius the Philosopher extremely sicke, sayde vnto Pompeius beinge come to visite hym, y^r the greatnes of pains should neuer make him cō|fesse that sickenes was euill. Neyther in deede can that be euill which is wythoute vs, therefore the grieffe of the body if it do not ouercomour minde, cannot be sayd to be ours. How wel did that ser|uaunt whych ••ue Asdruball declare it: For hee be|inge greuouslye tormented for the murder of hys maister, did notwythstandinge in countenance shewe the ioye he felt for hauing reuenged the in|iurye of his maister. I remember that when An|tonius Cribellus was condempned by publike assent to be torne in peeces, in preparinge himselfe to bee executed, sayde, y^t there was no torment so greates as coulde cause him cōfesse the companions of his offence, yet affyrminge there were suche, but hee would neuer bewray them. What marueile was it then though Pompeius so manfully helde

hys fin|ger to be burned in the candell before the kynge Genthius, seying that thereby the kyng myghte per|ceyue there was no hope to wreste out any intelli|gence at the Embassadors hands. With like pa|cience did Sceuola burne his hande before the kinge Porcenna. Neyther haue there wanted women, y^r haue deserued such glorye. The mother of Hircanus the Iewe beinge offended by Ptolomeus her sonne in lawe, wylled Hircanus not to leaue of his enter|pryse: but rather reuenge the death of hys father whom Ptolomeus had slayne. Epicharis Liberta more noble then many men, for no torment could be cō|strayned to confesse her offences or her companiōs in offendinge. Quintilia a little personage suspected for the conspiracye agaynst Caligula, being racked wyth great torment, confessed nothings, whereby she was set at libertye as giltlesse, and receyued re|ward as innocent. What shoulde I speake of Bar|bara Agatha a Christian, wyth dyuers other vyr|gins? y^e number of whom is hardly to be beleued, and theyr constancye so marueylous, as they see|med not onelye paciently to haue suffered tormen|tes, but also to haue wysshed for them. But this vertue procedeth of oure Christianitye. Let vs re|turne to naturall reasons. Ther is no rest so wel|come, as that which followeth great trauayle, nor death soe muche desyred, as where sickenes hath beene moste extream. The ende therefore of all grieffe, eyther by recouerye, or death is pleasaunte. It is also to be consydered, that all suche as suffer great tormentes, being perswaded of the immor|talitey of soules, oughte thereby (thoughe none o|ther reason were) to be comforted. And suche as beleue of none other lyfe, are sure that death is y^r ende of all myseryes. Therefore if thy grieffe gro|weth vppon deserte, deseruinglye thou oughte to beare it, for thereby thou doest decrease thy grieffe, and saue thy minde from due tormente, neyther oughtest thou to punish thy body and minde both at one time, seinge thy soule is afterwarde to re|ceyue his chastisemente.

The same or more profytable reason maye bee made for sickenes, then sorrowe: for what can be intollerable in sickenes, if sorrowe be awaye? yea hardlye it can be thought howe manye commodi|ties it bringeth. In sicknes wee learne howe we bee, howe frayle the condition of life is: howe incertayne, and subiecte to the power of others. Thereby wee are taugte to be mindefull of an o|ther lyfe, and that we oughte not to doe that to an other, which we wold not haue don to our selues. Therefore wee become more temperate and con|tinente, yea to some sicknes haue beene cause of longe lyfe, amendemente of fame, and encrease of vertue. If sickenes were not, a man shoulde be|come more harde harted then the Tiger, and more cruell then the Lionesse. Macrobius thincketh that sickenes doth more often happen to those whom God loueth, then those whom hee hateth. Seneca supposed that hee is most vnhappy that neuer fee|leth aduersity, and that hee is most myserable that is most happye. Saint Paule sayth, whom God loueth him hee chasteneth. The nature of man is vnbridled, and were it not like wheate well sifted, woulde become as sauage as the wilde bestes. When the soule loueth the bodye then is it more noble and perfite, because then it commeth to hys owne nature beinge vnbourdened of the bodye, which hindered the sight and perfite knowledge. It is therfore the lesse maruaile that those that be most weake of body and of shortest lyfe, be of best indgemente, and moste apte to knowe. No man hath all giftes, if thou haue stoore of vertues of y^r mynde, thou arte of necessity the more sicke of bo|dye. Then whether wouldest thou rather haue a stronge bodye and a witte lyke vnto bestes, or a weake bodye wyth an excellent sprighte? Some brutishe bestes there are also as muche or more subiecte to sickenes as menne, as the Lyon and Goate: for whiche cause those that doe vse to sell Goates, do not warrant them for sound, as they doe other cattell, but as Varro

