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*Corporis effigiem si quis non uidit Erasmi,
Hanc scute aduuum picta tabella dabit.*

Ch. A.

of E

1888

1888

Translated into

1888

Nicola

LITERALLY RE-PRINTED

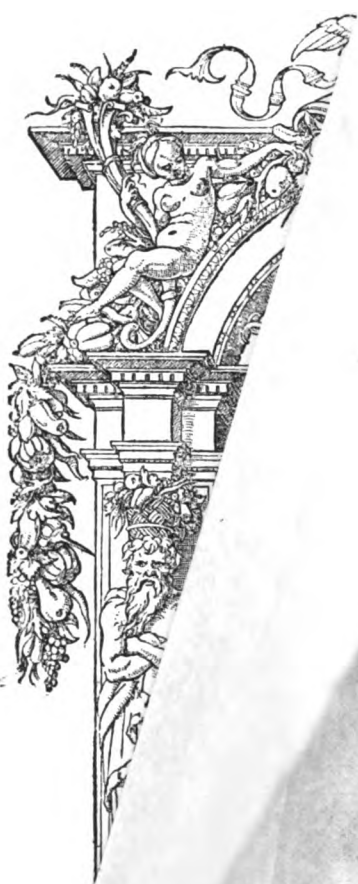
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*Si quis si quis non uidet Hic fuit
ad hunc pila tabula debet.*

The Apophthegmes of Erasmus

Translated into English by
Nicolas Udall.

LITERALLY REPRINTED FROM THE SCARCE
EDITION OF 1564.



BOSTON, LINCOLNSHIRE:
Printed by *Robert Roberts*, Strait Bar-Gate.

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Contents.

PORTRAIT (TO FACE TITLE)	
PREFACE	vii
MEMOIR	* 11
FACSIMILE OF TITLE TO FIRST ENGLISH EDITION, 1542	
FACSIMILE OF THE FIRST LEAF OF N. UDALL'S PREFACE, FROM THE 1542 EDITION	
N. UDALL'S ADDRESS TO THE READER	iii
PREFACE OF ERASMUS	ix
PREAMBLE OF THE INTERPRETER VNTO THE SAIYNGES OF SOCRATES	
BOOK I.	
SOCRATES	I
ARISTIPPVS	45
DIOGENES, THE CYNIKE	76
BOOK II.	
PHILIPPVS, KYNG OF MACEDONIE	181
ALEXANDER, THE GREATE	254
ANTIGONVS, THE FIRSTE KYNG OF THE MACEDONIANS	236
AVGVSTVS CAESAR	253
IVLIVS CAESAR	293
POMPEIVS, THE GREATE	311
PHOCION	323
MARCUS TULLIVS CICERO	336
DEMOSTHENES, THE ORATOIR	369
THE TABLE	385
APPENDIX	409



Preface.

THIS is a pleasant, gossipy book,—full of wise saws, if not of modern instances. It may be considered one of the earliest English jest books.

The wit in it is not as startling as fireworks, but there is a good deal of grave, pleasant humour, and many of those touches of nature which make the whole world kin. It is very interesting to have not only the great thoughts of great men, but to see these men in their moments of leisure, when they unbend and come down to the level of ordinary mortals. Weak stomachs cannot bear too much of a good thing, and nothing is so tiresome as the everlasting preaching of very good and very wise people. We find that even in the palmy days of Greece the greatest orators had occasionally to recall the attention of their wearied hearers by some witty and humourous tale, such as the “Shadow of the Ass,” (p. 84). ERASMUS complains of this same inattentiveness in his *Praise of Folly*, and says the preacher on such occasions would tell them a tale out of *Gesta Romanorum*, when they would “lyft vp theyr heads, stand vp, and geue good eare.” Plenty of instances may be found here to prove a universal truth, that really great men are generally fond of a joke. It was sound advice, depend upon it, which the philosopher gave to the young man—“Be not anything over much.” The familiar life of the ancients is

also brought pleasantly before us, reminding us of the well-known saying that "there is a deal of human nature in a man."

Was it good nature in the Greeks that made them so patient under the coarse reproofs of Diogenes? If so, one cannot help wondering that, while they were so tolerant of him, they put Socrates to death, who was in all things so much wiser and better. Was it not that Diogenes was a crafty man, who was shrewd enough to see that it does not do to prove one's superiority too strongly? So, like our mediæval jesters, he mingled a little wit with a good deal of folly. He was fully aware of the great truth lately uttered by a bucolic friend here:—"To git on i' th' world, a man wants to appear like a fool, we'out bein' one. Men's desprately afread ov a clever fella'—they doant feel safe we'im. Nice, soft-lookin' chaps alus git on best." So Diogenes made himself purposely dirty and contemptible. His coarse buffoonery was the traditional "tub" thrown to the whale (by-the-by, *do* they really throw tubs to whales?) to amuse it while the harpoon which was to pierce through its blubber was being prepared. And the Greek public, so fond of seeing and hearing new things, was amused accordingly,—and pierced in due course; and *very* barbed some of the harpoons were. Socrates scorned to stoop to this, and consequently had to pay the price usually paid by those whose virtue is a reproach to their neighbours.

This reprint is made from the second edition,—that of 1562. The two have been read very carefully together, and no difference discovered between them, except in the spelling. A facsimile of the first leaf of the 1542 edition is given, which will show how much this varies. The second was chosen principally because it is very much

the rarer book. The reprint is literal; the ~~only~~ difference being that, to make it easier for the general reader, the contractions have been filled in, and the Greek quotations, which were exceedingly incorrect, have been, in most cases, put right. The Rev. E. Johnson, M.A., kindly consented to write a short sketch of the life of ERASMUS, and an Appendix of Notes and Illustrations has been added. The list of curious and unusual words might have been increased ten-fold; but, as in most cases a careful reading of the context will show sufficiently well their meaning, it was not necessary to make it larger.

When Nicolas Udall undertook to translate this work he was the right man in the right place. Probably no old English book so abounds with colloquialisms and idiomatic expressions. It is very valuable on that account. It has always been a favourite with the editor, and seeing that a fair copy of the original fetches £5 or £6 by auction, he thought 250 readers might be found who would be glad to have a reprint of it. The production of these antiquarian works in short numbers is necessarily very expensive, and after "trade allowances" and other deductions have been made, it is impossible in this instance there should be any profit; but it has been a labour of love, and the editor will be quite satisfied if he has succeeded in giving the slightest help to a wider knowledge of so fine and loveable a character as ERASMUS.

R. R.

BOSTON,

July 3, 1877.





Desiderius Erasmus Rotero- damus.

IN the great market-place of the Dutch port whence ERASMUS derived his surname, there stands a bronze statue of the great scholar; and in the Breede Kerkstraat the house is pointed out in which he was born, bearing the inscription, *Hæc est parva domus, magnus qua natus Erasmus.* With the exception of the fact of his place of birth and parentage, however, there is little that connects him with Holland; nothing in his character or history to remind us that he was a Dutchman. There was no flavour of peculiar nationality in his genius; his greatness is the common boast of lettered Europe. His name is linked by important associations with France, with England, with Italy, and with Germany. Our own country in particular, to which he owed the greatest benefits and sweetest friendships of his life, may claim the largest share in his reflected renown. But in truth he was a man without a home, in any fixed local sense; his outward history is the record of a series of wanderings to and fro, and changeful sojourns in various cities, and with various friends and patrons; but in the best society, that of men of learning and wit, he was always to be found; anywhere, within the free territory of the glorious Republic of Letters, he felt himself to be at home. He may well have made the motto his

Birth and
parentage.

Not much to
remind us that
he was a
Dutchman.

No fixed home,
but was al-
ways to be
found in the
society of men
of wit and
learning.

b

own :

Ubi bene, ibi patria.

May be styled the Ulysses of Letters.

Was a liberal man in illiberal times.

Misconceptions of his character.

His writings shook the ancient system of religion.

own : *Ubi bene, ibi patria.* Calling to mind his many travels and toils, together with the patient unconquerable temper which sustained him under them,—his penetrating insight into human nature, joined to his powerful rhetorical gift, we might discern something of a resemblance to the most intellectual of Homeric heroes, and term ERASMUS the Ulysses of Letters. Had his mind been naturally prone towards contracted views of religion and philosophy, his opportunities of intercourse with many of the best minds of Europe would have had a counteractive influence ; but in fact his genius was naturally sympathetic, expansive, and catholic. His eminence in this quality of character was the more conspicuous, considering the harsh and narrowing tendency of the religious controversies of his time, which few minds in Europe were found great enough to resist.

It is open to question whether the character and spirit of ERASMUS, with reference to his services in the cause of learning and of religion, and more especially with reference to his attitude towards the contending parties at the Reformation, has been fairly understood. His memory, like the reflection of a star in troubled water, has come down to us somewhat confused by the great conflict of that epoch. There exists, probably, a general impression that he was a trimmer, possibly that he was a coward. It is known that he shook the ancient system of religion by means of his widely-circulated writings ; and it has been generally believed, from the time of his contemporaries downwards, that his keen satire contributed as powerfully towards bringing about the Reformation as the fearless denunciations and open attacks of Luther.

But

But it is remembered that he never threw himself into the ranks of the Lutheran party, notwithstanding the eager solicitations of Luther himself, and his followers; that in the end he broke with the Reformers, and died as he had lived, in the communion of the Church of Rome.

But he died in the communion of the Church of Rome.

On the other hand, the Papal party were equally anxious to secure his literary services for the defence of the Church; and he so far yielded as to write a treatise on Free Will in opposition to the Reformers' doctrine of Divine grace. But like a dart flung from a lax and unwarlike hand, it failed to strike home:—

He wrote a treatise on Free Will.

*“telumque imbelle sine ictu
Conjecit rauco quod protinus aëre repulsum,
Et summo clipei nequidquam umbone pependit;”*

while the author awaited in trepidation the unsheathing of Luther's terrible controversial sword, and after receiving the return thrust in the Reformer's work *De Servo Arbitrio*, he retired once for all from the ranks of conflict.

The result was that ERASMUS enjoyed the hearty confidence of neither party, and was regarded with considerable disfavour by both. The more ardent of the Reformers loaded him with moral reproaches; and Rome has placed some of his works in the *Index Expurgatorius*. And thus it has come to pass, that the mental image of the great scholar appears double or blurred in the popular conception of him, but not, we believe, altogether justly so, if an accurate estimate be taken of his character, and in relation to the epoch in which his lot was cast. To live in times when men's fierce and wrathful passions are stirred to their extreme

He pleased neither party.

He was unfortunate in living in troubled times.

Luther was a spirit formed to live in stormy times.

Erasmus' greatness was for all time.

trement pitch is not a fortune to be envied. Yet there are spirits who thrive congenially in such times, and are thrown up into eminence by them: of such was Luther. But to those of a delicate, sensitively humane, or passionately peace-loving temper, such by way of parallel, as Lord Falkland, in the time of our own great civil struggle, the air of strife is baneful; and their reputation is likely to suffer, in proportion as they keep themselves free from the bigotry of partisanship. Their sigh of "Peace, peace!" is sweetness wasted on the desert air.* To state the truth in other words: there are two classes of great men: those whose greatness is related to their generation, those whose greatness is for all time; those whose work has a particular, and those whose work has an universal significance. So far as this division is valid, Luther ranks amongst the former, ERASMUS amongst the latter. The controversialist has his day: the true scholar is immortal.

It will be the design of the present brief sketch to bring the figure of ERASMUS afresh into the light, to attempt some loving and not less just estimate of his spirit, and to offer some genuine, though slight, tribute to his services in the cause of civilization in Europe.

II.

Erasmus was pre-eminently a man of Letters.

ERASMUS was specifically, characteristically, and by eminence, a Man of Letters. And in so describing him, we separate him, and nobly distinguish him from the mere ecclesiastic, or the theologian. He was in early life a monk: he subsequently assumed the indelible orders of the priesthood; but who that is conversant

* Erasmus wrote *The Complaint of Peace* in early life, at Paris. It is significant of his constitutional temper.

versant with his genial writings ever pictures him as monk or priest? As the conception of humanity dissolves all national and sectarian distinctions, so the conception of Letters dissolves all partialities of human thought and doctrine.

Erasmus was in early life a monk.

For what do "*Letters*" stand for but the record of the catholic experience of human mind, in its intercourse with self, with nature, with man, with the infinite and the unseen? The glory of literature—as contrasted with the lesser glories of Science, Philosophy, Theology—is her *humanity*. She counts nothing that is of man foreign to herself.

The glory of literature is her humanity.

To speak historically, the Land that we call Hellas or Greece, is the mother of Letters, as Palestine is the mother of Religion, to us Europeans.

ERASMUS, and generally all the line of lettered men since the Revival of Learning, loved to invoke the Muses, and to profess themselves votaries and disciples of the Muses. These phrases, through long use, have become in our day somewhat out-worn; yet let us not forget the eternal truth and beauty which the glorious myth of the Muses enfolds. The birth of those nine sacred sisters, daughters of Zeus and Memory, instructs us that Art, and Religion, and Philosophy, and Science, and History,—all that is fair and great in human life—proceeds from the intercourse of mind with the Infinite, of man with God. Their choral dance around the fount of Helicon typifies the eternal harmony of Religion with Knowledge, Passion with Reason, which the bigotry of partial creeds is ever seeking to disturb. When we read, in Hesiod's noble hymn in their praise, of the untiring sweet sound which flows forth from their mouths, and the halls of Father Zeus

the

A votary of the Muses.

Mount Olympus.

the mighty Thunderer smiling at the delicate diffusive voice of the goddesses, with echoes from the snowy crests of Olympus, and halls of the immortals—we are reminded of the all-pervading charm of truth, beauty and love, in heaven and earth. And when mother Memory is described as bringing forth in the persons of her daughters,

λησμοσύνην τε κακῶν ἀμπαυμά τε μερμηράων,

“of ills oblivion, rest from cares,” we reflect how much of enduring solace we have found in books of treasured wit and wisdom in many hours of loneliness and sorrow.

Erasmus was a friend and favourite of the Muses.

ERASMUS, we repeat, was by natural bent and genius, a Man of Letters, in the noblest sense,—a friend and favourite of the Muses.

III.

His great services as a reviewer of Learning.

The interest which attaches to his memory is due, in the larger measure, to his relation to the literary history of Europe, to his prominent services as a herald of the re-advent of Learning to the world. Following the favourite metaphor of historians and poets, which represents the resuscitation of knowledge and enquiry as the rising of a great light after ages of darkness, his figure, we may say, is suffused by the rosy dawn : he is like an angel standing in the sun.

In order to estimate his services to literature, let us take a rapid glance at the intellectual movements which preceded him.

It is difficult to picture to ourselves with sufficient strength of impression the blank and dreary condition of the general mind of Europe during more than five hundred

hundred years from the dissolution of the Roman empire. It reminds one of a vast stretch of black fen, or of the boundless Russian steppe. Here and there a solitary specimen of culture, a scholastic prince like Charlemagne, Alfred, or St. Louis, an athletic thinker like Erigena, arises, to break the depressing monotony, but

*"For leagues no other tree doth mark
The level waste, the rounding grey."*

Dreary condition of Europe after the dissolution of the Roman Empire.

The track of the Saracens in the South was marked by a bright belt of culture, but its seeds were not widely diffused for the general enrichment of Europe. The Schoolmen, who inherited their knowledge, such as it was, of Aristotle through the Arab Averroes, were otherwise all ignorant of literature, and rendered no services whatever to general enlightenment. The splendid intellectual energies of Erigena, Roscellinus, Anselm, Abelard, Peter Lombard; of Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and others were kept in thralldom to the Church system. Thinkers could only enjoy their mental faculties on a much harsher tenure than the feudal ever was in political relations. The spirit of inquiry, rudely thrust back, on threat of the last ecclesiastical penalties, from all fields of genuine human and spiritual interest, was cramped within a narrow arena, and forced to exhaust itself in laborious idleness. The Schoolmen were simply a band of intellectual athletes, and their achievements were simply a series of gymnastic feats. "After three or four hundred years, they had not untied a single knot, nor added one unequivocal truth to the domain of philosophy" (Hallam). It is important to note that one of ERASMUS's characteristics is his representative

The Schoolmen derived their learning from the Saracens.

A band of intellectual athletes, who exhibited gymnastic feats, but solved nothing.

Erasmus led
a reactionary
movement
against the
Schoolmen.

presentative character, as leading a reactionary movement against the hybrid metaphysical theology of these his intellectual predecessors. We shall have occasion to recur to this subject presently, when speaking of his theological position.

Light has ever
come from the
East.

But hope for the culture of Europe was beginning to arise from another quarter. Light has ever come from the East, for the spiritual as well as for physical nature. And this spiritual phenomenon was once more to be repeated in history. Roughly speaking, we may date from the middle of the fourteenth century (A.D. 1350) the flow of Letters westward. Constantinople had been for several centuries the library of the world. There the Greek tongue, that "golden key," in the sonorous periods of Gibbon, "that could unlock the treasures of antiquity, a musical and prolific language that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy," lived on as an oral speech. Yet learning, amidst the effete life of a decayed civilization remained in a state of congestion and uselessness. But the time was come when the wealth of ancient knowledge

Constantinople
had been the
library of the
world.

*"No more should rest in mounded heaps
But smit with freer light should slowly melt
In many streams to fatten lower lands."*

A steady flow
of Greek
scholars from
Constantinople
to Italy.

The intercourse between the churches of the East and the West at the time of the council of Florence occasioned a steady drift of Greek scholars from Constantinople to Italy, beginning with Barlaam, and Leontius Pilatus, the friends and tutors of Petrarch and Boccaccio, continued in Chrysoloras, Theodore of Gaza, George of Trebizond, John Arguropylos, and ending with Demetrius Chalcocondyles.

Among

Among the pupils of the latter were our own countrymen, Grocyn, Linacre, and Latimer; and in their persons an interesting link is found between the movement of Greek learning in Italy and its communication to our own country. ERASMUS, joining the English scholars at Oxford, received instruction in Greek from them, and proved an earnest ally in the effort to plant Greek learning in the universities. They had, as is well known, to encounter a senseless outburst of literary Toryism which has always had deep root in the old universities, in the party of the "Trojans."

Grocyn, Linacre, and Latimer.

Erasmus studied Greek at Oxford.

From an early age it appears that ERASMUS was conscious of the surpassing value of the Grecian classics, and was seized with an enthusiasm for the study. He felt that the revival of letters meant above all the revival of living Greece to breathe her spirit of power and beauty again over the withered intellect of Europe. In Paris, he utters a passionate wish for money, that he might buy books first and clothes afterwards. To know the great Roman poets and philosophers, whose more familiar language the Church had preserved in her services, was not enough. He must ascend the stream, and drink of the fount. "The Latins, he said, "had only narrow rivulets, the Greeks pure and copious rivers; and their streams were of gold."

His great esteem for Grecian literature.

His industry in exploring the treasures of ancient literature, and acquainting himself not only with their contents of thought, but with the force of words, and with shades of meaning, must have been something simply Herculean, when we recollect that lexicons and grammars and editions did not exist in his day. But a memory of the literary kind, strongly tenacious by nature,

His industry in acquiring knowledge under difficulties very surprising

Erasmus' Greek Testament a noble monument of zeal and patience.

nature, was doubtless developed into extraordinary power through the enforced habit of self-reliance. His edition of the New Testament is, with reference to the then state of scholarship, a noble monument of his zeal and patience. To collate the various accessible MSS. for the Greek Text, to amend the corrupt Vulgate version, to examine with scrupulous care every verse and every word, to complete the explanation by annotations and paraphrases, to bestow the toil of two or three days occasionally on a single expression : all this implies a task of immense severity, of which he could not but himself speak in the most impressive way.

Perhaps we shall not be wrong in naming his Testament as his noblest contribution—whether we look at the spirit, the execution, or the design of the work—to the literary and religious life of Europe.

General survey of his literary services.

Turning to his general writings, which fill nine or ten ponderous folios, we may take a brief bird's eye view of their subjects under a few different heads, by way of reminding ourselves of the character and extent of his services. In the field of classical literature, he was a "gatherer and disposer of other men's stuff"; he devoted himself to the humble but most useful employment of providing conduits through which the streams of ancient wisdom might flow to the minds of those who had begun to feel the new thirst for knowledge. We find among his works translations or notes on portions of Lucian, of Galen, of Euripides, of Ovid, of Plutarch, of Socrates, of Xenophon; while in his *Adages* and *Epigrams*, as well as the following *Apophthegms* we have rich gatherings from the oft-gleaned harvest of Greek and Roman letters. But the nameless

His translations.

less spirit of noble antiquity, the taste, the judgment, the harmony of feeling which we have long been taught to call classical, pervades all his writings. They are seasoned with Attic salt; or sprinkled with Heliconian dew.

The true classic taste and feeling pervades all his writings.

A further great service to literature and theology was rendered in his editions of the Fathers. One of his chief objects, as he explains in his "*Ratio verae Theologiae*," was to explode that false and absurd system of exegesis of Scripture which prevailed amongst the Schoolmen, and which indeed still survives in the popular preaching of our day,—by which a verse or phrase torn from its context, and historical connexion, is made to yield any sense that may suit the fancy of the expositor. He points to Origen in particular as exemplifying the true historical method, which, applied in our time with fuller and ever-widening knowledge, is constantly throwing fresh light on the religious life and opinions of mankind. These editions of the Fathers—including Jerome, Hilary, Ambrose, Irenæus, Augustine, Chrysostom, with fragments of Basil, Lactantius, Epiphanius, Cyprian, Athanasius, constitute another of the toils of this Hero of Letters.

His editions of the Fathers.

Some of the false and absurd methods the Schoolmen yet survive in the popular preaching of the day.

In his works on practical religion, ERASMUS presents himself in another aspect, that of the ethical and Christian teacher. This is not the place in which to give any detailed account of this branch of his life-work; it must be sufficient to name in passing the "*Institute of a Christian Prince*," the "*Handbook of the Christian soldier*," the "*Institute of Christian Matrimony*," the "*Christian widow*," the "*Mode of Prayer to God*," the "*Preparation for Death*" (written in his closing days), the "*Expostulation of Jesus with perish-*
ing

His works on Practical Religion.

ing man," as books breathing a pure and sober piety, devoid of the morbid ascetic enthusiasm of the "Imitation,"—teaching men how to live, not out of the world, but nobly in it.

His Praise of Folly, Colloquies, Letters, &c.

Passing over a multitude of polemical and controversial tracts, which had for the most part but an ephemeral value, there remain as his more original and characteristic literary productions, his "Enconium of Folly," his "Colloquies" and his "Letters." To them may be added his treatise on "The mode of writing letters." In these diversions from heavier work, we trace the "style which is of the man"; the man himself, in the peculiarity of his temperament, genius, mental habit, is revealed.

His great value as a delineator of the scenes and manners of every-day life.

Lively pictures of human nature, in its many familiar types, through all the scenes of everyday life—courting of lovers, prattling of women, discussions of married life, dry chat of old men, and the like—live in bright unfaded colours on the favourite pages. Erasmus by literary art did for ordinary human life and manners that which his great countryman, Teniers did for them a century later by pictorial art. They have imparted a noble interest to things that we are apt to call common; they have taught us to see that even vulgarity has its affinity to the beautiful. The immortality of these playful works of our great scholar furnish also another illustration of a principle established in the history of art, that those works are often most living and enduring which cost the worker least of conscious effort, flung off it may be in the careless ease of some leisure hour. It is an interesting fact that the "Encomium of Folly," of its kind a master-piece, was composed on horseback during one of his journeys in Italy. Unlike

The most popular works are often those which are done with the least effort.

like Robert Stephens, who likewise used his saddle for a study, while preparing his edition of the New Testament, ERASMUS chose to give the rein to his lighter and gayer fancies when on the road ; and the result is that famous *jeu d'esprit* which charms the reader's hour of relaxation no less than his own. Praise of Folly.

IV.

When we examine his literary character, with a view to fix its most salient features in our mind, we are struck at once by his keen satirical vein. It was this that gave a zest to his popular writings, and caused him to be so intensely dreaded as an antagonist, hated as a censor, and courted as an ally. The monks and schoolmen never forgave him the ridicule which he poured on their impostures and follies. His satirical vein gave a zest to his popular writings.

Mockery has always been a power in matters human and divine, from the time when Momus was turned out of Olympus for laughing at Vulcan's workmanship, and at Venus' creaking sandals ; and Thersites' hump-back felt the weight of Ulysses' sceptre for scoffing at the princes of the Greek host. The genius of mockery and fun has had an important place in literature from its earliest beginning. The traveller who listens to the interchange of raillery among the peasants of the South, more remarkable for ready wit than for refinement, similar to that which passes from lip to lip amongst the lower orders of every age and country, little suspects that here is the original soil out of which the splendid plant of Greek comedy grew and flourished. Aristophanes, the great representative of that comedy, wielded a vast power of mockery against the democratic institutions of Athens, and against the person Importance of mockery and fun.

Ridicule, the
test of truth.

son and philosophy of the great bare-footed teacher. There is a famous saying of one of our philosophic writers, that "ridicule is the test of truth"; one more searching, it may be added, than can be found on the anvil of argument, or in the fire of persecution. Touch the most imposing names and images with a few drops of the solvent of satire; all are emptied of their solemnity and significance; greatness becomes instantaneously dwarfed; virtue is made to appear play-acting; the monarch exchanges his crown for the fool's cap and bells; the wrinkled grave visage of the sage puts on the expression of a grinning ape. Satire is a weapon to be dreaded, and to be used sparingly in the social commerce of life.

Several species
of ridicule.

But there are several species of mockery: there is that which proceeds from a soured or vicious temper, which delights in inflicting wounds; there is that which is genial, human, sympathetic, springing from hearts that have a kindness for human nature, and a kindness all the tenderer because of its very weaknesses. There is the satire of the moralist and the preacher, typified in Juvenal and Persius, scorching and indignant, but designed to cauterize the wounds and sores of society; and the satire of the sceptic and man of the world, indulged in as an intellectual pleasure with no ulterior apparent object, such as that of Lucian or Montaigne.

The satire of
Erasmus was
genial.

ERASMUS represents a genial and wholesome variety of the satirical spirit. His raillery, while in turn it strikes all classes, could be offensive to none but bad or stupid men. He resembles Horace in this, and to him might be applied the lines of Persius on Horace:

Omne

*Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit, et admissus circum præcordia ludit.*

He makes men laugh at their follies in spite of themselves. We are never made to feel that he is treating us with the haughty air of conscious superiority, speaking down to us from some height of stoical virtue or ascetic piety; he is the companion and friend who would gently lead us in the paths of right living. There is a sweetness and purity of ethical tone, an elevation and simplicity of religious spirit, which impart to his writings a far higher value than that which belongs to their power to amuse and entertain. In the next generation he was followed, on a similar line of satire against the religionists and the religion of the age, by Rabelais and Montaigne; but the two great French masters of mockery were devoid of those higher spiritual characteristics which were conspicuous in their predecessor.

Our laugh is not a bitter laugh.

His satire differed from the satire of Rabelais and Montaigne.

His satirical vein deserves special mention, not only from its interest in a personal and literary, but also in a general and historical point of view. With regard to the Reformation, the common saying was that ERASMUS laid the egg, and Luther hatched it. Yet ERASMUS never directly assailed either the theological or historical foundations of the Church of Rome as an ecclesiastical system. There is no evidence that he ever contemplated its overthrow as either possible or desirable; on the contrary, his temper in relation to ancient institutions was eminently conservative, and he was extremely timid of radical change. But his keen sarcastic intelligence, while exposing the vices of churchmen's lives, or their vagaries of theological thought, indirectly brought the system of which they were

His exposure of the vices and follies of Churchmen helped forward the Reformation.

It is not easy to distinguish between opposition levelled against men and against institutions with which they are associated.

were the representatives into disparagement ; for it is never easy to distinguish between opposition that is levelled against men, and against institutions with which they may be associated. And from this point of view there was undoubtedly great truth in the popular saying concerning ERASMUS' part in the Reformation.

V.

His relation to the controversies of his time.

It is necessary, in order to bring the man more fully before us, to say something more concerning his relations to theology, religion, and the great controversy of his times. Two forms of Christianity can clearly be distinguished, from the epoch when the Church had attained a complete organization, and councils of its chief officers began to be held, in order to ascertain its mind on points of doctrine or practice, and to give definite expression to that mind for the direction of the faithful. There is ecclesiastical Christianity, and primitive Christianity ; the Christianity of *dogma*, or that decreed by the church ; and the Christianity of the New Testament and of Christ Himself. There can be no question of the distinction of these two forms, nor of the immense chasm of divergence by which for ages they have been parted asunder, and are still so parted asunder in the midst of Christendom at the present day.

Ecclesiastical Christianity and primitive Christianity.

Dogmatic Christianity places assent to Church authority before the practice of the Christian code of morals.

Dogmatic Christianity permits no challenge of its primary hypotheses ; it insists on intellectual submission first, and only permits, and that to a very limited extent, inquiry afterwards. It makes belief, or rather passive assent to that which church authority has decreed to be truth, a more momentous duty than the practice

practice of the Christian code of morals. It places ethics secondary to metaphysics, it disparages the life to exalt the creed ; it denies that right and Christian conduct can flow from any source but from those definite beliefs which it has stamped with its sanction.

It disparages the life to exalt the creed.

The Christianity, on the other hand, which seeks the sources of its life in the original teaching of the New Testament, and in communion with the spirit of Christ Himself, inverts this order. It holds the life, the spirit, the temper, to be the all-important matter ; and leaves opinion and belief, in their infinite variety, to be determined according to the knowledge and capacity of each individual.

The Christianity of Christ holds the life, the spirit, the temper to be all-important.

To ERASMUS belongs the honour of having been one of the first in modern times to grasp this view of Christianity. He speaks of it as a "contact with the living, breathing image of Christ." In his *Paraclesis* he exhorts to the study of what he terms the "philosophy of Christ," as something common as the sunlight, and equally suited to all, from the highest to the lowest, and in a noble passage pleads for the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongues :—

Erasmus one of the first in modern times to teach this truth.

"Christ wishes His mysteries to be as widely published as possible. I wish even the most ignorant woman to read the Gospels, and the Epistles of St. Paul. I wish that they were translated into all languages, so that they might be read and understood, not only by the Scotch and Irish, but even by the Turks and Saracens. I greatly wish that the ploughman should sing some of the verses at his plough-tail, that the weaver should sing them while throwing his shuttle, that the traveller should beguile a tedious journey with the stories contained in them."

He wished the Bible to be translated into all languages and read by everyone.

On

The practical element of Christianity of far more importance than the intellectual and dogmatic.

On the precedence of the practical and ethical element of Christianity over the merely intellectual and dogmatic, the following passage is highly significant. And it will probably reveal his whole theological position as fully for our present purpose as if we were to fill these pages with similar citations :—

Christianity should be shown in a man's life, and not in his belief.

"Is no man," he asks, "to be admitted to grace who does not know how the Father differs from the Son, and both from the Spirit? Or how the nativity of the Son differs from the procession of the Spirit? Unless I have a pure heart, unless I put away envy, hate, pride, avarice, lust, I shall not see God. But a man is not damned because he cannot tell whether the Spirit has one principle or two. Has he the fruits of the Spirit? that is the question. Is he patient, kind, good, gentle, modest, temperate, chaste? Inquire if you will, but do not define. True religion is peace, and we cannot have peace unless we leave the conscience unshackled on obscure points on which certainty is impossible. We hear now of questions being referred to the next Œcumenical Council; better a great deal refer them to dooms-day. Time was when a man's faith was looked for in his life, not in the Articles which he professed. Necessity first brought Articles upon us, and ever since we have refined and refined till Christianity has become a thing of words and creeds. Articles increase, sincerity vanishes away; contention grows hot, and charity grows cold. Then comes in the civil power, with stake and gallows, and men are forced to profess what they do not believe, to pretend to love what in fact they hate, and to say that they understand what in fact has no meaning for them."

Necessity first brought Articles upon us.

It

It is sometimes asserted that ERASMUS was a sceptic in religion. If it be meant that he questioned the Divine origin or substance of Christianity, no particle of proof can be alleged, we believe, in support of such a suggestion. But in the genuine philosophic sense of the word, a sceptic he was, just as Saint Paul and Augustine were sceptics. His mind was, in other words, of that highest order, which contemplates the facts of life in their largest relations, discerns the partiality of all opinions, the relativity of all knowledge, the limited value of any controversial aspect of truth, and fastens upon the unchangeable and eternal elements of Faith, Hope, and Love, which constitute the immortal life of the soul and of humanity. ERASMUS was sceptical of church authority, and of the value and reality of the methods of church theology, but in the religion of Christ, if the work and spirit of his life be good evidence, he was a loyal and enthusiastic believer.

In what sense was Erasmus a Sceptic?

His scepticism was of church authority, and not of the religion of Christ.

His relations to Luther and the Reforming party were not happy, and they have left something of a shade on his memory. But the truth is that he was drawn by the current of circumstances into a false position rather than was betrayed into it by any grave moral fault of his own. It was his fate to awaken anticipations in the minds of eager partisans, which it was not within the scope of his particular faculty to realize; for the spirit of the partisan was no part of his character. It is some disadvantage to his reputation that he was thrown into association with one so utterly dissimilar in character as Luther. Compare Holbein's fine portraits of these illustrious men, the contrast could not be more vividly expressed between the

Erasmus and Luther did not agree, because their characters and dispositions were totally different

And it was a disadvantage that he was thrown into association with one so dissimilar.

The man of
action and the
man of con-
templation.

Luther's intel-
lect more limi-
ted than that
of Erasmus.

Luther's meta-
physical dis-
cussion had
much of the
style of the
old Schoolmen
which Eras-
mus had so
ridiculed.

An exact defi-
nition of truth
not always
possible.

the man of action and the man of contemplation ; Luther, full of that direct force and impulsive energy which marks the leaders of great movements ; ERASMUS, with that delicacy and sweetness of feature and expression which denotes one unfitted for the more rude and brutal warfare of the world. Luther had immense power of intellect within a limited range ; ERASMUS was of comprehensive genius. He could and did appreciate the best in Luther ; while Luther was incapable of understanding the peculiarity of ERASMUS' temper and intellectual habit. Precision and definiteness of thought were indispensable to Luther's constitution ; and we have seen how strongly ERASMUS deprecated definition of the mysteries of religion. That very scholastic method of metaphysical discussion, the extravagancies of which ERASMUS had ridiculed in his "Encomium of Folly," was reproduced by Luther in his controversy with Rome. Those famous oppositions between "grace" and "free-will," between "justification by faith" and "justification by works," which have produced so much of clashing and of noise in the world, from which the echoes have not yet died away—what are they in truth but idle logomachies, on which the force and ingenuity of the mind wastes itself without fruit to knowledge and with detriment to piety ? One enormous fallacy in these controversies lay in assuming that truth must necessarily lie with one of two definite alternatives, which were mutually exclusive ; whereas the Christian consciousness of the simplest person teaches him that there is a third position, a mean between two extremes ; where truth practically lies. Another fallacy lay in the attempt to define the undefineable, to formulate those
vague

vague impressions and beliefs which count for so much in the activity of our life, into propositions and arguments. ERASMUS, with his tact for language, had a juster sense of the limits imposed by words on thought, and of the limits by which thought itself was bounded; he saw that such a principle as justification by faith had simply a provisional and an occasional value; and that it was a mistake alike of philosophy and of exegesis to exalt it into a primary or absolute truth of the Christian religion. But ERASMUS' common-sense views were utterly intolerable to the great champion of the Reformation, whose whole soul was wrapped up in his favourite theological definitions.

Erasmus and his opinion of justification by faith.

In his later years, he, in common with his friend Sir Thomas More, passed from coldness towards the Lutherans into positive aversion from them. As happens with all new popular movements, a variety of malcontents helped to swell the Lutheran ranks, many of whom were actuated by far other than religious motives, and whose character was frequently dangerous to society. It appears that ERASMUS, with his illustrious English friend, a man perhaps of force of original intellect even greater than his own,—thought that in the popular religious effervescence of the time lay a menace to the order or even to the very existence of society. Here was an illustration of that timidity of temper and distrust of the multitude which, as in Hobbes and others, has often been found united with the philosophic habit of mind.

Why, as he grew older, his dislike to Luther and his disciples increased.

It is somewhat amusing to note the fact that there are good people who appear to be annoyed that ERASMUS did not offer himself for the crown of martyrdom. There were some among his contemporaries who had

Anxiety of some of the friends of Erasmus to see him receive the crown of martyrdom.

the

tyrdom, and the curious reason assigned by one of them ; but which failed to convince Erasmus.

Martyrdom the destiny of a peculiar order of minds.

Erasmus taught the necessity of mixing caution with courage.

the same feeling. Albert Dürer in particular, told him that he was a little old manikin, whose life being no longer of much value, could well be spared. This curious mixed feeling of desire to see another purchase honour by means of suffering, and to enjoy heroic sensations by proxy, might be a curious phenomenon for study and analysis. ERASMUS, however, was not disposed to gratify this ambition of his friends on his behalf ; and there was surely nothing strange in this. A good man is not bound to expose his life, while in the pursuit of truth, to violence and injustice ; he should keep his life as long as it can be kept with honour. Martyrdom appears to be the destiny of a peculiar order of minds ; there are men, says Emerson, who from their cradles "take a bee-line to the rack and the stake." Recalling the example of the Founder of our faith, and also that of Socrates, we are reminded of a sublime order of spirits who have seen in the voluntary surrender of life for truth's sake, an act necessary to the completion and illustration of their life and character, and have gone forward to their doom with a rapturous sense of victory. But martyrdom is a vocation ; and what if a man thrusts himself upon it uncalled, only to earn a barren meed of renown ? The remarks of ERASMUS with reference to the burning of his acquaintance, the intrepid Louis de Berquin at Paris, show that he did not feel himself to be of the martyr's vocation, perhaps that he did not understand it. He insists strongly on the folly of rashness, on the necessity of mixing caution with courage, advises fighting from a tower, and not coming to close quarters, and so on. There is a coldness here which makes a somewhat unfavourable impression ; but from the

the charge of not being willing for martyrdom he does not need to be defended. He had good reasons, like all of us, for loving life ; and there was nothing that made it dishonourable for him to retain it. If our preceding estimate of his mind and opinions be at all just,—there was no idea, no abstract principle to which he was attached, and in behalf of which he could be required to shed his blood. Was he to die, he might have asked, for a misconception ? Or was he by rash want of circumspection, to throw himself into the hands of stupid and malignant fools, who would have made him the victim of their spite and revenge ? It is the duty of a good man, as an oriental sage has said, to try to live as long he as can, provided he is convinced his life is useful to society. ERASMUS might justly apply that principle to his own circumstances. The spirit of our holy religion demands of every one of us in some form the sacrifice of self for the good of humanity ; but “every man in his own order.” While none would grudge the noble martyr his crown, who has achieved his sacrificial destiny in one brief hour of agony, let not one leaf be taken from that of the life-long toiler, whose exertions and sufferings may have been a daily dying, protracted to his latest conscious hour.

He had good reasons for loving life.

It is the duty of a good man to live as long as he can, especially if his life is useful.

The present work of ERASMUS consists of a free rendering of the *Apophthegmata* ascribed to Plutarch, enriched by explanatory notes from his own hand. The old Greek schoolmaster and friend of Trajan was evidently a favourite and congenial author with our great scholar. Concerning Plutarch's “Morals,” he puts the following sentiment into the mouth of one of the speakers in the *Convivium religiosum* : “I find in them so much of purity, that it appears to me like a prodigy, that

Account of the Apophthegmata.

Erasmus
was a great
admirer of
Plutarch.

that such evangelical thoughts should have entered the mind of an ethnic man." And here it may be appropriate to introduce another beautiful passage from the same Colloquy ; which does honour to his character, and reveals his religious position as what we should now-a-days term a broad churchman : One of the guests, in the course of a religious discussion, being about to introduce, with apology, a citation from a " profane " author, the host replies :

Heathen wisdom and piety.

" Nay ! nothing whatever that is pious, and conduces to good manners should be called profane. To the sacred Scriptures indeed the first authority is everywhere due ; but nevertheless I sometimes meet with certain things either said by the ancients, or written by ethnics, even by poets, so chastely, so purely, so divinely, that I cannot but persuade myself that some good divinity swayed their minds when they wrote them. And perchance the spirit of Christ is more widely diffused than we interpret. And many there are in the company of the saints who are not in our catalogue. I confess my feeling amongst friends : I cannot read Cicero's book *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia*, *De Officiis*, *De Tusculanis quaestionibus*, without now and again pressing my lips to the parchment, and doing reverence to that holy mind, which was breathed upon by a heavenly divinity. On the other hand, when I read the teachings of our moderns concerning the oeconomy or ethics of the state, good heaven ! how cold they are compared with the former ; nay, they do not appear to feel what they write ; so that I would more readily suffer the whole of Scotus, with a few more like him, to perish, than the books of one Cicero, or Plutarch. Not that I would condemn the others

Probably the
spirit of Christ
is more widely
diffused than
we think.

The high
morality of
Cicero.

Rather perish
the whole of
Duns Scotus
than one book
of Cicero.

others altogether, but because I feel the latter make me a better man ; while I rise from the reading of the former, I know not how, more coldly disposed towards true virtue, but more excited to contention. Therefore do not fear to bring forward the passage, whatever it is."

Because the latter make us better men.

The noble passage from the *De Senectute*, in which Cato takes a retrospect of life, comparing it to a sojourn in an inn, and utters his longing to depart to the society of the blessed, is then quoted and discussed ; also the words of the dying Socrates to Crito,

"Whether God will approve my works I know not ; certainly I have earnestly endeavoured to please Him. And I have a good hope that he will accept my endeavours."

"Truly," says another speaker, "an admirable spirit in one who knew not Christ and the sacred Scriptures. Indeed, when I read things of this kind from such men, I can hardly restrain myself from saying, *Sancte Socrate, ora pro nobis !*"

Sancte Socrate, ora pro nobis.

"And I," rejoins another, "frequently cannot forbear to hold happy augury of the holy soul of Maro and of Flaccus."

It has been said of Plutarch's *Lives* that it is "the book of those who can nobly think, and dare and do." In a similar spirit to that in which the *Lives* were written, the present collection of "utterances," or sententious sayings has been selected from the treasure-house of ancient tradition. Work of this kind appears to have afforded a species of revelry to ERASMUS. His preface is a very characteristic piece of writing, and is full of interesting suggestion. There are one or two points in it to which we may for a moment refer.

The preface of the *Apophthegms*.

The

The genesis of
Proverbs.