sayth, this daye hee is well and drincketh, and lyke enoughe hee maye so continue. And albeit these beastes be neuer but sicke, yet wantinge reason, doe playe and take dis|porte: But man to hys owne sorrowe is parta|ker of reason, whereby hee calleth to consyderati|on his myseryes. Yet is it worthely to be noted, that seeldome times we see honest men troubled with outward greeues, and those that be tempe|rate are not often offended with inward miseris. But some men do thincke deafnes and blyndnes more intollerable then Sicknes, though the same seemeth lyttle to hinder the felicitye of man.

Homerus beinge blynde, excelled all the Poetes both Latyne and Greeke. Tymolion beinge blynd, gouerned the people of Syracuse. Appius Claudius brake the dishonorable peace, whiche the Romay|nes had taken with Pirrus, and therein declared he sawe more then all others hauinge eyes. Hannibal hauinge one only eye, conquered almost all Italy, and excelled all captaynes both Carthaginences & Romaines (Scipio onely reserued) Iohn kinge of Beemia was also blynde, yet a valiant and wise cap|tayne. He knowinge him selfe ouermatched wyth the power of his enemies, manfully didde charge them, to the ende that if he could not get the vyc|torye, yet he would not be accompted cowardlye. One blynde man not long before our age, was so cunninge in musicke as excelled all other in those dayes, and was therefore greatly esteemed, and by princes enriched. The blinde man hathe also hys delightes, as banquettinge, venery, musicke, and learning: and (if he were not so borne) he is blind but some part of his lyfe. He may also se dreaming and therefore Aristoteles sayth, that the vertue of se|inge resteth not in the eyes, but in the brayne, be|cause if the sight were in the eye, then the eyes be|inge put out, the man in dreame should se nothing as doth he that was blinde borne. But if a manne from his birth did neuer see, then hath he <◇> to complayne according to the common saying.

That the eye seeth not, the hart rueth not.

For in that we knowe not, we neyther delight nor fynd offence. Al be it we see many things we take pleasure in, yet of theym that doe discontent vs the number is greate.

One only perfyte eye we haue, whiche is the spy|ryte and that more liuely is in the blynde, then in them that can see, by reason the outwarde eyes is there vnto a hynderaunce. For which reason wee fynde that the blinde men, both in wit and memo|rye excell all others. And as they say of Tyresia.

For God •ris face did hyde, and <◇> vvithin the breast he set.

Meaninge that the blynde man did in mynde see the moste. And therefore in olde tyme suche menne were honoured for prophecyinge thinges to come. When Antonius the holye, comforted Didimus the Philosopher, he sayde vnto him, let it suffise, that styll thou enioyeste thy celestia|ll eyes, though the other be lost. Diodorus the Stoike a compani|on to Cicero was blynde, yet in Philosophy, Mu|sicke, and Geomatrys, excellent.

Caius Drusus was so cunninge in the Lawes Ciuil althoughe he were hymselfe blynde yet helped hee many that could see. Some say Democrites for the enuy his Cittizens did bear him, put out his own eyes. Asc•epiades the Philosopher in his blindenes, was wont to playe, sayinge the

wante of syghte was nothinge els but as thoughe a chylde should doe some thyng to an other whereby hee mighte fynde a wante.

But amonge other commodities blyndenes doth make death the moore tollerable. Because deathe is feared for nothinge so muche as that wee loose the comforte of lighte and come into darckenes, when if thou be blinde before thou shalte feele the lesse alteracion, & that whiche tormenteth others moste in dyinge, thou shalt as it were dye vnwa|res. Some perhappes there are so grosse as will discomonde olde age, forgettinge that who so is now olde, hath beene in tymes paste younge. But for tryall here of let Sephalus or Spurrinna be called in question, of whome we may enquire, whether old age not abused be better then lustye youth. The vertue and strength of Iacobus Philipp{us} Sacchi whō Franciscus Sforza did those to be prince of the Se|nate doth sufficiently shewe.

Wherefore syth in all these Calamities aforesaid nothinge is euyl, let vs consyder whether in com|mon miseries we ought to lament? as in plagues famine, and destruction of countries, which be|cause they are common, doe seeme the moore pa|cientlye to bee suffered. But if they were euyl, woulde be of all other moste intollerable, because they are most hardlye amended. Wee see therefore that the discontentacion of men, growethe rather vpon opinion then cause. And seeinge it is vni|uersall, let vs followe the golden age, in whyche tyme was more fidelitie, more frendly conuersaci|on, more easy lyfe, y^o men better mynded, and their maners the lesse corrupte; that their fortune was so euyl. In that age they lyued only vpon frute, if they had gotten bread▪ they accompted themsel|ues happy: but thou that wantest neither bread, wyne, bedde nor other prouision, doeste notwith|standinge complayne. It is enuy therefore no plea|sure, superfluity, no necessity that doth torment vs For if our desires were reasonable, wee should at all tymes haue lyke wishes. And knowinge with howe fewe bace thinges nature is contented, we shoulde not fynde so infortunate ende of our doin|ges. But seinge in that miserable tyme men lyued so contented, this can not be sayde any myserye at all. For he is onely in misery, y^o is enforced to hate his own lyfe, yet in cōmon calamities no man ha|teth his owne lyfe but moste paciently beareth all aduersityes. For nothinge seemeth dishonoura|ble, that is common. Euerye euylle of mannes lyfe dothe consyste in reproche, death except: And euery thing that is good, in glorye. The reason thereof is, that (as at the beginninge I sayd) ve|rye good or euyl was not to be found among mor|tall men. But to return to the purpose, our coun|trye perisheth, and there in our frendes, kinred, re|putacion and substance. I graunt, but dost thou accompt those only thy neighboures that inhabite thy coūtry? Surely we are al discēded of one line, and if we loke backe to our grandfathers & great great grandfathers oure affinitye is muche. It is good maners y^o getteth frends, & vertue y^o wīneth reputacion, which if thou want, it is not reputati|on but rather ambicion and crafte. In pouertye thou haste manye Companions, so as for thyne error thou nede not be ashamed, for want of com|pany thou cannot bee weary. And in pouertye as erst I sayde, there are many wayes to reliefe: as hospitalles, kinsfolke, charitable persons, & all good men. Also the vniuersalitye of the misery taketh a|way al reproch. And though many through slouth and lothenes to labour, do fall into beggery, yet a mynde industrious and armed with vertue, is sel|dome subiecte thereunto. Albe it the hole cittye of Siracusa was taken, spoyled and sacked, yet Mar|cellus preserued Archimedes. Also when Megara was taken by Ptolomeus, & after by Demetrius son of An|tiochus, yet Stilpho the Philosopher was saued, and at the kinges handes