The natural history, as it might be termed, of proverbs or apophthegms, forms a curious subject of study. Very happily a living poet has described them as

*"Jewels five words long
That on the stretch'd forefinger of all time
Sparkle for ever ;"*

Very difficult to
trace them to
their authors.

and indeed it is seldom easy to fix their exact origin, to trace them to their matrix. They resemble winged seeds which find an accidental lodgment here or there, on any projecting spot of earth that may offer. As in the present day current popular jests are constantly "fathered" upon conspicuous humourists, quite guiltless of their birth, so it has always been. For example, Cicero, like ERASMUS and other great men, was given to the weakness of punning ; but he was probably the real author of very few of the great crop of puns which are said to have sprung from his talk. And in like manner with serious and witty sayings : it is impossible to find the real originator of the vast majority of them ; for it can be shown that they have been ascribed in variant forms, and at different times, to a number of different men. All are familiar with Lord Russell's notable definition of a proverb as "the wisdom of many and the wit of one ;" but the history of the matter would appear to show that the clear-cut form of the saying, through which like a coin it becomes fitted for general currency on the lips of society has itself been the result of time, and the shaping effort of many minds. The printer of this book has supplied some illustrations of this point in his notes on the English of Udall's translation. The subject is interesting, not only from an antiquarian, but also from a psychological point of view.

Most of them
gradually im-
proved and
polished into
form.

In

In the latter part of his preface ERASMUS has a lively defence of laughter and fun as a relaxation in the midst of serious studies, and a means of preserving a healthy tone of the mind. He is a thorough believer in Horace's maxim :—

Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem :

Dulce est desipere in loco.

The whole of this is excellent, and illustrates faithfully the temper of the man. He and his friend More were dearly fond of their joke ; and one cannot but feel, in reading the Colloquies, or the Praise of Folly, that there must have been a deep fund of mental vigour, and vast capacity of vital enjoyment in the man who could laugh so much and so often, whether the jest were good or bad. ERASMUS was undoubtedly richly gifted with that humour which is said to be the unfailing attribute of genius ; and it leaves a charm as of sunlight on his memory and character.

Erasmus and More were both dear lovers of a joke.

Here our slight task is at an end. We have formed our estimate of the man and his work in a spirit of sympathy and respect, not we trust under any bias of preconception and prejudice ; believing that in order to appreciate and criticise greatness, we must first admire it.

In the present day, when there appears to be again a movement of men's minds towards antiquity, and literature and art are once more receiving refreshment from its inexhaustible springs, the name of ERASMUS should supply a stimulus to every earnest scholar, and lover of human progress. When he engraved on the seal-ring presented to him by his pupil, the young archbishop of St. Andrews, the motto, *Concedo nulli*, it was no vainglorious boast, but the expression of that passionate

The name of Erasmus should be a stimulus to every scholar and lover of progress.

MEMOIR OF ERASMUS.

sionate desire to *excel* which is the secret of all greatness of spirit and achievement. He has received his reward in the gratitude of posterity. And standing beneath the bronze statue in his native city we may fancy we hear his spirit murmur,

Monumentum exegi aere perennius.

E. JOHNSON.

BOSTON,

JULY 5, 1877.

APOPTHEGMES,
 that is to saie, prompte, quicke, wittie
 and sentencious saynges, of certain
 Emperours, kynges, Capitaines, Philoso-
 phers and Oratours, aswell Grekes, as Ro-
 maines, bothe veraye pleasaunt & profita-
 ble to reade, partely for all maner of
 persones, & especially Gentlemen,
 first gathered and compiled
 in Latine by the ryght sa-
 mous clerke Ma-
 ster Erasmus
 of Roter-
 dame.
 And now translated into
 Englyshe by Nico-
 las Udall.

Excusum typis Ricardi Grafton.

1542.

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum,



*Facsimile of the first leaf of N. Udall's preface,
from the 1542 edition.*

NICOLAS VDALL VNTO
*the gentle and honeste herted
readers well to fare.*



As much as the autowr self
in his p̄face here enclapng doo-
eth at large declare the nature,
the purpose, and the vse of A-
pophthegmes, to make of the
same matter double inculcation
Mould bee (as me seemeth) bothe
on my parte and to half a thing superfluous, and
also a tedious dulling to the reader. It shall
therefore at this p̄sente tyme be sufficente to ad-
monyshe you gentle readers, that of the whole
werke of Apophthegmes by the right excellent
clerke Erasmus: for the moste p̄saunte and the
same moste honeste, p̄fitable, & holisome reas-
onng of allmaner persones, & in especiall of nos-
ble menne collected and digested into eight vo-
lumes, I have thought better with twoo of the
eight to minis̄tre vnto you a taste of this bothe
delectable and frutesful recreation, then by sup-
pressyng it vntil þ̄ whole werke might bee per-
fectly absolued and synys̄med, to bestraunde you
of so many goodly histories, so many high poin-
tes of counsaill, so many notable p̄ceptes of
wysedome, so greate a nymbre of philosophi-
call les̄sons, suche vnekyrnable treasure of mozaill
doctrine, as may of this litle porcion in þ̄ means
tyme with small labour & incomparable delite,
consorte and solace of mynd, bee perceiued, ga-
thered, and acquired. And although vpon conss̄-
deracions, (at a moze p̄p̄rite tyme hereafter by
goddies grace to bee declared) I haue bee so bolde
with myne autowr, as to make the firste booke &
* ii seconde

TO THE READER.

second, which he maketh thirde and fourth.
 Yet in these twoo presente volumes which ye
 see here sette forth, I haue laboured to dis-
 charge the duetie of a translatour, that is, he-
 pyng and folowynge the sense of my booke, to
 interpret and turne the Latine into Englyshe
 with as much grace of our vulgare tongue, as
 in my slender power and knowelage hath lycen:
 not omitting ne leaueing passe, either any one
 of all the Apophthegmes as they stand in ordie
 (except twoo or thre at þ most being of suche
 sort as honestie perswaded me, to bee better
 passed ouer, then reherced or spoken of,) open
 any Greke or Latine verse or twoorde, wherof þ
 pith and grace of the sayng dependeth. Wher-
 in I desire the vniuersall readers not to bee of-
 fended for that I haue in many places exten-
 ded Greke and Latine with the Englyshe. For
 in al thynges that I haue already heretofore ex-
 periaunced shall sette forth, I haue an especiall
 regarde vnto young scholares and students,
 vnto whom it is not possible to bee expressed,
 what great vtilitee, benefite & knowelage doeth
 redound of conferring one straunge language
 with an other. Neither is it to bee doubted, but
 that such as are towarde the disciplines of
 good literature in diuers tongues, maye of
 suche dooynges as this, picke out as muche vs-
 efullitee and furtheraunce of their studies, as the
 vniuersall shall take pleasure, and fruite of the
 Englyshe for their vs. Whoso careth not for
 the Latine maye passe it ouer and satisfie hym-
 self with the Englyshe. Who passeth not on the
 Greke, maye seemeably passe it ouer, and make
 as though he see none suche. Ther is in this be-
 half no mannes labour lost but myne, and yet
 not that all lost neither, if my good yele & honest
entente



¶ NICOLAS VDALL VNTO

the gentle and honeste

hearted readers well to fare.

E*Orasmoche as the aucthour self in his preface here ensuyng, dooeth at large declare the nature, the purpose, and the vse of Apophthegmes, to make of the same matter double inculcacion, should bee (as me semeth) bothe on my parte and behalfe a thing superfluous and also a tedious dullyng to the reader. It shall therefore at this presente tyme bee sufficiente, to admonishe you gentle readers, that of the whole werke of Apophthegmes by the right excellente clerke Erasmus: for the moste pleasaunt and thesame moste honeste, profitable, and holsome readying of all maner persones and in especiall of noble men, collected and digested into eighte volumes, I haue thought better with two of the eight to minister vnto you a taste of this, bothe delectable and fruitefull recreation, then by suppressyng it, vntill the whole werke might be perfectly absolued and finished, to defraude you of so many goodly histories, so many high pointes of counsaill, so many notable preceptes of wisdom, so greate a number of Philosophicall lessons, soche vnestimable treasure of morall doctrine, as maie of this little porcion in the meane time, with smal labour and incomparable delite, comforte and solace of mind, be perceiued, gathered, and acquired. And although vpon consideracions (at a more propice tyme hereafter by gods grace to*

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be declared) I haue been so bold with mine aucthour, as to make the first booke and seconde, whiche he maketh third and fowerth. Yet in these twoo present volumes, whiche ye see here set foorth, I haue laboured to discharge the duetee of a translatour, that is, keping and folowing the sense of my booke, to interprete and tourne the Latine into Englishe, with as moche grace of our vulgare tounge as in my slender power and knowlege hath lien : not omittyng ne lettyng passe, either any one of al the Apophthegmes, as thei stand in order (excepte twoo or three at the moste, beyng of soche sorte as honestee perswaded me, to be better passed ouer, then rehersed or spoken of) or els any Greke or Latine verse or worde, whereof the pith and grace of the sayng dependeth Wherein I desire the vnlearned readers not to be offended, for that I haue in many places entermixed Greke and Latine with the Englishe. For, in all thinges that I haue alreadie heretofore, or hereafter shall set foorth, I haue an especiall regarde vnto young scholares & studentes, vnto whom it is not possible to be expressed what greate vtilitee, benefite and knowlege doeth redounde, of conferring one straunge language with an other. Neither is it to bee doubted, but that soche as are towards the disciplines of good litterature in diuerse tounes, maie of soch doynges as this, picke out as moche vtilitee and furtheraunce of their studies, as the vnlearned shall take pleasure, and fruite of the Englishe for their vse. Whoso careth not for the Latin maie passe it ouer, & satisfie himself with the Englishe. Who passeth not on the Greke, maie seembleably passe it ouer, and make as though he see none soche. There is in this behalfe no mannes labour loste but mine, and yet not that all loste neither,
if

if my good zeale and honest entente, to doe good to all sortes, bee in good part interpreted and accepted. Let the vnlearned readers somewhat beare with young studentes, as the learned muste and will doe with them. For as the one parte maie thinke it mock superfluous, to finde Latin and Greke in an Englishe boke, so the learned haue no neede of certain annotacions (whiche I haue in places not a fewe entermingled, partly to supply and redubbe that wanteth of the whole werk, and partly to geue necessarie light to the Greke & Romain histories) of whiche annotacions euen he parauenture shall finde ease, whiche will finde faulte with the admixtion of Greke and Latine, and will auouche thesame confused medleing of sondrie tounes, rather to contein some spiece of ostentacion and bragge of the peinted sheath, then any argumente or proof of erudicion. To all whom would Christ I could perswade (as truthe it is) that I seke nothing lesse, then soche shadoe of vnstable glorie, & that my onely will and desire is, to further honest knowlege and to call (awaie the studious youth in especiall) from hauing delite in reading phantasticall trifles (which contein in maner nothing, but the seuinarie of pernicious sectes, and sedicious doctrine, vnto a more fruitfull sort of spending good houres, & by inuiting thesame youth vnto the imitation of honest exercises, to doe good if I maie. But to procede in that I was now about to saie, truly for the Englisheman to bee offended with the admixtion of Latine, or the Latine manne to mislike the poutheryng of Greke, appereth vnto me a moche like thing, as if at a feast with varietee of good meates and drinkes furnished, one that loueth to feede of a Capon, should take displeasure that an other man hath appetite to a Coney, or one that serueth

serueth his stomake with a Pertrige, should be angrie with an other that hath a minde to a Quaille, or one that drinketh single Beere, should be greued with his next feloe, for drinking Ale or wine. Now for the better vnderstanding of the conceipt, trade and conueighaunce of this booke, I haue thought requisite to admonishe you, that in eche mannes Apophthegmes, the sayng self is set out in a greate texte letter : after whiche immediately foloweth in a middle letter (with this marke ¶) the moralizacion of Erasmus, wheresoeuer to thesame it seemed expediente, any soche moralle sense to gather of the Apophthegme for edifyng of the reader, in vertue or ciuile honestes. That if any matter depending of some Greke or Romaine Chronicle, haue semed nedefull to be expounded, if any poeticall fable hath come in place, if to any obscure prouerbe or straunge historie hath been made, some pretie allusion nedefull to be declared, all soche thinges together with the names of persones here mencioned, ye shall find set forthe, and added of mine owne noting, ouer and besides the woordes and matter of the Latine werke, in a smal letter, with some directory marke. Yea & sometimes in the middes of the texte with this marke of mine ¶ if the place semed to require some more light. Sembleable to the morall interpretacion of Erasmus (where occasion was ministred) yea & to some, Apophthegmes (where Erasmus saied nothing) in case my so doying might anything helpe the weake, and tender capte of the vnlearned reader, I haue put addicions of thesame letter and marke, to the ende that in case it be not all of the finest the blame thereof maie not light on the aucthour, but redounde vnto my self accordinglie. And to the entente that nothing should lacke,
whiche

whiche to the ease and commoditee of the vnlearned reader might seme necessarie, there is added also a large and plaine table, in order of the A. B. C. whereby to the name of any persone, or to any good matter in the booke conteined, readie waie & recourse maie with a weate finger easily be found out. That if any of the premisses, either the interpreter, or els the Prienter shalbe founde to haue failled, I for my parte shall not onely thinke my labours bounteously rewarded, but also knowlege my self highly bounden to render moste hartie thanks, if the gentle reader shall of his humanitee and honeste harte, vouche salue to set his penne and helping hand, to emende whatsoeuer errour it shall happen him to espie: and in the residue so to accepte bothe our laboures, as we maie thereby be encouraged gladlie to sustain ferther travail in writyng and setting foorth the soche aucthours as maie to the reader bee bothe pleasaunte & profitable.

¶ *Written in the yere of
our Lorde GOD.
M.D. xlii.*



¶ *The Preface of Desyderius*
Erasmus Roterodame,

Unto a Dukes soonne of his Countrey.

FOR asmoche as ye did so gently afore receiue the other little bookes, whiche I had then sent as a poore earneste penie (soche as it was) of my good harte and mind towarde your grace right noble prince, and not only your self, but also both your moste noble parentes, did so courteously accepte thesame : I haue thought good at this present, to ioyn to the saied bookes some other thing bothe more mete for your noblenesse, and also (excepte I bee moche deceiued) more profitable for your studies. I haue therefore out of euery good authour for the moste parte, chosen and gathered that the Grekes callen *Apophthegmata*, that is in Englishe, notable good & brief saynges, for that I sawe none other kinde of argument, or matter more fit for a prince, especially being a yong man, not yet broken in the experience of the world. In deede full conuenient and mete to be knowen are those thinges, whiche thauncient Philosophiers haue left in writyng of honest behaueour, of well gouernyng and orderyng a commonweale, and of kepyng warre. But what one man emong many thousandes (yea though he be nothyng cloggued, nor letted with any publique office or ministerie) hath so moche vacaunte tyme, that he maie bee at leasure to tourne ouer and ouer in the bookes of

* *Plato*

Plato writeth al his bokes in dialoges & in the most part of them *Socrates* is one of the disputers, whiche *Socrates* pretending eche where simplicitie & ignoraunce did oftentimes conuince diuerse of them that he reasoned withall in their own artes, vsing to them soch kinde of reasoning as here in the text is recited.

† *Aristotle* wrote tenne bokes entituled *Ethica*, that is, of honest behaueour and vpriht liuing and dealing.

* *Plato* the ragmannes rolles, and the tariars or toies of the subtile knackes, of the drie mockes, and of the long induccions by familiare examples whiche *Socrates* doeth there vse? And as for † *Aristotle*, in deede he wrote largely of maners and behaueour, whiche werke he entiteleft in Greke *Ethica*, but by the entriked obscuritee & derkenesse thereof, he appereth to haue written thesame for Philosophiers, that is to saie, for men of high learyng, and not for a Prince. More clere and more plain to bee perceiued, been the werkes that thesame *Aristotle* wrote of householdyng, entituled *Oeconomica*, and of orderyng a citee or commonweale entituled *Politica*, but this man euery where requieth a reader, bothe verie attente, and earnestelie minding that he readeth, and also well at leasure. And besides this, forasmuche as he vseth no soche maner of *Rhetoricall* stile of writing, as maie moue the affectes and passions, he doeth not so greatlie holde or raiushe a mannes minde, that is wholly bent and geuen to princely cures and businesse. Sembleably in the bokes of morall Philosophie, whiche *Marcus Tullius* wrote, many thynges there been of soche sorte, as it is not moche to the purpose, nor any thing at all necessarie that Princes knowe them : of whiche kinde are those thinges, that he treateth of the consummacion of good and ill (☞ whiche we christian men would cal of blisse and damnacion) with more subtilitee of reasonyng and argumentacion, then fruite to edifie in vertuous liuing. And soche maner thinges seruen well for the purpose of them, who all the daies of their life dooe nothyng els but talke, and despute of honestee. But for a man borne to be a prince and a gouernour, it is necessarie that a readie and shorte waie to learne vertue, be quickly dispeched, and not at leasure disputed, and reasoned in wordes. Nowe resteth the histories, whiche because thei doe represente to the iye (euen as in a painted table to bee vewed) aswell the noble actes of prowesse, as the contrary, and that not without

out pleasure and delectacion : seme to be more fit for great men. But in this behalfe, though a prince might haue void tymes enough, to peruse the infinite multitude of bookes of histories, what man were hable to comprehend and kepe them all freshe in his memory : but like as those persones, who been doers in the game or feacte of wrastlyng, haue in a redinesse at all tymes, certain suer poinctes and waies, bothe to catche holde, & also to wende out of holde, when nede is, so thei that trauaill in the buisie occupacions of peace and of warre, must of congruence haue in a readinesse suer rewles, by whiche thei maie be put in remembrance, what is in that present case nedefull, or expediente to be doen, & what not. And in this behalf, we see that diuerse highly well learned men, haue assaied and taken pain by their good diligence, to ease the carefulnesse of princes and noble men, emong whiche some haue written lessons of vertue in brief sentences, as * *Theognis*, and † *Isocrates* : & others haue written the feactes of armes, or policies of warre and the goodlie short saynges of famous men, as ‡ *Valerius Maximus*, & § *Sextus Iulius Frontinus*, whiche *Frontinus* declareth the self same thyng, by diuerse other writers before hym, customeably to haue been doen. It is a thyng of no small tyme of leasure, to seache out golde in the veines vnder the yearth, or to seke precious stones in the sande, or in the sea. Soche a feloe especially aboute others to a prince, with high and weightie matters continually embusied, dooeth acceptable seruice and pleasure, whiche to thesame exhibiteth & presenteth golde, alreadie fined and made in fagottes or plate, and whiche bringeth to his hande precious stones, that are chosen pieces and well polished, alreadie set in golde, or vpon Cuppes of precious mettall. And this kind of pleasure and good turn wheras it hath of many writers been attempted yet (after my mynde and sentence) no man hath with more dexteritee or better effecte, accomplished and performed,

* *Theognis* a Greke Poete that writeth in *Elegeiacal* verses, soch moral preceptes of vertue as been in the litle treatise that is read vnder the name of *Cato*.

† *Isocrates* a Greke Oratour writing many litle treatises in prose.

‡ *Valerius Maximus*, a latin autour that wrote a werke of .ix. volumes, whiche he entiteled of the saynges and actes of noble menne.

§ *Sextus Iulius Frontinus* writeth also in Latine 4 volumes whiche he entiteleth *Strategematum*, that is to saie, of armes, or policies of warre.

* *Plutarchus* was a Greke philosophier & was scholémaister vnto the Emperour *Traianus* in the citie of Rome where he wrote in Greke many noble & excellent good werkes as wel of histories as also of morall philosophie and of vertue

performed, then hath * *Plutarchus*, who after the setting forth of an excellent good and passing fruitfull werke, of the liues of noble men (in whiche werke, here and there been mingled and recited, aswell the factes as the saynges of thesame) he gathered in to one litle booke, for the vse of *Traianus Caesar*, the beste commended man of al the Emperours, that before his tyme had been, the notable saynges of sundrie renowned persones, by whiche as in a verie true & perfect glasse, the harte and minde of euery of theim, is to the iye of the readers, liuely and certainly represented. For in the actes and deedes of princes, a good porcion of the laude and praise, the counsaillour maie claime and chalenge, for geuyng his aduise, the capitaine for his chieualrie, & the souldiours for their stoutnesse. And a verie great porcion of thesame laude and thanke, doeth ladie Fortune claime to haue, by whose conueighaunce oft times we se, things not without high counsaill & wisdomer enterprised, to haue a verie vnluckie ende, and contrarie wise, the misadvised temeritee & vndescretenesse of some persons, to haue right prosperous chaunce and in thende to proue verie well. As it is reported that *Siramnes the Persian*, (a capitaine as I suppose) saied, when he was asked, why his deedes wer not aunswerable to his ioilie saynges, For be cause (saith he) what I will speake, lieth in myn owne power, but how soche thynges as I dooe, shall ende or be taken, standeth in the pleasure of fortune, and of the kyng. Albeeit honest purposes and deuises, are not therefore vtterly defeacted of their due laude and condigne praise. But the said *Plutarchus* doeth in this kind, ferre excede and passe all other writers, not onely in chosyng the beste, but also in expounding and declaring thesame. For these saynges (which, as afore is mencioned, the Grekes callen *Apophthegmata*) haue appropriated vnto them, a certain reason & marke of their own whereby to iudge, so that thei doe plainly expresse and sette out,

out, the verie naturall inclinacion, and disposicion of eche speaker that thei procede from, briefly, finely, quippyngly, and merily, within the boundes of good maner, And as euery seuerall persone hath properly belongyng vnto hym a facion of his owne, whereby he is commended, & wherby his saynges and doynge haue a good grace, or els other wise : euen so like wise hath euery nacion, so that not one maner saynges, are conuenient for *Alexander* & for *Philippus* or *Antigonus*. One sort are mete for *Alcibiades* : againe, one facion agreeable for a man of *Lacedaemon*, and an other for a *Scythian* or a *Thracian* : and a diuerse from that againe comely for a man of *Athenes*, or for a *Romaine*. Now in expressyng and vttring soche saynges, *Xenophon* semeth to me somewhat werishe, *Herodotus* voide of quicknesse or life, *Diodorus* and *Quintus Curtius* ouer full of wordes, and so forthe of the other writers, whiche I surceasse by name to speake of. *Plutarchus* is a perfecte felowe in all poinctes, and therefore I haue thought best thesame *Plutarchus* to foloe, principally aboute al others. Wherefore al that euer is comprised in the werke of this aucthour, which he entitleed *de Apophthegmatibus*, that is, of feacte and brief saynges, ye shall finde here in this werke euery whitte of it, We do al know that this werke of *Plutarchus* hath beene twis translated out of Greke into Latine, firste by *Francisce Philelphus*, and afterward againe by *Raphael Regius*, with whom I was somewhat acquainted in the Uniuersitee of *Paduaie*. *Philelphus* in diuerse places had missed the cushen, whiche places *Raphael* doth restore and correcte, and yet somewhere stumbleth hymself. The truthe is, thei bothe wer men, and might erre, mistaking a thyng that thei read. Albeit either of them minded, to be nothyng els but a plain translatour, of the Greke into latin, but I for many causes haue thought better the said *Plutarchus* to folowe, then to translate, to expoune at large, then worde for worde out of Greke onely to enterpret : first that

that the stile might be the more clere and plain, as beyng lesse bounden to the Greke wordes : (for this presente booke of myne, is not written vnto *Traianus*, a man bothe in Greke and Latine, excellently well seen, and also in long experience of all maner affaires, gaily well broken and exercised, but to a prince beyng yet but a yong thyng, yea and by you, to all children and young strieplings, that labour & sue to attain the knowlege of good learning & honeste studies : nor yet in that world, when soche maner saynges and actes wer by the report & comunicacion of the people daily talked and spoken of, in banes or whot houses, at diners and suppers and abrode in the streates whensoever folkes be assembled together : and secondarily, that I might haue free libertee, to declare and expounne the fine wittnesse of the sayng, if any came to hand that was of sense obscure and darke, as at this presente right many there been harde to be vnderstanded, not onely of soche as haue neuer gone to schoole, but also of soche as doe ferre surmount the common sorte of clerkes. And certes for myne owne parte, the geassynge & redyng what diuerse of these *Apophthegmes* should meane or signifie, hath curstely troubled and vexed my braines, & I can not saie, whether it hath somewhere beguiled me too. And in places not a fewe, I haue had moche strugleyng and wrastlyng, with the faultes of Imprintyng in the bookes, at whiche it could not bee auoided, but that the enterpreters and translatours, maugre their heddes did stumble. For it is a thing vneth beleueable, how moche and how boldly, as wel the commen writers, that from time to tyme haue copied out the bookes of *Plutarchus*, as also certaine that haue thought them selves hable to countrolle and emend all mennes doynge, haue taken vpon them in this autour, who ought with all reuerence to haue been handled of theim, and with all feare to haue been preserued from altryng, deprauyng, or corruptyng. For neuer hath there

there been among the Greke writers (especially as touchyng matters of vertue and good behauour) any one more holy then *Plutarchus*, or better worthie of all men to bee reade. But the verie same thyng hath prouoked persones desirous of glorie and lucre, to depraue and corrupte this autour, to put in more then he wrote, and also to leaue out of that he wrote, which ought moste of all to haue feared them from so doing. For euery writer the better accepted and set by that he is, and the greater name that he hath emong learned men, so moche the rather shall he for lucre and auantage be corrupted. That this autour hath been so vsed, the very diuersite of the Greke text, not agreyng one copie with an other doeth right well argue and proue. For all others omitted, to speake onely of this presente werke that now is in hande, the translation of *Philelphus* hath certain thinges, whiche *Raphael* lefte vntouched, and *Raphael* likewise some thynges of which *Philelphus* maketh no mencion at all. Besides this where *Plutarchus* in the Preface by expresse wordes doeth plainly testifie, that in the liues, he had mingled the saynges and actes of noble men together, the one with thother : and in this werke for briefnesse, to haue linked together onely their *Apophthegmes* or saynges, yet doe we se right many thynges admixte and put in emong the *Apophthegmes*, whiche in verie deede are no saynges at al, nor any other thing, but mere pollices of war, whiche the Grekes called *Strategemata*. Now in the self same werke, one and thesame thinges so often again and again repeated, doen thei not openly crie this argument and matter, by some other feloe to haue been contaminated and sloubred ? So that we maie now pardone, that in certaine places an *Apophthegma* is recited, vnder the name of the persone, that it was spoken to, & not of hym by whom it was spoken, as of *Lysymachus* and *Philippus*. For in this treatise of *Plutarchus*, whiche is entitled *Collectanea*, that is to saie, a manuall of sondrie and preatie histories

ries and saynges, compiled together for al readers the aunswere that *Philippus* made vnto *Lysimachus*, is told and reported, vnder the title or chapiter of *Lysimachus*. But yet it was an higher point of presumption, that of one werke thei haue made it two. For because *Plutarchus* of the saynges of *Lacedaemonians*, whiche been a very greate number, had touched onely so many, as for the Emperour, beyng with many matters sore embused, seemed like to suffice. He, whosoever it was (at lest if it wer but one feloe and no mo, that sette handes therunto) hath assigned to the saynges of *Lacedaemonians* one proper volume, and that according to the order of the Greke letters, as thei stande in the alphabete whiche *Raphael* in his translacion hath turned, into the order of the letters of the Latine A.B.C. But this was of al the thre, euen the very wurst. For *Valerius* and *Frontinus* folowen thorder of soche sentences, as thei shewe concernyng religion, concernyng affeccion and loue to mennes countrees, concernyng truth in kepyng promisses made, concernyng manfull hardinesse, & concerning iustice, and likewise of other matters, setting eche of them in his right order and place. Best standyng with cunnyng and learnyng, is thesame order that *Plutarchus* folowed, obseruyng and kepyng the order of regions and kingdomes, as thei stand in rowe and in euery of them the order of the tymes, to euery of the kinges, ioinyng his owne capitaines, and to euery of the capitaines their mates. From the *Persians* he cometh to the *Egiptians*, from the *Egiptians* to the *Thracians*, from the *Thracians* to the *Scythians*, from the *Scythians* to the *Sicilians*, from the *Sicilians* to the *Macedonians*, from thens to the *Atheniense*, from theim to the *Lacedaemonians*, folowyng in euery of these thorder of the tymes, and not of the letters in the alphabete. From the *Lacedaemonians* he cometh to the *Thebanes*, from the *Thebanes* to the *Romaines*, so that the reader by the saynges of a few persones maie familiarly knowe the order of the whole

whole historie, whiche order, that feloe hath pieteously confounded and troubled, & set out of order, that sondred & disseuered the sayngs of the *Lacedemonians* from the others, and yet here and there, repeting the verie same thinges that *Plutarchus* had gathered afore vnto *Traianus*, albeit in sondrie places, one thing repeated is moche more often deprehended and openly founde in the other werke of *Apophthegmes*, but in bothe werkes, so often as thesame fallyng in a slumber, and forgettyng hymself, can not light on *Plutarchus*, a writer of precise diligence. More ouer, this parte hath no preface at all, and the preface that goeth before the *Apophthegmes* vnto *Traianus*, will not serue to bothe werkes. Nowe, what thanke suche persones are worthy to haue whiche doe in this wyse slabre and defile the bokes of famous autours. I will not at this tyme reason, but truly me thinketh it a very sacriliege. Yet of me (except a fewe saynges of *Lacedemonians* because the selfsame been repeated in the other table of rehersal euery one of them) is not so moche as one omitted of all that goeth abrode vnder the name of *Plutarchus* partely to thende that the reader beyng rather a greadie glutton, then a minion deintie peece might not misse any thyng that he would fayne haue : and partely, for that I sawe nothing there but worthy to be knowen, though sometime rehersed & tould out of his right place. Neuerthesse, all the whole werke I haue in manier made my propre owne in that I do more at large and more playnely expresse the thynges that be tolde in Greke, putting in sometimes soch thinges as I had well perceiued to be added in other autours, adding also out of the other werkes of *Plutarchus* veray many thinges whiche wer not in this present treatise, and euery where as it were with litle brief commentaries opening and shewyng aswell the sense of the *apophthegme* as also the vse wherfore, and how it may serue, especially in those places whiche lacked some more light and clerenesse,

c

albeit

albeit thesame haue I dooen briefly in fewe wordes, lest I should haue clene turned away from the nature of *apophthegmes*, which ought not to contein many wordes. But as for thordre is wurse broken and confused euen of me, then I found it there, for that, wher at the beginning I had purposed to make rehersall but of verie fewe and onely of the principal best sort, when I was ones entreed in my werke, the veray heate therof pricked and sette me to chaunge my mynde and to go on still a great waye fether, neither should I haue made any ende, had not this as ye would saie, an houghe main sea of thinges, still freshe and freshe comyng to mynde, enforced and driuen me to blowe retreatce, and to recule backe. For as *Quintilian* emong the vertues and graces of a schole maister in Grammer, putteth this to be one, that he be in some thinges ignoraunt: so, in this kinde of argumente, it semeth to bee some parte of diligence, certain thynges to passe ouer and to leaue out. Therefore, I haue thought better, to make at this tyme a deintie feaste, then a coumbreous or troublesome, especially for that, if any thyng be in this present supper lefte out, it maie at some other supper be set before my geastes, after that all this shal be perfectly digested. And that incommoditee of the order of thinges neglected, and not precisely kept, I haue with a large reportorie or table redubbed. For the title, it nothyng forceth to be carefull or scruplous, sens that emong those sayynges, whiche *Plutarchus* vnder the title and name of *Apophthegmes*, hath gathered and compiled together, there be many, whiche an other manne would rather call, scornes, tauntes, checkes, iestes, or merie conceived sayynges to laugh at. But forasmoche as *Marcus Tullius*, in puttyng a seuerall distinccion, betwene eche of these kyndes, hath taken earnest labour and peine, without any effecte, and forasmoche as *Marsus* a right well learned man, hath in this behalf nothyng satisfied *Quintilian*, no, nor yet *Quintilian* in knowlege and litterature,

litterature, ferre passing *Marsus*, hath satisfied him self : I haue not thought it a thyng woorthie the labour in this behalfe to bestowe moche busie trauaill, contented and thinkyng sufficient, here and there by the waie, as occasion serueth, to haue opened and shewed the kind and the nature of the sayng, or of the merie ieste. Certes, in those thinges that I haue of my self added, besides *Plutarchus* doynges, I haue diligently foreseen and prouided, in no wise confusely to mingle policies of warre (hauyng no sayng of this kinde annexed vnto them) and *Apophthegmes* bothe together, and also that I would in no wise putte in here any thyng, but taken out of the best allowed, and thesame the moste auncient writers, bothe in Greke and Latine : not that I am ignoraunte, the later writers to haue ricited many thynges sharpelie and also pleasauntly spoken : but soche thynges as antiquitee hath made precious iewels, and as ye would saie reliques, been of more authoritee, and mete it was that this werke should haue an ende, and not be infinite. Nor this thyng neither ought to moue any manne, that one and thesame sayng is of one aucthour, ascribed vnto the persone of one manne, and of an other aucthoure is attributed to an other manne. For it forceth not so greatly, of what persone a thyng is spoken, as it doeth, what is spoken : albeit in deede a famous speaker, and one that hath the fauour and hartes of menne, geueth to the saynges moche weighte and grace also. This thyng more often cometh in vre, then that it needeth by examples to bee proued. But yet sometymes it chaunceth, by reason that mannes memorie faileth, albeeit there is no cause to the contrarie, but that one and thesame sentence, maie procede from sondrie speakers or writers, whether imitacion be the cause thereof, or els chaunce, as for example, this staffe of a metre in Greke.

σοφοὶ τύραννοι τῶν σοφῶν συνουσία,

That is,

Tyrannes

*Tyrannes by wisemennes conuersacion,
Maie sone bee brought to goodnesse and wisdom.*

* *Sophocles* is a Greke poete, of whose wri-
tyng we haue seuen Tragedies.

This is well knowen to bee a verse of * *Sophocles*, yet
Plato citeth it out of † *Euripides*. Againe this verse.

γέρων γέροντα παιδαγωγῆσω σ' ἐγὼ,

That is,

I beyng aged, as I can,

Will teache thee beyng also an old manne.

† *Euripides*
also is a Greke
poete, and
wrote xx. tra-
gedies, which
we haue.

Whereas it is in the tragedie of *Sophocles* entitleed
Philoctetes, yet is thesame woorde for woorde found in
Bacchis the Tragedie of *Euripides*: like wise this
verse.

σιγῶν θ' ὅπου δέῃ καὶ λέγων τὰ καίρια,

That is,

Whether thou talke, or hold thy peace,

Thou must in due season, speake or cease.

Aechylus is
also a Poete
that wrote
tragedies in
Greke.

Whereas it is in the tragedie of *Aechylus* entitleed
Prometheus: it is founde also in *Euripides*, onely two
letters chaunged σιγῶν and λέγειν, in steede of σιγῶν,
and λέγων, Somewhiles, aucthours agree not, neither
on the matter, nor yet on the name. As he that cast
in the teeth of *Marcus Fabius* that he had by his
meanes, recouered againe the toun of *Tarente*, in
Tullie his name *Livius Saluator*, in *Titus Liuius* is
named *Marcus Liuius*, in *Plutarche Marcus Lucius*, or
els is as in the Greke examplaries Μάρκιος Λεύκιος,
Also *Fabius Philostratus* sheweth that one *Leo* a So-
phiste, brought all the people of *Athenes* in a laughter
with his bodie, beyng notable grosse and fatte, and
Plutarche saieth lanke and little. *Valerius Maximus*
and *Plinius*, in the reporting of a certain alteracion,
that was betwene *Cn. Domitius* and *Lucius Crassus*
in Rome, how wide been thei the one from the other,
but without all life or solle been those thynges, that in
some writers are feigned to haue been the woordes of
certain persones, in the fables of Poetes mencioned, as
in *Philostratus* the Sophiste, when he forgeth and
shapeth

shapeth to *Palamedes*, to *Vlysses* and to other like persones, soche tales and speaches, as lusted his owne phantasticall braine to deuise and imagin, and thesame are made double dedde by eiuill handelyng, of whiche sorte of saynges, I doe in this present werke medle with none at all. In the nexte degree to these been soche speaches as are assigned to diuerse persons in dialogues, feigned and endited, not for any truthe of the matter to be beleued, but for disporte and passetyme onely. But in the speaches of the partes, in Comedies (that is merie enterludes) and in tragedies (that is sad entreludes, whiche we call staige plaies) there is some more life and pithe, and a greate grace thei haue, beyng sette in an apte and fitte place, albeit the name of *Apophthegmes*, no saynges can haue excepte the speaker, out of whose mouthe thei doen procede be a persone of great name, and the wordes purposely applied to some matter being euen at that present houre in comunicacion, yea and moche the better to be liked, if thei be a little disframed to an other sense, or a ferther meanyng then the verie woordes dooe purporte. As when *Aristotle* vnto *Calisthenes*, talkyng with kyng *Alexander* more homely and frankely, then was expediente, gaue a by warnyng with this verse of the Poete *Homere*.

ἠκύμοπος δὴ μοι τέκος ἔσσεαι, οἴ ἀγορεύεις.

That is,

*My sonne, if thou be thus large of tong,
Thou shalt surely leese thy life ere long.*

Out of *Herodotus* I haue had no greate lust to gather any greate number of saynges, because that moste parte of theim appere to haue been inuented of that writers owne witte. Like trashe and bagguage been those saynges that are incidente in oracions, whiche the writers of histories (eche as his witte serueth him) are wonte to attribute to menne, albeeit euen those doe moche auaill, aswell to the readers iudgemente, as also to make a manne hable well to frame, and promptly

promptely to tell his tale. The principall beste sorte of *Apophthegmes* is that sayng, whiche in fewe woordes, doeth rather by a colour signifie, then plainly expresse a sense, not comen for euery witte to picke out, and soche a sayng, as no manne could lightly feigne by studie, and whiche the longer ye doe consider it in your mynde, the more and more it dooeth still delite you. And all these uniuersalle sorte of writynges, as doe comprehend prouerbes, sage sentencies, and notable saynges or actes, is moste fitte for Princes and noble menne, who for the vrgente causes and buisie matters of the commenweale, haue not leasure to spende any greate parte of their life in studie or in reading of bookes. And these writynges, as thei be learned with pleasure and delite, and do lightly sinke and settle in the mynde, so doe thei containe more good knowlege and learnyng, in the depe botome or secrete priuete, then thei shewe at the firste vieue. We reade that *Augustus Caesar* of a custome, did cause as many as he could any where get, of soche good lessons to bee exemplified, and the copies thereof to sende into diuers places. Also we see the chief and principall studie of the ioily aunciente wise menne of olde tyme to haue been, that thei might with the lure of pleasaunt delectacion emplane in tender young wittes, thynges worthie and expedient to be knowen, to the ende that the vnbroken yowth, not yet full ripe for the serious preceptes of Philosophie, might euen with plaie and daliyng learne soche thynges, as might afterward doe them high seruice, all daies of their life. For this entente and purpose, thei did as ye would saie, spiece and pouthen Cosmographie, Astrologie, Musike, and Philosophie, as wel naturall as moralle, with fables and tales, pretilie and wittilie feigned. But in this booke that I haue now made, shall perauenture seeme to bee somethynges, that maken nothyng to honest behaueour, but dooe onely cause laughter. Neither doe I esteeme it a thing
worthie

worthie blame, euer now and then with laughter to refreash the mynde, with cures and matters of charge in maner tiered, so that the matter to laugh at bee pure witte and honest. For soche thynges gladdeth and maketh lustie the wittes of young folkes, and doeth passyng good helpe and furtheraunce, aswell to the familiare gentlenesse of condicions, as also to the pleasauntnesse of counnyng. For what thyng better sweteth the endityng of *Marcus Tullius*, then that he dooeth euer now and then sauce his stile, with saynges of this sorte? And I praie you, what been the moralles of *Plutarchus*, but Aresse hangynges, with soche like colours pictured? More ouer, those saynges that seme moste fonde thinges of all to laugh at, by well handelyng, become matters of sadnesse. For what could bee a more fonde thyng to laugh at, then *Diogenes* goyng from place to place, with a candle in his hande at high noonetide, sayng still, that he did seke a man? But in the meane tyme by laughyng, we learne that he is not by and by, in all the haste a manne, that hath the figure and shape of a manne (which Images also of wood and stone haue) but to find out a manne, the botome of the harte and mynde must bee founde out. If the harte and minde bee guided by reason and discrecion, rather then lead by wilfull appetite: then and els not, haste thou founde out a manne. Also what is so worthie to bee laughed at, as that *Phryne* a stroumpette in *Athenes*, bindyng by promise and couenaunte, that euery one of the women, that satte then in the compaignie at the table, should dooe thesame thyng, that she would doe firste, dieped her hande twis in the water, and putte it to her foreheadde, discoueryng by this deuise, the peintyng of all the other womennes faces, so that al the coumpaignie fell into a greate laughter: where as she by so doying, appered a greate deale fairer and better fauoured? But this laughter teacheth vs the self same thyng, whiche *Socrates* saied in good sadnesse that we should

should applie our selves to bee in deede of soche sorte as we would be accountpt and estemed, leste that when the peintyng is pulled from our visages, wee haue in the ende shame and reproche, in stede of glorie and renoume. It geueth vs also a lesson, that we put not our whole truste and staigh in thynges externall and transitorie, whiche by many diuerse chaunces are with a trice taken awaie from a manne, but wee should acquire and purchase the veraie true richesse of the mynde and soule, on whiche fortune hath no power ne dominacion, so high a pointce of serious Philosophie doeth that fonde toye, of the said peuishe harlotte *Phryne*, teache vs. For this consideracion *Lycurgus* (although in other matters, he brought vp and nurtured his countremenne, after a verie streichte facion :) yet honeste mirth and iestyng, he not onely permitted vnto theim, but also enioyned and commaunded. For he ordeined a kynde of exercise, whiche he named in Greke λέσχας as we saie, gospyng, to the whiche all the aunciente or aged menne, that were past bearyng any publike funccons, and for the respecte of their ympotencie, were discharged of that burden, resorted and assembled pleasauntly, passyng the tyme with feacte saynges and honeste bourdyng, but alwaies of soche sorte, as might make either to the commendacion and praise of honestee and vertue, or els to the rebukyng of vice. He sette vp also an Image vnto the GOD γέλως, that is, laughter, for that he iudged it to bee a thyng of high vtilitee and profite, with sober mirthe to refreashe the lustinesse of the myndes, and to make thesame cherefull, to honest trauailles and labours, because that in this worlde, as the Poete *Ouidius* saith.

*Quod caret al-
terna requie
durabile non
est.*

*What thing resteth not, now & then emong
But still trauaileth, cannot endure long.*

Cleomenes also of thesame *Lacedemon*, beeyng soche a sore and rigorous felowe, that he would not licence neither rymers, nor women that could sing or plaie on instrumentes,

instrumentes, nor any minstrelles, to bee in the common weale, yet allowed that al the same countree should striue their bealies full, one with an other, in bourdyng or iestyng, meete for honeste menne to vse, and in pounaunte checkyng tauntes. For a finall conclusion, as often as vacaunte tyme is geuen, or the case requireth hilaritee and mirthe, how moche more decenete is it, with soche maner saynges as these been, to passe the tyme, then to take pleasure of fables, voide of honestee, voide of learnyng, and full of rebaudrie, I am of this opinion, that young children might moche more to their profect and benefite, be exercised in the Grammer Schooles with themes, or argumentes to write on, of this sorte, then with matters to make vpon, soche as been commenlie vsed (whiche themes for the moste parte, as thei conteine nothyng but little trifyng senses, voide of all pithe or fruite, so dooe thei nothyng open the misteries of the Latine toungue) so that the schoolemaister dooe open and declare the rewles and waies, how that whiche is briefly spoken, maie bee delated and sette out more at large, and how that that is so fondlie spoken, that the hearers or reders cannot but laugh at it, maie be turned or applied, to a serious vse and purpose. And this one thyng will I saie more. In Sermones percase it is not conueniente to mingle iestyng saynges of mortall menne, with the holie scriptures of GOD, but yet might thesame moche more excusable bee vsed, to quicken soche as at Sermones been euer noddying, then olde wiues foolishe tales of Robin Hood, and soche others, whiche many preachers haue in tymes past customable vsed to bryng in, taken out euen of the verie botome and grosseste parte of the dreggues of the common peoples foolishe talkyng. *Iulius Caesar* Emperour of Roome, susteinyng the burden of so many chargeable affaires of encoumbraunce and buisnesse, aswell at home in the citee when peace was, as also abrode in warrefare, vsed to drieue awaie the wearinesse

wearinesse of takynge thought for soche thynges as he had in his hedde to carke and care for, with tauntyng woordes of bourdyng and iestyng : with whiche he was so greatly delited, that he did allowe and take in verie good parte, soche as were spoken by others euen against his owne persone, so that thei were proper, feacte, and well conueighed. Uneth any other of all the aunciente Emperours of Roome was either more holie, and better disposed, or els more encoumbred with buisinesse of the worlde, then was *Augustus Caesar* : But againe, what persone in this kinde more merie conceived ? Of *Marcus Tullius*, I will nothyng saie at this present, who is of many men thought in iestyng to haue remembred or considered as he ought to haue doen, neither measure nor yet comelinesse. *Xenocrates* the Philosophier was of a more soure nature, a ioylie feloe in some other respectes : but *Plato* mo tymes then one auised hym, with sacrifice to purchace the fauour of the Graces, that is, so to applie himself that his saynges and doinges might haue more grace, and bee better accepted and taken of the worlde. *Zeno* beeyng outright all together a Stoique, vsed to call *Socrates* the scoffer, or the Hicke scorne of the Citee of *Athenes* : because of his merie conceiptes and tauntyng, that he neuer ceased to vse : but yet is there no manne, but he will saie that *Socrates* was a more Godlie feloe then either of those twoo, whiche I named laste afore. And to leaue vnspoken, that no mennes saynges are more taken vp and vsed, then those whiche bee sauced with a certaine grace of pleasaunte mirthe, vndoubtedly *Socrates*, *Diogenes*, and *Aristippus* would serue better for teachyng and trainyng young children, then either *Xenocrates* or els *Zeno*. That if the moste wise auncient fathers, were not deceiued, in that thei thought it conueniente, with certaine knackes of pleasaunte delectacion, to lure the tendernesse of youngth, vnto the loue of sage Ladie Sapience, moche more is thesame conueniente, for
one

one that is bothe tender of age, and also borne to bee a Prince or gouernour : whom as it becometh to bee vigilaunt, and to haue in all causes a diligente iye, so it behoueth not, either to haue a soure countenance hymself, or els to lette any persone with an hault looke, to departe from his presence. Nowe, the mynde brought vp in pleasaunte and coumfortable studies of recreacion, is made more lustie and courageous, to susteine the burden of all cures, and also more pleasaunte for all maner coumpaignie keepyng emong men. With these reasons I might sufficiently haue defended myself, though I had gathered together, nothyng but merie iestes, whereas now soche sayynges of mirth, are but here and there in fewe places, entermedleed emong sayynges of grauitee and sadnesse, as sauces of the feaste. That if I shall perceiue youre grace herewithall to bee well pleased : it shall neuer repente me of this my labour and seruice doing, though (as some persons shall percase iudge) it bee ouer poore and base. Others doen write bookes for theim, that bee ferther entreed bothe in yeres and knowlege : I do (as ye would saie) feede the tender age of a young babe of noble birthe. That if your grace hath alreadie outlearned this geare (as with all my harte I would wishe that ye had) yet I knowe well, it will stand with the good mynde and pleasure of thesame, that the commen studies of young scholares haue been ferthered, and haue fared thus moche the better for your sake. And I shall perhappes here after, geue you thynges of more saigenesse and grauitee, when ye shall perfectly haue learned all this by harte. For these thynges must in any wise bee cunned by harte, to thende that ye maie haue theim euer readie at hande. Albeet what nedeth you to haue any thynges of my makyng, sens ye haue at home in householde with you *Conradus Heresuachius*, a man in all kindes and sortes of learnyng, absolute and perfecte, whom I see and perceiue to beare towards your grace, soche good harte
and

and mynde, that (accordyng to the duetee and parte of an especiall good schoolemaister) he reiocyeth at the commoditees, and the honourable procedynges of you his pupille and scholare, moche more highly then at his owne. And this manne like as he hath alreadie trained and instructed your childehoode with learning, so shall he bee hable with prudente and faithfull counsaill, to dooe you greate helpe and fertheraunce, when ye shalbee a manne. And to me also it shall bee a thyng to dooe no lesse ioye and coumforte, then high honestee and auauncement, in some behalf (bee it neuer so little) to haue ferthered your moste excellent towardnesse, with my industrious labour. To conclude, I beseche almightee G O D, that he vouche-salue to conserue, to maintein, and to encrease his giftes of grace, which he hath moste abountauntly bestowed on you, to the ende that ye maie aswell satisfie the desires and wishynges of your moste vertuous parentes, and that ye maie proue euen like well in all worthinesse, as the others of your moste noble progenie hetherto haue dooen, as also that ye maie bee an hable manne, to enioye the possession of that ioily fructefull Seigniourie, to the whiche ye are borne, and appointed to bee heire. Thus will I make an ende, after one woorde more. While ye bestowe your self in this geare thinke and remember well, that ye doo read the saynges, not of Christian menne, but of Gentiles and Miscreauntes, so that ye muste reade them with a iudgement.

Yeuen at Friburge, the. 26.

daie of Februarie, in

theyereofour

Lorde.

M.D.XXXI.

* *

*

**THE APOPHTHEGMES
OF ERASMUS.**



¶ *A preamble of the interpreter*
unto the saynges of Socrates.

E Orasmoche, as among al the gentile Philosophiers of olde time, there is none, either for integritee of maners, for vpright liuyng, for quicknesse and (as ye would saie) liuelinesse of saynges, or for the perfeccion of Philosophicall humilitee and sufferance, to bee compared with Socrates: and in consideracion, that thesame Socrates firste of all that sorte attempted to withdrawe menne from vain studies and desires, to the readyng of Morall Philosophie, and to the trade of vertuous liuing, not onely so framyng and ministryng his doctrine, that he might effectually perswade vnto men vertue and perfecte honestee, but also directyng the example and paterne of all his life and doynge to thesame ende, effecte and purpose: wee haue thought moste conuenient, to set his saynges first, as of the which the studious reader maie gather & take soche presidentes of holy and innocent liuing, soche nurture of vncorrupt maners, soche lessons of mildenes and patience, soche discipline of eschewyng vice, and
all

PREAMBLE.

all carnal pleasures soche paterne of bridlyng,
and refreining all sensualitee, soche example
of contemning wordly gooddes, and
other vanitees, as shall be to
the same right plea-
saunt fruitfull
and pro-
fi-
table.



¶ *The sayynges of*

SOCRATES.



Ut of the mouthe of Socrates it came, I.
the goddes to be of all the best and
moste blissed: and that euery manne,
the nerer that he draweth to the facions,

and representacion of thesame goddes, the better
he is, and the more heauenlike.

¶ If ye saie one God, as he saied goddes (for
there is but one God) nothyng maie be spoken more
Christianlike.

It was also a sayyng of his, that nothing ought
to be desired of God, in mennes prayers, but
vnder this forme, and with these woordes (soche
thynges as be good for vs) without any further
addicion.

2.
What sort our
prayers ought
to bee.

¶ Where as the moste parte of men dooe aske in
their praiers, one a wife with a good dourie, an other
asketh riches, this manne honours, that manne rule,
some long life, as it were prescribyng, and appointing
to God, what he should doe. But God of hymself
before we dooe aske, doeth beste knowe, what is
good and expedient for vs, and what is not.

His mind was, that sacrifice should be doen to
the goddes, with as smal charges as might be, for
that the goddes, as thei haue no neede of the
gooddes of mortall men, so thei haue more re-
gard to the hartes of those, that offre sacrifice,
then to their riches: otherwise, forasmoche as
I commonlie

3.
Sacrifice to
God ought not
to be ouer
sumptuous.

commonlie the worste disposed persones haue moste aboundaunce of worldly gooddes, the worlde wer at an euill point, if God wer better pleased with the sacrifice of the naughtie persones, then of the good. And to that ende he vsed greatly to allowe this verse that foloweth of the Greke Poete.

καὶ δύνανται
δ' ἔρδειν ἱερὰ
ἀθανάτοισι
θεοῖσι.

Eche manne to his power in any wise,
Vnto the goddes to dooe sacrifice.

¶ This saiyng toucheth vs Christian men also, whiche doe bestowe coste and charge out of all measure in adournyng temples, and in executyng high feastes and funeralles, where as we should moche better content and please God, if that, that is aboue good housband-like clenlines, we would bestowe in almes vppon our Christian brethren, beeyng in extreme neede. Semblable measure he taught to be vsed also, in receiuyng and interteinyng of geastes and straungers, when thei resort to vs, euer hauyng in his mouth, the verse aboue written : *Eche manne to his power, &c.*

4
Scender fare
is to moche for
euill geastes.

When it was told him by a frende of his that against the receiuyng of certain geastes into his hous, he had scendrelly prepared for theim : if thei be honest men (quoth he) it wilbe enough : if not, a great deale to moch.

5.
Vertue and
temperate diet
to be used.

One lesson of his was, that men should abstein from meates, whiche might prouoke a man to eate, hauyng no appetite, nor beyng hounge, and also from that drinke whiche might tempt a man to drinke, not beyng thirstie.

¶ For meate and drinke wee ought not to vse, but as the necessitie of the bodie requireth.

6.
Hounger is the
best sauce in
the world for
meat.

Socrates said, the best sauce in the world for meates, is to bee hounge.

¶ Because thesame bothe sweeteth all thynges, and also is a thyng of no coste ne charge, and by this meanes

meanes did he for his part euermore, eate and drinke with pleasure and delite, for he did neither the one, nor the other, but when he was hungrie and thirstie.

Yea, and to endure hounge and thirst, he had purposly exercised and enured hymself. For after swette or greate heate taken in the wrestle- yng place (where thei vsed to wrestle, and walke for the exercise of their bodies) where as others would nedes haue drinke by and by, in all the haste: Socrates would neuer drinke of the first cuppe. And beyng demaunded wherfore he did so, That I maie not accustome my self (quoth he) to foloe my sensuall appetites, lustes & desires.

¶ For sometymes though a man be thirstie, yet is it a noysome and daungerous thing to drinke. And in this case, when reason aduiseth to forbear, and the appetite pricketh to take drinke, a man ought rather to folowe reason.

He saied, that soche as had well broken themselves, to vertuous liuyng and temperate diete, did perceiue and take of the same, bothe moche more pleasure and lesse peines, then soche as with al high cure and diligence, did on euery side make prouision to haue al thinges of pleasure.

¶ Because the pleasures of inordinate liuers, besides the tormentes of their owne naughtie conscience, besides infamie and pouertie, dooe brede oftymes euen in the verie bodie more grefe, then delectacion. And contrariwise, what thinges been most honest the same weaxen also moste pleasaunt, if a man haue been accustomed vnto them.

He saied, that it was a foule shame, if a man wilfully, beyng as a bonde seruauant to pleasures of the bodie, made himself soche an one, as no man would by his good will, haue to his seruauant

at

7.

The luste and appetite muste bee restrained.

In taking meates and drinks reason is to be foloed, and not the appetite.

8.

Inordinate liuyng, is moche more painfull then vertuous liuing.

The inconueniencies ensuing of inordinate sensualitee.

9.

To bee as a bond seruauant to the pleasures of the bodie.

at home in his hous. And in soche persones he saied, that there was no maner hope of recouerie, excepte that others would praie to the goddes for them, that (for asmoche as thei wer vtterly determined, to be bond seruauntes) their fortune might bee, to gette, good, and honest maisters.

¶ For, his opinion was, that no persones doe liue in a more filthy or beastely, and in a more wretched or miserable state of bondage then soche as bothe in minde and bodie, been captiue to naughtee pleasures.

IO. Socrates beeyng demaunded, for what cause he

To dooe benefite too a whole multitude.

would not beare some publike office in gouernyng the common weale, sens that he could singulare good skill, how to administer the same: answered, that person to doe moche better seruice in a citee, whiche did make a greate number of men, apte and mete to be rewlars in a common weale, then hym that well could gouerne thesame, in his owne persone onely.

Nicolaus Leoniceus, a Phisician in Italie.

¶ The selfsame answeere did *Nicolaus Leoniceus* make vnto me in the citee of *Farrare*, when I saied: that I meruailled, why himself did not practise Phisike of whiche facultee he was a Doctour, and a publike reader: I auaille moche more, saieth he, in that I teach all thother Phisicians. Nor a moche vnlike aunswere did Willyam, late Archebishop of Cantorbury, the singuler **Mecenas* of al my studies, giue vnto me, stiffely refusyng to take a benefice, of his collacion and saiying: With what face maie I take to my vse and profite, the money of those persones, to whom (as beeyng a man ignoraunt of their language) I can neither make sermons, nor doe good in rebuking of their misbehauour, nor in giuyng them coumfort: nor yet in duely executyng any part of the office of a good shepheard or curate. As though ye doe not more good, quoth he, in that by your bokes, whiche ye haue made

William Warham, Arch-bishop of Cantorburie.

* *Mecenas* was a noble man in Rome and a great man with *Augustus Cesar* and so great a fauorer, promoter, & setter forth of *Virgil*, *Horace* & soche other lerned men, that euersens his time,

made and set forth, ye dooe enstruct and teache all pastours and curates, then if ye should bestowe all your tyme and seruice vpon one sole parish of the countree. I knowleged that it was on his partie verie frendly spoken, but yet he did not perswade me, ne bryng me in mynde to take the benefice.

Beyng asked, by what meanes a man might atteigne an honest name and fame: if he earnestlie applie hymself, quoth Socrates, to be soche a man in deede as he desireth to be accompted and esteemed.

¶ If a manne would fain be reputed a good plaier on the Recordres, it is necessarie that he performe, & doe soche feates, as he seeth doen of them, who been allowed for perfecte good plaiers on that instrumente. As he that hath verie sclender sight, in ministeryng Phisike, is not therefore a Phisician, because he is sente for, to take cure of pacientes, and hath by the comen voice of men, the name of a Phisician: so is not he by and by, a good gouernour in a comen weale, or a good officer, that is by the voice of the people so bruted, excepte he knowe also the right facion and waies to rewle the citee, and to kepe it in good order.

He saied, that it was a thyng, moche against all reason, where as no man setteth vp any handie crafte or occupacion, without his great shame and reproche, whiche hath not learned thesame afore, and wher no man will put to making a nest of boxes or a cupbourd full of almeries of Joigners werke, to one that neuer was a werkeman in that misterie: That to publike officers, soche persons should be admitted, as haue neuer giuen studie to those disciplines, without whiche no man maie be able accordingly, to execute a publike office. And where as euery bodie, without excepcion, would crie: fie on him, that would take vpon him

all those that dooe notable promote, helpe, or fauour studentes or learned men, are of his name called *Mecenates*.

I I.

Honest name and fame how it is to bee perchaced and acquired.

I 2.

The art of gouerning a comon weale.

him to sitte and holde the stierne in a Shippe, hauing none experience in the feate of Mariner-shippe, Socrates saied, that thei were moche more to bee cried out vpon, whiche tooke in hande the regimente and gouernaunce of a common weale, beeyng vnexperte of that parte of Philosophie, whiche giueth preceptes and rewles, how to order a Citee or a Common weale.

¶ Neither did *Socrates* suppose that person, worthie to be called a craftie beguiler of men, whiche of some foolishe body (perswaded thereunto) did receiue and take either money, or some peece of plate, whiche he wer not able to repaie, but moche rather those persones, he pronounced worthie to be accoumpted deceiptfull, bobbers of men, whiche by fraude and gile, did make eche man beleue, that thei wer able men to take vpon them, the rewle and gouernaunce of the whole worlde, where as in deede, thei are but vilaines and slaues, nothing worthy to bee had in estimacion. This saiyng moche nerer toucheth christian princes, officers and Bisshoppes, then the Gentiles or infideles.

13. He was wonte to saie, that there is no possession or treasure more precious, then a true and an assured good frende, nor of any other thyng in the worlde besides, to be founde more good, profite, or els pleasure. And therefore, he saied, that many persones doe arsee versee, in that thei take the losse of a little money, more greuously at the harte, then the losse of a frende, and in that thei crie out and saie, thei haue cast awaie and lost a good tourne, beyng so bestowed, that thei haue not as good againe for it, whereas by thesame thei haue perhaps purchaced a frende, more to be set by then any gaines of money in the worlde.

A true frende
is an high
treasure.

They doe arsee
versee that
take the losse
of money more
greuiously
then the losse
of a frend.

14. As we doe not put images to makying, but only to socht werkemen, of whom we see some
number

number of images wellfaoueredlie and minionlie made afore. So should wee take no persones vnto our frendship, but soche as wee perfectly knowe, to haue tried themselues faithfull, and seruiceable frendes to others aforetymes.

What maner persones ought to bee receiued into frendship.

Of a certaine man, somewhat sharpely beatyng a bonde seruauant of his own, Socrates asked, wherfore he was so vengeable eagre, Marie (quoth the other) because this knaue, whereas he is the greatest glutton and rauener of meates that maie be, yet is he the moste idle lubber aliue, and whereas he is the moste couetous felowe in the worlde, yet is he the moste slothfull that is possible to be. Then said Socrates, Haue ye neuer yet vnto this daie, cast well in your minde, whether of bothe hath more neede of coiling, ye, or your seruauant?

15.
Many men punishe in others thesame thinges in whiche themselves are offenders.

¶ Would God, that every bodie, whensoever thei rebuke & punishe in other persones, the same thyng that thei perdone in themselves (or if not thesame, a moche worse thyng) would saie to themselves, that *Socrates* saied to that manne.

To a certain persone, whiche in deede would verie faine haue gon from home to the *Olympia, with the tediousnes of trauailyng so ferre a iourney, vtterly discouraged, thus saied Socrates: Whereas being here at home, thou walkest to and fro, oftseasons in maner all the whole daie, aswel afore diner, as before supper: if thou stretch the walkings that thou vsest at home, and laie them on length, by the space of fve or sixe daies together, thou shalt easily reache to Olympia.

16.
*Olympia, were certain gaimes of reining & wrestling, whiche *Hercules* did first ordein in the honor of *Iupiter* to be celebrate and kepte euery 5 yere, in a certain place called *Olympia*, situate and liyng in the countree of *Achaia*, betwene

¶ This high witted man did evidently shewe, that thyng that maketh vs false harted, in taking peines and labours, to be rather our imaginacion and conceipte,

the 2. townes
Elis, and *Pisa*,
in whicho
Olympia *Iupi-*
ter had a tem-
ple, and was
therefore called
Iupiter Olim-
picus, or *Olym-*
pheus.

To take pain
or trauaill in
honest matters
eache man fin-
deth excuses.

Diseases of
late banquet-
ting and whor-
haunting.

ceipte, then the verie laboures in deede. If any daunger, losse or trauaill must be susteined about any honest matters, wee finde excuses, we will none of it, it standeth clene against our stomackes, whereas in matters, not worth a blewe point (for I will not saie in thinges vn honest) we wil spare for no cost: thus some persones being inuited and exhorted, to fall to the studie of letters, make their excuse that thei bee sickely, that thei can not slepe, ne take their naturall reste in the nightes, that bookes are verie chargeable: and yet in the meane tyme, thei will plaie all the whole night through at Dice, thei will with bollyng and drinking get the feuer, the goute, the hydropsie, & a paire of blered iyes: thei will with whore haunting catch the paulsie, or the great pockes, otherwise called the French pockes.

17. An other certain man complaining, that he was euen doggue wearie, and clene tiered with goyng a long iourney, Socrates asked, whether his boie had been hable enough to kepe foote with hym all the waie? He saied, yea. Went he leere (quoth Socrates) or els charged with the charge of any burden? He caried a good preatie packe on his necke, saied the man. And what? Dooeth the boie finde any faute, that he is werie, quoth Socrates? When the feloe had saied naie, And art thou not ashamed (said Socrates) of soche nicenes, that goyng on the waie emptie, and voide of any burden, thou shouldest be werie, sens that he hauyng caried a fardelle, complaineth not of wearinesse.

Nicenes and
tendernes ma-
keth man vn-
apt to labour.

¶ *Socrates* declared the seruauant in this behalfe, to bee in moche better case then the maister, that for asmoche as he was better enured with labouryng he feeled lesse greife of his labour.

18. It was a common guise, to tell folkes, thesame that

that in other places is called, eatyng, or feastyng, to bee called in Greke emonges the Atheniens, *ἐσχεῖσθαι*, by the whiche worde he saied, that we wer put in remembraunce, that meate ought to be taken, with soche measure and sobriete, as neither the bodie, nor the minde, might be ouercharged. Alludyng (I suppose) to this, that the Greke woorde, *ἐσχεῖσθαι*, souneth in Englishe to be caried, wherof is deriued a nowne, *ἐσχεῖον* in Englishe a carre. Albeit, *ἐσχεῖ* is Greke also for meate, and thereunto is added this sillable, *εἰ*, that vpon the bodie might not be laied a more heauie burden, then it wer wel able to awaie withal.

Repastes measurable to bee taken.

¶ For this sillable, *εἰ*, in composition of Greke vocables, betokeneth a certain facilitie & commodiousnes, annexed to the thing. Then *ἐσχεῖσθαι* is to bee not ouer full gorged, but to bee refreshed with a light repast, soche as the bodie maie easily, and without incommoditee awaie withal, taken by translacion of the easie lading or burden of a cart.

He saied, that vpon soche children especially, 19.

ought to be bestowed vertuous educacion, and good bringyng vp, as wer best of birth, and came of the moste honeste parentage. For in soche is comonly seen (said he) thesame thyng that is seen in Horses, emong whom, soche as been Coltishe, or full of courage, and of kindly towardnes, if thei be broken in season, and well taught, euen while thei be verie young coltes, thei growe to bee pure bonie ones, and appliable to doe whatsoever a man will put them vnto: if otherwise, thei waxe skittishe past maistering, and good for no purpose. And therefore, it chaunceth, that in maner all excellent goodlie wittes be marred, through default of skill in their teachers & bringers

The better of birthe that a childe is, the better ought his bringing vp to bee.

Excellent good lie wittes marred by euill maisters.

& bringers vp, who euen at the firste dashe, of quicke horses, maken verie dull Asses, because thei can no skill how to maister, haulte couraged stomackes, and soche hartes as will not be brought vnder, ne be made vilaines.

20. Many a tyme and ofte did he saie, that persone to doe like one without all shame, whiche, where as he made his oxen euery daie fewer and fewer, yet required in any wise, to be accompted a good cowheard: but yet a thyng moche more standing againste reason, if a man would desire to be reputed a good gouernour in a common weale, when he daily diminisheth the number of his people.

Critias and Charicles wer two of the thirtie tirannes in Athenes.

¶ These wordes he spake aferre of against *Critias* & *Charicles*, whiche had put to death, many of the Citezens, neither was thesame vnknown vnto them. For *Critias* manaced and thretened hym, that onelesse he chambred his tongue in season, there should ere long be one oxe the fewer for hym. And what he thretened in woordes, he performed in deede. For, by the meanes of *Critias* was *Socrates* put to death.

21. He had chosen out of the old aucthours certaine verses, whiche he vsed verie often tymes for Prouerbes, emong whiche this verse of Hesiodus was one:

Idlenes euer more worthie blame.

Εργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργείη δέ τ' ὄνειδος.

No kinde of labour is a thing of shame.

But idlenes euermore, worthie blame.

¶ By this verse he did counsaill young folkes, not onely from idlenes, but also from all vnprofitable or vnfruitfull accions. For, *Socrates* rekened them also, in the noubmer of idle persones, whiche spent all their tyme in dicyng, in reueling or banquetting, and in whorehuntyng.

Unfruitfull doinges bee as euill as idlenes

22. Also this verse of Homere, as sheweth bothe Gellius and Laertius:

ὄττι

ὅτι τοι ἐν μεγάρουσι καλῶν τ' ἀγαθῶν τε τέτυκται.

That is.

What euer is doene eche where about,
As well within our hous as without.

¶ By this verse, he did not onely call back, such as would giue eare to hym, from busie medleyng with other mennes matters, but also from al kindes of learning, beyng not necessarie to bee had : (as from the exacte knowlege of Astrologie, or of Geometrie, or of naturall causes, or of thinges supernaturall) to the knowlege of morall Philosophie, the perfect intelligence wherof doeth make, that we maie throughly knowe our selves, and that wee maie gouerne & conueigh, aswell our own priuate matters, as also the publique affaires of the common weale accordingly, & to good purpose.

To be overfull
of medleing in
euery bodies
matters.

what goodnes
ensueth of the
knowledge of
morall Philo-
sophie.

To the same purpose serueth this sayng also, 23.
whiche is fathered on Socrates, and is of greate authoritee, What is aboute our reach, we haue naught to doe withall.

whatso is a-
bout our reche
we haue
naught to doe
withall.

¶ For, thus was he wont to aunswere menne, wondryng why he would euermore be reasonyng of maners, & of good behaueour, but neuer of the starres, nor of thinges gendred aboute in the aire, or of any* impres-

sions there chauncyng.
bee doene nigh vnto the sterres, or (as ye would saie) aboute the reache of mannes familiare knowlege, are called in Greke, μετέωρα, as for example: the generacion of mistes, haile, raine, snowe, lightenyng, shoting of sterres, opening of the aire, blasing sterres, heggues that are seen in the feldes by night like Fierbrandes, or Torches, with soche other thinges. Of the naturall causes producing, and generacion of whiche thinges, *Aristotles* writeth 4 booke, & entitleth them περὶ μετεώρων. But *Socrates* would neuer take vpon him, to determine soche thinges, as were aboute the compasse of mannes familiare handling.

*Soche natu-
rall effectes as

When a certain feloe, had of a lasciuiousnes or 24.
malapertnes, giuen him a spurne on the shin, as he was goyng on his waie, in the strete: to soche as wondrede, that he could paciently suffre it, Why, what should I doe (quoth he?) when thei counsailed hym to take the law on the feloe: a
gentle

Paciently
spoken.

gentle teste (said Socrates:) if an Asse had giuen me a stripe with his heele, would ye haue saied to me, take the lawe on him?

Between a beast and a man of brutishe conditions there is no difference.

¶ He thought no difference to bee betwene an Asse, and a man behauyng hymself like a brute beast, & endewed with no vertue or honest qualitee, and to seem a thyng moche againste all reason, not to suffre at a mannes hande, that ye could finde in your harte, to abide of a brute beastes doying.

25. A certain persone beyng of hym bidden good speede, saied to hym againe, neither buff ne baff. Neither was Socrates therewith any thing discontented. But his frendes meruaillyng thereat, and fuming at the leude facion of the feloe, he saied as foloeth. If one should passe by vs, that had some wurse disease in his bodie then wee, none of vs would for that respecte, bee angrie with hym, why then should I bee displeased with this feloe, that hath a more cancarde stomacke then I haue?

The pacience of Socrates, and angre well refrained.

26. Euripides came and brought vnto Socrates, a booke of Heraclitus his writyng and makyng, whiche booke perused, Euripides asked, what he thought of it. By Iupiter (saied Socrates) that, that I haue been able to vnderstande, me thinketh to bee ioylie good stuffe, and of like goodnes I suppose to bee the residue also, whiche I haue not vnderstande. But wee haue neede of some yong Marlian to expounde the meaning of it.

Heraclitus was a Philosophier but he wrote so obscure & derke a stile, that scacely any man was able to vnderstande him, wherefore he was named σκοτεινός Heraclitus the derke.

¶ He did in this sayyng (not without a sharpe taunt and pounaunt checke) note the obscure and dercke stile, whiche thesaied writer with greate studie & labour, purposely sought to haue: wherof in deede he had this name giuen vnto hym σκοτεινός, that is: Heraclitus the Derke. Of the Prouerbe* Delius natator (for whom is here putte Merlian) I haue spoken at

Delius natator in the Greke

at large in my werke of Greke and Latin Prouerbes, entitleed *Chiliades*.

Prouerbe, was called a cunning swimmer, that could keepe himself still aboute water, without perill of drowning. And *Socrates* applied that to the readers of *Heracitus* bookes, meaning that except thei wer very cunning, thei should sone be drowned and choked, that is to saie : confused & set at a staie with reading thesame.

When Alcibiades had by the waie of free gifte offered him a faire large platte of grounde, to builde himself an hous vpon, What ? (quoth *Socrates*) if I had neede of a paire of shooes, wouldest thou come and giue me a pece of leather, whereof to make my self a paire of shooes ? And in case thou shouldst so do, wer not I worthie to be laughed to skorne if I tooke it ?

27.

Alcibiades was a young gentle man in *Athenes* whose life *Plutarchus* writeth at large.

A gift that will doe no profite, is to be refused

¶ By this similitude he refused the gifte, whiche should stande him in no seruice.

In walking vp and doune in the mercate place, as he vewed on eche side the aboundaunce of wares, that were there to be solde, he vsed thus to saie to hymself, How many thynges haue I no neede of.

28.

The frugalitee of *Socrates*.

¶ But others bee sore vexed at their hartes, thus thinkyng : how many thynges doe I lacke. *Socrates* was of his owne behalfe ioyous and glad that liuyng accordyng to nature, and accustomed to the vse of fewe thynges, he neither was desirous to haue, nor yet did lacke, clothe of golde, of purple, precious stones, Iuerie, aresse hanginges, and the other delices of riche men whiche he verie many tymes, saied to bee thynges more apte and fit for disguisinges in stage plaies, then for any seruice, vse or occupiying to the life of man necessarie. To whiche mening, he vsed these iambike verses of a certain greke poet whatsouer he was

τάδ' ἀργυρέματ' ἐστὶν, ἥτε πορφύρα
εἰς τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς χρήσιμ', οὐκ εἰς τὸν βίον.

This siluer plate, and riche araie
Of purple hewe, doeth wonders well :

That is

For

For disguisynge in a stage plaie,
Our life nedeth them not a dele.

29. He saied that man to be moste like vnto the
goddess, whiche feelde lacke of fewest thinges,
sens that the goddess feele lacke of no maner
thyng at all.

What persones
liued in al ease
and pleasure.

¶ But the common people thinketh nexte cousins or
feloos to God hymself, to bee riche men, whose delices
nothyng is hable to satisfie. For, of those is saied in
one of the comedies of *Terence*, how ye lead your life
in al ease and pleasure. And that dooeth *Homerus*
attribute vnto the goddess, whom in many places he
calleth *ῥᾶον ἀγῶρας* liuing in al ease and pleasure.
And he liueth in all ease and pleasure, that with a verie
little, is throughlie contented and satisfied.

30. Frugalitee.

Hounger and
thirst, the beste
sauce for al
meates.

It was an other sayyng of his, that whoso eat-
eth drie bread, with pleasure, thesame nedeth no
meate to it. And to whom no maner drinke
cometh not amisse, thesame requireth none other
Cuppe, but soche as is readie in the waie.

¶ For, hounger and thirst is for all thinges, the
beste sauce in the worlde.

31. He said that it was a ready thing for euery
man, if he had any notable good thinges of his
owne, to name what it was, whereas it was a verie
harde thyng, to name what true frendes he had,
and yet no possession to bee more dere and pre-
cious or harder to come by, then a true frende.

No possession
so good as to
haue a true
frende.

¶ In this sayyng, he checked the preposterous &
ouerthwarte iudgemente, that the common sort of
people haue of thinges, as the which passeth lest of
that thing whiche ought to bee sette by moste of all.
A bodie thinketh hymself well emended in his sub-
staunce and riches, to whom hath happened some good
gubbe of money, and maketh a great whinyng, if he
haue had any losse of the same. But he that hath
gotten

The prepos-
terous iudge-

gotten a good frende, thinketh himself in no more happie state, then he was afore, nor maketh any mournfull chere, when he hath loste a frende.

ment of the common people, in este-myng thinges.

Unto Euclides beyng verie studious of contentious conclusions, and cauillacions of subtile reasonyng, he said: Euclides ye maie percase matche with * Sophistes, but with men ye can not haue to dooe.

32.

¶ Signifyng that Sophistrie dooeth no helpe, vse ne seruice to doings in publike affaires, or bearing offices in a common weale. Whiche publike offices, who so is a suiter to haue, it behoueth thesame, not to plaie Hicke Skorner with insolubles, and with idle knackes of Sophisticacions, but rather to frame and facion himself to the maners and condicions of menne, and to bee of soche sorte, as other men be.

He that wil liue emong men, must frame hymself to the facions of menne.

* *Sophistes* at the first beginning, wer men that professed to bee teachers of wisdom and eloquence, and the name of *Sophistes*, was had in honor and price, and thei wer of thesame estimacion, and of the verie same order, facultee and science, that afterward wer called *Rhetores*, that is *Rhetoricians*, yea, and also *Logicians*. For, when the *Sophistes* fell to cauilling, brabling and trifling, by little and little, their estimacion decaied, so that ere the time that *Socrates* liued in, a *Sophiste* was a name of contempe and hated, and so is it yet still vnto this daie.

He saied, that science and cunnyng, is the onely good thing of the worlde: and contrariwise ignoraunce the onely euil thing.

33.

Science and cunnyng is the onelic good thing of the worlde, & ignoraunce the onelic euill thing.

¶ For, whatsoeuer persones dooe commit any vniuste thyng, thesame offendin in this behalfe, that thei be ignoraunt, what is to be doen toward euery partie, eche in his degree. And soche as be manfull hardie, for none other thyng bee manfull hardie, but in that thei know those thinges, worthie to bee sued for, and to bee desired, whiche the multitude demeth worthie to be abhorred. And soche as be intemperaunt, that is: foloers of their naughtie appetites and lustes, doe in this point erre, that thei thinke those thynges, to be sweete and honest, whiche are nothyng so. Therefore the higheste good thyng in the worlde, saied

saied *Socrates*, to be the science or perfect knowlege of thinges, to be desired with harte and minde, and of thynges to be refused or auoided.

34. To a certaine man sayyng, that Antisthenes the philosophier ; came of a mother that was of the countree of Thrace, and so by the waie of reuilyng or despite, laiying to the charge of the same Antisthenes, that he was a moungrrell, and had to his father a Citezen of Athenes, but to his mother a woman of a barbarous or saluage countree : What ? (quoth *Socrates*) trowest thou that it had been possible for soche a ioilie man as Antisthenes, to be borne of a father and a mother, beeyng bothe of theim Atheniens ?

The corrupte maners of the citee of *Athenes* in *Socrates* his tyme.

¶ Notyng the moste corrupt maners of the *Atheniens*, that moche rather of a *Thracian*, or of a *Scythian* might issue an honest or weldisposed manne then of an *Athenien* : & of all the honestee that *Antisthenes* had, he thoughte he might thanke his mother.

35. Tyme of vacation well spent is an especiall good possession.

He saied, that of all possessions in the worlde, vacaunt tyme of leasure, is one of the verie best.

¶ But by vacaunt time of leasure, he meened not slouggging, loitryng, or slothfull idlenes, but to be quiete from troubleous rufflynges, and combrous buisnesse of the worlde, & from the affectionate appetites, perturbyng and corruptyng, the tranquillitee of the mynde.

36. The humilitee of *Socrates*.

Of all the sayynges of his, there is none so moche taken vp, as that he saied, that he knewe nothyng, sauing onely this, that he knewe nothyng.

¶ For, he enquired of euerie thyng, as though he were in doubte : not that in deede he had no certain knowlege of any thing but by this drinesse, he did declare his owne modestie and softnes, and reproued the arrogancie of others, who professed and openly toke vpon them that thei wer ignoraunt of nothyng, where-

as

as in deede thei knewe nothyng at al. Certain *Sophistes* did openly take vpon them, that thei would at the first sight, make aunswere to all maner matters, that should bee laied afore them, or put to them: the presumptuous ignoraunce of soche persones, did *Socrates* oft times blanke and confounde. And for this verie thing and none els (as himselfe toke and expounded the matter) was he by the voice or testimonie of the God *Appollo*, iudged a perfect wise man, because that albeit he had ignoraunce of all thinges, like as other men had: yet in this behalf he was aboue them, that he knowleged his ignoraunce, whereas the residue wer vnknowyng of this thing also, that thei perfectly knew nothing.

The arrogancie of *Sophistes*.

Laertius ascribeth to hym this sayyng also: To haue well begonne, is a thing halfe doen.

¶ For he saied: That he had euen now alreadie finished halfe his werke, who had ones entered and begonne. For, some there be, that in linyng and driuyng foorthe, and consultancyng, spenden out all their life. The sayyng is halfe a verse of the Greke Poete *Hesiodus*:

ἀρχὴ ἥμισυ παντός.

Beginnyng, is halfe of the whole.

These persones, that bought thinges, made ripe by art, ere thei wer full in season, at high prices, he saied to be in dispaire, lest thei should not liue, vntill thesame might be through ripe.

¶ Excepte it bee for soche a respect, a greate folie it is, to buie soche thynges, bothe with more charge, & also the thinges being not yet come to their goodnesse: but beyng wurse then shortly after thei would be, whereas within a while, after thei maie haue thesame thinges, bothe for lesse money, and twise as good. Thus did he by all waies possible, call backe vnto a sober iudgement, the desireful appetites and lustes of men, beyng voide of reason.

37. *Laertius* is a Greke aucthour, that writeth the liues of al thauncient Philosophiers.

38. As greene geese, strauburies, cherries, peason, quadlinges, damasenes, wines, &c.

Foolishe haste, and nedelesse.

39. At a certain time when Euripides, was in soche wise, treatyng of vertue, that he brought in these woordes,

Κράτιστον εἰκὴ ταῦτ' εἶν ἀφευμένα.

These thynges, at auenture in this case,
It is best of all, euen to let passe.

Vertue though it come not at the first, yet by diligent seking at length, it may be founde out.

As though vertue might by no meanes possible be founde out. Up stoode Socrates, sayyng: That it was a madde thing, whereas wee thinke it labour well bestowed for our slaue, lackey, or page (if he be not found at the first sekyng) still to make ferther enquierie, vntill he bee founde out: to Judge vertue vnworthie any soche diligent searchyng, that thesame maie at length be found out, if it com not to a man at the first assaiyng.

40. To marrie or not to marrie, bothe waies bryng repentaunce.
- Beyng asked of a certaine young man, whether of these twoo thinges, he thought better for hym, to marrie a wife, or not to marry: Whether of bothe thou doe (said he) it will turne thee to sorrowe.

The incommo-
dities of liuyng
out of wedlock

The incommo-
dities of liuing
in matrimonie.

¶ Signifyng aswell to liue out of wedlocke, as to liue in Matrimonie, to haue disquietynges, and vexacions annexed vnto it, the whiche vexacions vtterly to endure, it was necessarie to prepare the mynde afore. To liuyng a single life, is annexed solitarines, or lacke of companie, lacke of issue, vtter decaiying, and wearyng out of the name, a straunger to enherite your gooddes and possessions, after your deceasse. With matrimonie cometh carefulnesse without ende, continuall querelyng and complainyng, to be caste in the teeth, and to haue daiely in your dishe, the dourie that your wife brought with her, the soure browbendyng of your wifes kinsfolkes, the tattelyng toungue of your wifes mother, liers in awaite to make thee cuckold, the doubtfull ende or prooffe and vncertaintee, what your children shall come to, with other incommo-
dities & displeasures innumerable.

able. And therefore in this case, ther is no soche chosing as is betwene good and euill, but soche, as is betwene lighter, and more greuous incommoditees.

One of his frendes, complainyng and findyng fault that in Athenes, the prices of all thynges was verie high, for wine that was called Chium, should stande a man in xx. s. an hogeshed, purple silke, or crimasin would coste after the rate of three poundes the yearde: a pinte of honie. xx. d. He tooke hym by the hande, & led hym into his boultynge house, sayyng, of this maie ye haue a pinte for an halfpenie, therfore is corne nothyng deere, but cheape inough. From thens ledyng hym to his storehous of Oliues, of this (saieth he) ye maie haue a quarte for twoo brasse pens. And therefore, not all thynges in the Citee bee dearelie solde.

¶ He that is contented with a little, and satisfied with thinges necessarie, is as good as a clarke of the mercate, to make all thinges good cheape, for his owne vse and occupiying.

Archelaus the king had called Socrates to his seruice, promisyng vnto hym many gaie thinges. Socrates made answere, that he would not come to hym, of whom he should receiue any benefites, sens that he was not able to giue hym as good againe.

¶ This sayyng dooeth *Seneca* improue, For that a Philosopher (saith he) persuaading the contempt of golde and siluer, giueth a greater gifte, then if he should giue golde and siluer.

Philosopher, scholmaister vnto themperour Nero by whom he was put to death, after that he had writen many excellent goodlie bookes of morall Philosophie.

On a certain time, when he was come home again from the mercat place, he said emong his frends: I wold haue bought a robe if I had had money.

He

41. *Vinum Chium* of the Isle *Chios* where it was made. *Hemina* was the halfe measure of *Sextarius*, whiche *Sextarius* was the 6. part of a Galon, so that *Sextarius* was lesse then our quart, & *Hemina* lesse then our pint, at lestwise if the galon measure among the *Atheniens* in old time wer equall with the galon measur that we vse now. Where none excesse is vsed all things ar good cheape.

42. *Archelaus* king of *Macedonia*. *Socrates* refused to take giftes, whiche he was not able to recompense.

Seneca was a great manne in Roome, & a noble Philosopher, after that

43.

Socrates could lack nothing among his scholars.

* He that giueth a thing after that it is asked, geueth it ouer late.

44.

Unfruitful be-
yng from home
in straunge
countrees.

* That is, vsyng;
thesame fa-
cions which
thou diddest at
home.

¶ He craued nothyng, but did onely after a maid-
enly sort, giue a biworde of his greate penury. Anon
among the frendes of *Socrates* was moche high suite,
of whiche of their giftes *Socrates* should haue this cloke.
And * yet who so euer gaue it after that woorde spoken
(as *Seneca* writeth) gaue it ouerlate.