receiued both honour, and re|warde, for the one desyred his company, the other became his scholer. When Rhodus was besieged by Demetrius, Protogenes the painter, being found in y^e suburbes, was by him honored, though the other cittezens remained scant in surety. Vertue is al|wayes accompanied with Nemesis, who sufferethe none to beg, sauing men from cōmon calamities. Socrates remayned in Athens healthy, when y^e plage was there at the greatest. Crates escaped harme at the saccage of Thebes. A man of greate vertue ought not to hazarde himself in common calamy|ties. Now remayneth it onely somewhat to say of manye miseries assembled togethers. And as Dio|genes said, I am hee vpon whom all misfortune is cast: no house I haue, no towne, in exile, a vaga|bond, and begger. Yet to counteruayle all these miseries, he thought the vertue of minde, of force e|nough. If therfore being olde, thou art sicke, pore, and banished, whether doth y^e encrease or, deuide thy miseries. Calamities are not according to this number, but the greatnes to be measured. It com|meth to passe in these as it doth in greifes of y^e bo|die, one Calamity driue than other awaye. Exile taketh awaye the dishonor of misery, when thou li|uest amōg people vnknownen. And as erst I sayd ther is nothing (saue death) that a man desyreth more to eschewe. Whether had thou rather be Phi|lota when he was persecuted of Alexander, hauinge youth, beauty, strength, grete, byrth, & ryches, then in seruitude, sicke, and in thine old estate? Truely• the condicion of man is lyke vnto a garment whi|che the more rich & beautifull it be, the more a sport doth disgrace it, and the lesse beauty it hath, y^e lesse hurt the garment ther by receiueth. It is also to be considered that no man is al his lyfe in miserye for sleape causeth forgetfulnes of sorow, and is as pleasant to men in sorow, as to those that be most happie. Also the delights of our sences be to al mē almost alyke comon, as tast, venery, sight, hearīg, and smellinge. So all things that be delectable to man, do not togethers decay. If therfore at one in|stant all mortall men did sleape, then for that time none should be more happye then other. But wee are most assured not onely to sleape, but also dye: and as long to lyue we cannot, so how far we are from death is to vs vnknownen. Wherefore to bear euery thinge resolutely, is not onely the parte of a wise man, but also of a man wel aduised, seinge y^e there is nothing in this life, that may iustly be said to be against vs. Therefore Homerus fayned Atenthe Goddes of Calamitye, to barefooted, as one that could not touch any thing sharpe or hard, but walked lightly vpon the heades of mortall men. Meaninge that Calamitye durst not come nere a|nye, but such as were of base minde, simple, & sub|iecte to effeminacy. But among such as were va|liant and armed with vertue, shee durst not come. Wherefore lift vp thy mynde to heauen where an e|uerlastinge and most pleasaunt life is prepared for thee. Men in this worlde are lyke trees, some slen|der, some great, some flourishing, some bearing frute some witheringe, some growinge, some blowen downe, and some frutefull, which in one harueste time are brought togethers and laide vpon one stacke. Neither is there afterwarde sene any dif|ference among them, what they be or haue bene, al at one time be cut downe neuer more to growe a|gayne. Euen so al pryde, ambicion, ryches, auctho|ritye, children, frendes, and glory doe in shorte space grow olde, and perishe, neither dothe it make mat|ter whether thou were Irus or vile Galba, Antaxerles or noble Hercules. Onelye honestye and vertue of mynde doth make a man happy, and onely a cow|rdlie and corrupt conscience, do cause thine vnhap|pines. Because the worste that the good man can feare, is the best that the euyll can wishe for: why|che is the destruction of the Soule in death. But as he ought not to hope thereof, so should not the o|ther feare it. For God the eternal father hath sent vs into this worlde as children and heyres of hys kingdome, and secretly beholdeth how wee fighte and defend our selues, against our sences, y^e world [Page \[unnumbered\]](#) <1 page

duplicate) [Page \[unnumbered\]](#) (1 page duplicate) and the Deuyll. And who so in this battell, valy|antly fighteth, shalbee called and placed, amonge the Princes of heauenlye kingedome. And who so slothfully or cowerdly behaueth himself, as a slaue in featnes, shall for euermore be bounde.

This worldly stage was purposely prepared, that God the father might secretly beholde vs. Such foolish children then, as in his sighte wantonlye, slouthfully, and sediciouslye, lyue, shoulde they not thinke he doth beholde them? Whenso euer there|fore thou haste taken that laste leaue of Life, thy soule like vnto a loue embracing his death, shall enioye that swetenes and security, whiche we can neither wryte of, nor conceiue. For sith these world|lye louers (amongest whom be many mislykings without assurāce or eternity) can scarcely expresse their ioyes in loue: Happy, yea thrise happy is this heauenly loue, who forgettinge all others, wythe his one loue is vnited. For within this kingdome he loueth and liueth in the sight of him, that can do all thinges, and therefore lyke a good sonne to his father is euer readye to do his pleasure.

FINIS.