To a certaine persone complainyng, that goyng
into straunge Countrees, for learnyng and know-
ledge, had nothyng auailed him : Not without
cause (quoth *Socrates*) hath that chaunced vnto
thee : for thou wer in straunge places stil * ac-
companied with thy self.

¶ Many folkes, thinke prudence to be gathered by
rouing into ferre countrees, where as *Horacius* crieth
out, saiyng.

Coelum, non animum mutat, qui trans mare currit.

Who renneth ouer sea, from place to place.

Though he chaunge aire, his mind is as it was.

A man may
come home
from beyond
the sea, as wise
& as well

learned as

45. he wente
forth, except
he seeke to vse
the companie
of wise and
learned men.

* The pacience
of *Socrates*.

The companie and conuersacion of wise and perfect
good men, bredeth knowlege and experience of the
worlde, not the mountaines and the seas.

When he had caught a good cuffe on the eare,
of a feloe in the strete, he * answered nothing
els, but that men had no knowledge, at what
seasons thei should come abroad, with their sa-
llettes on their heddes.

¶ A thing moche like to this, doeth *Laertius* father
vpon *Diogenes*.

46. He saied that he woundered, where the cun-
ning makers of images in stone or metalle, did
with all their possible studie and diligence, the
vttermust of their power, that a stone might be
in figure and shape, euen verie like vnto a liuelie
creature, that thei did not semblably prouide,
that themselves might not bothe appere, and also
be in verie deede, like vnto stones insensate.

In

¶ In deede, some writers there be of this opinion, that *Socrates* before he diuerted to spende his tyme in Philosophie, was a werker of imagerie in stone. And that is the cause, why he doeth make the most part of all his similitudes, by images of Maceons werk.

Socrates a maker of stonie Images, afore he went to the studie of Philosophie.

He exhorted young springalles, euer now and then, earnestlie to vewe and behold themselves in a glasse, to the ende, that if thei wer beautifull, and of good feacture of bodie, thei should beware to commit nothyng vncomely for thesame: if otherwise, that the defaultes of the bodie, might with exercise, or furniture of the wit, & with honestee of maners & behaueor be redubbed.

47.

Young folkes to vewe themselves in a glasse.

The defaultes of the bodie must with honestee of maners be redubbed.

¶ So duellie did that gaie manne (of all maner thinges) promptly take occasion, to aulse and exhort al persons, to the earnest applyng of vertue.

He had sodainly called twoo or three welthy riche men, to supper with him: and his wife *Xantippe*, takyng greate care for the matter, because the prouision was verie slender. Take no discomfort (saied he) for, if thei be menne of an housbandlike or thriuyng sort, and any thing sobre of diet, thei will take it in good part: if otherwise, we ought not to haue any regard of any of them all.

48.

Xantippe, was *Socrates* his wife the curstest queene that euer wetted cloute. Honest geastes taken all maner fare in good parte. The fowerth *Apothegmata* afore of *Socrates* and this is in a maner al one.

¶ Bothe the one part, and the other of this sentence, might iustlie shake of from vs, al the curious & chargeable pompeousnes & desire to excede in receiuing geastes to diner or supper.

He saied, that many persones doe liue purposely euen to eate and drinke: and that he contrariwise, did eate and drinke, to the end that he might preserue his life.

49.

Some persons liue onely to be gluttons.

¶ For that he vsed these thynges, not for sensuallitee of the bodie, but for the necessitee of nature.

Feede onely to maintain life.

This

This sentence did the Poete thus expresse, in one of his Satires woorde for woorde.

Non viuas vt edas, sed edas, vt viuere possis.

Liue not as a glutton, still for to eate.

But feede to maintain life, by thy meate.

50. Those persones, whiche would giue credence vnto the vnlearned, and vnexperte multitude of the people, Socrates affirmed to doe euen like, as if a man refusyng one peece of money of fower grotes, would not take it in paimente, and yet a greate number of like refuse peces, cast in an heape together, he would allowe for curraunt, and receiue them in paimente.

He that is not to be trusted by himself, is not to be trusted in a multitude, of soche like as he is.

¶ Whom ye would not trust by hymself alone, is not one whitte better to be trusted, in a greate rable of soche like feloes as hymself is: for it forceth not how greate a number thei be, but how graue and substanciall. A counterfaict pece of coigne, be it euen in neuer so greate an heape, is a counterfaict peece. This maketh against the estemyng of witnesses, by the multitude of theim, and againste the iudgementes of the common people, beyng vnlearned.

51. *Æschines* was afterwarde a Greke oratour, and at continuall strif with *Demosthenes*. His sayngs foloe in this same werke.

The gentle to-wardnes of *Socrates* in receiuyng scholars.

The office of a good Schole-maister.

When *Æschines* sued, to be one of the number of Socrates his disciples and scholars, and did shamefastly laie pouertee for his excuse, sayng, that it was a great greef vnto him, where the other frendes of Socrates, beyng wealthie, gaue vnto hym many greate giftes, that he had nothyng for to giue, excepte his owne self: Dooest thou not vnderstande (quoth Socrates again) how great a present thou hast brought and giuen me, excepte percase thou esteemest thy self at a lowe price? Therefore, I shall doe my diligence, that I maie restore thee home again to thy self, a better man then I receiued thee.

¶ Other *Sophistes* whereas thei taught nothing but mere

mere trifles, yet thei would receiue, ne take not a scholare, without a greate fee. But *Socrates* tooke this poore man, euen with a good will, as the greate riche gentlemen.

When a certaine persone tolde hym newes, 52.
saiyng the Atheniens haue Iudged thee to death :
Euen so hath nature doen theim, quoth he againe.

¶ Meanyng, that it is no verie greate shrewde
tourne, if a bodie be violentlie put to death, assured
naturally to bee dedde ere long after, although no
man should slea hym. Albeit certaine writers ascrib-
yng this saiying to the Philosophier *Anaxagoras*.

Unto his wife, after the womennes facion wail-
lyng, and saiying : Ah my sweete housbande, thou
shalt dye nothing guiltee, and without any of-
fence doying : What, wife (saith he) haddest thou
rather, that I should dye an offender ?

¶ The death of good men, euen for this point is
not to be wailed, that thei bee put to execucion with-
out deseruyng : but thei been double worthie to be
wailed for, which suffre death for hainous offences,
but yet of the two a moche more miserable thing it is,
to haue deserued punishment, then to haue suffred.

Thesame daie that *Socrates* should drinke the
poison, one **Apollodorus* (for to comfort him
by soche meanes as he could) cam and brought
vnto hym a riche robe, of a greate valour, that
he might haue it on his backe, at his diyng
houre. But he refusing the gift, What (saith
he) this robe of myne own here, which hath
been honest enough for me in my life tyme, woll
it not be euen like honest for me, after I bee de-
parted out of the worlde ?

¶ Utterly damning the pompeous facion of some
people, with wonderfull high studie, makyng prouision
afore

Death com-
mon to all per-
sones, though
to some one
waie to some
an other.

53.
Better to die an
innocente then
an offender.

The death of
goodmen is
not to be
wailed.
A moche more
miserable
thing to haue
deserued pun-
ishment then
to haue suf-
fred.

54.
In Athenes the
facion was,
that persones
condemned to
death should
drinke tempred
with wine, the
iuce of *Hem-
locke*, whiche is
so extreme
cold, that when
the heat of the
wine doeth so-
dainly conuey
it to the hart, it
is verie poison
& death reme-

dillesse. For immediately shall the extreme partes of the afore hande, that thei maie be caried to their buriall, & that thei maie be laied in their graues, with all worship possible.

body (as the handes and feete) waxe cold, and so by little and little, the colde waxeth to the harte, & as sone as it striketh to the hart, there is no remedie, but death out of hand. Albeit, if one drinke thesame iuice, first by it self alone not tempred with wine, there is remedie enough. For, if one drinke a good draught of wine after it, the heate of the wine, shall ouercome the colde of the herbe, and driue it from the harte and so saue the life.

* This *Apollodorus* was of *Athenes*, a Poete that wrote comedies, ther was an other *Apollodorus* of thesame citee, a teacher of Grammer, there were also fower mo of thesame name, but of other countrees.

55. To one bringyng hym woordes, that a certaine feloe did speake euill of hym: and gaue him a verie euil report. Marie (quoth Socrates) he hath not learned to speake well.

Unwraithfullie spoken.

Thei that giue vs euill reporte not of a iudgemente, but of a cancardnesse of harte, are to be contempned ¶ Imputyng his toungesore, not vnto maliciousnesse: but vnto the default of right knowlege. Neither did he iudge to pertaine to hym, what soche persones talked on hym, as dooe speake of a cancardnesse of stomacke, & not of a iudgemente.

56. When Antisthenes a Philosophier of the secte of the Ciniques, did weare vpon his backe a robe, with a great hole or rupture in it, and by turnyng thesame rupture outwarde, did purposely shewe it, that euery bodie might looke vpon it: Through the rent of thy cloke (quoth Socrates) I see thy peighted sheath, and vain gloriousnesse.

¶ Featelie notyng, that vainglorie of poore garments and couer clothyng, is moche more shamefull and abhominable, then of gorgeous apparell, or galaunt araie. And would God there wer not emong vs christian menne, many *Antisthenes*, whiche vnder a rustie, a course, & a sluttishe vesture, hidden more pride and ostentacion, then the riche gentlemen haue in their veluettes, and fine silkes. ¶ This was verified in England also, vntill the deuill had his Monkes, Freeres, Nunnes, and other cloisters again.

Pride maie as well be in sack cloth, as in rich araie.

The cloisterers wer ful of pride ambition and vainglorie.

57. To a certaine persone, wondryng that he was not

not greuously moued in displeasure against one, by whom he was shamefully railed at, and reuiled. He railleth not on me (quoth Socrates) for the thynges that he speaketh are not in me, nor take any holde on me.

Unwrathfullie
spoken.

¶ But the moste part of people, is euen for this verie cause, the more testie and fumishe, if ought be spoken against one, hauyng not deserued thesame. Good men when thei be euill spoken of, ar glad of their own behalves, that thei be clere of those mischiefes, whiche are put vpon them, and laied vnto their charge, nor doe take it to be spoken against them : no not a whitte more, then if a feloe beeyng deceiued in his iye sight, should call *Plato* by the name of *Socrates*, & should call *Socrates* all that naught were, and speake all the mischief possible againste *Socrates* : that feloe railleth not on *Plato*, but on him whom he supposeth that *Plato* is.

Good men reioice that thei be clere of soch mischieues as bee putte vpon them.

The olde comedie vsed commonlie to make iestyng and scoffyng, at the citezens by name. The plain open speaking of whom where many did feare, Socrates saied, to be expedient, that a man should wetyngly and willyngly, come in the presence or waie of them. For if thei speake any thing against vs (saieth he) worthie to be rebuked, being told of it, we shal emend it, and so thei maie in deede doe vs good : but if thei shall spoute, railyng, slaunderous, or reprochefull wordes againste vs, and no truthe in them, it nothyng toucheth vs.

58.

And because there cam moch striefe & debate thereof, a decree was made that no man should be named to his reproche, & that was called the newe comedie. Railing againste vs, without truthe, nothyng toucheth vs.

59.

Socrates after that he had within dores forborne his wife Xantippe, a greate while scoldyng, and at the last beyng wearie, had set him doune without the strete doore, she beyng moche the more incensed, by reason of her housbandes quietnesse and stilnesse, powred doune a pisse bolle

The pacience
of *Socrates*.

bolle vpon hym out of a windore, and al beraied him. But vpon soche persones as passed by, laughing and hauing a good sport at it, *Socrates* also for his part, laughed again as fast as the best, sayng: Naie, I thought verie well in my minde, and did easily Prophecie, that after so greate a thonder, would come a raine.

Merily spoken
and paciently
withall.

60.

The pacience
of *Socrates*.

The scoldyng
of brathels, is
no more to bee
passed on, then
the squeking of
well wheles.

To *Alcibiades* greatly wondryng that he could take so continuall pacience with *Xantippe* in his hous, beyng soche an vnreasonable scoldyng brathell: I haue (saied he) now a long season, been so well enured with soche maner geare, that I am therewith no more offended, then if I should heare the squekyng of a wheele, that draweth vp water out of a welle.

Custom
easeth the
tediousnes of
incommodities

¶ For that maner squekyng, soche persones maie verie euill abide, as haue not been accustomed vnto it, and he that daily heareth thesame, maie so well awaie with it, that to his knowlege, heareth it not.

61.

Wiues must
bee suffred for
bringing
foorth the child-
ren.

To thesame *Alcibiades* sayng a moche like thing, Why, euen your self (quoth *Socrates*) doe ye not patiently suffer at home in your hous, the cacklyng of *Hennes*, when thei make a clockyng? Yes, I lette them alone (saied *Alcibiades*) but my *Hennes* laie me egges, and bring me forthe *Chekens*. And my sweete spouse *Xantippe* (quoth *Socrates*) bringeth me forthe children.

62.

Socrates had ii.
wiues at ones,
Myrtho and
Xantippe.

Some there be that suppose *Socrates* to haue kept in his hous two wiues at ones *Myrtho* and *Xantippe*. Therefore to a certain man greatly meruaillyng to what vse he kept twoo women at ones (especially beyng scoldyng quennes, euer chidyng and braulyng) and did not beate or drue them out of his dores, thus he saied: These women dooe teache me at home within the hous, the pacience and suffraunce, which I must vse, when, I
am

am abroad forthe of dores. Beyng exercised afore, and well broken with the facions of these ii, I shalbe the better, and more gentle to liue or to deale withall, for the companie of other men.

¶ The demaunder of this question *Aulus Gellius* maketh *Alcibiades*.

Aulus Gellius a Latin writer of elegancies for the Latine tongue, and of other many pretie rehearsals and discussynges of diuers thinges.

When Xantippe had pulled awaie her house-
bandes cope from his backe, euen in the open
strete, and his familiar companions gaue hym a
by warnyng, to auenge soche a naughtie touche
or pranke, with his tenne commaundementes:
gailie saied (quoth he) Yea Marie, that while she
and I be touzing and topleyng together, ye maie
crie to vs, on, now go to Socrates, an^other holde
thyne owne Xantippe. 63.

Merelie spo-
ken, and paci-
ently withall.

¶ For, with soche maner woordes doen the lookers
on, chere and harten twoo parties, matched and sette
together by the eares. But this wise man, thought
better to shew of himself an example of pacient suf-
fraunce then to shewe a gase or sight, for folkes to
laughe at, in striuyng or contendyng with his wife.

To one demaundyng, why he had and kept in his
hous the saied Xantippe, beyng a woman of soche
condicions and facions, as no man might well
awaie withall, or abide he saied: that men ought
in like maner, to liue with crabbed and testie
wiues, as thei that exercise and practise them
selues, to the feate of beyng good horsemen, get
horses of feerse stierying natures, and of rough
condicions: which if thei haue ones thoroughly
maistered, and made to the bridle, and bee able
at all assaies to abide: thei shall haue all other
horses as gentle and easie to rewle, as thei can
desire. And semblable, he that hath learned to
beare, 64.

The gentlenes
and pacience
of *Socrates*.

Crabbed wives
be compared to
rough stierying
horses.

He that can
abide a curst
wife needeth
not to fear

what com-
panie he
liueth in.

beare, with the facions of a crabbed and testie wife, shall with moche more ease be able to company with al others, of what sort so euer thei be.

65.

Lysias was an orator in *Athenes* and a frende of *Socrates*, and a man (as saieith *Quintilianus*) of swete and pleasaunt eloquence.

Not all maner oracions will serue for almaner persones.

When *Lysias* had rehersed, and read over vnto *Socrates* an oracion, whiche he had made for *Socrates*, to pronounce in the defence of hymself before the Judges: It is a ioily and an elegaunt oracion, saied he, but it is nothyng conueniente nor comelie for *Socrates*.

¶ For, it was more fitte to be made of some man of lawe, in pleadyng a courte matter or a case in lawe, then to be pronounced by a Philosophier, and namely by soche a Philosophier as *Socrates*. Again to the same *Lysias* demaundyng, for what cause if he iudged the oracion to be good, he thought it to be inconuenient for hym.

Why, saied *Socrates*, is it not a thyng possible, that a garment, or a shoe maie be galauntly made and wel facioned, and yet thesame not be mete for some bodies wearyng.

¶ This self same historie doeth *Valerius Maximus* report, after a more churlishe sort, & more vnlike to the maners of *Socrates*. For, he reporteth *Socrates*, in this wise to haue made answere vnto *Lysias*: awaie with thissame I beseche thee hartily. For, if I could by any meanes bee brought, to pronounce this oracion, from the beginnyng to the endyng, euen in the ferthest and vttermoste wilderness, of the barbarous countree of *Scythia*, then would I graunte and yelde myself well worthy to suffre death.

66.

Boldnesse and trust on a mannes well doing and on an vpright conscience.

When thei that sate in iudgemente vpon *Socrates*, could not agree emong themselues, what punishmente *Socrates* was worthie to suffre, *Socrates* euen of hymself sodainly brake out and saied: for the thynges that I haue doen, I my self iudge and giue sentence, that I am worthie to

to haue my findyng allowed, & assigned for terme of life, out of the chamber of the citee, in the Pritanei.

¶ For that honour was wonte to be shewed and doen to soche menne, as had doen some especiall gaie benefite, to the common weale. *Marcus Tullius* in the firste booke, intituled * of a perfite Oratour, reherseth this historie. There was (saith he) in *Athenes*, when any persone was vpon arainment condemned (if it were not by the lawe a penaltie of death) as ye would saie a sette fine, and an ordinarie forfeite of money, at the arbitrimēt, pleasure, and discrecion of the iudges, when the partie arained, or defendaunt was ones yelded into the handes of the iudges: he was asked what fine he would confesse hymself, verie well to haue deserued to paie, whiche thyng, when *Socrates* was asked, he answered, that he had well deserued, to bee aduanced with verie high honours and rewardes, and to haue continuall findyng, for terme of life, of the charges of the Citee, freely allowed vnto him, whiche honour and preeminence, was esteemed and accompted the highest, that could be emong the Grekes, with whose answer, the iudges wer so set on fire with anger, that thei condemned to death, the moste innocent persone of the world.

if it chaunced any man to dooe vnto the citee, some singular and incomparable benefite then had he a lordes liuing, or an honorable porcion to liue on, assigned out of the chamber of the Citee, and was allowed with the president of the counsaill, duryng his life, and this was the highest honour that might bee emong the Grekes. And this did *Socrates* claime, as one that with good enstruccion & bringing vp of youth in vertue and good maners, and in right moral Philosophie, had doen as high benefite to the common weale, as did the chief counsaillours of the citee, and that he thereby had deserued, as good and as beneficiall a liuing, as the best of them all.

* *Marcus Tullius* writeth twoo volumes entituled in Latine, *De oratore*, that is of a perfite oratour, whiche werke himself rekeneth the best that euer he made.

Socrates met full but with *Xenophon* in a narrow back lane, wher he could not stert from him, when he espied him to be a young stripling of rare towardnes, & like to proue so well as fewe did, he held out his staffe, & charged him, that he should

πρύτανις

Pritanis in greke was the same officer that we cal president of the Counsaill, and chief or hed of all the rewlars. Whiche office he that had in *Athenes*, had assigned vnto him out of the Cofers and chamber of the citee, an honourable and a greate liuing in the *Prytanei*, that is to saie: in the chief place of the tower or castle of the citee, where the said hed counsaillour had his lodgeing and dwelling place. That

The auctoritee
of *Socrates* in
matters of
philosophie

Fewe persones
knowe or take
heede where
vertue is to be
learned.

How *Xenophon*
became
scholar vnto
Socrates.

should not a foote fether. Assone as he stode stil, *Socrates* asked of him where sondrie wares were made & sold, that men did commonly occupie, when *Xenophon* had therunto redily and quickly shaped an answer: *Socrates* eftsones demaunded, in what place of the Citee, men wer made good, honest, and vertuous, when the young man had answered, that he was of that matter ignoraunt: then come with me (quoth *Socrates*) that thou maiest learne.

The furniture
of the mynde.

¶ For, that tyme forthward begon *Xenophon* to be disciple and scholare vnto *Socrates*. It is a thing contrary to all good reason, to haue knowlege, where thou maiest be serued of a wel-fauored and clenly garment, or of a faire cuppe, and to be ignoraunt, where thou maiest purchase the good furniture of the mynde and soule. ¶ That is vertue and cunningg.

One of the best
dishes at sup-
per, is honger

68. On a certain time as he was walking before his doore a greate pace, euen till the going awaie of the daie light, when one of the folkes that passed by, had saied: What meane ye *Socrates*, by thus doying: I procure my self some cates for my Supper (quoth he) meaning of hounge, whiche he prouoked with chasyng vp and doune, ¶ *Marcus Tullius* doeth set it out with these wordes: That I maie suppe the better, I doe with walking procure hungre, for my chief cates & viandrie.

Sweetesauours
and oiles, been
more meete for
women then
for menne.

69. His saiyng was, that sweete sauours & swete oiles, wer to be let alone for women and as for in young men, no sweete sauour to haue a better smell, then the oile whiche thei occupied in exercising their bodies, at the prouyng of maisteries, or at werke.

The sweete
sauours, mete
for menne

¶ For with oile of baulme, or of Spike, a slaue and a gentleman, haue bothe of them by and by, one maner sauour.

Being

Being asked wherof it was most comely for aged men to smell: Of honest and vertuous disposicion (quoth he) then beyng eftsones asked, where pomanders therof were to bee solde: he rehearsed this verse of the Greke Poete Theognis.

ἱσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ αἶψ' ἱσθλὰ διδάσκει.

Of honest men, wheresoeuer thei bee.

Ye maie at all tymes, learne honestee.

¶ Diuerse sentences of this sorte, *Xenophon* heapeth together in his banquet.

When a certain riche man had sent his sonne, being a proper ladde vnto Socrates, for to examin and trie his towardnesse, and the tutour that had been the bringer vp of thesame, from his childhood, had said in this wise: The father of this ladde, hath sent him vnto you Socrates, that ye should haue a sight of him: by and by said Socrates to the child: Speake some what then, goode sonne, that I maie see thee.

¶ Signifyng that the disposicion of a manne, doeth not shewe so clere in his face or visage, as in his talkyng, for, this is the moste sure and true glasse, of the harte and minde, and fewest tymes liyng.

He saied that the woman kinde, if thesame bee diligently enstructed and taught, is no lesse apt then men are, to take aswell all maner disciplines, or facultees of learning, as also all maner vertues moral, yea euen fortitude and hardinesse, whiche as though it should properly appertein onely to men, and not to women, is called by the Greke vocable *ἀνδρία*, in Englishe, manhood, or manlie hardinesse.

¶ This did he gather by the sight of a maiden, that was a dauncer and a tumbler, who beyng brought in, where company sate at a table, did with wondrous sleight and conueighaunce cast vp, and receiue again one

70. Of what sauour it is comely for aged men to smelle.

Xenophon among other bokes writeth one, whiche he entitleth

συμπόσιον, that is the banquet.

71.

A mannes talking doth more clerely shew his condicions then doeth his face.

72.

The woman sexe is no lesse apt to learne al maner thynges then men are.

ἀνδρία
Manhood.

one after an other, twelue trendles or roundelles, the space of the heigthe; and the measures of footyng the daunce, so tempered and proporcioned, that she neuer missed. And thesame maiden, where the lokers on quaked and trembled for feare, daunced without any feare at all emong sweardes and kniues, beyng as sharpe as any thyng.

73. *Agatho was a young gentleman of Athenes of excellent beautie and fauour.*

As Socrates beyng bidden to a supper by one Agatho, was going with trick voided shoes on his feete, and perfumed with sweete sauours, and that contrary to his accustomed vsage: when he was asked of a frende of his, that mette hym on the waie, why he was more nette and piked at that season, then he had vsed to be aforetymes? He saied merily in this wise: That to soche a minion feloe as Agatho is, I maie go trim nette, and well beseen.

- ¶ Where in deede there was no man aliue, that had lesse mynde or phantasie to soche thynges.

Pleasure and pain, by course folowen either other.

74. The same daie that Socrates should drinke the poison, when he after the striking of, of his shacles or fetters, had feled great pleasure of clawing where it itched, he said to his frendes: How wonderfully is it of nature ordeined, that these two thinges doe by course, feloe either other, pleasure, and greef: for, excepte pain and greef, had proceeded or gone afore, I should not now haue feeled this pleasure.

75. *The poison that Socrates should dye of, he called a medicine.*

Of the vnder gaillour, deliueyng vnto him the iuice of Hemlocke in a cuppe, he demaunded, how that medecine was to be taken? Forasmoeche as the same officer was well practised, and could good skill in that science.

Alludyng to the sick folkes that is: vsyng soche wordes

¶ Alludyng to the sicke folkes, who doe learne of the Phisicians, when and how it is best to receiue a medicinable drink, that thei haue made. And when the

the seruauant had answered, that he muste vp with it, all at a draught if he could, & that after it he must walke vp and doun so long vntill he feeles soche weakenesse & feblenesse, that he should drawe his legges after hym, and that after this he must lye hym down in his bedde, vpnight vpon his backe, and then the drinke would werke his wonted effect: *Socrates* enquired, whether he might not leefully poure out some parte thereof, in the waie of sacrificyng, and taking assaie to the Goddes, because in merie diners, suppers, & banquettes, it was the guise and facion (a little quantitee of the wine poured out) to sacrifice thesame, in the waie of assaie to some God by name (whiche was called in Greke *λείβω*, and in Latine, *Libare*). The officer answered, that he had tempered so moche and no more, as was requisite for the purpose, meaning by those wordes that there was none thereof spare, to bee poured out. Then saied *Socrates*, Well, yet is it bothe leeful and also requisite to beseche the goddes, that this my passyng out of this worlde, maie bee happie and fortunate.

and termes, as if the gaillour had been a Phisician and be a sicke man & the gaillours paciente.

In feastes and diners, the gise was to powre out a little of the drink in the waie of Sacrifice, and taking assaie to some one of the Gods.

When the vnder officer of the prison had 76. vnouer hym, and laied hym naked, because he was now alreadie cold at the hart. ¶ And should therevpon die immediatlie: *Crito* (quoth *Socrates*) we bee now endebted to the God *Aesculapius* of a cocke, whiche dlie to paie in no wise bee ye negligente.

Aesculapius
the sonne of
Appollo the

first inuentour and practiser of Phisicke. Whom for that science the antiquitee, honored as a God, and soche as recovered from any disease, did sacrifice vnto *Aesculapius* a live Cocke. But the Poetes doe fable that he was slaine, with lightening of *Jupiter*, because he had with his cunnyng of Phisike, restored *Hippolitus* again to life,

¶ Euen as though he had vpon the takyng of a medicinable drinke, perfectly recovered againe all his health. For * *Crito* had afore dooen, all that euer he might possible doe, that *Socrates* should make meanes to saue his life. And in *Socrates* there was so roted

* *Crito* was an honest citezen in *Athenes*, and a true frend vnto *Socrates*, and the other as good, and as louyng a frende againe to hym in all poyntes, of mutuall familiaritee.

a certain vein of honest merines, euen naturally geuen him in his cradle, that he could ieste & speake merilie, euen at the houre of death, for these are reported to haue been the last wordes that euer he spake.

77. He taught that the beautee of the myndes, is moche more to be fauoured, then of the bodies, and that thesame pleasure, which a welfauored face when it is loked on, doeth engender in vs, is to bee translated and remoued, to the beautie of the mynde, ferre excedyng the other in fairenesse, albeet liyng hidden from the bodily iye. But to haue a sight thereof, Philosophicall iyes to bee requisite and necessarie.

The beautee of minds, is more to be loured than the beautee of the bodies.

¶ He noted the Greke vocable φιλεῖσθαι, to bee of significacion indifferent to kissing or louyng, of whiche twoo thynges, the former pertaineth to them that doe carnally loue the bodie, the other to soche as doe vertuouslie loue the mynde.

78. Unto Crito after a verie earnest facion counsaill yng and auis yng him, that if he for his owne part, passed not on his life, yet at least wise he should preserue thesame, and continue in his former good state and condicion, for the respect of his children, being euen then but little babes, and for his frendes sakes, whiche had all their staie in him. As for my children (saied he) God, who gaue them vnto me, shall take care. And as for frendes, when I depart from hens, I shall find either like vnto you, or els better then ye be, and yet I shal not long be defrauded of the companie of your selues neither, for asmoche as ye are like shortely, to come to dwelle euen in the self same place, that I now go vnto.

Socrates died in perfite securitee.

A holy kinde of dyng, in a Gentile or Heathen manne.

79. Those persones, whiche doe beare carnall loue onely to the bodie, Socrates affirmed to be moche like vnto Phisicians, that be euer nedie, and that still

Honest and vertuous loue.

still do call on their pacientes, importunately crauing one thing or other. And again, those that bee honeste frendes, rather then carnall louers, to bee like vnto persones possessyng, and hauyng land of their owne, which thei continually studied & labored, to make better & better.

The difference
betwene a car-
nall loue and
an honest
frend.

¶ A carnall loue seketh to satisfie, and to fulfil his beastly or bodily pleasure. A true and honeste frende, hauyng none iye nor respecte to his owne person, thinketh himself so moche the richer, how moche the more honest and vertuous, he maketh his frende to be.

Sitting at the table at meate, in Xenophon his hous, euery one of the geastes, being bidden to tell, in what occupacion & crafte, or in what good propertie or feacte that he could doe, he liked himself best, when the course and tourne to speake came vnto Socrates, he saied in the waie of iesting, the best thing that he could bragge or crake of, to be Lenocinium, whiche souneth in Englishe, enticyng and alluryng, of soche sort as is vsed in houses of baudrie.

Lenocinium

Vertue princi-
pallie aboue al
thinges, pur-
chaseth to man
beneuolence
and loue.

¶ But the meanyng of *Socrates* was, that he taught true and sincere vertue, whiche doeth specially aboue al other thinges, commende and set out the hauer : and the whiche as wel priuately, as in open face of the world doth purchase vnto man beneuolence & loue.

A feloe hauyng sight in Phisiognomie (who professed and openly toke vpon him, by the complexion and pleight of the bodie, and by the proporcion and setting, or compace of the face or visage, to be able vnfallible and without missing, to find out and iudge the naturall disposition of any man) when he had well vewed Socrates, gaue plain sentence, that he was a loutish feloe, a dulle blockehed, besides that also, moche

80.

The art & pro-
fession of Phi-
siognomiers.

Of what nature
and disposicion
Socrates had
been, if he had
not given hym-
self to the

studie of Philosophie.

Philosophie altereth, and cleane chaungeth nature.

moche geuen to the wanton loue of women, foule steined with the filthie concupiscence and desire of boies, a greate boller of wine, and a vicious foloer of all naughtie appetites, and lustes of the bodie. And when the frendes of Socrates, beeyng brought in a highe fume, thretened the feloe, and would haue been vpon him, Socrates kept them backe, sayng: He hath not lied one whit, I should haue been soche an one in all pointes, in verie deede, if I had not committed my self vnto Philosophie to be gouerned, and kept in better staie.

82. When Aristippus, the disciple of Socrates, had of his gaines, of setting vp the teaching Philosophie for money (which thing he first of al the scholars of Socrates, did set vp and begon to doe) had sent .20. poundes vnto his maister: Socrates sent the money backe again vnto hym forthwith, alleging that his familiar good Aungell, would in no wise suffer him, to take it.

Aristippus firste of all the scholars of Socrates, sette vp teaching of philosophie for money. The familiare ghost or aungell of Socrates, called in Greke δαίμων in Latin *Genius*.

Socrates allowed not that any man should take money for teachyng vertue, & esteemed money so gotten, to be sacrilege.

¶ For Socrates saied, that he had a familiare ghost or Aungell peculiere and proper to himself, of whom he was by a priue token forbidden, if he attempted, or went about to dooe any vn honest thyng. Verely, that familiare good Aungell, I suppose, was reason. And in the meane tyme, vnto *Aristippus* he did after a gentle sort, signifie hymself not to alowe, ne to thinke well doen, that he kept a schoole of morall Philosophie for money, and therefore thesame gifte of his as a thyng gotten by plaine sacrilege, he vtterly refused, and would none of it.

83. One Euthydemus returnyng and comming awaie from the wrastling place, Socrates, when he had mette with hym by chaunce, brought home to supper with him. And as thei two wer studiously disputing and treactyng of many thynges, Xantippe beyng therewith very angrie, arose

Euthydemus one of the familiare frendes of Socrates in Athens and a Philosopher.

arose vp from the table, and spake many bitter wordes of contumely, and despite against her houseband, with whiche wordes, forasmuche as he was nothing moued, at last she tipped the table ouer and ouer, and floung doune all that euer was vpon it. But when Euthydemus beyng therewithall verie sore moued, arose and begon to depart, Why, what harme haue ye (quoth Socrates?) Did not euen this self same thing, chaunce at your own hous the last daie, that a henne mounting, cast doune all thynges that wer on the table? Yet did we your geastes then, not one whitte fume at the matter.

The cancardnes of *Xantippe*.

The pacience of *Socrates*.

When in the comedie of Aristophanes entituled, the cloudes, he was with many & bitter wordes, of railing & defamacion, as ye would saie torn, and mangled in peces: and one of the companie standing by, said Doth not this go to your hart Socrates? By Iupiter saieth he again, it greueth my stomacke nothing at all, if I bee snapped at, and bitten with merie tauntes at the staige where enterludes are plaied, no more then if it wer at a great diner or banquet, where wer many geastes.

84.

Socrates sore railed at by name, in the comedie of *Aristophanes*, entituled, the cloudes, or, mistes.

The pacience of *Socrates*.

¶ This custome & vsage euen yet still endureth among certain of the Germaines, *(yea, & in England also)* that in feastes of greate resort, there is brought in for the nones some iesting feloe, that maie scoff and ieste vpon the geastes, as thei sitten at the table, with the which iesting to be stiered to angre, is accompted a thyng moche contrarie to all courtesie or good maner.

The custome of diuers places to haue iesters and scoffers at solemne feastes.

He vsed often to saie, that he, whiche moueth 85.
his bodie to and fro, with leapyng and dauncing, hath nede to haue an hous of large rounge, but who so exerciseth hym self with singyng, or talkyng to thesame, either standing, or sitting, or leaning,

Moderate exercitations of the bodie, allowed by *Socrates*, and the contrarie disallowed.

leaning, any place whatsoever it is, to be sufficient, and wide or large enough.

¶ By this sayng, he did allowe moderate exercitations of the bodie, especially after meate taken : & exercises any thing buisie or full of stiering be disallowed.

86. Unto *Socrates*, somewhat sharply and roughly chydynge one of hys familyare frendes, at the table, as they sate at meate *Plato* sayd : Had it not been better, to haue tolde him these thinges apart out of companie ? To whom *Socrates* saied againe : And should not ye also haue dooen better, if ye had told me this apart out of company, betwene you and me.

Merely spoken and nippyngly withall.

In rebuking another, to commit the self same fault, that one rebuketh.

¶ He merily and sharply withall taunted *Plato*, as the whiche in rebukynge hym, did commit the verie selfsame fault that he rebuked.

87. *Socrates* as he sate among companie at a table, espyng a young man somewhat greedily eatynge the fleshe, and euer among deping or sopping his bread in the pottage or brothe : Maisters, all that sitte at this table (quoth *Socrates*) whiche of you vseth his bread in steade of his meate, and meate in stede of his bread ? A disputation hereupon arisyng among the companie : ¶ (For, it is not I quoth one, and it is not I quoth another) the yong man perceiued the matter, & blushed as rede as fire, and begon more leasurly and moderately, to feede and eate of the meate.

Immoderate and greedie eatynge, rebuked by *Socrates*.

88. Beeyng asked, whiche was the chief vertue of young menne : That thei doe not (saith he) ouer feruently or angrely attempt assaie, or enterprise any thing.

The chief vertue of yong men not to eagrelie to attempt any thyng.

¶ For, the feruentnesse of that age ¶ being as hote as coales, will not suffre them to kepe a meane. * To this thyng had *Terence* an iye and respecte in the yong manne *Pamphilus*.

* *Terence* a Latin Poete, a

writer

writer of comedies, & in the firste comedie, entitled *Andria* Simo hauyng espied, that his sonne *Pamphilus*, had fallen in loue with a single woman, named *Glycerie*, talketh of the matter, with his late seruaunt *Sofia*, and in processe of communicacion, where Simo would haue *Pamphilus*, not to ferre to procede in wanton loue of paramours, no by sainte Marie, saieth *Sofia*, for this I thinke in the life of manne, to bee as good a thing as can be, that he attempt not, ne enterprise any thyng ouermuche.

Letters or wrytyng (whiche the moste part of 89.
folkes, supposeth to haue been first deuised and
found out, for helping the memorie) Socrates saied
to bee verie hurtfull to the memorie.

Whether letters
or wrytyng doe
helpe the me-
mory, or els
rather hurte
the same.

The exercise of
the memorie.

After the feacte
of writing ons
found out men
trusted more to
their bokes,
than to their
memories.

So moche & no
more doth
euery of vs
knowe as we
haue suerly
imprinted in
our memorie.

¶ For in old time, menne (if thei had heard any
thing, worthie to be knowen) thei wrote and graued
thesame, not in bokes, but in the harte and minde.
And the memorie by this confirmed and made stedfast,
thei kept in their remembraunce, whatsoeuer thei were
willyng, and what euery man perfectly knew, he had
alwaies redie with hym at his fingers endes. After-
ward the vse of wrytyng beyng ones founde out, while
men put all their affiaunce & trust in bookes, thei were
nothyng like earneste, to imprinte in their mind, soche
thinges as thei had learned. By that meanes it came
to passe, that the exercise of memorie neglected, and
nothyng passed on, the knowlege of thinges was no-
thyng so quicke, nor freshe as it had been, and eche
man knewe still lesse and lesse. For so moche and no
more, dooeth euery of vs knowe, as we haue faste im-
printed, and dooe kepe in our memorie.

90.

When the time of his diyng drewe fast vpon
hym, beyng asked of *Crito*, how his minde was
to be buried: O my frendes (quoth he) a greate
deale of labour haue I spent in vain. For vnto
Crito your frend & mine, I haue not yet per-
swaded, that I shall more swiftly then any birde,
flie from hens, and not leaue behynd me here, any
part or porcion of me. Yet neuerthesse *Crito*,
if thou shalte bee hable to ouertake me, or if thou
shalt in any place come by me, or gette me,
burie me, euen how so euer to thee shall seme
best:

The soule pas-
seth out of
this worlde,
more swiftly
then any birde
flieth.

The soule is the
man, & the
body the taber-

nacle of the
solle.

best : but beleue me, not one of you al shall ouer-
take me, when I shalbe departed from hens.

To take care
how to be
buried is folish-
nes.

¶ *Socrates* meant the soule to be the man, and the
bodie to be nothyng els, but the instrument or taber-
nacle of the soule ; and therefore those persones to doe
like fooles, that take care or thought how to be buried.

91.

Death is like
vnto sound
slepyng : or to
being in a
straunge
countree.
That the soule
shall at
length
retourne
again into the
bodie, not only
shalbe at the
generalle re-

Thesame *Socrates* was wont to saie, that death
is like to sounde slepyng. ¶ (And of this, we
call in Englishe a sounde slepe, a ded slepe) or els
to a long pilgrimage, that is to saie, longe be-
ying in a straunge countree, from whens at length
to retourne home again.

¶ Verie sounde slepyng, taketh awaie for the time,
all operacion of the bodily senses, & the soule beeyng
departed awaie from the bodie, shall at length retourne
again into his tabernacle, that is to saie into thesame
bodie.

surreccion, according to our belefe, but also was the opinion of *Socrates*, of *Plato*,
and of their disciples, albeit after an other sorte.

92.

If the vniuer-
sall calamitees
of all men, wer
in an heape
egually to be
distributed,
eche man
would rather
take his owne
again, than
egual porcion
with all his
feloes.

Thesame vsed also many times to saie, that if
the vniuersall calamitees of all men, should be
gathered all in an heap together and immediately
to eche man seuerallie by himself, should bee dis-
tributed egual porcions out of the same heape,
it would come to passe, that eche man would
rather chose to receiue his owne former calami-
tees againe, then egual porcion with his feloes
out of the common heape.

¶ This maketh against the common maners & guise
of men, who grutche and repine, at the state and con-
dicion of others, and whine continually at their owne.

93.

It is no shame
for a manne to
learne that he
knoweth not,

He learned to plaie on the Harpe, after that
he was well stricken in age, and that, among
children. And vnto soche persones as mervailed
at thesame, as a thing verie vnconuenient and
foolishe, he saied, that it was no shame nor fool-
ishe

ishe thing, for a man to learne those thinges, of
whiche he were ignoraunt. of what age
soeuer he bee.

¶ For, it is turned to no mannes rebuke, to procure
and gette soche thinges, as he hath nede of, if thei be
wanting, neither in this behalf is to be regarded a mans
age, but his nede. 94.
To haue made
a good begin-
ning, is no
smal porcion of
the werke doen.

He saied, that to make a good beginning is not
a little, but next cousin to a little, or els thus, to
make a good beginning, is not a little, but a little
more.

¶ The Greke wordes ren thus, *ἐν ἀρχῇ μὴ εἶναι παραμικρὸν δέ*, whiche he that translated *Lac-
tius* out of Greke into Latine, hath interpreted in this
sense: That to make a good beginning is not a small
matter, but a verie great thing. Albeit the woordes of
Socrates doe expresse an other sense, in maner con-
trary. But he meaneth (if I be not deceiued) that,
to make a good beginning, is not a little matter in ve-
rie deede, but to be little esteemed, or els to make a
good beginnyng not to bee a little, but to be nexte
doore by a little, or nexte cousin to a little. For, men
ought to begin thynges faire and softly, and to procede
by little and little, because that soche persones, as do
make moste hast in the beginning, haue commonly (ac-
cording to our Englishe Prouerbe) worst spede to-
ward the endyng. So that he alludeth vnto the Poete
Hesiodus, who biddeth, that wee shall adde a little to a
little. The quickenes & pithe of the sayng resteth in
the Greke vocable *μικρὸν* and *παραμικρὸν*,* and the-
same cannot well be expressed in Latine. The more hast
the wurst spede

* No nor yet in Englishe neither. Albeit I thinke the sayng of *Socrates*, to haue
this sense and meaning, that to haue made a good beginnyng or entreaunce, is
not a little, but a little more, or a degree fether then a little. That is to saie: as
good a forthdeale, & anauntage towards thende of the werke, as if a good porcion
of thesame wer alredie finished. For, according to our Englishe Prouerbe, a thing
well begon, is more then halfe doen. For, who so hath ones made a good begin-
ning of his werke, shall easily bring thesame to soche ende, and to soche passe
and effect as he would doe. As for alludyn vnto *Hesiodus* (as *Erasmus* here
taketh it.) I suppose *Socrates* meant nothing so, at lest wise, in this present
sayng. For, in *Hesiodus* is no soche worde as *παραμικρὸν*. Whiche *Erasmus*
interpreteth,

interpreteth, *Iuxta pusillum*, besides a little, and παραμικρόν, is an aduerbe, signifying, *Fere poene*, that is in Englishe : almoste, or welnigh, so that the sayng of *Socrates* maie purporte this sense, and bee thus interpreted, to bee ones entred is not a little begon, but the whole matter welnigh doen.

95.
ἔφασκε δὲ
γεωμετρεῖν,
μέχρι ἂν τις
μέτρῃ
δύνηται γῆν
παραλαβεῖν
τε καὶ
παραδοῦναι.
What Geometrie
Socrates
would to be
studied &
labored.
Ouer great
possessions ar
incommodious
bothe to the
owner, & to
his heire.

Purchase of
landes ought
to be moderate.

It was also a lesson of his teaching, that Geometrie ought to be studied, vntil a bodie bee sufficiently able, bothe to receiue or take, and also to giue out, or deliuer ground by measure.

¶ I suppose he meant, that men ought not to purchase, but landes and possessions moderate, whiche it might well stande with a bodie ease and commoditee, bothe to receiue of his auncestours, and also to leaue to his heires. For ouer great possessions of landes, as thei be not purchaced ne gotten, without moche a do, so thei come to the heires handes not peaceably, nor without great trauerse. The quickenes & pithe of the sayng, consisteth in the Greke worde γεωμετρεῖν whiche in significacion, is indifferent to the arte of Geometrie, and to meters of landes, or ground in a feld. ¶ Yea, & also in the Greke worde μετρεῖν that is, by measure. For, he would mennes purchases not to extende beyonde the compasse of sufficiencie, but to consist within the boundes of Mediocritee, whereby he reproved the vnsaciable desire of men, to haue possessions infinite. Albeit, this sayng can not well be expressed, to haue any grace in the Englishe tounge.

96.
In Athenes the
commonweale
was gouerned
by the com-
mons, till that
in *Socrates*
time, 30 tiran-
nes vsurped &
toke vpon them
the regiment,
which tirannes
were after-
warde destroyed
by the policie
of one
Thrasybulus.

To a certain persone taking greuously, that he was cleane out of regard and estimacion, at what tyme the thirtie tyrannes had inuaded and vsurped the gouernaunce of the common weale : Why, hast thou doen any thing (quoth *Socrates*) that greueth thy conscience, or repenteth thee ?

¶ Meanyng that it is not to be taken in the euill parte, if a man be despised or made an abiect, by vn-honest & naughtie disposed feloes : and that no persone ought, for any soche cause to mislike hymself : but if he haue doen some fault, trespase, or offence, wherefore he should iustlie encurre, the displeasure & indignacion,

nacion, bothe of hymself and of other honest menne. For, to be misliked of euill persones, is a pointe of high praise and commendacion.

When him semed that one saied vnto hym in his slepe, this verse of the Greke Poete Homerus.

ἤματι μὲν τρίτῳ φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἴκοιο.

On the third daie, nexte after this,
Come to Phthia, and doe not misse.

he said vnto Aeschines, This daie thre daies shall I bee a dedde man.

¶ Interpretynge & expounding the verse of *Homerus*, for an aunswere or declaracion of Gods will and pleasure, and the thing came euen so to passe. *Phthia* † was a citee in the region of *Thessalia*, the countree of * *Achilles*. And the frendes of *Socrates* did what thei could to perswade vnto hym, that he should flee into *Thessalia*, because he had there many good frendes.

Peleus kyng of *Thessalia*, and of *Thetis* daughter of *Chiron* the moste puisaunt and valiaunt warriour, that was among all the kynges of the Grekes at the battail of Troie.

It was also one of his saynges, That menne wer bounden, to be obedient to the lawes of the citee or countree: and wiues to the maners and facions of their housbandes, that thei liue in companie withal.

¶ Thei rule to liue by, and to be ordered by for the wife, is the housebande, whiche wife liueth well and vprightly, if her housebande bee obedient, to the lawes publique of the realme.

He gaue warnyng, that naughtie pleasures of the bodie, ought none other wise then the Mermaides of the sea called Sirenes, to bee passed by, and eschewed of any persone, that maketh haste in his waie toward vertue, as though after a long journey, had gotten at last a sight of his countree.

¶ He alluded vnto the fable of *Ulysses*, who stopped his eares with waxe, and by that meanes in saillyng, passed

Of the number of those tyrauntes were Critias and

97. Charicles, of whom is made mention afore in the .20. sayng of *Socrates*. *Socrates* knewe and saied, that he should die, 3 daies before by a vision and voice that he had in his slepe.

† *Phthia* a citee in the countree of *Thessalia* the region of *Achilles*.

* *Achilles* was the sonne of

98.

The rewle to liue by for the wife, is her husbande, if he be obedient to the lawes publike.

99.

He that hasteth toward vertue, must auoide the naughtie pleasures of the bodie, as he wold the monsters of the sea.

passed awaie by the monstres of the sea, called *Sirenes* (in Englishe *Marmaides*) when he had after his retorne from Troie, ones espied the smoke of his countree *Itacha*, mountyng into the aire out of the chimneies.

The poetes fables saien the *Sirenes*, were these thre, *Parthenope*, *Lygia*, & *Leucosia*. daughters of the flood *Achelous*, and of *Calliope*, one of the nine Muses, and that thei had their abidyng in a certain Isle, betwene Italie and Sicilie, and by the swetenes of their syngyng, thei allured passengers on the sea, and when thei had them, slue them. Wherefore *Flysses* returnyng from Troie, to *Ithaca* his countree, stopped the eares of all his companie with waxe, and caused hymself to be fast bound to the mast of the ship, and so escaped from the *Sirenes*, as *Homerus* writeth. And the *Sirenes* for anger and sorowe, that thei wer so despised, tumbled hedlong into the sea, and doe still remaine there.

100. When he heard the dialogue of Plato, entitled *Lysides*, readen, Oh lorde in heauen (saieth he) how many lies the young man forgeth on me.
Socrates of an humblenesse of minde, would not knowlege the laudes and praises that Plato attributed vnto hym.
 ¶ Either for that of his humilitie and lowlines, he would not knowlege the laudes and praises, which Plato did attribute vnto hym, or els because he feigned many thynges on *Socrates* in that dialogue.

101. Unto Aeschines, who was sore oppressed with pouertee, he vsed to giue warning and auise, that he thesaid Aeschines should borowe or take vsurie of his own self, and moreouer shewed the waies how, that was, by abatyng of his sumptuous fare at his table.
παρ' εαυτοῦ δανείζεσθαι
 How an cuill housband maie borowe money of hymself, to get aforehand.
Magnum vestigal parsimonie
 Good housbandrie is a greate yerelie reuenue to an householder.
 ¶ Accordyng to the prouerbe: good husbandrie, and sparyng in an hous, is a great penie rent of yerely reuenues. The moste readie waie to encrease a mannes richesse, is to abate of his charges. ¶ And (as our Englishe Prouerbe saieth) Hous keepyng is a priuie theef.

102. Beyng asked concerning Archelaus the sonne of Perdicca, who at that season was esteemed a verie valiaunt and hardie man, whether he iudged hym to bee in perfecte blisse, or not: I can not tell (saieth he) I neuer had comunicacion with him. And to the other partie then sayyng, After that sort or maner, Ye maie aswel doubt of the king of the Persians, whether he be in the state of
 of
 The state of blissefulnes of a man, consisteth in the vertues of the minde and not

of perfecte felicitée, or not : Yea, what els (quoth Socrates) forasmoeche as I knowe not how well learned he is, or how good and how honest he is.

in worldlie thynges.

¶ *Socrates* measured the blissefulnes of a man, by the verie true good qualitees and vertues of the minde. This doeth *Cicero* reporte and cite in the .5. booke of the *Tusculane* questions, out of the dialogue of *Plato*, entituled *Gorgias*.

¶ The sayniges of

ARISTIPPUS.



Ext after the maister, I thinke most congruente to set his owne scholare, that was bothe in age and time first, and in auctoritie chief of all the others, that is *Aristippus* : then whom among al the Philosophiers, ther hath not been any one, either of a more apt or readie & prompt wit, in conueighaunce or casting of thynges, & more agreable to all maner states, sortes, or facions of liuing, or els in his sayniges more merie conceipted, within the bondes of honestee, or more pleasaunt. Albeeit he semeth not to haue shewed that holinesse of maners, and behauour in liuyng, whiche all men doe honour and highly esteeme in *Socrates*.

called after his time, *Cyrenatici* because he came to Athenes out of that countree.

Aristippus a philosophier of an excellent wit, & of singular dexteritee : the first and chief of all the disciples of *Socrates*. Who taught Philosophie for money, as is aforsaid. The disciples & folowers of *Aristippus* wer called after that countree.

Betwene *Aristippus* and *Diogenes* the Cynike, there was moche good Cocking, and striuing, whether of them should win the spurres, and beare the bell, because thei wer of twoo sondry, and in maner contrary sectes, trades, or professions of liuyng. *Diogenes* called *Aristippus* the kynges hound because he was a daiely waiter, and gaue continually attendaunce in the Courte of *Dionysius*

I.
Betwene *Aristippus* & *Diogenes* was moche good cockyng and emulation.

Aristippus one of the Courte with *Dionysius*

the Tyranne of Sicilie.

The countreing of *Aristippus* and *Diogenes*.

Dionysius the tyranne of Sicilie. Against whom Aristippus on the other side vsed to saie: If Diogenes could behaue hymself, to be familiare with kinges, and daily about them, he should not neede to eate rawe or grene herbes. Then Diogenes again countreyng, saied: If Aristippus had learned to bee contented with rawe herbes, he should not nede to be the kinges hounde.

2. When he had on a tyme, commaunded a Pertrige to be bought, whiche he might not gette, vnder the price of .50. drachmes, that is .16s. 8d. sterling, or there aboute, vnto a certain person detesting and cryng abominacion on soche riotous superfluitee or prodigall excesse in a Philosophier: Why euen thou thy self (quoth Aristippus) if the price of a Pertrige were an halspenie, wouldst not thou buye of them? When he had answered, Yes: And euen as moche & no more doe I set by a merke and fowertie pens (saied Aristippus) as thou doest by thy halspenie.

A drachme was about the value of a grote sterlyng, or somewhat more.

Aristippus despised gold and siluer.

Who so is driuen from buying, by reason of the high price, setteth not little by the thing but setteth moche by the money.

A right Philosophier despiseth money.

¶ Thesame thing that the other iudged to bee an abominable point of riot, excesse, and prodigalitee: the Philosophier tourned an other waie, to the laude & praise of despisyng money. For, who so is by reason of the costlinesse or high price, feared and driuen awaie from buiyng, thesame doth not sette little by the meate, but setteth moche by the money. But to the estimation of the Philosophier, no whitte more in valour wer .50. drachmes, then to the other feloe an halspenie. Then *Aristippus* beyng in the desirfulnesse of that cates, nothyng worse then the other felowe, in the contempe of money, was ferre better.

3. When Dionysius had brought forthe before hym, three beautifull young damiselles, of light conuersacion, biddying hym to chose one, whiche soeuer he would of the 3: Aristippus laied hande on

on them all, and tooke them to hym, sayng: That Paris of Troie had founde it a thing, not a little to his paine, that of three ladies, he gaue preeminence to one, before the other twaine.

¶ And so he brought them all three vnto the court gates, and there tooke his leaue of them, and suffred them to depart, no lesse gentle, quicke and readie in abandonyng, then he had been afore embracyng.

written or engrauen about it. *Bee this giuen to the fairest. Iuno, Pallas, and Venus*, all three claimed to haue the saied aple. After moche stryuing in presence and compaignie of all the Goddesses. In fine, *Iupiter* sent *Mercurius* with the same three goddesses and the aple, vnto *Paris* the sonne of *Priamus*, then kynge of Troie, who adiudged the aple vnto *Venus*, whiche *Venus* promised hym in rewarde, that he should haue the fairest ladie, that was on the yearth, of all mortall creatures, and that was *Helena*, the wife of *Menelaus*, then kyng of Lacedaemon, whom the saied *Paris* stole from her housebande, and conueighed to Troie. And for her begon the battaill of Troie, whereof ensued not onely the vtter destruction, exterminacion, and death of hym, and of all his blood, but also the subuersion and desolacion of the noble citee of Troie, whiche the Grekes burned, not leuyng so moche as one hous standyng.

Strato, or after other writers, Plato, said to Aristippus: Vnto thee onely is this gifte giuen, to weare bothe the shorte or cutted cape, of a galaunte and ruffleyng courtier (whiche was called Chlamys) and also the side robe or cope of homely & course clothe, soche as the beggerie Philosophiers, and none els vsen to weare.

¶ Thesame thyng did the Poete *Horacius* note, when he saied.

Omnis Aristippum decuit color.

All colours, and facions of araie

Became onely Aristippus, alwaie.

In the Courte of *Dionysius*, he would daunce in purple and crimasin silkes or veluettes, and somtymes he would weare a course pilche, mantle, or cope doune to the foote, but yet euermore hauyng in mynde, what, when, and how, beste became hym, and to doe neither of these thynges other wise then might stand with honestee, comelinesse, and good facion.

Beyng all beraied in the face, with the spetting of
Dionysius

When *Eris*, the Goddess of strife and contencion, had trilled a longe the table (wher all the goddesses were at a banquet assembled) a golden aple with this poise

4.
To Aristippus onely was geuen this gift to bee bothe a galaunte courtier, and also a sage Philosophier.

Aristippus euermore considered and remembred honestee and comelinesse.

Aristippus toke
paciently to be
spitten vpon,
so that he
might win
Dionysius to
the studie of
Philosophie.

Dionysius, he tooke it verie paciently, and to them that fumed at the spitefull touche, thus he saied. The fisher men, to take a little Gougeon, doe abide to bee all embrued with the foule salte water of the Sea: and should not I, to take a greate Whale be contented, to be sprinckled with a little spettle of ones mouth?

No small
vtilitee groweth
to common
weales by the
sapience of
lerned princes.

¶ By the name of a Whale, notyng the kyng, whom he did all that in hym laie, with his pacience to allure vnto the studie of Philosophie. And in deede no small vtilitee and benefite it is, that groweth to common weales, by the sapience and high knowlege of learned Princes.

6.
The fruicte of
Philosophie is
that a man
shal speake
plainlie as
lieth in his
harte.

Beyng asked what fruicte he had receiued, of the studie of Philosophie: Marie (quoth he) that I can to all persones whatsouer thei bee talke boldely, franklie, and plainly as lieth in my mynd.

Aristippus
feared no man,
nor disdeined
any persone.

¶ For, neither did he fear men of power and auctoritee, nor disdein inferiour persons of lowe degree forasmoche as he had a minde free, and clere voide, aswell from hope, as from feare, he was no mannes dogbolte, ne in any mannes bondage, nor helde vp the yea and naie of any persone, contrary to that he thought in his owne harte.

7.
Aristippus
loued gaie
apparell and
good fare.
Whether in
gaie clothing
& in deintee
fare be any
vice.

When certain persones did by the waie of reproche, caste in his teeth, that he liued gentlemanlike, and passyng deintily, beyng one that professed Philosophie: If that wer a vice (saieth he) it should in nowise be doen, in the solemne feastes of the goddes.

¶ For in thesame solemnitees, men vsen of a custome, bothe to be gaily and trimmely appparelled, and also to haue the moste deintee fare, that can bee gotten or dressed. And forasmoche as the Goddes, been earneste enemies to all vices, thei wuld not be appeaced, but rather stired to wrath and angre, by soeche maner roialtee,

roialtee, if thesame contained any spice of sinne or viciousnesse. Thus indeede he auoided & clene defeated the contumelious checke, but he did not shewe what was best.

Unto Dionysius demaunding of him, what high thing was in the Philosophers, more then in other men, he said : That if all lawes wer anulled & fordoen, yet would we liue still, after one maner rate.

8.

Philosohiers would liue wel, though there wer no lawes.

¶ The moste parte of people, is barred from off-fendyng, onelie by prescripcions of lawes, but a Philosophier accompteth and vseth reason in stede of lawes : not dooyng that is vpriht and honeste, because the Lawe hath so commaunded, nor refreinyng fro deedes of mischief, because the lawe hath forbidden thesame : but for that he knoweth the one, to be of it self vpriht and honest, and the other of it self, to be abhominable.

To a Philosophier, reason is a lawe.

Aristippus and Plato bothe of them were awaiters in the court with Dionysius. But Aristippus abstained not from the pleasures of the courte, when thei came in his waie. Plato euen in the middes of all superfluities, and excesse of the courte, endeouored to kepe a sobre trade in all behalves. Therefore, when Plato checked and rebuked Aristippus, for that he was so swete mouthed and drowned in the voluptuousnes of high fare, he asked of Plato, what he thought of Dionysius, whether he semed to bee an honest man, or not. When he had answered, that he semed to be honest : & yet he (quoth Aristippus) liueth moche more delicately then I dooe.

9.

Plato and Aristippus both wer in courte with Dionysius.

¶ Therefore nothyng letteth, but that a man bothe maie liue, takyng his part of good fare, and also liue well and vertuously.

There is nothing to the contrarie, but that a man may liue taking parte of good fare, and yet liue vertuously.

Unto Dionysius demaundyng how it chaunced, that the Philosophiers did frette and weare the thresholdes

10.

Why Philoso-

phiers haunt
riche mennes
houses and
not contrari-
wise.

thresholdes of riche mennes houses, and not contrariwise, he saied : Because the Philosophiers doe knowe what thei wante, and the riche men knowe not.

Without monie
there is no
liuing.

¶ The Philosophiers do know, that without money, there is no liuyng, & therefore thei drawe to soche persones, as been able to giue them that thei haue nede of. That if the riche men, did like well vnderstande and perceiue, that thei lacke and nede wisdom, thei would moche more haunt and trede the doores of the Philosophiers houses. For, more miserable is the pouertee of the minde & soule, then of the bodie. And so moche the more pieteously beggered, and with extremittee of nede oppressed are the riche men : that thei doe not vnderstande, of how precious and how necessarie a thyng thei be destitute.

More miser-
able is the
pouertee of the
minde, then of
the bodie.

- I I. Being asked in what point the learned diffred from the vnlearned : In thesame point (saith he) that horses well broken, doe differ from the vnbroken.

What differ-
ence there is
between the
learned & the
vnlearned.

As an vnbro-
ken horse is
vnapte to doe
any seruice, so
thei that beeled
by affections,
are vnmete
for all com-
paignies &
sortes of liuyng

¶ As an horse not yet broken, is by reason of ignorance what he should doe, and of skittishenesse, nothing apt, but all vntoward for any vse or seruice to be put vnto : so he that is forceably rewled, or violently led with affections, that is to saie : with the corrupte mocions and sodaine pangues or passions of the mynde (whiche pangues and affections or passions, nothyng but onely Philosophie, maistreth and subdueth) is vnapt and vnmete for all compaignies and facions, or sortes of liuyng.

- I 2. When he resorted on a tyme, to a paramours hous of his, he perceiued one of the young menne that were there presente, to blushe as read as fire, as though it was a foule shame for a Philosophier, to sette his foote in to any hous, where bauderie were kept : to hym Aristippus turned, and saied :

Young

Young man, to entre into soche a place as this, is no shame at al, but not to be able to go out again in deede that is a foule shame.

¶ He meaned that it is but a veniall and a pardonable matter, if a man dooe moderately vse the companie of women, not offendyng the lawe. But to be a thing worthie no pardone or forgiuenesse, if one be as a bondseruaunt, vnder the continual yoke of filthie pleasures of the body. This sayng might in that worlde be well taken, when no temporall lawe, nor ciuile ordinance did forbid men to companie with harlottes : but now beside the wittines of makyng a readie excuse of his sinne, there is in it nothyng worthie laude or praise. ¶ And it was the sayng of a corrupt Gentile, to whom the lawe of God was no parte of his profession, and not of a christian manne.

That excuse of sinne, that may seeme to serue a Gentile, maie not serue a Christian man.

To a certain person that had propounded an harde reedle, and was verfe earneste to haue hym soile thesame, he said : What thou foolishhe felowe, wouldest thou haue me to looce that thyng, whiche euen beyng faste bounden, setteth vs all werke enough to do ?

13.

Merely spoken.

¶ He found a mery toie in the ambiguite, of the worde loocyng, for the Greke worde, λύειν and Latine woorde *soluere* (whiche souneth in Englishe to looce, or to vnbinde) is indifferent to soilyng a doubtfull question, and to loocyng a man or a beaste, that is faste bounden. And in deede it wer a foolishhe pranke, to vnbind & looce a madde manne, or a perillous beast, whiche beyng looced would doe the more scathe and mischief.

It was a sayng of his that moche better it is to be a begger, then to be a man without learning, for that the one wanteth onely money, and the other lacketh al pointes to a man belongyng.

14.

Better it is to bee a begger then a manne without learning.

¶ He is neuerthelesse a man that hath no money,
but

Soche persons
as lacke wise-
dome will not
seeke it.

but he is no man, that hath no maner knowlege nor learnyng. And yet he that wanteth money, beggeth of soche persones, as he meteth withall, but he that lacketh wisdom, is nothyng buisie in askyng any man to haue it on hym.

15.
Aristippus
becyng railled
at went his
waie and gaue
not a worde
again to aun-
swere.

When he had many despitous woordes giuen him of a certaine feloe, he wente his waies, and answered not so moche as one worde: but when the railler, the faster that he wente awaie, came still the faster after him, sayng: Why rennest thou awaie? Mary (saith he) bicause thou hast power to speak railyng woordes, and I to choose whether I will heare them or not.

To giue place
to a railler.

¶ He did with a verie curste taunt, checke and rebuke the shameles facion of the felowe, whiche whereas hymself tooke vpon hym free libertie and auctoritie, to speake all that euer naught was, would not graunt to an other at lestwise so moche libertie, as to conueigh hymself out of presence, & to leaue hearyng euill. For this voice, Why rennest thou awaie? was, as it had been of a manne, laiyng to ones charge, and makyng a querele for some iniurie or shrewed tourne doen vnto hym.

16.
Philosophiers
haunten the
houses of the
riche men, as
Phisicians
doen the houses
of sicke folkes.

A certaine persone of rancour, malice, and greate hated speaking against Philosophiers, the worst wordes that he had in his bealie, emong other thinges saied also, that he might espie and se them euermore awaityng, & as it wer laiyng siege at riche mennes gates. To whom Aristippus said: And the Phisicians to be continuall resorters to the houses of sicke folkes, and yet is there no man that would rather choose to bee the sickeman, then to be the Phisician.

Sapiencie is
defined to bee
the knowledge
of thinges per-
teining to God

¶ He did finely and subtilly tourne the checke to a contrary purpose. The Philosophiers make moche preachyng of felicitie and perfecte blisse, whiche thei doe wholly reserue and aduouche to belong to a
man

man of a perfecte sapience onely, and to none other, and yet thei be daily and howerly conuersaunt in riche mennes houses, prollyng for somewhat at their handes, whereby the feloe gathered, that the riche men are in a more blissefull state, then the Philosophiers. But *Aristippus* interpreted and declared the Philosophiers chiefly for this entent and purpose, to be continual resorters vnto richemen, because thesame beyng thorowe superfluitie or excesse, and through delicious pleasures more foolishe, and more corrupte then any other liuyng creatures, had more nede of the preceptes and holsome lessons of sapience, then any other persones. And a Philosophier is the Phisician of mindes and soules diseased. And to conclude more nere the state of blisse, it is to be the Phisician, then to be the sicke man : ergo, &c.

A philosopher is the Phisician of mindes diseased.

On a time when he was in a Ship, sailyng towarde the citee of Corinthus, and a tempest beyng sodainly arisen, made them every minute of an hower, to looke when the Ship should sinke and be drowned, *Aristippus* waxed wanne of colour, and pale as ashes for feare. One of the passingers, a grosse carle, and soldierlike feloe, and one that loued no Philosophiers, espyng and markyng thesame, as sone as the tempeste was laied again, begun proudly to cocke and crowe, sayng: Why do ye Philosophiers, whiche are euer preachyng & teaching that death is not to be feared, yet neuerthelesse loke with pale faces, by reason of fear in tyme of perill and ieopardie, and we beyng men vnlearned, are in no feare at all? *Aristippus* answered: Mary because thou & I doe carke & feare, for a soule or life of vnequall valour.

¶ *Aulus Gellius* addeth this to it, I feare perishyng of the life of *Aristippus*, and thou fearest not lesyng the life

& man, or of thinges diuine and worldly, which thei that had gotten wer called *Sapientes*, that is men of perfecte knowlege, vertue & honestie. For of right knowlege consequentlie ensueth honestie of life. Riche men are through excesse and delicious pleasures, more foolishe & more corrupte then any others

17.

Aristippus being in ieopardie of death feared & waxed pale.

A great difference betwene the sol of a Philosophier, and of a verlette.

We feare not
harne taking
of thinges of
small valour.

* *Hydria in
foribus*, A
stene or a can
in the doore,
is a prouerbe,
by whiche
Aristoteles and
otheraunciente
writers, vsed
to signifie a
thyng so vile
and of so smal

valour that no manne would attempt to purloine or steale, or if any did, there wer no greate losse in it, forasmoeche as an other of like sort, might be euery where gotten for an half penie or lesse monie. And because it was a thing of so small price, if an yearthen pot stode in a bodie doore, no thefe or false knaue, would stoope to take it vp, nor set his minde to conueigh it awaie. But ouches and pearles with other like thinges dooen soche feloes studie how to come by. As for a pitchaer euery bodie maie without any feare of stealing, sette (if him please) in the open strete. So writeth *Plutarchus*, that the Briers, whiche by them selves will catche & take holde on eche bodiees gounne euery man neglecteth and passeth by, but Vines and Oliues, no man but desireth & will seke for, *Seneca* also in his Epistles, writeth in this maner. Many persones dooe passe by thinges that lien open, but for thinges liyng hidden in secrete corners, thei will make narrow serch. Thinges curioslie and surely sealed, or faste locked vp, doe saie to a thefe, come steale me. It semeth not worthie taking vp from the ground whatsoever lieth abrode. And thinges liyng open, a breaker of houses will not soile his handes withall: but to breake into secrete corners, is sette all his minde and desire.

18. To a certain persone making his vaunt, that he had very good sight in sondrie facultees or disciplines (as though he had learned, all that might bee learned) Aristippus said: Like as, not those persones that eaten moste meate, and dooe by good digestion voide thesame again, be in better health of bodie, then soche as take that is sufficient and no more: euen so, not thei that haue had most varietee of reading, but soche as haue

Varietie of ler-
ning and rea-
ding, diuerse

haue read things profitable, are to be accompted good studentes, and men of learnyng.

bookes maketh
not a learned
manne.

¶ He gaue a vengeable checke to those persones, who with troubleous or inordinate, and vnmeasurable reading, porre their throtes and bealies thrastyng full, and doe not conueigh vnto the botome of the minde or harte, soche thynges as thei read to liue thereafter, but doe onely laie it vp and couche it in the memorie, by reason whereof in the ende, thei bee neither any thyng encreased, or ferthered in cunnyng, nor yet any thing emended, or bettered in their liuyng.

A certain orator had in a court of iustice, made 19.
a plea in the defence of Aristippus, beyng there personally arained, and preuailed in the matter of trauserse. And when thesame oratour, as auauncyng his art of Rhetorike aboue Philosophie, saied What good hath Socrates doen thee O Aristippus? This profite haue I gotten by Socrates (saied he again) that the Oracion, whiche thou hast made in my defense and commendacion, hath been true.

Philosophie is
of more excel-
lente dignitee
then rhetorike.

¶ The oratour had defended hym, as beyng a right honest man, and innocent in the matter that was laid to his charge. And, that euer he was a man of soche sort, as he was by the oratour reported for, had been the act of onely *Socrates*, whose scholare he was in Philosophie. It is no part of an orators plaie, to make that a man be of perfect honestie and vertue, but that he maie appere to the iudges to bee soche an one, although in verie deede he be not so. Then a thing of moche more excellencie it is, that the philosopher doeth performe, then that the orator can do.

His doughter, beeyng named Areta, he brought vp and enstructed with holsome doctrine, and preceptes of vertue, accustoming her in al cases, to refuse and renounce whatsoeuer passed the boundes of mediocritee.

20.

Areta the
doughter of
Aristippus.
Measure is in
all things a
treasure.

Because

The chief vertue in a woman.

¶ Because in euery thing measure is chief and principall, & in a woman it is a point of most high vertue, to rewle the sensuall lustes & appetites.

21. What auantage children gotten by goyng to schole.

The facion of stage plaies in old tyme.

To a certaine persone demaundyng in what behalf his sonne should at length bee the better, if he should bestowe the labour and coste, to set him to schoole: Though nothing els (saied he) yet at leste wise at Maie games and open sightes, there shall not one stone set his taile vpon an other.

A persone void of learning and sufficient vtterance, diffreth nothing from a stone.

¶ In old time the places, where open sightes and shewes of games were exhibited, were made circlewise round about with settles or benches of Marble, staier wise one aboue an other on which the people sat and beheld the games and sightes. And a stone, thei commonly called *βλάστης* (Euen as we also do) a feloe that had neither learnyng, nor good vtterance of tongue.

The peines of teachyng, is worthie greate wages.

22. A certain man was in hande with Aristippus, to take his sonne to schoole to hym, but when the Philosophier required in reward for his peines of teaching, 500. drachmes (*βλάστης* whiche was about the sune of eight pounds sterling.) The other partie being clene discouraged, with the greatnesse of the price, saied: For lesse money, or better cheap then so, might I buie a bondman, that should doe me tall and hable seruice: But here now (quoth Aristippus) thou shalt haue twain.

Moste parte of men giue more wages to their horse keepers, then to the good bringers vp of their children in

¶ His mening was, that with thesame summe of money, which was to be paid for one bondman, he should purchase bothe a Philosophier, that should stand him in good steed, and also a sonne obedient to his father. He did feactly checke the iudgemente of the common people, who in no behalf are greater haines and niggardes of their purse, then in prouidyng to haue their children, well and vertuously brought vp in learnyng and maners, and doe bestowe more cost on keepyng
or

or dressyng their horses, then on the good guidyng and orderyng of their sonnes and doughters.

Being reprobued for that he was a taker of money of his frendes, he said, that he did not take any soche money, to thentent and purpose, to conuerte it to his owne vse and commoditee, but that thei might learne vpon what things money ought to be bestowed.

¶ For, the moste part of riche folkes casteth awaie their money, either vpon horses, or on buisie and sumptuous buildynges, or els other riottous waies : whereas it ought to be giuen in almes to good and honest men, if thesame be in nede. Yea, and a manne maie an other waie also vnderstand and applie this sayyng. *Aristippus* did not spend any money, but on thinges for his liuyng necessarie, and therefore he toke rewardes of richemen, to declare plainly vnto thesame, the right waie to apply it to good vses, and that could he not do, onelesse thei had founde vnto his handes, wherewithal to doe it : as he that hath an earnest desire to learne the feacte of writyng, findeth and deliuereth paper, penne and ynke, to the partie that shall teache hym.

learnyn and vertue.

23.
Why *Aristippus* toke money of riche folkes.

The due and right vse of money.

Aristippus did not spende money, but vpon, thinges necessarie.

To a feloe laiying vnto him, in the waie of re- 24.
proche, that in a cause to his own persone apperteinyng, he had with money hired the help of an oratour, to plead for him at the barre, he saied : Why, that is not so greate a wonder, for when I would haue any Supper dressed too, I hier a Cooke.

¶ The other parties minde was, that it should appere, the Oratour to bee of more excellencie or dignitie then the Philosophier, for this pointce, because the Philosophier gaue money to haue his helpe, and he turned it cleane contrary, notifyng him to be the inferiour, and of lesse dignitee, that is hiered. For the office of an oratour, or a man of Lawe, is of a more base sorte, then to become a Philosophier. He

A philosophier to bee of more excellencie and dignitee, then an Oratour.

25. He was on a tyme bidden this and that to talke out of his bookes of Philosophie. And when Dionysius wondrous earnestly and instauntely required hym thereunto, beyng at that time verie euill willing and lothe to medle, he saied: It is a fonde and a mad thing, if ye desire me somewhat to saie in Philosophie, and yet your self wil teach me, and appoint when my moste oportunitie and occasion is to speake.

The Philosophier self, beste knoweth when to speake, and when not.

¶ He meanted that one of the chief poinctes, to a Philosophier belongyng, is euen this, to knowe what times it is moste meete to speake, and when not to speake. But he that maketh request to heare any one thyng or other, out of Philosophie, declareth that he would learne Philosophie of the Philosophier. On the other side againe, he that would constrain a man to speake, whether he be disposed or no, sembleth and pretendeth to bee maister or superiour in learnyng, to the Philosophier self, in that he taketh vpon him, to haue better knowlege of the due and conuenient time when to speake then the very Philosophier in deede.

Not the lowe place maketh the man of lesse dignitie, but of the worthinesse of the persone moche honoure groweth to the place.

The king beyng for this aunswere of Aristippus in an high fume commaunded hym to sit in the lowest place of all, at the table. Aristippus in this case nothyng discontented, saied in this maner: Sir king it is your pleasure (I perceiue) to nobilitate this place, and to make it honourable.

¶ Signifyng not the place to make the man of lesse dignitee, but of the worthines and honestie of the persone, moche honour to redounde and growe vnto the place.

26. A certain feloe standing highly well in his own concept, for his cunnyng in swimming, Aristippus could not abide. And art thou not ashamed, said

It is a foolishhe

said he, with soche a saucie and presumptuous braggue, to bost thy self of those thinges, whiche been naturall propertees of the dolphin fishes.

thing for a man to bost himself, of soche feactes as other thinges can of their natural propertie dooe beter then he.

¶ It had been more pretie & feact, if he had saied, of frogues. It is comely for a man, to glorie and braggue of soche thinges, as bee naturall for a man onely to doe. And nothyng is more agreable with the nature of man, then to excelle in reason, wisdom, and discrecion. There is no man so expert a swimmer, but that in this feacte & qualitee, he is ferre passed and ouercomed of the Dolphin fishes.

The Dolphin fishes haue a propertee to swimme aboute the water, and thei are delited in the melodious armonie of musicall instrumentes. Thei beare notable loue towards man, in so moche that diuers of them haue caried children aboute, and ouer the sea dailie of course and custome, as we read in Cicero, in Plinius, in Aulus Gellius, and in other writers.

Beyng asked in what thing a manne of perfect sapience, differed from a man voide of all learnyng and knowlege. Sende one of either sorte naked, saied he, vnto menne vnknownen, and thou shalt see.

¶ He signified that a man indued with sapience, carrieth about with him, wherewith to commende himself, and to be welcome vnto al maner persones in the worlde. If therefore ye should sende a learned man and a persone vnlearned, either of them as naked as euer thei wer borne, into a straunge countrie, where neither of theim bothe haue any acquaintaunce: the sapiente man vtterynge and shewynge foorth, the treasures of his high knowlege and cunnyng, should anone finde and get bothe money and frendes, the other not hauynge a ragge to hang about him, should be skorned and laughed at, as a Iacke of Bethleem, and should hardly escape to perishe and dye for honger.

What diffrence there is between a learned man and a persone vnlearned.

To a feloe making his bost, that he could drinke moche, & yet not bee drunken: What wonder is it thou talkest of, saied Aristippus, sens that euery mule & horse doth thesame.

28.
Boste of drinking is vaine.

A certain

29. A certain persone laied vnto the charge of Aristippus as a vice, that he kept company with a common stroumpet. Whom he confuted with an induccion, soche as Socrates commonly vsed, in maner as foloweth: Go to, tel me this, doest thou thinke it to make any matter, whether a bodie take an hous, which many haue inhabited, or els an hous whiche no manne hath afore dwelled in? When he had said that it made no matter: What saied Aristippus, doeth it any thyng force, whether one be a passinger, and doe saile in a shippe, that hath carried a greate number aforetymes, or els in a shippe that hath caried none? When he had saied naie to that also: What matter of force is it then (quoth he) whether a man haue to dooe with a woman, that hath bestowed herself on many sondrie persones afore, or els vpon none at all?

¶ This sayng also might be (as a thing merily spoken) accepted emong them, in whose opinion, simple fornication was not rekened for a sin.

30. When he was taken vp, and reproched of a feloe, because that being the disciple of Socrates, he was (contrarie to the vsage of Socrates) a taker of money for his teaching of Philosophie: I doe that (quoth he) not without good cause why. For vnto my Maister Socrates, a greate number of riche and welthie frendes, did sende bothe Wheate and Wine, of the whiche, his maner was to reserue a small porcion for his necessary occupieng, and the residue to sende backe againe. In deede he had to his stewardest, the greatest gentlemen of all the Atheniens and I haue none other steward, but myne owne bondseruaunt Eutychides, whom I bought with my money.

Why Aristippus was a taker of money, for teachyng Philosophie, more then Socrates was.

Eutychides the seruaunt of Aristippus.

¶ He notified that he did set euen as little by money,

money, as did *Socrates*, but that *Socrates* had frendes of more bountie. By this colour might some persones excuse them selues, euen now of daies, professyng outwardly in wordes, excedyng greate contempte of golde and siluer, whereas thei haue right good store of money liyng in the handes and custodie of their frendes, that foreniers, thei had bounteous stewardes and proc-tours, for all their necessarie store of food & viandrie, but that now thei should make ful many an hungry mele, if thei had not a good summe of money in one place or other laied vp in store.

The excuse of some persones, that in wordes professen contempt of mony and yet haue money enough liyng in store in the handes of their frends.

The reporte goeth that *Aristippus* was a customer of one *Lais*, a very notable misliuing woman. For whiche matter, wheras he had a verie euill name abroad among al the people, to a feloe obiecting vnto hym that beyng a Philosopher, he was at the becke and commaundement of *Lais*. Naie *Mary* (quoth he) *Lais* is at my commaundement and not I at the commaundement of *Lais*.

31.
Aristippus a customer of *Lais* the harlot. *Lais* was a strumpet dwelling in *Corinthe*, vnto whom for her excellent beutie resorted many rich louers out of al parteis of the countree of Grece, but no manne had his pleasure on her except he gaue her own asking which was verie greate.

¶ Signifying that it was no matter of dishonestee, now and then to take pleasure: whiche at that season was thought lawfull, but to bee as a bondman, and to be wholly giuen thereunto, worthie to be rekened in the number of things shamefull and abominable.

At an other season, to a feloe laiying to his rebuke, that he was ouer deintie of his mouthe and diete, he did with this reason giue a stopping oistre. Coldest not thy self (quoth he) finde in thy harte, to buie of thesame kind of meates or dishes that I doe, if thou mightest haue them for a dandiprat? And when he, that would nedes shewe himself to bee a despiser of all delicates, had therevnto aunswered, Yes: Then doe not I, saied *Aristippus*, so earnestlie minde or tender sensualitee, as thou doest auarice.

32.

Many that pretende the contempte of delicates, would fare of the best

For,

if thei might of
free cost, or for
a little money.

The Germaines
are noted of
moch drinking
and then-
glishemen of
moche eatyng.

Couetuousnes
oft times begi-
leth the bealie.

¶ For, he would fain haue vsed as delicate fare as *Aristippus*, if it would haue come of free coste, or for a verie little money. In thesame wise doen certain nations laie vnto the Germaines quaffyng, and to the Englishe men, gourmaundyng and eating while the bealie will hold, whereas there bee no greater raueners or gluttons in the worlde, then themselves, if at any tyme soche chaunce doe fall, that thei maie of free coste eate and drinke their fille. Then more couetous are those nacions, and not more temperate or sober of diet. Verie moche like vnto this, it is: that I shewed of the pertrige afore, in the second sayyng of thissame *Aristippus*.

33.
Simus the re-
ceiuer generall
and treasurer
to *Dionysius*.

Aristippus
spetted on the
cuill fauoured
face of *Simus*.

The receiuer generall and treasurer vnto *Dionysius*, named *Simus*, a Phrygian borne, shewed vnto *Aristippus* his mainor place, being in euery corner verie neat and clene, yea, euen the very floore couered and checkerwise sette, throughout with square pauyng stones of greate price. *Aristippus*, when he had well looked about, and vewed euery thing, voided the spetle of his mouth euen full in the beard of *Simus*: and to thesame *Simus* highly fuming at the matter, he excused hym self by this colour, that he could espie no place ne thyng in all the whole hous, more meete to receiue the filthie dreiuill or spattreyng of the mouthe.

The face ought
to be the moste
clene of all the
partes of the
bodie.

¶ Notyng thereby, that in the whole hous, there was nothyng more lothsome to beholde, or more vncleane, then the face of that barbarous felowe, whereas that part of a manne ought to be moste cleane of al. Albeit this sayyng is more like to bee of some Cynike then of *Aristippus*, how so euer it is fathered on hym.

34. Being on a time delited with a notable swete smel, that was about a delicate feloe, thus he saied, Now a mischief on the hartes of these naughtie & wretched muttonmungers, that haue brought soche

soche a singulare good thing as this, in slaunder & infamie.

¶ Menyng, that a greate number of thinges of themselves good, be abandoned and reiected from honeste mennes occupieng, through the faulte of other leude persones, who putte thesame thinges to euill vses.

Beyng asked the question, How Socrates ended his life: Euen so as I would wish to doe, saith he.

¶ Meanyng that soche diyng is rather to bee wished for, then any kinde of life in this transitorie worlde. Neither was it possible for him in few wordes. to describe a more blissed maner of diyng. The pith of the saieng consisteth in this point, that the Philosopher aunswered an other thyng, then the demaunder looked for. The one asked his question of the kinde of death, that is, whether he had died of some sicknesse, of a sweard, by poison, or by breakyng his necke, by reason of some fal from an highplace: the other thinking that matter to be of smal force aunswered that he had made a blissed, a perfecte, and a vertuous ende.

Polyænus the Sophiste, beyng entered into the hous of Aristippus, when he espied there, women gorgeously apparelled, and a feast of high provision and furniture, begon to reprove soche greate excesse in a Philosopher. Aristippus making as though he had not marked that chiding, within a while said vnto him: Maie ye finde in your harte, to take peines at diner here with vs for this ones? When the other had answered, that he could be contented so to do with all his harte: Why finde ye fault at it then, quoth he? For ye seeme not to reprove the table for the dentie fare, but for the coste.

¶ For, if the feast had for this poynte misliked him, that it was ouer delicate he would haue refused
to

Many good thinges be reiected through the faulte of leude persones vsing thesame naughtelie.

35.

Aristippus wished to die no worse then *Socrates* had dooen.

It forceth not what kynde of death we haue so we dyc verctuously
Socrates made a blissed ende.

36.

Poliaenus a Sophiste.

Many that reproue dentye fare & delicates can well fynd in their hartes to take parte of the same.

To allow the fare, and to bee
to

offended with
the cost of the
same, argueth
not a man so-
bre of diete,
but lothe to
spend money.

to be one of the geastes. And as for the ordinaunce to allowe, and with the charges of thesame to be offended or disconteined, semeth to bee a poinct, not of one that abhorreth excesse of meat and drinke, but of a niggarde, and of one that is lothe to spende any money.

37. It is vneth beleueable that Bion reporteth of hym, when his seruauante bearyng money of his, as he trauailed in a iournie was ouercharged with the heauie burden of thesame, he said cast away the ouerplus and carrie that thou maiest with thin ease.

*Aristippus a
despyser of
golde and
siluer.*

38. Trauaillyng by sea on a certain tyme, after that he had due knowledge, that the shippe belonged to Pirates and rousers on the sea, he laied abrode his golde, and begon to tell it, and anon after sodainly let it fall ouer boorde into the sea for the nones, and then gaue a greete sigh, sembleyng that it had fallen out of his hande vnwares, and moche against his wille.

*Aristippus
caste his
golde into the
sea.*

*Better, that
money bee
caste away by
a man, then a
man to be
caste awaie
for moncis
sake.*

¶ By this ingen or subtile deuise, he found meanes to saue his owne life, when the matter and occasion why to kille hym, or to trie maisteries with hym for his money was ones taken awaie from the Pirates. Some writers there bee, that reporten hym to haue spoken these wordes also. Better it is that all this geare be cast awaie by Aristippus, then Aristippus to perishe, and to bee caste awaie for this geres sake.

39. Unto Dionysius demaundyng, why Aristippus was come into Sicilie, forsaking Socrates, he answered : Marie to the ende that of soche thinges as I haue I maie, giue you parte, and of soche thinges as I haue not, to take parte with you.

*Why Aristip-
pus lefte
Socrates &
went into
Sicilie.*

¶ There been that reporten hym in this wise to haue answered. When I wanted sapience, I resorted vnto Socrates, and now because I want money, I am come to your grace.

Aristippus

Aristippus vnto Plato chiding with him for that he had bought a great deale of fishe for one Diner, he aunswered, that he had bought it all for an halfpennie. And when Plato had thus said: Of that price euen I my self could haue founde in my harte to haue bought it: Ye see then O Plato, quoth Aristippus, that, not I am gredie to haue plentee, and varietee of sondrie cates, but your self to beare greate loue to money.

¶ Certain saynges moche like vnto this, been afore recited.

Thesame man in the citee of * Aegina at the solemne feastes of † Neptunus, had to doe with ‡ Phryne a misliuyng woman there. And when a feloe had cast him in the nose, that he gaue so large monie, to soche a naughtie drabbe, who sticked not to let beggerie Diogenes the Cinike, to haue parte of her bodie: Aristippus in this maner answered: I giue her money, and many other gaie good thinges, to haue my pleasure on her for myne owne part, and not to the intent, that no man els should.

¶ This is lefte in writyng of the said *Phryne*, that although she was a passyng faire woman, yet was she as common as the cart waie, on who soeuer came without preferring or choice of this man, or that man, whether thei wer riche, or poore, shewing her self disdainfull & coie towards no persone, come who would. To this had the poete *Horatius* respect in thus sayyng.

Me libertina, nec vno contenta Phryne macerat.

I frette and pein with burnyng loue

Of Phryne, who this other daie

Out of her bondship did remoue,

And now is common, as carte waie.

40.

Aristippus chidden of *Plato* for biyng diuerse cates at ones, what he aunswered. *Plato* loued monie better then *Aristippus* loued good fare. In the .2. in the .7. and in the .32. saynges of *Aristippus*.

41.

* *Aegina* was a goodly citee adiacent vnto *Peloponnesus*, not ferre from the hauens mouth called *Pyraeus*, and it stode euen directly against the countrie of *Attica*, and therefore was of a certain *Atheniens* called *Lippitudo Attica*, that is the blerieng of *Attica*. For the goodnesse of *Aegina* did moche disgrace the beautie of *Attica*, and did as ye would saie: drowne it. Some giue the name of *Aegina* to the whole ile.

† *Neptunus*, *Iupiter* and *Pluto*, were three brethren, and sonnes of *Saturnus* gotten vpon *Ops* the sister and wife of the same *Saturnus*. Thei so diuided the regions, that

that *Iupiter* should haue vnder his dominion, the high countries, *Pluto* the lower countries, and *Neptunus* the Isles and the seas. Whereof the Poetes haue feigned *Iupiter* to be the God of heauen, *Pluto* of helle, and *Neptune* of the waters. In honor of *Neptunus* were yerelie celebrate in the Isle or toune of *Aegina*, certain solemnities, whiche were called *Neptunalia*, of *Neptunus* his name, and by an other name *Salatia* of *Salum*, the Sea.

‡ *Phryne* was an harlot of excellent beautie, but so common that she refused none, whatsoever he were: and (as occasion serued for her mercate) she customablie resorted to all places, where any solemnitie of Sacres or martes, or any other occasion of greate haunte and resort was. Albeit her moste dwelling was in the citee of *Athenes*. She is moche mencioned, not onelie in the Poetes and Historiographers, but also in sondrie places of this present werke.

42. *Aristippus rebuked of Diogenes for keeping compaignie with Phryne the harlotte.* Diogenes in this maner rebuked Aristippus, for hauyng to doe with *Phryne*; O Aristippus, thou art a greate medler with this woman, beyng a stewed strumpette, and therefore either plaie the doggue as I doe, or els leaue soche facions, as thou doest vse. Aristippus by induccion in this wise, shifted hym of. Diogenes seemeth it vnto thee, a thyng to be abhorred, that a manne should dwell in an hous, whiche others afore tymes haue inhabited? When he had saied No: What (saied Aristippus) is it shame to saile in a Shippe, that hath aforetymes caried a great number mo? When that also he had denied to stande againste reason: Why then doest thou suppose it to be vnreasonable (quoth he) to ioigne with a woman, of whom a greate number of persones, haue tofore had their pleasure.

Afore in the .22. sayyng. *Athenaeus* a Greke historiographer.

¶ This is aboue mencioned, sauynge that *Athenaeus* dooeth in this maner and forme tell the tale.

43. *Aristippus a man of good possessions & landes.* When he had loste a wonderfull pleasaunt mainour place, with al the appurtenaunces, vnto a certain persone earnestly lamentyng thesame his pietous chaunce, he saied: What, doest thou not knowe well enough, thou hast but one little poore hous with a small piece of lande to it, and that I haue yet three whole lordshippes left? When the other partie had therto graunted, he said: Why

When a man hath lost anie

Why do we not then rather lament thy case.

¶ Meaning that it had been an vnwise part of hym, rather to take sorowe for that that hē had lost, then ioye and comfort of that that was lefte.

part of his substance, he should take coumforte of that, that is lefte.

To one that by the waie of opposyng hym, asked this question, Arte thou euery where? I leese no freite money then (quoth he) or I spende no freite money in waste, if I bee in euery place.

44.

¶ *Aristippus* with a mocke alone, wiped awaie the Sophisticall question, Whether one and thesame bodie, maie at one time be in diuers and sondrie places at ones. When he aunswered, that so beyng, there was no perill of lesyng his freite money, or of spendyng freite money in waste. For he leseth his freite money, who when he hath paid his money, is not caried thither, as his desire is. It maie, by leauyng out the negacion, bee taken in this sense also. Then haue I in my daies lost some freit money, or then haue I spent in waste, and haue loste moche good money giuen heretofore for freite or bote hie.

Whether one & thesame bodye may be in sondrie places at ones.

☞ As though he should haue said: If one body maie be in mo places then in one at ones, I haue many a tyme in my daies paid money in vain, and haue like a foole spent money in waste, to be carried ouer sea in a shippe, from one place to an other, for-asmoche as I was there alreadie before I came.

☞ The meaning & sense of the words of *Aristippus* in so sayyng, (as I vnder the correccion of *Erasmus* take it) was: I lese no freite money then, &c., I cast awaie no freit money then, &c. That is, I spend no freite money then, &c. For he leseth his money that spendeth, when he hath no maner nede nor occasion to spend it. And he that is alreadie in euery place where he would bee, nedeth not to spende money, to bee carried thither. As if he should haue saied to the feloe: if one bodie maie bee in all places at ones, thou maiest be assured, I would not bee so madde as to giue freite money, when I wer disposed to take shipping, & to go ouersea from one place to an other.

Beyng confounded and made blanke, in a disputation of a certain feloe that was saucie & presumptuous, but thesame a furious ragyng feloe, of no more witte then a beaste: when he sawe him hoppe and fett his gambaudes for ioye, and swellyng

45.

Aristippus was nothyng greued to take a blanke in disputation.

Unwrathfullie
spoken.

swellyng in pride, by reason of that victorie. In dede, quoth he, I go awaie confounded, but yet like to slepe this night more swetely and soundly then thy self, that hast put me to this blanke.

46.

*Helicon Cy-
zicenus* a Phi-
losophier of
Athenes, excel-
lyng in all the
Mathematicall
sciences, in the
same time
when *Plato*
was.

Dionysius of-
fended with
Plato, long ere
he would
shewe it out-
wardlie.

Helicon of the toune of *Cyzicus* a philosophier in *Plato* his tyme, had Prognosticate the eclipse of the Sunne: who after that it had chaunced, according to his Prognosticacion, had of *Dionysius* a * talent of siluer in reward. Then saied *Aristippus* to the rest of the Philosophiers: I also haue a right wondrous thyng that I could Prophecie. Thei hartly desiryng him thesame to vtter: I Prophecie (quoth he) that *Plato* and *Dionysius* wil erre many daies to an ende breake a strawe betwene them.

¶ For, he had alredie perceiued the king now a good while to keepe his mynde secrete, and to dissemble his angre and displeasure, conceiued against *Plato*.

Cyzicus or *Cyzicum*, an Isle in *Propontis*, hauing a waie to the maine land by 2 bridges, & hauing also a citee of thesame name, with walles, castles, and toures of marble stone, as faire and goodly as might bee, and in largenesse, compace, and amplitude, hable to compare with the chief citees in all *Asia*. It was so named, by one *Cyzicus* sometime kyng there, whom *Iason* vnawares slewe. It was also a citee of great power, and indifferently set, either for peace or warre.

* A talent of siluer, the Frenche enterpreter folowyng *Budaus* doeth translate, sixe hundred crounes, whiche after the rate of fowertene grotes the croune, amounteth to the summe of one hundred and fowertie poundes of our currant money.

47.

Frendes ought
to bee tried, ere
thei be receiued
into familia-
ritee.

A greate dis-
auauntage, if
a man chuse
not his frendes
of the best
sorte.

He said, this in the maners and facions of men, to be the worst thing that was possible to bee, that in publike sales thei dooe narrowly serche pottes and pannes, ere thei will buie them, and will not serche and examine the life of soche persones, as thei matche to themselves in frendship, and entiere familiaritee.

¶ And yet a moche higher vtilitee and profite, redoundeth to a man of faithfull frendes, then of pottes or pannes, and a moche greater losse and disauauntage, except he chose of the right sorte, soche as should be.

When

When Dionysius at a banquet, had commaunded that all the companie should addresse themselves, to maske ech man in purple. ¶ And purple in those daies, was for the wearyng of none, but kinges and princes, where now it is commonly taken vp with euey Sowter and Cobler. Plato refused to doe it, recityng for his purpose these metre verses, out of sum Tragedie.

οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην θῆλιν ἐνδύναι στολῇν
ἄβρην πεφυκὼς, καὶ γένους ἐξ ἄβρενος.

My harte abhorreth, that I should so
In a womans kirtle, my self disguise,
Beyng a manne, and begotten to
Of a mannes prosapie, in manly wise.

But Aristippus made no courtesie at the matter, but being dressed in Purple, & readie to goo to dauncyng, he pronounced these verses, without any studie sodainly.

καὶ γὰρ ἐν βακχύμασιν
ὁ νοῦς ὁ σώφρων οὐ διαφθαρήσεται.

Euen emiddes, the furious ragyng
Of sacrifice doen, to the God Bacchus,
A minde, wholly addicte, to sober liuyng
Will not be corrupt, ne made vicious.

48.

Purple in olde tyme, was for the wearing of none, but kynges & princes.
Plato refused to daunce in purple at the request of Dionysius.

To bee disguised in womannes clothyng, is vnfitte for a man.

Aristippus refused not to daunce in purple at the bydyng of Dionysius.

Nothing can corrupt a mind wholly dedicat to vertue.

49.

As he was making suite and intercession, on a time to Dionysius, in the behalfe and fauour of a frende of his, and the king would not heare his suite and petition, Aristippus fallyng doune flat on the ground before him, begun to embrace and kisse the kinges feete, and by that meanes at laste, obtained his purpose and request. And when certain persones, reproued thesame fact of his, as more vile and more humble then was comly for a Philosophier, I am not in the blame

quoth

Wittily spoken Dionysius had his eares in his feete.

Aristippus a man of a pas-
synge readye
witt, aswell
to dooe as to
excuse any
thing.

(quoth he) but Dionisius, which hath his cares standing in his feete.

¶ A wittie like prompt and ready in all assaies, as well to doe as also to excuse any thyng whatsoever it were.

50. *Artaphernes* liuetenaunt generall in Asia vnder the king of the Persians
Aristippus arrested in Asiaby *Artaphernes*.

Aristippus stood in drede of no manne lyuing.

In the countree of Asia, he was attached by *Artaphernes* the high capitain, or liuetenaunt generall there, vnder the kyng of the Persians. And at thesame present season, when one demaunded of him, whether euen there also, his old accustomed stoutnesse of harte failed him no more, then it had been wont to doe. Foolishe dawe (quoth he) as though I haue at any time in all my life been, of a better courage or stomacke, then euen at this presente houre, that I muste speake to *Artaphernes*.

¶ Verely this thyng, by the benefice of philosophie, was roted in hym, that he stode in drede of no man liuyng, but would be frank and free with euery persone, to saie his mynde.

51. Suche as beeyng furnished with other disciplines, do neglect morall phylosophye, are lyke the woers of *Penelope*, Doughter not of *Icarus*, but of *Icarius*, and the wife of *Vlysses*, who during the absence of her housebande ten yeres, being awai at the battaille of Troie, and other tenne yeres

Those persones, who beyng furnished with the liberall studies of humanitee & of the tonges, did slouthfully neglect the study of Philosophie Moralle, he likened to the woers of * *Penelope*.

¶ For thei entred loue with *Melanthon* and with *Polydora*, beyng her handmaidens, and conceiued hope soner, to obtaine all the worlde besides, then mariage of the ladie her self. His meanyng was, that the liberall sciences been, as it wer, the handmaidens of morall philosophie, whiche morall Philosophie is, with the first of all to be put in vre, and for whose respecte and cause, all the other disciplines † are learned. A moche like thyng *Aristo* ~~†~~ also is reported to haue saied to *Vlysses*, who when he was descended to hell, thesaied *Aristo* affirmeth, that he talked familiarly with all the soules there for the moste parte, sayung that he could

could not so moche as ones, come to the sight of the wandryng on
 Queene her self. the seas, ere
 he could gette

home into his countrie of *Ithaca*, kept her self chaste and true wife vnto the-
 same *Vlysses*. And where she had moste importune, and thesame continuall suite
 made vnto her, by many ioylie rufflyng woers, to haue her in mariage, she droue
 them of all by this colour, that she had a loume of linnen clothe in weauyng,
 which beyng ones finished, she would giue vnto her woers, a determinate and
 a final aunswere. Then vsed she this policie, to vnweaue in the night asmoche werke,
 as she had made vp in the daie before. By reason wherof diuers of the gentle-
 men that wooed her, beyng with their long suite weried and tiered, fell in hande to
 haue wanton conuersacion with *Melanthon* and *Polydora* her handmaidens, as vt-
 terlie dispaireyng that euer thei should achieue to the obtynyng of *Penelope* her self.

* For morall Philosophie was to them, that diuinitee and holy scriptures are to
 vs christian menne.

† This *Aristo* was a Philosophier, and was called in maner as by a surname,
Scepticus, because he was altogether occupied, in considering & serching the state of
 humain thinges. He was borne in the isle of *Coos* albeit some saie he was *Chius*,
 and was scholar (as some writers saien) to *Zeno*, the first author and bringer vp of
 the Stoikes secte, after some writers, he was a *Peripatetike*, that is, of *Aristoteles*
 his secte. But as concerning Philosophie, aswell morall as natural, his determi-
 nation and doctrine is of all the auncient good writers reproued, and vtterly con-
 demned as naught. For by his opinion, all thinges are indifferent, and no diuer-
 sitie between being in perfect good health, & in extreme sickness and so of other
 thinges. Wherefore his doctriu was disallowed of all menne, as testifieth *Cicero* in
 the prohemie of thoffices & in his werke *de finibus bonorum & malorum*. Ther was
 also an other *Aristo* father vnto *Plato*.

To one demaundyng what thinges wer most
 requisite, and necessarie to be learned of younge
 folkes, he saied: Thesame that maie doe them
 best service, when thei shal be at the full mannes
 state.

¶ This sayyng is ascribed to others also, besides
Aristippus. The principall best thinges are euen at
 the first beginning to be learned, neither the tender
 and vnbroken yongth, whiche is of it self moste apt
 to learn is to be forepossessed, with thinges superfluous.

After that *Aristippus* had gathered together
 greate gooddes and substaunce of money, & *Soc-
 rates* hauing conceiued great meruaill thereof,
 said: How hast thou come by so moche richesse?
 How haue ye come by so little? quoth he again.

¶ For, he thought it a thyng, no lesse worthie ad-
 miracion, that *Socrates* beyng a Philosophier of so greate
 estimacion,

52.

What thinges
 are most re-
 quisite to be
 learned of yong
 folkes.

The principall
 best thinges, at
 euen with the
 first to be lear-
 ned. Yong age
 most apt to
 learne.

53.

Aristippus
 gathered to-
 gether moche
 richesse.

estimacion, and hauyng soche greate frendes, should be poor, then that hymself should be riche.

54. To a certain common woman, sayyng I am with child by you Aristippus: That can ye not for a suertie knowe (quoth he again) any more then goyng on Thornes, standyng as thicke as is possible one by an other, ye maie truely auouch this Thorne it is, that hath pricked me.

Wittilie and
feattlie spoken.

55. A certain persone openly blaming him that he did in soche wise exile, caste of, and let ren at all auentures his sonne, as if thesame had neuer been begotten by hym, he saied: Doe we not cast awaie from vs, as fer as we can, bothe flegme and spettle, & also Lice, with other vermine, breedyng of our own bodies, as thinges seruyng to no good vse ne purpose.

Aristippus
caste of his
sonne, & let
him run at
rouers.

Menne maye
iustely refuse
those sonnes,
in whiche is
no grace at all.

¶ He meened them not worthie to bee accompted for a mannes soonnes, that had nothing els wherewith, to shewe themselves worthie the fauor of their parentes, but onely that thei wer of them begotten, and brought into this worlde. So the old man in the comedie saieth.

* The words
of *Menedemus*
to his sonne,
Clinia in the
third comedie,
of *Terence*.

* Ego te meum dici tantisper volo, dum id
quod te dignum est facias.

So long & no lenger, thou shalt my son be,
As thou behauest thy self, with honestee.

56. When Dionysius had giuen in reward, vnto Aristippus money, & vnto Plato bookes, Aristippus beyng checked of a certain persone, as one whose minde was more on his halfpennie, then Plato had set his: What matter maketh that (quoth he) I had neede of money, and Plato of bookes.

Dionysius
gaue in re-
ward, to *Aris-
tippus* money,
& to *Plato*
bookes.

¶ Meanyng, that neither of them bothe was blame worthie to take the thing which might best serue his purpose:

☞ For of a likelihoode *Dionysius* had put either of them to the choise, whether thei wold haue money, or bookes.

Being

Being asked for what cause Dionysius did in soche wise call hym foole, and all to naught, For the verie same cause (quoth he) that other folkes doen.

¶ Menyng the plain and franke speakyng of a Philosophier, to be combrous and hatefull to all persones, and therefore no meruail to be, if the kyng might euill abide it : al vnder one together, intimatyng the kynges iudgemente, nothyng to differ from the iudgemente of the grosse multitude, for that fortune dooeth not con-ferre the indewmente, or gifte of Sapience.

He asked of Dionysius at a tyme, by the waie of petition, a Talent. And when the king hauing gotten an occasion, to confounde him by his owne wordes, and to cast hym in his owne turne, saied : Diddest not thou openly affirme, & saie that a Philosophier is neuer in penurie, or extreme nede ? Well, giue the talent (quoth he) and then we shall afterward reason of that matter. When he had receiued the money : And was it not well & truly saied of me, quoth he, that a Philosophier is neuer in extremitie of neede ?

¶ That persone is not in extreme penurie, who at all tymes of neede, is assured where to receiue, and to haue enough.

Unto Dionysius reciting out of a tragedie of Sophocles, these twoo little verses.

πρὸς τὸν τύραννον ὅστις ἐμπορεύεται
κείνου 'στὶ δούλος, κἂν ἐλεύθερος μὲλῃ.

Who so a tyrannes courte, doeth haunt,
There to bee a continuall dweller
Is vnto thesame, a bondseruaunt,
Though he wer no bondman, ere he cam ther.

Aristippus aunswered onelie a sillable or twaine of the latter verse, corrected in this maner.

οὐκ ἔστι δούλος κἂν ἐλεύθερος μὲλῃ.

57.

Dionisius
would call
Aristippus
foole & all to
naught.

The plain
speakyng of a
philosophier,
no man can
well allow.

Sapience is not
geuen by for-
tune.

58.

A Philosophier
is neuer in ex-
treme penurie.

He is not in
penurie, who
at al times of
neede is as-
sured wher to
haue enough.

59.

A free mynd is
euerywher free.

Is

Is not to thesame a bonde seruaunt,
If he wer no bondman, ere he came there.

True libertee
pertaineth to
the mynd
more then to
birthe.

¶ Signifyng none to bee free, and out of bondage in deede, except whose verie minde and hart philosophie hath deliuered discharged, and made free, bothe from hope and feare, for to be a free man outright, it is not enough, to haue been borne in fredome, or out of seruitude and bondage. Some writers ascriben this sayng vnto *Plato*.

60.
A breache of
loue betwene
Aristippus and
Aeschines.

When betwene *Aristippus* & *Aeschines* had bee fallen a little distaunce and breache of loue, and a certain feloe had said, Where is now that your great high frendship become? It slepeth (quoth he) but I shall awaken it, and raise it vp again.

A small vari-
aunce doeth
commonlie, by
reason of si-
lence, grow to
a scab of open
enmittee.

¶ Hereupon *Aristippus* by reason of this seasonable, or oportune and plain speakyng of the saied feloe, with a trice ended all the strief, and made all well againe.

Aristippus be-
ing the elder
man, offreed
firste to be
agreed with
Aeschines.

To the entent that the sore might not by reason of silence, growe to an open scabbe (as moste commonly it dooeth, he of his owne voluntarie will came vnto *Aeschines*, and said in this maner: Shall not we twoo, euen now out of hande be at one again, as good frendes as euer we wer, and ceasse thus to playe the children? Or els shal we rather tary vntil wee shall minister to iesting knaues matter, to prate & iangle of vs twaine on the ale benche? To whom when *Aeschines* had made aunswere, That he would withal his hart, be reconciled & full agreed. Then, yet remember (quoth *Aristippus*) that I beyng the elder and the more auncient persone of the twain, haue come & sought on thee first. Then said *Aeschines*: Of a verie truth, thou art a greate deale more perfect honest man then I
am,

am, for of me begun al this our falling out, and of thee to haue a perfect atonement.

¶ By this meanes thei wer reconciled of newe, and as good loue and frendship between them, as euer there had been tofore.

At a certain season, sailling in the companie of three or fower of his own countree men or neighbours, he was cast on land by shipwracke. And when he had on the sandes, espied the prente of mathematicall figures of Geometrie drawn in the sande: All is wel maisters (quoth he) I haue espied the steppes and signes of men.

¶ And beeyng entred the citee there nexte by, he neuer left searchyng vntill he founde out what persones were there studious of disciplines: & after that he was ones mette with thesame, thei did with al humanitee possible, entertein not onely him for his own persone, but also the others that came with hym, yea and besides that, gaue them money enough in their purses, for their costes and charges, vntill thei should retourne thither againe in their waie homeward.

After certain daies when the others that had come at the firste with Aristippus, addressed themselves to returne in to their countree, and asked of hym, whether he would any message to bee dooen at home to his neighbours and countremen, he saied: Nothing but that thei applie them selues, to acquire and purchase soche maner riches, as maie not perishe and be lost by shipwracke, but maie get to land with their owner.

¶ The selfsame matter dooeth Vitruuius reporte, in the sixth volume of Carpentrie or deuisyng, sayyng more ouer that Aristippus at that season, came to the citee of Rhodus.

When Socrates spake sore against soche persones as were perfumed with swete sauours, and Charondas,

61.
Aristippus
sailling to
Rhodus was
cast on land
by shipwracke.

Aristippus
after that he
mette with
learned menne
in a straunge
countree, was
highly wel en-
treteined both
he and all hys
coumpaignie
for hys sake.

True and ve-
raye riches of
the mynde.

Vitruuius wri-
teth in Latin
volumes of
carpentrie, or
deuisyng of
buildynges.

62.

Charondas, or (as some writers holden opinion) Phædon demaunded what feloe it was, so perfumed with swete oiles and sauours, Aristippus saied, Euen I it is miserable & wretched creature that I am, and a more miser then I, the kyng of the Persians. But marke, said he, that like as he is in this behalfe nothyng superiour to any other liuyng creature, so is he not a iote better then any other man.

A man by externall gooddes is not made better.

¶ His meanyng was, that manne by externall or outward gooddes is made not a whitte the better. Bothe an horse all be smered with oile of balme or spike, should haue the self same sauor, that shuld a king : & a sely poore begger, being anointed or perfumed with the like kinde of oile or sauor, smelleth euen as well as doeth the highest prelate of them all.

¶ The sayynges of

DIOGENES * THE

CYNIKE.

**Cynici*, wer philosophers of the sect of *Antisthenes* & *Diogenes* and were called *Cynici*, either of the place *Cinasarge*, wher *Antisthenes* kept his schoole, or els of the greke vocable *κυνες* Doggues. Because thei were euer moste importunelie barking and railing againste the vices of menne or els because in woordes of rebaudrie and shamelesse speaking, thei did with their foule mouthes represent the currishnesse of Doggues.



HE order (as I suppose) shall appere to hang verie well together, if next after the holinesse of *Socrates*, by sayynges of mirthe vttered, and after the merie plainesse of *Aristippus*, we make mencion and rehersall of † *Diogenes* of ‡ *Sinope*, who in all manerfold grace of his sayynges, ferre passed and excelled the others. Howbeit, all these three Philosophiers, though in deede far vnlike, and in maner contrarie qualitees, yet neuerthelesse do I iudge one, euen as highly as an other to be esteemed & had in honour : so that although thei were of very vnlike facions, yet maie ye well saie, that thei were in degree, feloes like one with an other.

Diogenes

‡ *Diogenes* was scholar vnto *Antisthenes*. And thei twoo were the first and principal autours of the sect of the *Cinikes*, & therefore was he called *Cinicus*, whose life doth *Diogenes Laertius* write & largely prosecute. ~~The~~ *Sinopa* (o long) was a citee of *Pontus*, or els verie nigh to it. Builded by the *Milesians*, a florent citee, and of greate power, in whiche wer many goodlie houses, and mansion places of roiall building, with schooles, mercate steedes, walking places, and gorgeous temples. And in this citee were borne *Timotheus* Patron *Diphilus* a writer of Comedies, and *Diogenes Cinicus*, who was thereof called *Sinopensis*, or *Sinopaeus*.

First of all, hauing departed out of his owne countree, and placed himself in Athenes, he resorted to the Philosophier *Antisthenes*, to be his disciple: by whom although he was oft tymes put backe, and shifted of, (for *Antisthenes* would take no scholares) yet would he not cease stil to be an hanger on about him: in so moche that when *Antisthenes* on a tyme, offered to giue hym a stripe with a staffe, he willyngly put out his hed vnder the staffe, sayng: Strike if thou be so disposed, yet shalt thou not finde any staffe so harde, where with to beate me awaie from thee, as long as thou shalt speake that maie concerne matters of learnyng.

I.

Diogenes
would nedes
be scholare vn-
to *Antisthenes*.

Antisthenes
would haue no
scholares.

Diogenes had
a wonderful
loue & zeale to
sapience.

¶ A notable example of Sapience, with whole harte and minde, feruently desired and zeled.

When he by chaunce sawe a mous renning, and whippyng aboute from place to place, in a certaine greene, within the citee of Athenes called *Megaricum*, whiche mous neither sought any hole, nor was afeard with the stiryng of folkes, nor had any lust to eate meate: A ioilie gaie example of libertie, saied *Diogenes*.

2.

Whereof *Dio-*
genes toke occa-
sion to take vp
his dwellyng
place in a
tubbe.

¶ And euer forthwithall, renouncyng and forsakyng the worlde, he begun to take vp his dwellyng in a tubbe.

3.

Why *Diogenes*
had no house
of his own to

To men wondryng that he had neuer a little hous, or corner of his owne, where he might quietly eate his meate: he shewed with pointyng
of

eate & drinke in
Iouis Porticus,
Iuppiter his
aley or galerie
or *Iuppiter* his
walke, a place
in Athenes.

A thyng pub-
like is ordeined
for the vse of
euery particu-
lar persone also
seuerally. 4.

Euclides was
in the later
dayes of *Plato*
who wrote
much of con-
clusions in Ge-
ometrie, which
werke we haue
yet in Greke
and Latin.

Diogenes nicke-
named the
scholes of *Eu-
clides* and of
Plato.

χολή σχολή
διατριβή
κατατριβή

Diogenes set
his minde
more to liue
after Philoso-
phie, then to
dispute thereof.

of his finger, the galerie or walking place that was called *Iouis Porticus*, and saied, that the people of Athenes had builded to his vse a roial mansion place where to dine & suppe, & to take his repast.

¶ The thing that was publike, he enterpreted to be made and ordeined for him also particularly. Neither could he wishe or desire, a fresher or a more galaunt parlour to eate in.

The schoole of *Euclides* (for that thesame *Euclides* semed to teache in deede wittie conclusions, but yet nothing to the furtheraunce or helpe of vertuous liuyng) he called not σχολήν, a schoole as the vsuall worde was in deede, but by a nicke name χολήν, which souneth in Englishe cholere, angre & trouble, contrary to the significacion of the right worde σχολή, whiche souneth quiet vacacion. Semblable, the scholasticall exercitacion & conferring of *Plato*, called in Greke διατριβήν, *Diogenes* by deprauyng and corruptyng the worde called κατατριβήν, that is, mispendyng of moche good labour and time, because that *Plato* beyng sequestred and exempted from the practike liuyng emong men abroad in the worlde, did spend all his daies and tyme, in disputacions of wordes, where as *Diogenes* liuing emonges the thickest of the worlde abroad, had more minde and affeccion, to liue Philosophically, that is, accordyng to perfectue vertue, then onely in woordes to dispute and reason thereof.

5. The games called *Dionysiaca*, whiche wer with greate charges, and moche pompe celebrated and holden at the citee of Athenes in the honour of
- * *Bacchus*, he called the greate wondermentes & gazinges of fooles.

**Bacchus* (after
the feigning of
the poetes) was
Iupiter his son,
begotten vpon

¶ For that in thesame was nothyng doen, but all together foolishe and worthie skorne.

Semle

Semele the daughter of *Cadmus*, who being slain with lightening, *Iupiter* toke the childe, and sowed it within his thigh, and so kept it, vntil it was of maturitee to be borne, & then was he borne out of the thigh of *Iupiter*. He is called the God of wine, because he first found out the vse of wine, he is called in Greke Διόνυσος and thereof is deriued *Dionysia*. And of *Dionisia* is denominated *Dionisiaca Certamina*, whiche the Latine menne callen of *Bacchus Bacchanalia*, the rites of *Bacchus*, which in the most part of the citees of Grece, wer kept euery third yere.

The oratours and aduocates (who wer had in 6.
high price and estimacion in Athenes) he called the common droudges and pages, of euery Iacke and Gille, for that thei wer of force constrained, to speake all that euer thei did, to please men, and euen like bonde slaues, to flatter the beastlie foolishe rable of the people. And the assembles of the people, swarmyng about thesame orators, he called the pimples or little wheales of glorie.

Frequente assembles of the people gatheryng about the oratours been the pyples of glorie.

¶ The Greke word that he vsed, was ἐξανθήματα, that is, little pimples or pushes, soche as of cholere and false flegme, budden out in the noses and faces of many persones, & are called the Saphires & Rubies of the Tauerne.

☞ Mening thereby (as I suppose) that like as soche pushes in the visages of men, are angrie things and greffull, and also finall discomfort to the parties, that the same may not for shame shewe their faces, but hidden thei themselves, and refrain to come in compaignie: so the frequent assembles of people, swarmyng about oratours, doe finallie purchase and conciliate vnto the same moche enuie, displeasure, hatered, trouble and vexacion, ensuyng of the glorie that thei haue in the beginning. As chaunced to *Demosthenes*, and to *Aschines* in *Athenes*, and to *Cicero* in *Roome*.

Diogenes as often as in the life of men he considered and thought vpon the gouernours of citees, Phisicians, and Philosophiers, affirmed no liuing thing to be more sapient then man. The- 7.
same Diogenes consideryng in his minde expouners of dreames, readers what shall foloe this dreame or that, southsaiers, and others of like sort, or els soche persones as wer wholly subiect to glorie and riches: auouched, that to his semyng there was nothing more foolishe, then man.

Nothing more sapiente then manne.

Nothing more foolishe then manne.

Notifyng

The witte of manne, apte to al goodnesse, if it be set therto. ¶ Notifiyng the witte of man, to be appliable and apt to all goodnesse, if it be exercised and enured therewithall, but if it fall from his right kinde to vice, then to be many degrees worse then the dumme brute beastes.

8. He vsed customably to saie, that in our life we should oftener prouide λόγου ἢ βρόχου, that is, a talker then an halter.


λόγος ¶ The Greke woorde, λόγος signifieth in Latine *sermonem*, in Englishe communicacion or talkyng. βρόχος And the Greke vocable βρόχος, is in Latine, *laqueus*, in Englishe an halter or a stryng, soche as a bodie maie by the necke be hanged withall. Whiche he spake, for that soche persones as ar werie of their liues, and are in soche despaire, that thei would fain be out of the worlde, do many of them by and by hang and strangle them selues, whereas thei ought rather to haue recourse to good communicacion, that might recomforte their spirites, and bryng them again from despaire. For, to the hart beyng in heauines and vtter discomfort: the beste Phisician is good and wholsome communicacion. Neither shall the sense be out of square, if ye take the Greke vocable λόγου (as in an other significacion it maie well bee taken) for reason.

What thyng, desperate persones should dooe. ¶ And then the sense shalbe, that men ought rather in times of displeasures and misauentures, to slaie them selues by reason, and to vse their discrecion and wisdom, in taking mischances paciently as men should doe, then vpon trifling occasions to fall in despaire, and so wilfully to cast awaie them selues, as many haue doen. Albeit taking λόγου, for talking, I thinke *Diogenes* mened that menne ought so to prouide, that their wordes and communicacion at all times be vertuous and fruitfull, aswell to the hearer, as to the speaker, and not of soche sorte as the speaker maie afterwarde haue cause to repent, and wishe within his bealie again. As *Seneca* noteth the improuidencie, & vnaduisednesse of many persones, whiche often tymes (as he speaketh it in Latin *Emitunt voces per iugulum redituras*, that is, letted escape wordes, that must afterward come back again by their own throtes, and cost them their neckes. So that *Diogenes* would no mennes communicacion to be soche as might afterward bee found hanging matters, and redounde to their owne confusion, but rather to be fruitfull and vertuous. For, onelie soche woordes and none other, been worthie the appellacion, or name of communicacion and talkyng

In tymes of misfortune is wisdom & discrecion most to bee vsed. Menne ought to haue no communicacion but suche as may be fruitful and edifiyng, aswel to the hearer as to the speaker.

talkyng. of whiche redoundeth aswell to the hearer, as to the speaker some fruite, profite, and edifying: and for whiche bothe parties maie be the better, and not haue cause afterward to beshrewe them selues. And soche as vsen naughtie and pernicious bableling doen often times procure their owne harmes, and been autours and workers of their owne confusion.

No man ought to leate escape wordes, whiche muste afterward come home again by the throte.

 No woordes been worthie the name of talkyng, but such as been fruitefull. Soche as vse pernicious wordes are commenie autours of their owne confusion.

When Diogenes at a feast of high fare sawe 9.
Plato, not ones to put his hande to any of the deintie dishes, but to feede onely vpon a fewe Oliues, he saied: What is befallen moste sapient father, that wheras to come to soche maner fare as this, ye made ones a viage in to Sicilie, ye dooe here now abstain from ready prouision of meates, purposely dressed for you? To this saied Plato again, Yet iwis, O Diogenes, euen in Sicilie also I was satisfied with soche meat for the moste parte, as this that I eate now: Why then needed you to saile vnto the citee of Syracuse, saied Diogenes? Wer there no Oliues at that season, growyng within the countree of Attica?

Plato a manne of sobre diete.

Syracuse the hed citee of all Sicilie, the noblesse and riches of which Tullie dooeth at large describe in the accions against Verres.

¶ This sayyng some writers ascriben to *Aristippus*.

Diogenes on a tyme, as he was eating figges, 10.
mette with Plato, and offeryng to him a fewe of his figges, said: Ye maie take some parte with me, if ye bee disposed. And when Plato had taken some, and eaten them, Diogenes saied: Ye maie take some parte, with me, wer my wordes, and not to raumpe them vp on that facion.

μετασχεῖν
εἶπον, οὐ
καταφαγεῖν.

¶ This merie iesting worde, maie be applied to a serious matter, that is to wete, to be spoken on soche persones, as abusen the gentle permission & suffraunce of their prince, of their scholemaister, or of their parentes to the attempting or doying of thinges vnlawful. As (for example) if one beyng aduertised, that it is a thing not vnprofitable to take a taste, and to haue

a little sight in Logike, doe bestowe all the daies of his life on that studie. The sayng is, in soche wise recited by *Laertius*, that one maie doubt whether of the ii. did offre the figges to thother.

I I. Plato in deede was a frugall man, and a greate sparer or housbande, but yet one that loued to haue all thinges picked net and cleane. And contrariwise, Diogenes a verie slouen, and one that cared for no clenlinesse. Therfore trampling with his durtie feete, vpon Plato his fine piloes, and other bedding, to certain the familiare frends of Dionysius, beyng therein companie, whom Plato had desired to diner, he saied, I dooe now trede the ambicion of Plato vnder my feete, Plato anone aunswered thus, Yet in how greate pride swellest thy self, O Diogenes, while thou thinkest thy self to trede another mannes pride vnder thy fete. The self same thyng is by other writers, more pleasauntly reported. To Diogenes, sayng I trede the pride of Plato vnder my feete: So thou doest in deede (quoth Plato) but it is with an other kinde of pride, as greate as mine.

Plato a sparing manne but a louer of clenlinesse.

Diogenes a veray sloouen. Diogenes trampled with hys durtie feete vpon Plato his peloe and bedding.

The ambicion and pride of Diogenes.

To make bost of contemning pride, is an high point of prde and ambicion.

More dishon-estee is in seeking prease, by countrefeacted vertue.

What thanks Diogenes rendered vnto Plato, for geuing hym wyne and fyggues more then he asked.

¶ For, euen thesame was a point of pride, that he made so greate boste and vaunte of contemnyng clenlinesse. And those persones that do glorie and bragge of their niggishe slouenrie, and simplenes of their habite, been of their appetite, and in their hartes, no lesse ambitious, then soche as setten out themselves in gorgeous, apparel albeit of an other sort, & in an other kinde. And a greate deale more dishonestee is there in that ambicion, whiche seketh laude and praise, of the false colour and cloke of vertue counterfeited. Yet *Socion* ascribeth this sayng, not to *Diogenes* but vnto *Plato* the Cynike.

I 2. Diogenes had desired of Plato a little courtesie of wine, and eftsones to haue also a fewe figges.
Plato

Plato sent hym a whole stene or pitcher full. To whom the Cynike rendred thankes in this maner: When it is demaunded of thee, how many is twoo and twoo, thou aunswerest, twentie: so neither doest thou giue thinges, according to a bodies askyng, ne makest a directe aunswere to soche questions, as are demaunded of thee.

¶ He noted *Plato*, as a man out of measure talkatif, which self same thing did *Aristoteles* also note in his writynges.

Notwithstanding *Aristotle* his noting, which proceeded of enuie, *Plato* is of al the Grekes esteemed to be of so wittie inuencion in his writings, and of so greate varietee, shift, eloquence, and good vtterance in speaking, that thesame Grekes pronounced, that in case *Iupiter* should or would speake Greke, he would speake with *Plato* his tongue and phrase. And no lesse dignitee and excellencie is to thesame *Plato* attributed by *Cicero*, *Quintilianus*, and all other Latine writers also, beyng of any iudgement.

To one demaunding in what parte of all the countree of Grece, he had seen good men: Men (quoth he) no where: but in the citee of Lacedaemon, I sawe good laddes.

¶ Notyng the moste corrupt and vicious maners of al Grece throughout, in so moche that euen emong the *Lacedemonians*, a nacion least corrupted of al others, onely in the children remained the aunciente integritie and vncorruption. And all vnder one he signified, that in the residue of the countre of Grece, not so moche as the children neither wer good, honest, or vertuous. And this thing moreouer did he notifie, the men to be moche more vicious, then the boies, whereas of congruence the children ought by them, to be trained and nouseled in vertuous disposicion, and framed to an honest trade of liuyng.

When *Diogenes* on a certain time treatyng, and making a declaracion of an earnest and saige matter of Philosophie, had not one hearer, that would giue diligente eare vnto him, he begun to sing soch another foolish song as (Robin Hood in Barnsdale

Diogenes noted *Plato* of vn-mesurable verbotitee, and so did *Aristoteles* also.

The eloquence of *Plato* is of all writers esteemed to be such that if *Iuppiter* shoulde speake Greke he wold vse the phrase of *Plato*.

The moste corrupt & vicious maners of all the countree of Grece throughout in the time of *Diogenes*.

Children oughte of congruence to be trained & framed to vertuous disposicion

14.

How *Diogenes* rebuked the

people, for that
thei wer readie
to harken vnto
matters of
lightnesse &
slacke to giue
eare to matters
of grauitee.

Barnsdale stode, &c.) and sembled as though he would daunce withall. And when a verie great multitude of people had now gathered together and swarmed about him, he tooke them all vp for stumblyng, because that to thinges foolish, & seruyng to no good purpose, thei came rennyng by whole flockes, and as merie as Pies, where as to serious matters, and thesame moche available vnto good liuyng, thei neither would resort or approach or diligently giue eare.

¶ Verie like vnto this it is, that some writers ascriben to *Demosthenes* of the * shadoe of an Asse.

* So it was, that *Demosthenes* on a time being hot in making an oracion to the *Atheniens* the people wer sodainlie in soche a greate rore emong themselves, that thei gaue no eare to *Demosthenes*, but rather troubled hym in his tale. Whereupon he saied, that he had twoo or threewoordes to saie vnto them requiring them to hold their noise, and to giue good eare what he would saie. Immediately was made silence and *Demosthenes* in this wise begun. A certaine young man had hiered an Asse from *Athenes*, to the toun of *Megara*. And bothe the parties went together in company and being Somer season, about noone the Sonne weaxed so feruente hot, that for to couer themselves from the Sonne, either partie would nedes hide himself vnder the shadowe of the Asse. But thei fell at variaunce about it, and either partie would nedes put of the other. The one saied, that he had set out the Asse to hier, but not the shadoe, the other on his partie auouched, that forasmoche as he had hiered the Asse he had best right and title for the time during, to the shadoe of the Asse to. And immediatly after thus moche of the tale told, *Demosthenes* came doune from the pulpite or scaffold. The people were so faine to heare the rest of the tale, that thei caught *Demosthenes* by the gowne, and held him backe, nor would at no hande suffer him to departe, but required him in any wise, to make an ende of his tale. Then saied *Demosthenes* vnto them: Why are ye so desirous and fain, to listen a tale of the shadoe of an Asse, and haue no will ne minde at all to herken me, speaking of matters weightie, serious, and touching the common weale.

15. He rebuked men for that thei exercised and practised themselves with fettyng gambaudes, and with sembleable toies, to the ende that thei might at length be exercised and cunnyng therein, and not one of them all would putte hymself to any peine, that thei might in fine, proue wel disposed, and honest menne.

16. From no sort of men in the worlde, did he refrain or chamber the tauntyng of his tongue. He saied, that he greatly wondred at the *Gramarians*,

Diogenes spared
tauntyng
no manne liuyng.

marians, * that thei did with soche earnest study, make depe inquisition, of the hard auentures of Vlysses, and knewe nothing of their owne mischaunces.

Diogenes checked the Grammarians.

¶ The *Grammarians* in olde time spent moste of their study and wer moste familiare in the ‡ *Rhapsodies* of *Homerus*. And he in his werke entiteled *Odissea*, maketh mencion and rehersall of diuers the wander-ynges of *Vlysses* on the seas, and aboute sonderie countrees, ere he could gette home to *Ithaca*, after the burnyng of Troie.

* *Grammatici*, were those that spent their study in humanitee, and whom we cal scholemaisters
‡ *Rhapsodies* ar that we cal thinges patched together, as

the werkes of *Homerus* were, for *Homerus* himself was blind, and made voluntarie, and song *ex tempore*, that is without studie. And after his death, *Aristarchus* gathered al his makings together, and compiled them into two werkes, the one entitled *Ilias*, whiche is of the battail and destruccion of Troie, and the other *Odissea*, of the wandring of *Vlysses*, ere he could get home to *Ithaca*, after that Troie was burned. And because those werkes wer compiled by patches, thei were called *Rhapsodie*, as ye would saie, patches or cloutes boched together.

With the Musicians also he found fault, for that about their Harpes and other musicall Instrumentes, thei would bestowe greate labour & diligence, to set the strynges in right tune, and had maners gerring quite & clene out of al good accord or frame.

17.

How *Diogenes* founde faulte with the Musicians.

He reproued also the professours of the * *Mathematicall* sciencies, for that thei wer alwaies gazing and staring vpon the Sun, the Moone, and the Sterres, and yet could not see what thinges laie before their fete.

18.

How *Diogenes* reproued the professours of the *Mathematical* disciplines.

* *Mathematici*, wer the professours and studentes of Geometrie, Musike Arithmetike, and Astrologie. For, these were called sciencies Mathematicall, because that where thei are learned by clene intelligence of the witte, yet thei procede of so certaine and sure principles and conclusions, that thei maie bee more certainlie and perfectlie perceiued and proued then Logike, Rhetorike, and Philosophie, or any other soche.

At the oratours also he had a saiyng, for that thei wer busie enough to speake thinges standing with right and iustice, but to put thesame in execucion, and to doe thereafter, thei wer verie slacke.

19.

How *Diogenes* reproued the Oratours.

The

20. The couetuous persones he rattled and shooke

*How Diogenes
rattled &
shooke vp co-
uetous per-
sones.*

*None doe in
woordes more
cry out on
auarice, then the couetous persons.*

vp, for that in wordes thei dispraised money, wheras in their hartes thei loued thesame of life.

¶ For, this speciall propertee the couetous persones haue, that none aliuie dooe in woordes more defie and deteste auarice, then themselves doe.

21. The common people also he toke vp for stum-
blyng, because thei praised and commended good

*How Diogenes
checked the
common
people.*

men, principallie vpon this ground and title, for that thei wer despisers of money, and yet in the while, thei would neuer the more foloe the steppes of thesame good men, whom thei moste highlie commended: but rather foloed those persones that had the grummel seede, and mucke of the worlde, whom in woordes thei did greatlie dispraise.

22. He neuer linned rahatyng of those persones,

*How Diogenes
rahated soche
persones as
did sacrifice to
haue bodily
healthe.*

*Diogenes hated
gluttons.*

that offred sacrifice for to haue good health of bodie, and euen in the very sacrifice doying (in that thei wer vnmeasurable raueners, and gourmaunders, and would not leaue eatyng while the beallie would hold) thei did all together against the good health of the bodie.

23. He saied, that he meruailed at the seruantes,

*What faulce
Diogenes found
with bonde ser-
uauntes.*

*It is not for
honest menne
to bee euer
rauenyng.*

that when thei sawe their maisters deuoure meate, beyond all reason or measure, thei tooke not awaie the meate from them, allegyng that to be the waie to preserue their maisters in helth. And for bonde seruantes, or slaues, it is more conuenient then for honest menne, to bee euer maunching and filling the gutte.

¶ Thus ferre hath it been mencioned and rehearsed what persones, for what causes thesaied *Diogenes* rebuked

buked and founde faulte withall. Now listen what sort of men he praised.

He allowed them that wer towarde wiuynge, and yet wiued not: that wer in a readinesse to saile on the sea, and yet tooke no shippe: that wer about to giue children their findyng, and yet found none at all: that addressed themselves to entre doinges in the common weale, and yet entered not in deede: that had prepared and framed theimselfes to be in the courte, and to liue in housholde with high states, or men of greate power, and yet came not therto.

¶ Signifyng, that best it was from all thesaid thynges vtterly to absteyne, and therefore those persones to seme wise, which hauing had earnest mocion, or prouocacion to any of thesame, had in season chaunged their myndes, for that when men are ones alredie entred in soche matters, it is not in their owne power or free libertee to alter that thei haue aduisedly resolved vpon, although it repent them of the trade or waie that thei haue chosen. Whoso hath ones married a wife is not now from thensforthe, all together his owne man: but in maner half maisterfast: whoso hath auentured to commit hymself to the sea, must of force stande in the grace of the wyndes, whither to bee conueighed or caried: whoso hath ones stepped forth, & sette in foote to take charge of a common weale, and to haue dooynges in publique affaires, must remedylesse serue * the staige, & go through with the parte that he hath taken in hande to play, yea and though his herte would neuer so faine, yet is it as much as his life is woorth, from a publike office of gouerning a commonweale, to retire vnto a priuate state and condicion of liuyng.

24.
What persones
Diogenes al-
lowed & prai-
sed.

When a man
hath ones en-
tered any
greate mater,
it is not in his
own power, to
goo backe a-
gaine, or to
chaunge his
purpose.

The state of
married men,
of saillers on
the sea, and of
officers in a
common
weale.

* To serue
the staige, is a
prouerbe taken
out of the Latin
Scenae seruire,
by whiche is
signified, to
dooe as the

time will suffice, and as the presente case requireth, so eche persone to applie him-
selfe. *Cicero* writyng vnto *Brutus*, saieth to hym: *Tibi nunc populo & scenae, ut*
dicitur, seruiendam est. Nam in te non solum exercitus tui, sed omnium ciuium, ac
pene gentium coniecti sunt oculi; that is, Thou must nowe of necessite serue the
people

people and the staige (as saieyth the prouerbe) For on thee are directly and wholly cast the iyen, not onely of thyne owne armie, but also of all the Citisens of Rome, yea and in maner of al nacions in the world too. So that the prouerbe maie very congruentlye bee spoken of suche persones, as haue taken in hande some high office or charge in a common weale, or els the conueighaunce and execution of some very noble acte or matter to be doen in the face of the worlde, whiche thei must of force, either to their highe honour, praise, glory, and renoume goo through withall and finishe, or els with the greate infamie, shame, and reproche, quail and laye all in the dust, because of the expectacion of menne in suche a case.

25. Diogenes hath the name to bee the author and first brynger vp of this ridle also: That menne ought not to putte forthe their handes to their frendes with their fynghers fast clynched together.

How we ought
to behaue oure-
selves to oure
frendes.

¶ Betokenyng that it is not enough if we shew our selves lowly, gentle, & familiare to our frends, but that to thesame courtesy of behaueour, we ought, also to couple liberalitee and bountee for a compaignion. Whoso dooen gently and courteously handle and entreate their frends, are saied proprely in Greeke δεξιούσθαι, that is to take by the righte hande, and courtesuslie and louynglye to entreteine.

δεξιούσθαι

26. At what tyme Diogenes beeyng taken prisoner in the Isle of Crete which is now called Candie, was broughte forthe to bee sold, vnto the cryer demaundyng wherin his chief feacte or cunnyng did stand, and by what title he should commend hym to the buyers, Marie (quoth he) saie that thou hast a feloe tomake money of, that hath the right knowelage how to rewle menne of freedome, One Xeniaades a Corinthian hauyng muche meruail at the straungnesse of the crye, approched vnto Diogenes, and demaunded whether he had perfecte skylle to doe that he professed & tooke vpon hym. And when by the comunicacion of the philosophier he perceiued him to bee a man both of high wisdom, & and also of profounde learnyng, he bought hym, & had him home with him

By what title,
Diogenes
would be com-
mended to the
buiers, when he
should be solde

Xeniaades a Co-
rinthian,
bought Diog-
enes to his
bondeman.

him to his hous, and committed his children to hym for to bee taught, whiche children Diogenes tooke vnto his cure, and thesame right gentlemanlike trained both in learnyng and maners. And first and foremoste, he taught them the liberall sciencies, and shortly after he taught them the feacte of ridyng an horse, he taught them to bend a bowe & to shoote in it, to whurle with a sling, and to picke or cast a darte. In the wrastleyng place, he would not suffre that their tutour (whiche hadde the cure of their bodies & health) should exercise them with painfull labours after the maner of menne of sense, but so ferre and somuche as might bee auailable to the roddynesse of colour, and for good healthe of the body. He founde the meanes that they shoulde learne by hearte and memorie al that euer good was out of the poetes, and other writers. In consideracion that we haue true knowlage and perfecte intelligence, onely of suche thinges as wee haue suerly enprinted and engrauen in our memory. At fewe woordes, the summe, the effecte and pith of all doctrine he drew out for them, compiled together by abrigement, to the ende that bothe they might in shorter time haue a through sight in it, & also the more substanciallye for euer conteine it in their memorie. Thesame children he broke and taught howe to awayte on their parentes at home in their hous, and to be wel pleased with light meate, and such as was easie to bee gotten, and to bee contented with water to their drynke: and where others kepte their long lockes wel trymmed and decked, for an ornamente, and for the better settyng forth of their fauour & beautie, Diogenes commaunded these children to haue their heddes polled. And if at any tyme
suche

Xeniades committed his sonnes, to the guiding & teaching of *Diogenes*

What thinges *Diogenes* taught the sonnes of *Xeniades*

What exercise of body *Diogenes* permitted to his young schoolares.

Diogenes his maner of teaching poetes and other autours. We haue perfecte knowlage of no more then is engrauen in our memorie.

Diogenes drew out the summe of all disciplines for his scholares.

Howe *Diogenes* trained the sonnes of *Xeniades* in their maners.

Childrens diet composed or assigned by *Diogenes*.

The Lacedemonians broke & exercised their children and youth in huntynge.

suche occasion chaunced, that they must goo forth of doores, he brought them forth vnkembred, and vnpioked, withoute cotes, bare foote and barelegged, and not a woord with them Ouer & besides this, he did breake them in the feacte of huntynge, in this behalfe followynge the guyse and custome of the Lacedemonians.

¶ By reason of these thinges it came to passe, that *Diogenes* had muche reuerente attendaunce dooen to him by the saied children, and that he was for their sakes highly esteemed and accepted with their father *Xeniades*. Other writers tellen the tale, that the crier by the bidding of *Diogenes* did in this maner speake his wordes. Is there any manne that is willynge to mynded to bye a maister?

27. When he sate hym downe in the sale time, he was forbidden to sit on his taille, and was charged to stand vpon his feete, for this entente (I suppose,) that the cheapman might the more easylie vieue and trie what hee bought. Tushe, (quoth *Diogenes*) what mater maketh that, sens that fishes, after what facion so euer they lyen, bee bought vp.

The habite of the minde is best perceiued by a mannes talkynge.

¶ Notyng the folishenesse of the common people, whiche gooyng about to bye a bondman, wil bee wise and well aware that no faulte of the bodie maie escape vnespied, and will not with like prouision and caucion serche and trye what state and case the mynde is in. And as for the habite of the mynde is moste euidentlye perceiued by a mannes communicacion and talkynge. And not by sittynge or standynge.

28. He saied that it seemed to hym a meruailous mater, that whereas men would not bye a pottle or a potteded, but wel tried with knockynge on it, or els by the tincklyng and sounne therof: in biyng

The ouersight of many persones in buyng of menne.

biyng a manne they could be contented and satisfied with onelye lookynge on hym with their iye.

¶ Signifyng that a manne is by nothyng in the worlde better knowen, then by his communicacion. Therefore like as they that goo about to bye an yearthen pottle, or vessell for an orkyn, dooe knocke vpon it with their knuckle, and by the sounne that it geueth doe soone discerne whether it bee whole, of suche claye or metalle as it shoulde bee, and seasoned in the keil, or not: so before that they bye a man with poundes moo then one or twoo, meete it wer to prouoke the partie to speake, and to tell one tale or other, and by his talkyng to fynd out what maner feloe he is. To the selfsame purpose apperteyneth the saynge nexte afore.

A manne is by no thing better knowen, then by his communicacion.

A fyshe is dumme and cannot speake, neyther maketh it any force howe thesame lyeth on the stalle, forasmuche as no man can make thereof anie thyng but a fyshe.

¶ Sembleably it is no matter ne difference at all, of what habite, pleight, or complexion of bodie ye bye a manne, if ye bye hym, neuer hearyng hym speake.

Unto Xeniades by whom he was bought, he saied: Sir, ye must remedylesse bee obediente to me, and rewled by me, although beeyng now your bondeseruaunt, in consideracion that whoso hath to his bondeseruaunt a shipmaister, or a Physician, is of force driuen to bee rewled by the same, if he bee disposed to haue any commoditee or profitable seruice of hym.

The maister ought to bee auised by his seruaunte, if he be wise.

The reporte goeth, that in the hous of this same Xeniades he contynued and liued vntill he was a veraye aged manne, and was there buried of his owne scholares. And beeyng asked by Xeniades howe his desire was to bee buried, Grouelyng, quoth he, with my face toward the grounde

How *Diogenes* desired to bee buiried.

grounde. And to thesame Xeniades demaund-
yng the cause why, he said: For, ere long time
to an ende, it will come to passe, that those
thynges whiche now lyen downward shalbee
turned vpward,

The *Macedo-
nians* conqu-
ered all Grece,
and helde the
dominion of
thesame in
the tyme of
Diogenes.

The maner of
buriyng in old
tyme.

The Iewes are
buriyed, as it
wer standing
on their feete,
and the Chris-
tians with their
faces vpward.

¶ Alludyng hereunto, that at that presente season,
the *Macedonians* hadde gotten the ouer hande vpon
the *Atheniens*, and had achiued the emper of al *Grece*,
& of, in maner vilaynes or slaues, they wer become ve-
raie haulte, & from veraye basse, they were mounted to
high domynion. That if all thynges should so be
turned vp side down, it should saunce fail come to
passe that his dedde carkesse also should ere many
daies after bee turned from liyng grouleyng, to liyng
with the face vpward. Percase his menyng was this,
to bee no mater to bee passed on, after what maner
of liyng or facion the dedde bodie be putte in the
graue, about whiche mater, great was the supersticion
of the moste parte of people, for they wer carried to
their burial with their feete liyng forth towarde the
towne gate, they were burned in maner of standyng
vpriht, and at this daye the Iewes (as I heare saye)
are putte in their graues as if it wer standyng on their
feete, at lest wise the Christians euery one of them
without excepcion are laied in their graues with their
faces vpwarde.

31. Standyng on a time in the open mercate place,
he cried with a loude voice. Approche ye
menne, approche ye menne, as though he had
had some earnest matter to saie vnto the people.
And when they had gathered veraye thicke about
hym, and he for all that, ceassed not but still
cried: Approche ye menne, certain of them.
takyng greate indignacion at the mater: aun-
swered: Loe, here wee bee, saie thy mynd.
Then Diogenes driuyng them away with a staf,
saied:

saied : I bade menne to approche, and not dounge hylles or draffesackes.

¶ He thought not the name of a manne to bee a congruente or a right name for suche persones as liued not accordyng to reason, but were leden and rewled by sensuall mocions, and pangues, after the maner of swyne and other brute beastes.

Thei that liuen not accordyng to reason, but are leden by sensuall affectes and passions, are not worthie to bee called menne.

Alexander Magnus when he was at the citee of * Corinthus, wente vnto Diogenes sitting in his tubbe, and talked familiarelye with hym manie thynges : from whom after that he was departed, to his familiare frendes takyng highe disdeigne and indignacion, that beeyng a kynge, he had dooen so muche honour to such a doggue as Diogenes, who would not vouchesalue so muche as ones to aryse vp from his tail to doe his duetie of humble obeysance to so greate a prince, he saied : Wel, yet for all that, wer I not Alexander, I would with all my hert bee Diogenes.

32.

Alexander talked familiarily many thynges with Diogenes sitting in hys tubbe. Howe highly Alexander Magnus esteemed the philosophical mynde of Diogenes.

¶ So meruailous highlye did he esteme, that same the mynde and herte of the same *Diogenes* constitute and beeyng in moste perfecte freedome, and ferre surmountyng the coumpace or reache of al worldlie or transitorie thynges, that he iudged nothyng to be more like to a kyngdome or Empier. The principall and chief felicitie of kyngs is, that thei ought seruice or homage to no yearthly creature, but whatsoeuer thyng standeth with their wille and pleasure, they doe and veraie easilie bryng to effecte, and secoundarily, that they feele wante of nothyng yearthly, and all this doeth philosophie more substanciallie and more assuredly performe to a manne, then doeth any empier vnto kynges. Albeeit to bee *Alexander*, *Alexander* deemed in hys opinion to bee a somewhat higher and greater pointe, then to bee a kyng.

Nothing more like to a kingdome, then a true philosophical mynde.

The principall and chief felicitie of kynges. What highe commoditees redoundeth of philosophie.

To bee *Alexander*, *Alexander* thought to bee more then to bee a kyng.

† Corynthus sometyme a right noble and a riche citee in *Achaia*, situate and liyng betwene two seas, the one called *Aegeum*, and the other Ionium, a marte towne

towne of greate haunte. It was first builded by *Sisyphus* the sonne of *Aeolus* and called *Corcyra*. After that it was called *Ephyre*. Then was it destroyed, and eftsones reedified by one *Corinthus* the sonne of *Orestes*, and called *Corinthus*. Then was it yet again burned and cleue destroyed by the *Romaines*, and finally reedified by *Augustus* Emperour of Roome.

33. He auouched that suche folkes as wanted their hearyng or lacked their sight, ought not for that respect to bee called feble and maimed persones, but such as had no scrip hangyng by their syde.

¶ He dalied with the affinitee or likenesse of twoo greeke vocables, the one, *ἀνάρηπος*, and the other *ἄνηπος*. For *ἀνάρηπος*, of the Grecians is called, a maimed persone, a creple, or one that hath lost the vse of some membre or lymme of his bodie, and *ἄνηπος*, he that is without a scryppe, suche as the poore that asken almes from doore to doore haue hangyng by their syde. Notifyng in myne opinion, a manne to be ferre vnmeete for all good occupacions to bee doen in this life, that is voide of Philosophie. For the scryppe was for al prouision and store of vitailles that the Cynikes hadde.

What folkes
Diogenes
thought wor-
thie to be cal-
led feble &
maimed per-
sones.

A man void of
philosophie is
fer vnmete for
al good occu-
pacions.
The Cynikes
had no proui-
sion or vitailles,
but in their
scrippe.

34. Hauing on a time entreed a place wher a coumpaignie of younge rufflers were banquettyng & makyng good chere, with his polle shoren pate, he was not only nothing courteously welcomed and entreteined, but also sent away with as many stripes of whippyng and scourgeyng as his backe could beare, on which persones in this wise he auenged himself. The names of the young menne by whom he had been scourged, he regestred in a piece of paper, and so walked vp and down with his cope wyde open.

How *Diogenes*
auenged him-
self on certain
young menne,
that had whip-
ped and
scourged him.

¶ The markes or scrattes of the stripes declared as plainly as if he had spoken it with his tongue, how he had been handled, and the white paper vttered them that had doen the dede. By this meanes he published

published the vngentle yong feloes, to be chidden & rahated of al the world.

Because he was a Cynike, he was called doggue, & this kynde or secte of liuyng was of many persones highly praised, but yet no man would foloe thesame. Wherupon he vsed oft tymes to saie, that he was the hounde of manie that praised him, but yet that neuer a one of his praisers had the herte to goo on huntynge with the hounde that was so muche praised.

A certain feloe making vaunt and bost of hymself, and sayng; I winne euer the victorie of men in the games called *Pythia, No, it is I (quoth Diogenes) that wyne the victorie of menne, and thou, of slaues.

¶ Ones, again he dalyed with the affinitee and likenesse of the Greke woordes that is betweene ἄνδρας, men, and ἀνδράποδα, bonde slaues. And bondeslaues did he cal, whatsoeuer persons wer as subiecte and geuen vnto sensuall lustes, and desires. And these cupiditees by philosophie to ouercome, is a more honest and ioylie thyng, then in the games called *Pythia* to ouercome men.

when he was an infaunte, but *Apollo* euen in his tendre infauncie, with his bowe and aroes slewe the serpente *Python*, and therof was surnamed *Pythius*, and therof cometh *Pythia*. Of these games is afore mencioned.

To a certain persone auisynge him, that beeyng nowe a manne stricken in age, he should repose hymself & rest from labours, What, (quoth he) if I wer rennyng in a race: whether wer it conuenient, beeyng nowe approched nigh to the gole, and to the ende of the race, to slacke my course and pace of rennyng, or els rather to streigne and enforce the same.

¶ His iudgemente was right and true that the studie of vertue is so much the more earnestly to bee pursued,

35.

Vertue is praised of many, but no manne will foloe it.

36.

Pythia, wer games and plaies yerely celebrated, and holden in the honour of *Apollo*, for *Python* was a great serpent by the commaundement & becke of Iuno (as the Poetes dooe fable) sette vpon *Apollo* to destroye him,

37.

The lesse time that a man hath to liue, the more earnestly is the

study of vertue
to bee proceeded
in.

pursued, as the lesse tyme to liue doeth remaine : in
consideracion, that it wer a foule shame in a mannes
later daies to bee discomforted, or to haue a cold herte
in prosecutyng an honest trade.

38. Beeyng on a time inuited and bidden to
supper, he saied plainlye that he woulde not
come. And to the partie demaundyng the
cause why, he aunswered: Because I had not
my thanks yesterdaie for my comyng thyther.

A philosophier
deserueth high
thanks, that
beeynge de-
sired he will
vouchesalue
to bee a geast
at an other
mannes table.

¶ The moste part of men requireth to haue thanks,
as it were for some great benefite, if they haue had a
bodie at dyner or supper with them. But *Diogenes*
(although beeyng a poore man) demed great thanks
to bee duellie owyng vnto him, that he would vouch-
salue and not refuse to make one at a mannes table,
for that he came no whither without bearing his
porcion of the shot for his repast, but did with com-
municacion of Philosophie muche more dentylye feede
the myndes aswell of the partie that made the feast,
as also of the other geastes, then thesame maker of
the dyner fedde the body with good viandrie.

A philosophier,
wheresoeuer
he cometh
paieth well for
hys repast if
he talke in phi-
losophie.

39. He tooke on a tyme Demosthenes beyng at
that season but a yong strepleyng, euen with
the maner dinyng in a comen tauerne, and when
the same Demosthenes hauing espyed Diogenes
conueighed himself awaie into an inner rounge
of the house, So muche the fether in (quoth he)
shalt thou bee in the tauerne.

How *Diogenes*
rebuked *De-*
mosthenes con-
ueighyng
hymselfe preu-
ilye fether in-
to a tauern
when he was
found ther at
diner in an
outer rounge.

¶ Signifyng that hee was like muche the more for
that to be a talkyng stocke to all the geastes in the
coumpaignie, that not onely he haunted suche a place,
but also had conueighed hymselfe priuely out of sight,
as though he had been found in some matter or deede
of mischief. For that was a thyng more to bee talked
of, then that he was makyng good chere there. Other
writers tellen, that this was spoken to a certain young
manne,

manne, not naming what he was, but thesame might bee euen Demosthenes too. As for the sense is the more plain and open, that wee take or vnderstande, that the young manne was put in remembraunce that he should auoide not ferther into suche a place, but clene out of doores. For the ferther in that he hidde himselfe secrete out of sight with in the tauerne, the more truelie he was in the tauerne.

The more secrete that a manne is in an euill place, the more verely is he in it.

To certain straungers beeyng veraie desirous and fain to haue a sighte of that ioylie feloe Demosthenes that had eueriewhere so greate a name, Diogenes stretchyng out his middle finger, and pointing with it: sayed: Thissame is that ioylie felowe Demosthenes the oratour of the Atheniens.

40.
How *Diogenes* shewed *Demosthenes* vnto certain straungers beyng desirous to see him.

¶ The fore fynger nexte vnto the thumbe is called in latin, *index*, as if ye should saie in English, the pointing fynger, or the shewyng fynger, because that stretching forth thesame finger, on length wee vse to shew this, or that. And the middlemost fynger was among menne of old tyme rekened slaundrous, for a cause at this presente not to bee rehearsed. And *Demosthenes* had in euery mannes mouthe an euill reporte, of misliuyng and abusing his body. Which thing *Diogenes* notifyng, had more phansie to pointe towarde hym with the middle finger, then with the fore finger, as other folkes vsed to doe.

Index.

A piece of breade had fallen from a feloe, who lefte thesame liyng on the ground, for that he was ashamed to take it vp again. Diogenes myndyng to refourme the folie of the partie, putte a corde aboute the necke of a pottle, and trailled it after hym on the grounde along the Ceramicus, doyng thesame thyng in a pottle, which the other felowe was euill ashamed to dooe in a piece of breade.

41.
Folishe shame to no purpose.

Ceramicus, was a place in *Athenes*, seruyng for the buiriall of them that had been slaine in battaill.

42. Where he semed to manie folkes toto muche,
 How *Diogenes* answered them to whom he semed toto earnest a Philosophier. and toto earnest a philosophier, he aunswered He that ther in foloed the maner of the maister chauntres that sette the kaye, or take the first parte of a song to begynne it in a quiere, who of a custome and vsage, dooen somewhat excede the righte tune that they should take to the ende, that the others maie take the due tune, that they ought to dooe.

All vertues doe consiste in the meane, betwene twoo vices. ¶ For what excedeth or passeth the meane, although it be vicious. ¶ For all vertues sayen the morall Philosophiers) doen consiste in the meane betwene two vices, as for example, liberalitee betwene nigardship and prodigalitee, true religion betwene supersticion and contempte.) yet thesame muche auailleth to stiere vp, and to quicken the slougardie of others. Sembleable the robe or cope, & the tubbe of *Diogenes*, did not without their greate reproche vpbraide to the riche and welthy folkes their nicitee and their delices.

43. It was one of his saiynge, that no small noumbre of menne are in a deeper kynde of madnesse, then the errour of mispointyng with the finger extended vnto.

¶ For if a bodie should still stretche oute the midlemust finger to pointe therewith in stede of the forefinger, he should echewhere be accompted as one out of his witte, if one putte forth the forefinger to that vse, he is thought sad and well auised. But many a thousand folkes there been, whiche dooe much more greuou lie plaie the mad menne in serious maters, then if they should put out one finger in stede of an other, and yet suche persones are not emong the people comunly taken for misauised. As euen at this present daie, the parentes dooe in their children chastice for a greuou offence if they vse the lieft hand in stede of the righte hande, but they dooe not semleable chastice

The foly of some parentes in chasticing their children.

tice them, when they chose and take thyngs abhominable in stede of honest.

He taunted the folie and madnesse of men in this pointe also, that thynges precious, thei bought and solde for litle or nothyng, and thynges nothyng woorth at very high prices, for he saied : That the porture of a man in brasse or stone, should bee bought vp with three thousand † pieces of coyn, where as a pecke of mele was to bee solde for twoo brasse pens.

¶ And yet ther nedeth no such image or porture for anie necessarie vse of mannes life, without meale there is no possibilitie of mainteinyng the life. It had therefore been conueniente that meale should bee sette at a much higher price then images of stone or brasse. The Philosophier esteemed the prices of thynges by the naturall vse or necessarie occupiying of thesame, the peuish multitude of the people esteemeth it by their foolishe persuasion.

44.

The preposterous estimation of the people in bying & selling of thinges.

Images and portures of menne wer in oldtime bought at high prices.

Wyse menne estemen the prices of thinges by the naturall vse of thesame.

‡ *Tribus nummum millibus.* The Frenche interpreter translateth three hundred crownes, whiche after the rate of fowertene grootes a crowne, maketh the full summe of three score and tenne poundes of oure Englishe coyne.

The same tale that a litle afore we recited of 45.

Xeniades, certain writers tellen in this maner, wher as it was Diogenes that was bought, yet as though himselfe had bought Xenias he saied vnto thesame: See that thou be obedient to my commaundements. And when the other saied again in Greke, *ὄνο ποταμῶν*, as ye would saie That were euen the riuer to renne vp the hylle, betokenyng the matter to goo clene arsee versee, if the seruante shoulde commaunde the maister: Why, quoth Diogenes, if thou beeyng in some greatesickenesse or maladie haddest bought a physician, wouldest thou not bee rewled by him prescribyng, thy diet? Wouldest thou saie to him, *ὄνο ποταμῶν*, The riuer renneth vp the hille?

The maister ought to be ruled by the seruante beeyng a Philosophier.

Tranquillitee of manne.

If

Philosophie
healeth all the
diseases of the
mynde.

How moche
the soule is
better then the
bodie, so
muche the
more greuous
are the diseases
of the soule
than of the
bodie.

Diogenes would
nedes bee sold
to one that had
nede of a
maister.

¶ If the maister beeyng euill diseased in his bodie, bee glad and faine to obeie the seruauant hauyng good sight and practise in Phisike, muche more doeth it become one that is sore sicke in the mynde or soule, to bee obediente to his seruauant, beeyng profoundlie experte in Philosophie. For what the facultee or arte of Physike performeth to the body, thesame dooeth philosophie accomplishe to the mynde or soule. The one healeth the feuer, the other healeth the corrupte and naughtie appetites. And how much the mynde or soule is of more dignitee then the bodie, so muche the more greuous and dedlye are the diseases of the solle, then of the bodie. Laertius saieth more ouer, that *Diogenes*, when he was asked of the cryer, by what tittle he would bee sette out in wordes, and he had answered that he could skylle to rewle and to ordre men of freedome. Assone as he had espied a certain manne passyng by trimmelie decked & araied, he saied to thesame crier, Sell me to thissame felowe here, for he hath neede of a maister.

46. To one makyng suite to be receiued of Diogenes vnto his secte and discipline of philosophie, after the admission of the felowe, for to proue and trye the same, Diogenes deliuered vnto him a gammounde of bakon to carie in the strete, & commaunded him to come after him. The partie castyng awaie by reason of shame, the thing that he bare in his hand, stole priuely from him & conueighed him quite away. Within fewe daies after Diogenes by chaunce meetyng with him, laughed and saied, Thy frendship and myne, a poore gammounde of bakon hath set at twaine.

Foolishe
shame to no
purpose.

¶ Doyng to wete, that he was no meete or apte disciple for philosophie, that could not contemne and shake of folishe shame. For it is not a thyng vn-honest

honest for one to carrie a gammonde of bakon in his hande, but to shrynke awaie from honestee and vertue is a thyng shamefull and abominable. *Diodes* telleth the selfsame mater, some what varyng from the wordes aboue mencioned.

To shrinke awaie from vertue, is a foule shame.

When a certain persone makynge suite to bee a disciple of Diogenes, had saied vnto hym, Maister Diogenes commaunde me to doe some seruice: To thesame receiued into his seruice, he deliuered a lumpe of chese to carrie, and when the young man for shamefastnesse, refused to beare the saide piece of chese. A litle piece of chese (quoth Diogenes) hath clene dashed the amitee and frendship of vs two.

When he had espied on a time a ladde drinkynge out of the palme of his hande, he saied: This lad is in frugalitee a degree aboue me, that dooe carrie about me superfluous furniture of houshold, & forthewith toke oute of his scrippe a litte treen tankard or dishe that he vsed for his cuppe to drynk on, & thesame cast awaie from him, sayng I knewe not that nature hadde in this behalfe also made prouision for vs. When he had seen an other boie, for asmuch as his treen saucer was broken, to take vp * peason oute of the pottle with a crust of breade made holowe for that purpose, he cast awaie from him his treen potagedishe too, as a thyng superfluous.

47.

Nature hath provided for euery bodie all necessarie furniture of housholde stuffe.

* *Lenticula*, is a poultz, called chittes, whiche (because wee here in England haue not in vse to eate) I translate Peason.

¶ I can bee verie well contented that these thynges bee thought worthie skorne and derision, so that wee graunt this excedyng great example of simplicitie and plainnesse, to make verie well to this purpose, that wee maie bee ashamed of our superfluites and excesses, that are vsed eche where among vs at these daies.

The frugalitee of *Diogenes*, may shame our superfluites and excesses.

That

48. That to a manne sapiente nothyng is wanthyng, he concluded by this syllogisme: The Goddes are lordes of all thynges and haue all thyngs in their possession: the sapiente menne and the Goddes are mutuall frendes, either to the others, and all maner thynges that one frende hath, is comen or readie for the other also, Ergo the sapiente menne are lordes of all thynges, & haue all thynges in their possession.

A syllogisme is a perfect argument of Logike, in which, twoo thinges or mo, first put, & thesame graunted, the conclusion doth ineuitably foloe of necessitee.

How *Diogenes* concluded that a man sapient hath all things in his possession.

¶ But by the selfesame syllogisme he mighte haue been shaken of, when he desired any thyng: Why dooest thou craue, sens thou hast all thyngs already in thy possession?

49. When hee had espied a woman liynge prostrate before the Goddes, hir bodye so boughed down, that behind her, some partes of thesame appered out, whiche is not comelie, ne honest to bee made bare to the iyes of menne: he went vnto her, saynge, Art thou not afearde thou woman, lest that some God standyng behynde thy back (for all places and things of the worlde are replenished with the presence of God (thou demeane thy selfe vncomelie? He is reported to haue consecrated to Aesculapius a tormentour, who shoulde come rennyng and all to trample and crushe suche persones as would falle downe prostrate vpon their faces before Aesculapius.

Diogenes consecrated to *Aesculapius*, a Gyant with a clubbe in his hande.

¶ By this colour and false pretense causyng folkes vtterlie to renounce & abandon supersticion, which haue a beleef that the Goddes will not heare them except they make much doukyng, stoupyng, bekyng, and prostracions vnto thesame with vncomelie gesture of their bodie.

50. He vsed veraie often in the waie of iestyng to saie, that the tragicall malediccions and curses hadde mette with him, for that he was (accordyng

Tragicall execrations mette with *Diogenes*.

ying to the fourme of soche maner execracions)
 ἀνέστιος, destitute of an house to putte his hedde
 in, ἀπολις, abandoned from dwellyng in any citie,
 ἄπατρις, as a manne banished out of his countree,
 πτωχός, constreigned to begge his breade, ἀλήτης
 driuen to wandre about from place to place as
 a vagabound, and ἡμερόβιος, not sure on the one
 daie, where to haue his dyner the next day
 foloyng.

¶ This he saied, alludyng to some place of one or
 other of the tragedies, Of the execracions and curses
 of ‡ *Oedipus* I haue spoken at large in my werke of
 greke and latin prouerbes whiche is entitleed, *Chili-*
ades.

Chiliades a
 noble and a
 right clerkely
 werke, made
 by *Erasmus*, in
 whiche he hath
 gathered cer-
 tain thou-
 sandes of
 Greke & Latine
 prouerbes.

‡ *Oedipus* (as the fables of Poetes maken relacion) was the sonne of one *Laus*, kyng
 of *Thebes*: who perceiuing his quene *Iocasta* to be with childe, sued to the oracle
 of *Apollo*, to haue true knowlege, what childe his saied wife *Iocasta* should bring
 forth. Aunswere was made by *Apollo*, that she should bryng forth a soonne,
 by whom he the saied *Laus* should be slain. In consideracion wherof, immedi-
 ately: as sone as euer the childe was borne, *Laus* deliuered it vnto his shepheard,
 to dooe the same to death. But the shepheard moued with some compassion, would
 not out right kill the infant babe, but bored through either of his fete an hole,
 and with a twig put through the holes, houg hym vp alieue on a bough of a
 tree. But one *Phorbas* beeyng shepheard vnto *Polybius*, king of the *Corinthians*,
 finding thesaid child, bare the same to his quene: who (forasmoche as she had no
 children of hir own (kept and nourished the child, as if it had been of hir own
 bodie borne, and of the swelling of his feete, by reason of the holes he was by hir
 named, *Oedipus* (for οἰδεῖν in Greke is to swelle, and πούς πῶδες a foote.)
 When this *Oedipus* was come to mannes state, a strife & debate beginning among
 the *Phocensians*, the saied *Oedipus* vnawares and vnknowing, slewe his owne father
Laus aforesaid: vpon this, it fortuneth that *Sphinx* the monster, standing on an
 hillocke, at the citee of *Thebes*, would not suffer any bodie to passe by her, but to
 all soche persones as trauielled on the waie, she propounded redles and doubtfull
 questions, and as many as could not soile thesame redles, she killed out of hande.
 Then was made a decree, and vpon thesame a Proclamacion, that whosoever
 could soile the redle, whiche *Sphinx* propounded, should haue the quene *Iocasta*
 to wife, and should enioye the kingdome of *Thebes*. The redle that *Sphinx* propounded
 was this: What one and the same liuing creatur it was, that went on twoo feete,
 on three feete, and on fower feete: this redle *Oedipus* soiled, affirming it to bee man,
 who in his infancie, creping vpon his handes and feete, was fower footed, after-
 ward being growen to more full yeres of youth, went vpight on twoo feete, and in
 age decrepite vsing a staffe, wente with three feete. *Sphinx* thus hearing, for angre
 and sorowe, tumbled her self hedlong doune of a greate rocke, and so perished.
 And *Oedipus*, according to the Statute afore made, had the quene *Iocasta* to wife,
 and with her the kingdome of *Thebes*. On *Iocasta* he begot twoo sonnes, the one
Polynices, and the other named *Eteocles*. At length *Oedipus* had knowlege bothe
 that he had slaine his owne father, and also that he had married his owne mother.

For

For sorowe whereof he pulled out his owne eyes, with his owne handes. And then was leden aboute blinde by his doughter *Antigone*, who saued him ones or twise, when he would wilfully haue slaine him self. Neuerthelesse, the *Thebanes* hauing sure knowlege, and due proof of all the premisses exiled and banished *Oedipus* out of their citee and cuntry for euer. And he departing as a banished man, accursed his sonnes *Polynices* and *Eteocles* (because thei did not in soche an extremitie aide their father) that neither of them might enioye the enheritaunce of his croune, in the kingdom of *Thebes*, but that thei might slea either other in battaill, and neuer haue power to retourne safe into their citee, &c, with many other moste dire and bitter malediccions, whiche lighted on them, and on all the whole familie of them. For, *Polynices* and *Eteocles*, fighting hand to hande, for the succession of their fathers croune, gaue either other his deathea wounde: so that thei bothe fell doune, and died euen there, out of hand. *Iocasta* their mother slue her self. And *Oedipus* was with a flash of lightning, sodainly stricken to death, and of this notable plague the malediccions of *Oedipus*, are in a prouerbiall speaking, taken for notable greate misfortunes, and ciuill chaunces, soche as *Diogenes* here in this present, his *Apophthegme* doeth mencion: and Erasmus in thesaid *Chiliades*, doeth more at large recite.

51. Ferthermore, he is reported to haue vsed this
How *Diogenes* matched fortune, lawe and affections. sayyng also, that to matche against fortune, he sette alwaies the confidence or stoutnesse of courage: against the lawe, he set nature: against affections, mocions, or wilfull pangues of the minde, reason.

Whereby is purchased and maintained the tranquillitee of minde.

¶ For that by these three things is purchased and maintained, the tranquillitee of men. Against the bloustreyng stormes and rages of fortune, a strong hart, beyng voide of all maner feare, is to a sapient manne a sure bucler and defense: in stede of a lawe, the wiseman foloweth nature, to the whiche nature if the lawe be repugnaunt, he despiseth the lawe. And with reason he caulmeth, asswageth, and kepeth doune, the troubleous assautes of desires, and affections inordinate.

52. When Alexander Magnus came to see *Diogenes*, he chaunced to finde him in the place that was called Craneum, sitting in his tubbe, & patching together with glewe or past, the toren leues of his bookes. And after that the king hauing familiarly talked many things with him, addressed him self to depart, & said: Bethink thyself *Diogenes*, what thou woldest moste faine aske

Craneum (e long) was a place of exercise in the citie of *Corinthus*.

aske of me, for whatsoever thou shalt desire or wishe; thou shalt assuredly haue, Well (quoth Diogenes) of other thinges we shall talke anon; at leasure, in the meane time stand aside from me a litle out the way. When the king had gone back from him, supposing that the other was minded to consider with him selfe what he might best aske: to thesame, of a pretty while speaking not a worde, he repeted his former wordes, and ones again said: Aske what thing thy mind and will is Diogenes. Mary euen this same was my will and desire to haue, quoth he again, for before, thou diddest keepe away from me the Sunne, being moste requisite and necessary for this busines or occupation that I am about now. ¶ Other writers tellen, that he said thus: Do not make shadowe betwene the Sunne and me. ¶ For that he was disposed to sunne him selfe.

Howe Diogenes vsed the kinge, Alexander the great, inuiting him to aske of him what gift he would.

This also is recorded in writing, that Alexander spake vnto him after this sort: I am come hether Diogenes, to succour & to relieue thee, because I see thee to be in great penurie and nede of many thinges. To whome Diogenes answered thus againe. Whether of vs two is in more penurie, I, that besides my scrip and my cope, doe misse ne desire nothing at all, or els thou, which not being contented with the inheritaunce of thy fathers kingdom, doest put thy selfe in auenture, and hasarde of so many perils and daungers, to enlarge the limites of thine Empire, in so much, that vneth all the whole worlde semeth able to satisfie thy couetous desire?

53.

Diogenes auouched himself to be richer then Alexander the great.

The insaciable mynde of Alexander, to haue Empier.

On a certain time when Diogenes had ben reading of a lecture a very great while together, was at last come so farre that he sawe a voide

page

page of a leafe: Be of good comforte maisters
(quoth he) I haue espied lande.

¶ Making resemblaunce to a company of men
being wried with long sailing, who are well refreshed
in their hartes, when the porte or hauen afarre of ap-
peareth vnto them.

55. To one by sophisticall insolubles concludyng
and prouing, that Diogenes had hornes, feling
and handling his forehead & his temples. In
feith (quoth Diogenes) but I se ne fele none.

Vain sophisti-
cations, are
rather to be
skorned, then
to bee soiled.

¶ He thought better to laugh soch a peuish trifling
argument to scorne, then to soyle it.

56. When Zenon reading a lecture in the scholes,
laboured with most subtile & most craftie reasons
to proue that neither was there, ne possible
might be, any mouing. ¶ (In which mouing de-
pendeth a great portion of the verities, concluded in
naturall phylosophie.) Diogenes arising vp out of
his place, begonne to walk vp & down, Zenon
marueiling therat, said: Why, what doest thou
now Diogenes? Marie (quoth he) I falsifie &
confute thy blind reasons.

Howe Diogenes
confuted Zeno,
labouryng to
proue that mo-
uing is a thing
vnpossible.

¶ Rebuking al vnder one, the vaine bragge & os-
tentacion that Zenon made of his witte.

57. A certain Sophist, willing in the presence of
Diogenes, to shewe the quicknesse of his witte,
made a sophisticall argument vnto him, in maner
and forme as foloweth. That I am, thou art not:
when Diogenes had therunto graunted: And I
am a man, (quoth the other) Ergo, thou arte not
a man. Then said Diogenes: Let the first mem-
ber of thy syllogisme begin of me, and the con-
clusion of thine argument shall assuredly be right
and true.

How Diogenes
mocked a So-
phist, arguyng
him to be no
manne.

Euery perfecte
syllogism,
hath three
partes or mem-
bres, as, that I
am thou art

He

¶ He would not vouchesafe to discusse what default and errour was in the argument, but thought better to geue a mock to the felowe that stode so highly in his own conceipt, for the respect of soch trifling baggage. If his minor had ben this, Thou art a man, then after *Diogenes* his sentence, the conclusion had ben good, for it had folowed that the Sophist was no man.

not, the *maior*: but I am a man, the *minor*: ergo, thou art not a man, the conclusion.

To one for the ostentacion of his wit, busely prattling and making many gaye good morowes of the skie, and the sterres: I pray you good sir (quoth *Diogenes*) how long since, came ye down from heauen?

58.
How *Diogenes* mocked a feloe that made much prattling in astronomie.

¶ In this he represented *Socrates*, whose sayng was, soch thinges as are aboute our reache, to be no part of our playe to medle withall.

Above in the xxiii, sayng of *Socrates*.

A certain *Ennuch*, being in sore infamie and slaunder of vicious and vnthriftie liuing, had written vpon the doore of his house, no euill thinge motte there enter here. *Diogenes* the same inscription espyng, saide: The owner of the house for his owne parte, what waye doth he vse to goe in?

59.
Ennuchus, is a gelded man.

¶ The *Ennuch* had set vp that title as a poysee, or a woorde of good lucke, that no misaduenture might light on the house, and the same did *Diogenes* wrest and transferre to the vices of the mynde, whiche onely are in very dede euill thinges.

The vices of the minde onely, are in dede euill thynges.

Diogenes hauing gotten perfume, rubbed and enointed his feete therewith, contrarie to the common vsage of all other folkes. And to soche persones as made a great wondring therat, he saide: Thus I doe because that perfume being powred vpon the head, reketh out into the aire: but from the feete it ascendeth vp to the nasetrelles.

60.
Diogenes enointed his feete with perfume, wher others ennointen their heddes.

Semblably

Menne should
weare sweete
flowers in their
bosome, rather
then in their
cappe.

¶ Semblably did an other persone disalow & dispraise the comen vsage, by which men set garlandes of swete herbes & floures vpon their heads, where as it is more conuenient to put the same benethe the nasettelles, for that the vapour and aire of the redolent sauour, dothe not of his propertee so much descende & soke downward, as it doth mount and ascende vpwarde.

61. The priestes, or ministers (of soche diuine rites, sacres and misteries, as in the gentilitie of that time were vsed in Athenes) would haue persuaded Diogenes, and haue brought him in minde, to take ordres, and to be a minister of the temple among them, alleging, that such as in their life time had bene within holy ordres, had highest pre-eminence among the dead. To the which aduertisement, Diogenes thus replied. That is a mad rekening, saith he, as euer I heard, if the valiaunt Captaines Agesilaus & Epaminondas, because they were neuer priestes, be liying in the backhous ditche, and Patetion that theefe, with all the rable of other like spittle vilaines, for this onely respect that they ben within ordres, shall sit in God almightie his own lappe.

Howe Diogenes
replied to the
Atheniens, auy-
syng him to
be a preste or a
minister of
their holie rites.

Agesilaus, a
noble & a vic-
torious kyng of
the *Lacedemo-
nians*, & *Epa-
minondas* a
right valiaunt
captain of the
Thebanes.

The blisse of
heauen is not
conferred for
the respecte of
this ordre, or
that, but for
good liuyng.

¶ It was a sore checke geuen to the facions of the priestes, who for their emolument, lucre, and auantage, did flatter, & with faire promises feede the supersticion of the blind and ignoraunt people, bringing thesame in ful beleefe that taking ordres, or professing religion, should conferre eternall blisse after this present life, whereas thesame felicitie is ordeined and prepared only for those, that by godly and noble doings haue deserued it, whether they be men of the church & within holy orders, or not.

62. At his first entreyng into his philosophical profession or trade, when he in his tubbe eatyng drier

drie and mustie breade, all solitarie without the coumpaignie of anie creature, heard al the whole citee whoughtyng and shoughtyng eueriewhere with ioye and solace, (for it was a feaste daie of high solemnitee and pastyme) he feeled in his herte no small tediousnesse, and a good preatie while it ranne so in his hedde, that he was more then half mynded, to geue ouer the trade of liuyng, whiche he was entreed into. But when at last, he sawe mice come crepyng about his tubbe, and eating vp the crummes of bread, he saied to himselfe, Why art thou out of conceipt with thyself Diogenes? thou arte a greate estate out right, and kepest a royall porte, loe, thou kepeste a table for smelfeastes too, that are gladde, to seke their dyner with the.

Howe Diogenes being more then halfe mynded to geue ouer the Philosophicall trade that he had entred into, was staid.

To Plato for the respecte of his slouenrie and beggerlinesse of liuyng, callinge him curre and dogge: Yea marie (quoth Diogenes) ye say sothe, for I am come renning home again to them that solde me away.

63.

Diogenes tooke in good parte to be called dogge.

¶ For it is the guise and maner of doggues, if they bee solde, to renne home againe to their olde maisters. He was nothyng offended with the opprobrious worde, but rather to his own purpose interpreted thesame. In sailyng towards *Aegina* he was before his arriual, taken prisoner of certain pirates, & so brought into the Isle of *Crete*, and there solde. Those pirates (I thynke) wer *Corinthians*, or *Atheniens*, or at lestwise *Aeginetes*.

Crete, is the same Isle, that we call Candie, of whiche wee haue noted in another place.

When certain persones had demaunded on hym as he was comyng homeward from the hotte baine hous, whether there were at thesame, many men, No verelie, saied he. And beeyng eftsones asked whether there wer at the said stew much presse of folke, Yea, by the rood is there (quoth he.)

64.

The appellation of a man is fit, but for few.

Notifyng,

¶ Notifying, that to be called a man, is a fitte name, but for a fewē.

65. This also goeth in a tale, albeit vneth beleuable. Plato had thus diffined a man: A man is a liue thyng with twoo feete, hauyng no fethers. And when the scholares of Plato hadde made signes and tokens of well allowyng thesame diffinicion, Diogenes brought forth into the schole, a cocke pulled naked oute of all his fethers, bothe great and small, sayyng: Loe, here is Plato his manne.
- ¶ Whereupon it was added to the diffinicion, hauyng brode nailles, for that no byrdes haue anie suche.
- This diffinicion of a man Aristotle also in his Logike dooeth improue.*
- How Diogenes improved the diffinicion of a manne whiche Plato gaue.*

66. To one demaundyng at what houre best were, for a man to go to his diner: If he be rich (quoth Diogenes) when his pleasure is, if poore, when he maie.
- At what hower it is beste for a man to dyne.*

67. Being at Megara, when he sawe the Rammes goo with their wulle on their backes, vnshorne for takyng harme of the bitternesse of colde, and their young children go clene naked without any clothes at all, he saied: It is muche better to be the Ram, then to be the sonne of a Megarian.
- ¶ It is writen of the *Megarians*, that thei wer wondreful recheles in nourishyng and kepyng vp their children.
- Megara was a toun in the countree of Attica, not ferre from the citee of Athenes. The Megarians were rechelesse in kepyng their children.*

68. A feloe carryng a long loggue in the streete, gaue Diogenes a good rappe with the one ende of it, for lack of takyng hede, and incontinente (as the guise is in suche case) saied: Beware: Why, (quoth Diogenes) doest thou entend to geue me an other rap yet? Other writers do thus tell it. When the feloe saied: Beware, Diogenes rapped his staffe on the pate of the other feloe, and after the stroke alreddie surelie sette on and past, sayd as thesame had don afore to him, Beware.
- It is ouerlate to to bid beware, when the hurte is doen alredy.*

¶ Geuyng vnto thesame taunt pour taunte, or one for an other. For, beware, shoulde haue been saied before the harme doying, and not after.

Diogenes on a time, bearynge in his hande a lighted candle, walked vp & down the mercate stede, in a verie brighte and clere daie, like one that soughte a thyng lost. And diuerse persones askyng, what hee didde : Marie I seeke a manne (quoth he.)

A man is a rare thyng to bee founde, though he be sought with a candle.

¶ Notyng the publike maners of the cittee scape honest enough for anie persone, bearyng the name of a manne.

When he had on a time been so souced with water, that he had neuer a drie thred about him, and stood droppynge on euerie syde and parte of his bodie, diuerse persones standyng about him (as commenly in suche case they will) toke muche pitie on the poore soule, as one that had been serued a verie vngodlie touche, and vsed or handled out of all good facion. To whiche persones, If ye bee willyng, saieth Plato, (for he also among others was happelie at thesame time presente) to take pitie and compassion vpon Diogenes, departe hens and gette you from him.

¶ Notyng in him beeyng a Philosophier, desirfulnesse of glorie. Forasmuche as therefore to be vnto the bystanders suche a wondreyng and gazyng stocke was to *Diogenes* great pleasure and delectacion : he was rather happie and fortunate, then to bee pitied, but if he had been wetted from top to toe, no man standyng by to see it, then had he been miserable in verie deede.

Priue ambition and desire of glorie in *Diogenes*.

To one that gaue him a good cuffe on the eare, In good south (quoth he) I had no such knowledge ne warnyng to goe with a salette on my hedde.

The patience & moderation of *Diogenes*.

And

¶ And that was all that euer he did to be auenged on the partie that had striken him.

72. But he didde not with sembleable pacience
 Howe *Diogenes* requited one *Midias* geuing him a blow on the eare.
 The penaltee or forfaicte, for geuing a blow in the old time at *Athenes*.
 forbear one *Midias*, who after a good whister-snefet, truelie paied on his eare, had saied : There bee three thousand brasse pens now readie assigned and laied out for thee in the eschequier : in the waie of mockage, biddying much good do it him, for that he was assured to recouer of *Midias* so muche money for a forfaicte, if hee would take the law for the blowe geuing, But *Diogenes* the nexte daye followyng tooke a brode thongue, suche as the champions vsed of neates leather, set with studdes and bosses, and thesame well fauouredlie bestowed about the ribbes and pate of *Midias*, he saied euen in the verye same wise, as the other had dooen afore to him : There be three thousande brasse pens nowe readie assigned and laied oute for thee in the eschequier.

¶ *Aulus Gellius*, telleth of a feloe which had a good sport to geue men buffettes with his hande, and immediatelie after, woulde commaunde to be tolde oute in readie monye the summe of the forfaicte, oute of a purse, whiche he had continuallie carried about with him for that purpose. But *Diogenes* plainlie declared, not al men to be of that pacience, that they can be satisfied, and holde them contented with the penaltee of the sette forfaicte.

73. The Philosophiers had in this behalf, a verie euill name abrode, that either thei beleued not any goddes to bee, or els thei did contemne thesame. This thing *Lysias* half signifyng, asked *Diogenes*, whether he beleued that there were any Goddes. To whome *Diogenes* aunswered : Howe may it stande with reason that I shoulde not beleue, yes ; sens I am fully persuaded that thyselfe

thyselfe arte a feloe of the Goddes abandoned and accursed?

¶ This saynge some writers doen attribute to *Theodorus*. He made none aunswere to the question, but reuersed the woordes to the parties selfe, that had in the waie of despite put the question to him.

Lysias was an oratour in *Athenes*, whome for his exceeding sweteness *Quintilian* praiseth.

Espying a feloe for the obseruance of religion, washyng himself with riuer water, (for by this rite did men of olde time vse to purifie and clense theihselves, if thei beleued any offence on their partie against the Goddes to haue been committed) Miserable creature, saied *Diogenes*, when thou hast erred in any pointe of grammer, thou art not assoyled by castyng water vpon thyselfe: then muche lesse shall seemleable sprincleyng of water ridde or deliuer thee from synfulnesse of liuyng.

74.

Howe *Diogenes* eluded a feloe sprinclyng water vpon hym selfe for pouryng his sinne.

¶ He did verie well note the supersticion of folkes, in that they beleued the spottes and stainyng of the soule to be purged and scoured awaie, with the sensible, grosse or carnall elemente of bodilie water, except they had also cut awaie the inordinate lustes and desires of the herte.

The supersticion of folkes in old time.

He did wonderous highly rebuke those persones, who, if any of their maters framed not, but wente a wrie, would blame and wyte fortune therfore (as in deede the moste parte of men vsen to doe, and *Diogenes* auouched the parties selves muche more worthie to be shent, whose guise and facion was, with all earnest requeste and instaunce to craue at the handes of ladie fortune, not suche thyngs as in very deede were substantiall good, but such as in their owne phansie and opinion seemed good.

75.

Diogenes rebuked those persones, who blamed fortune when their matters went awry.

¶ For if men would permit or leaue to the arbitrement, wille and pleasure of the Goddes, to sende suche thynges,

If God might be let alone, he

would sende to
man that were
best for him.

thynges, as thesame dooe iudge to be best and moste expediente, they woulde sende it. Now, forasmuche as men receiuen accordyng to their own most eagre and importune suites, thei doen like feloes hauynge no shame in them, to laie vnto the Goddes the fault of quaillyng and misprouyng.

76. The supersticion of suche persones as would be fraid with dreames, in this maner did he deride and skorne, What things ye doe while ye are awakyng, saieth he, that are ye not for, and what thynges ye dreame while ye are slepyng, ye doe carefully searche out.

The supersticion of many
folkes about
their dreames

¶ For to the felicitie, or miserie of a manne, it maketh not so greate force, what cometh to thesame in his slepe, as what he doth awakyng, while one is awakyng, if he perpetrate any vn honest or sinfull act, it wer requisite to feare the wra the of God, and the wofull ende to ensue thereof, and not if menne see this or that, in their slepe.

77. At the Olympia, the crier thus proclamyng, Doxippus hath wonne the maisterie of menne, Diogenes corrected him, sayng: No Doxippus of slaues or vilaines, and I of men.

The bondser-
uantes of
glory.

¶ Signifyng, theim that proued maisteries at the saied *Olympia* and other like games, not to bee men, but bondeseruauntes of glorie, onely the Philosophier & none els hath the ouerhande of men: like vnto this, is one other of his sayngs aboue mencioned.

The Philoso-
phier only hath
victorie of men.

78. When Philippus had an armie in the contree of Cherronea, ther to make warre, thither came Diogenes, and beyng taken by the souldiours, he was brought vnto the kyng, who, when he sawe Diogenes a persone vnknownen, cried out in a great furie, A spy, a spy. To whome Diogenes replied, sayng: Yea, euen a verie spy in deede. For hither am I come to vieue the brainsiknesse
of

This *Philippus*
was king of the
Macedonians,
& father of
Alexander the
great.

of thee, who, not beyng contented with the kyngdom of the Macedonians, for to gette other mennes kyngdomes, into thy handes, doest cast thyselfe in great perill and daunger of leesyng bothe thyne owne kyngdome and also thy life. The king maruailing, at the franke plainnesse of the man, discharged thesame, and sette him at large, bidding him goo where he would at his free libertee.

Howe *Diogenes* answered *Philippus*, challenging him for a spye.

* *Cherronea*, the countree where *Plutarchus* was borne, a region nigh to *Hellespontus*. And in this place did *Philippus* conquiere and subdue all *Grece*. It is called by an other name *Chersonesus*, because it is in maner round about enuironed with the sea, and is by reason therof in maner a verie Isle. And for the excellencie, it is ofte tymes sette for *Hellespontus*.

Alexander the king of the Macedonians had 79. sent letters vnto Antipater by a certain persone named Athlias, *Diogenes* at the same houre being happely in place. Who, accordyng to his Cynicall guise, saied: Athlius from Athlius by Athlias to Athlius.

¶ It was nothing but a toye, in daliyng, with the affinitee and similitude of wordes. For the name of the messenger was, ἀθλίᾱς, with .a. and ἀθλίος in Greke souneth one being in miserable state or condition, & sore vexed or beaten with manifolde trauailes, peines and troubles. For whiche respecte the fighting men or the champions and maisters of sense, had their name deriued out of thesame vocable, and were called both in Greke and Latin *Athletae*. The meaning of the Philosophier was, that princes for the ambition of honour, rule and dominion, being in continuall strife, and hurlee burlee, are in very deede persons full of miserie and wo: and euen in like miserable state of wretchednesse to be all those that are ready, prest, and willing seruauntes, aiders or furtheres of the appetites & desires of thesame.

Athletae.

Princes which for ambition of honour rule & dominion ar in continual strife be in miserable state, and ful of woe.

¶ So then true it was, that *Alexander* for the careful and troublous life that he leed worthely called *Athlius* that is miserable, wrote and sent letters by *Athlias*, being no lesse worthy the appellation

lation of *Athlius* then his maister, vnto *Antipater* as much worthy to be called *Athlius* as any of the other two, in that he was at all times bounde to obeye and serue *Alexander*.

80. Being spoken to, and inuited to come vnto *Alexander*, he refused so to doe. But to *Perdicca* the high Capitain, or graund maister vnder the same *Alexander* threatning to take his life from him, excepte he would come. In feith, said *Diogenes*, then shall ye doe a noble & a valiaunt acte. For as well the litle worme whiche (bothe in Greke & Latin) is called *Cantharis* as also the blacke spider called *Phalangium*, is able at all times to do as muche.

Diogenes refused to goe to *Alexander*.

Perdicca, graund maister vnder *Alexander*.

Cantharis.

Phalangium.

¶ *Cantharis* is a litle litle vermin, not much vnlike in facion to the beetle or the hornet, but hauing in it starke poyson. *Phalangium* is the spider of the most venomous sorte. Neither did he sticke or feare, on his partie again to threaten *Perdicca*, that he shoulde liue happely, though he liued without his company, notifying them to be in a very wretched case or state, that liued with *Perdicca*.

81. He affirmed the Goddes to bee gentle and sone entreated to geue life vnto men, but thesame life to be a thing vnknownen to suche persones as seeke to haue of these marchpaines or wafers with other like iunkerie, and their swete perfumes or pomaundres, and other semblable delices.

The life of man standeth not in carnal pleasure nor in sensualityte.

Onely perfecte vertue geueth to man veray true life indeede.

The preposterous praiers of carnal persons.

¶ For those persones who haue al the pleasure of the said thinges beleuen theimselues to liue, where as onely wisdom and perfect vertue doth assure the very true life in dede replenished with tranquillitee and pleasaunt sweetnesse. Wherefore not the Goddes are to be put in faulte, but man, who of his owne mere folly doth earnestly craue of the said Goddes, not life, but sensuall pleasures of the fleshe.

82. Espiying a delicate and nyce feloe, to haue his shoes put on and buccled by his seruante. Nay in

in feith (quoth he) thou lackest yet one pointe or degree of perfecte blisse, which is, that thesame feloe ther wye thy tayle to. And that should soone bee if thy hande or fyngers were cut of.

¶ It semed to *Diogenes* a thing as much contrary to reason to abuse the Page his seruice in doing on his maisters shoes, in case the maister be strong and lusty enough to helpe himselfe therein, as if he shoulde after comming from the iakes, put his seruaunt to the office of wypping his taile. Albeit, it may be also vnderstanded of wypping the nose. To an *Ethnike* Philosopher, it semed nicitee, beyonde the course of nature, that an *Ethnike* or Gentile should haue his shoes doen on by his seruaunte. And yet I knew a Christian man, being a priest, yea and a Diuine, who although he hadde al his limmes perfect, and none of his membres maymed or lame, yet euer when he should goe to the stoole, would call seruauntes mo then one, for to vntie his pointes : and also, when he came from thence, to trusse the same againe. Whiche thing when I sawe, thus did I thinke with my selfe. Now would Christ that *Diogenes* were here present, to behold this geare.

Diogenes thoughte it a thing vnnatural, that the seruaunt should pull on the maisters shoes


When he sawe a feloe going to prison that had 83.
embesled and conueied away a cup of golde out of the treasurie or chaumbre of the citee. (And so it chaunced that he was led to prison by the officers of the citee which they called in Greke *ἱερομνήμονας* :) See, see (quoth *Diogenes*) the graund theues leden the petie theef to ward.

The graunde theues leden the petie theef to pryson, sayde *Diogenes*.

¶ Would God this same word might not be without a lye saide of some publique officers of Christentee, by whome sometimes is trussed vp, and hanged on the galoes a poore sely soule, that hath percase pielfed away tenne grotes, where theimselfes by great pielage, brybrie, or extorcion, yea and for a faire touch, by deceiuing & beguiling their prince or the commen

weale

weale, do growe daily and encrease in welth and richesse no manne saying blacke is their eyen.

 In the olde time there was of an auncient custome in Grece at certain seasons a commen assemlee, of certain the most sage and prudent persones, by election appointed thereunto, out of al the chief cities, after a much like sorte, as now here in Englande are chosen knightes for eche shier, and bourgeoisie for every toune, and by a commen consent assigned at times requisite, to repaire vnto the parliament. And it was called in Greke *Αμφικτυονικὸν συνέδριον*, of the latines, *Amphictionicus consessus*, the sitting of the *Amphictions*, or *Conuentus Amphictyonum*, the assemlee of the *Amphictyons*, or *Amphictyonicum consilium*, the counsaill or parliament of the *Amphictyons*, or els, *Consilium Amphictyonum*, the conuocation of the *Amphictyons*. Some writers holden opinion, that the name of *Amphictyons* was geuen vnto it of coming or resorting out from all citees & townes of Grece to the said parlamente (for the borderers, or bounders, inhabiting round about any place are called in Greke *Αμφικτύονες*) and some authors deriuen the name from *Amphictyon*, the sonne of *Deucalion*, who in time of his raigne here is chronicled to haue called together a counsaill or parliament of the nacions of Grece, and by a commen ordinaunce enacted to haue instituted the saied maner and forme of assembling. The people of Grece, whiche repaired to the said counsaill are numbred twelue: the *Ionians*, the *Dorians*, the *Perrebianz*, the *Boetians*, the *Medonites*, the *Achaeanes*, the *Phthiotes*, the *Melians*, the *Dolopians*, the *Aeneans*, the *Delphians*, and the *Phocensians*. And the bourgeoisie, that were by publique autoritee chosen, appointed, and sent from any of the countrees aboue named vnto the said counsaill, were called *ἱερομνήμονες*, and by an other name *πυλαγόραι*, of, *πυλαία*, the place where the parliament was holden.

84. Beholding a lad hurling stones at a gibet, Well doen (quoth Diogenes) thou wilt surely hit the marke: ¶ Signifyng that a day would come when the partie should surely bee hanged.

85. When a sorte of young streplinges standing about Diogenes had cried vpon him, Dogge, dogge, dogge, and immediatly beyng afraied, had begon to ren awaie, and beyng asked why thei ran awaie, had said, Lest thou shuldest bite vs, Bee of good chere my sonnes (quoth he) a dogge eateth no *beetes.

* Beetes is an herbe called in greke *βλίτος* in latin *Beta*,

¶ Couertly and by a priuie nippe, vpraidyng them of maners effeminate, wanton, and foolish.

of whose exceding werishnes & vnsaucrines, euen of old^r antiquitee dawcockes, lowtes, cockescombes & blockhedded fooles, were in a prouerbial speaking said: *Betizare*, to be as werishe & as vnsauery as Beetes. *Plautus* in his comedie entitled *Truculentus*, saith: *Blitea est meretrix*, it is a pekish whore, & as we say in english, As wise as a gooce, or as wise as her mothers apereen string. So a feloe that hath in him no witte, no quicknesse, but is euen as one hauing neither life ne soule, *Laherius* calleth *Bliteam telluam*, a beast made of Beetes. And in *Men-*
andes

endes also (as citeth *Erasmus* in the prouerbe *Betizare*,) the husbandes reuile their wyues, calling them *Bliteas*, of so smal shifte or helpe, that they were as good to haue wiues of Beetes, for which we saye in our Englishe prouerbe, wiues of cloutes. And because all effeminate persones doen in fine growe to semblable folishnesse & dotage, as if they were not maisters of their owne witte, but as persones rapt into another worlde, *Diogenes* tooke occasion of comparing and resemblyng the boyes (in whome was no likelyhode ne sparke of good towardnesse, but rather of al vngraciousnesse) to the werishe and vnsauerie beetes.

To a feloe that tooke himselfe for no small 86.
foole, because he ietted about the streates with a
Lions skinne on his back, *Diogenes* sayd. Thou
feloe, wilt thou neuer leue putting the mantell or
gaberdine of manhode and prowesse to shame?

How *Diogenes*
scorned a feloe,
that being but
a shepe, ietting
vp and downe
in a Lions skin.

¶ He thought it a full vncomely thing, that a person effeminate (and soche a sheepe that durst not shew his face among men, but was more like to crepe into a benche hole, then to doe any manly acte) would vsurpe the wearing of the wede of ‡ *Hercules*. The selfsame may be saide to those persones that with monstrous disguising of their vesture professen holinesse, their maner of living being nothing aunswerable to the same.

‡ *Hercules*
was the sonne
of *Iupiter*, gotten in the citee

of *Thebes* vpon quene *Alcumena* the wife of *Amphitruo*, while he was from home in battaill. *Hercules* was a man of singular manhode and prowesse, and did in his time .xii. notable valiaunt actes, of whiche one was, that he slewe a fierse Lion in the forest of *Nemea*, and wore the skinne of the same as a thing wonne by strong hand, and in that wede or habite, he is set out in all imagerie or pictures of hangings or peynted clothes.

When certaine companie had great communi- 87.
cation of *Callisthenes* the Philosophier, that he was happie, fortunate, and euen in heauen, for that he was in the court of king *Alexander* with much high fare & preparation entertained. No Marie (quoth *Diogenes*) he is in wretched case, and in miserable condition, for that he must be faine to take his dyner and his supper when pleaseth *Alexander*.

Diogenes thought not them moste blisshed that liued in kinges courtes.

¶ Meaning, nothing to be in the state of perfect blisse, if libertee be awaye. This is *Calisthenes* the disciple of *Aristotle*, whome *Alexander* at last did cast

Nothing is in the state of perfect blisse if libertee be awaye.

Callisthenes the
disciple of *Aristotle*, at length
cast in pryson
by *Alexander*.

cast in prison, where he peryshed and died. Some wryters for *Callisthenes*, doe put *Aristotle* him selfe, of whose singular good fortune and happe, when companie made much talking, for that he liued familiarly with a kyniges sonne : Yea (quoth *Diogenes*) *Aristotle* dineth at soche hour as pleaseth *Alexander*, and *Diogenes*, when pleaseth *Diogenes*.

88. If *Diogenes*, at any time stode in great nede of money, he woulde take it of his frendes. But to soch persons as with many checking wordes did (as ye would saye baite him) for that contrary to the dignitee and honestee of a Philosophier, he woulde after the maner of beggers aske & craue. No, quoth he, I doe not aske their almes, but I require my dutie.

οὐκ αἰτῶ,
ἀλλ' ἀπαίτῶ.

Repetere.

A Philosophier
doth not begge
but requireth
his own dutie.

¶ For the Latin woorde *Repetere*, is vsed in his propre signification, when we demaunde or require to haue rendred or redeliuered vnto vs any thing, whiche either by the way of lone, or els by leauing it in the custody or keping of an other persone is out of our owne handes. And one frende geuing to an other that is in necessitee, doth not geue a free gift, but rendreth or paieth home againe that he owghed by true debte. For whosoeuer in soche a case doeth kepe or restrain his money, thesame doth wrongfully deteine and withholdeth that is none of his owne propre goodes, but due to an other body.


Whoso restreined
& kepeth
from his frend
in time of necessitee,
withholdeth that is
none of his
owne.


89. When a certaine young man being kembd, piked, & decked all of the mynion tricke, had moued and put forth a fonde or peuishe question to *Diogenes*, Certes, quoth he, I will make you no answere to your question, till by taking vp or doing abroode your clothes, ye shall haue shewed, whether ye be a man, or a woman.

Ouer curious
apparell, argueth
wantonesse
and nicitee.


¶ By his apparell and araye, nothing fitte ne comely for a man, he noted the effeminate wantonnesse and nicitee of the partie.

To

To an other young man feactely and trickely representing at the baines, a certaine lasciuious playe, whiche to exhibite the Grekes callen  *κοτταβίζειν*: Sirrha, young manne, quoth Diogenes, the better ye doe, the worse it is.

¶ Utterly disallowing & condemning the feate whiche of it self was vn honest and naught, of which sorte is also playng at dice, wherein the more cunninge werkeman that euery persone is, the wurse man  he and the lesse honest.

the drinke made, whiche remained in the cuppe after they had dronken, for the drinke that was left, they would cast vp on high, and by the clocking, plashing, or sounne that it gaue in the fall, they would take a signification whether their louers were true to them or not. And thereof *κοτταβίζειν*, to playe that kinde of playe.

 *κοτταβίζειν*, was a foolishe game that louers had and vsed to play at dyners, suppers and other banquettes, by the bobbeyng that

As it fortunied Diogenes to be present, and to make one among the moo at a dyner, the companie calling him doggue, cast bones to him in derision, in consideration that thesame is a thing customably vsed to be doen to doggues. But he in departing from the company, pissed vpon euery of the geastes that sate at the table, behind at their backes, signifiying thesame also to be one other propertee belonging to doggues.

91.

Howe *Diogenes* seruied a certain company that cast bones to him, as if he had ben a dog.

The oratours and other persones, doying all thinges for glorie and renoume, Diogenes called by a worde that might be taken in a double sense, *τρισανθρώπους*, thrise double men.

92.

¶ For, as the common sort of people denieth that persone to bee a man, that is neither learned, nor yet of gentle condicions, so did the Philosophier call hym a miser, that had no qualitee aboue the common rate of man. For according to the sayng of *Homere*: No liuing creature is more miserable then man. And therefore, thrise double men, *Diogenes* called thrise double misers, as the which bestowed and applied all their studies vpon a thing of most vanitee in the world, and were as bounde seruauntes or Pages to the multitude

τρισανθρώποι Oratours and other persones doing all thinges for glorie *Diogenes* called thrise double men. Man of al creatures most miser.

The people, a
tude

beast of many heads.

tude of the grosse people, being a beaste of many heades.

93. Riche persones voide of learning, *Diogenes* called sheepe with golden flyces.

*Soche a shepe was in *Colchos* whose flyce *Iason* by the help of *Medea* the kinges daughter fet awaye, sleynge the bulles 94. & dragon, that kept it.

Riot and prodigalitee, causeth menne to spue vp whole houses.

A certain riche man, hauing no maner knowledge nor learning at all, and yet going in gorgeous and gallaunt apparel, he called in greke, χρυσόμελον that is : a shepe with a golden flyce.

¶ For in the Poetes it is founde written, that *soche maner shepe haue been. And those persones, who were sely poore soules, and had no more store of witte then they must nedes occupie, wer euen then, and yet still are in all tongues, and places by a common prouerbe : called shepes heads, or shepe.

Passing by the house of a certain prodigall and riotous persone, where it was written vpon the dore, this house is to bee sold, if any man will buye it. Yea by my feith, quoth *Diogenes*, I espied very well, and prophecied in my minde, that by reason of thine vnmeasurable gourmaunding and surfeiting, thou wouldest at last spue vp some house.


¶ For he had already consumed and deuoured his house, before he offered thesame to sale, by setting that inscription vpon the dore. So that it might more truely be called a spuynge, then a vendition or sale.

95. To a young feloe, finding great fault, that he was euill combred and troubled of many persones, nor could bee in reste for them : Marie, and ceasse thy self also, quoth he, openly to shew tokens of being out of quiet.

The best waye to cease the molestations of busy medlynge feloes is to dissemble that we be greued with them.

¶ Signifyng the saucy and busy medlinge of soch persones as will neuer ceasse doing menne shrewd turnes and displeasures, by no yearthly thing better to be quieted or ended, then if the partie that is harmed or wronged dissemble his greef. For soche persones as doe haggue and baye at a bodye, purposly to bring him

him clene out of quiet, & to vex him at the botome of the harte roote, will ceasse and leaue of in case they see the partie to be nothing moued with their doing. Albeit I haue half a geasse the Greke wordes comprehende an other priuie or couered sense. For when the young feloe complained, and founde him selfe greued, that a sorte of busie medlers would not let him aloné, ne suffer him to be in reste, Diogenes thus aunswered in Greke : *πάντα γὰρ καὶ σὺ τὰ δέγματα τοῦ πασχγιῶντος περιφέρειν*. That is, Yea and ceasse thou also to carry about with thee, the tokens of a persone wanton and effeminate.

 For soche persons neuer lacke trouble or vexation but euery body will haue a saynge at them, according to the latin prouerbe, *Malum vel mus audet rodere*. That is, an euill persone euen the verye mous dareth to snappe at. And companie is both greuous and odious to those that are vn honest, or malefactours, as witnesseth Christ in the Gospell, sayng : Men loued darkenesse more then light, because their deedes were euill. For euery one that euill doth, hateth the light, neither cometh to the lighte, lest his deedes should be reprobued.

An euill person euen the veray mous dareth to snappe at. Euery one that euill doeth hateth the light. Ihon iii.


A minstrell that was a player on the harpe, being of no cunning in the worlde, and therewithall a great gorrebealyed chuff, yea and besides that, dispraysed of al persones that heard him, for the wurst that euer twanged, onely Diogenes, did commend and prayse. And to them that wondred wherfore he should so do : I allow him and gan him thanke, saied Diogenes, that being soch an one, he hath had more mind and will to set himself on werke, and to be occupied with his harpe, then to take a standing by the high wayes side for a pourse or a bougette.

¶ Signifying that the feloe being of body valiaunt and stourdy, and grosse or rude of witte, was by all similitude of outwarde tokens, more apte to haue been a robber on the high waye, then to be an handler of any musicall instrument. The grace of the sayng, dependeth of the place of rhetorike, *ab inexpectato*, that

96.
Why *Diogenes* commendeth an harper, whome all others dispraised.

The place of rhetorike *ab inexpectato*.

is

is grounded vpon a thing that a body wold lest thinke on.  For who would haue loked for soche an aunswere of *Diogenes*.

97. An other harper, who, as often as he played on his instrumente was forsaken & left alone in place of all his audience: *Diogenes*, when he met him in the strete, saluted in this maner. God ye saue and see good man cocke. And where the feloe being offended with the straungnesse of that salutation, saied: Why goodman cocke? Marie, quoth he, because that with thy crowing thou reapest every body that heareth thee.

Howe *Diogenes* saluted an harper that droue away his audience as often as he plaied or song.

ἀνεγέλπειν

¶ He deuised to finde a iesting toye of the ambiguitee or indifferencie of the Greke voice *ἀνεγέλπειν*. For he is properly sayed in Greke, *ἀνεγέλπειν*, both that reaseth a body out of his sleepe, as the cockes vsen to doe, when they crowe with an euill grace, and also that reaseth one sitting on his taill, to arise out of his place, as this harper euermore vsed to doe.

98. When a great number of people stode gazing and staring vpon a certaine young striepling of excellent good fauour & beautie, *Diogenes* stooping down very lowe, gathered into his lappe as fast as he could the poultz called *Lupines*. And the eies of al the folkes turned to behold that sight, he auouched, that he meruailed why thei would leaue the young manne to looke on hym.

This kinde of poultz, called *Lupinus*, we haue not in England growing.

¶ Noting in that by worde, their intemperancie and wanton disposition.

99. To a feloe that was exceeding superstitious, and sore subiect to the terrours of bugges, and sprites, or goblins, that walken by night and in places solitarie, and yet manaced to slea *Diogenes*, sayng vnto him, I will at one stroke all to crushe thy hedde to powther: In faithe quoth he

Howe *Diogenes* mocked a superstitious feloe, that was

he againe, if thou so doe, I shall be ready at thine
elbow to plaie the parte of Hobgoblin or Col-
pixie, and make thee for feare to weene the
deuill is at thy polle.

afraid of
spirites, thre-
tening to slea
him.

¶ Signifyng that he was hable to make the other
partie afraied, euen beyng dedde, of whom he was so
contemned and set at naught beyng aliue. And yet
thissame foolishe minde and fansie, euen at this verie
presente daie possesseth no small nomber, who although
they be fiersse and ful of cocking against liues men, yet
are thesame most fearfull creatures that possible may
be of soules walking (as they call it.)

The superstiti-
ous feare and
imaginacion of
many folkes
that soules
walken.

Being desired and praied, by one *Hegesias,
to lende him the vse of three or fower bookes :
Thou art a madde fellowe Hegesias, quoth he, (that
where in choosing figgues thou wilt not take
figgues painted or counterfeited, but very true
and right figgues in deede) thou canst finde in
thy hart, (the very true actuall exercise and prac-
tise of philosophie neglected) to renne to the
philosophie scribled or painted in paper.

100.

*Hegesias was
a Philosophier
Cyrenaique,
that is to say,
of Epicure his
sect, a manne
of so great elo-
quence (as
Valerius Max-
imus wryteth)
that he did so
liuely declare
& set out all
the euils of
this present life
that the piteous
and lamenta-
ble representa-
tion of thesame
euils, through
his wordes,
depely engra-
ued and enprin-
ted in the hertes
of men, very
many persones
toke occasion
to hate this
present life, &
had an earnest

¶ In this sayng he noted those persons, who all their
whole life through, dooe nothing but reade the bookes
and werkes of Philosophiers, conteining preceptes or
rules of vertuous liuing, where as vertue is more effect-
ually learned by practising or putting the same in vre,
then by reading. The greke vocable *γράφειν*, whiche
Diogenes vsed, is a voyce indifferent to wryting and to
peinting. And therefore vertue set forth in bokes, is
vertue much like in maner as if it were painted on a
cloth or table. And in dede against al reason it is, in
chosing figgues to be curious & precise to take none
but of the best and in vertue to be nothing so.

desirefulnesse willingly to ridde themselues out of the worlde. And therefore he
was by the commaundement of king Pholomeus forbidden any more to speake of
any such matter.

To a certaine persone in the waye of reproche 101.
obiecting

objecting vnto him that he was a man banished his countrie: Thou sely creature, saied he, for this verie cause did I at the first become a Philosophier.

Why *Diogenes* first became to be a Philosophier.

¶ Either for that banishment had enforced & driuen *Diogenes* to enter the studie of philosophie, or els because he had purposely learned philosophie, to thende that he might be able with a pacient & contentfull mind to endure banishment & other semblable chances.

102.
Howe *Diogenes* answered one that cast in his teeth that the *Sinopians* had banished him.

Vnto an other feloe sayyng to him in despite, Nay, the *Sinopians* haue condemned thee with banishing thee, neuer to come more in that countrie, And I theim, quoth he, to abide there and neuer to come thence.

To be exiled from a place by compulsion, and to abyde in a place by compulsion is equal miserie.

A Philosophier indifferently reputeth all places vnder the cope of heauen, to be his natieue countree.

Why *Diogenes* was banished out of his own countree.

¶ Signifyng himselfe, in that he was bidden to go seeke him a dwelling place in an other countrie, to bee no point in worse state or condicion, then those persones, which remained still dwelling in their owne countrie, not able paciently to suffre banishment if it should chaunce. For equal miserie it is to make a bodie abide in a place by enforcement & compulsion, and to be banyshed or exiled from a place by enforcement and compulsion. A Philosophier, who indifferently taketh euery ground & euery land vnder the cope of heauen (which so euer it be) for his owne natieue countrie, if he be commaunded to departe any whence by banishment, is a man exiled out of some one particular Citee or nacion onely. But he that can not liue in an other place besides his owne countrie, where he was borne & bredden, is a man banished out of regions almost innumerable. As touching *Diogenes*, in deede he was banished his countrie for counterfaintinge or coyning of money, as men thinke. And borne he was a *Sinopian*. This present historie *Plutarchus* in that treatise, entituled of banishment, reporteth in maner and forme here ensuing.

The

The Sinopians haue by their decree, banished thee out of *Pontus for euer, Yea, but I condemne them in this pein, quoth he againe, that they remaine still enclosed and pend vp within Pontus, and the ferthermost strandes of all Euxinus, neuer to come out from thence.

¶ *Diogenes* had chaunged his countrie, but thesame for the better. The *Sinopians* were more like folkes banished or exiled, in that they were remedillesse, appointed and assigned to continue all their liues in soch an incommodious, vnfrutefull, and baren region, as *Sinopa*.

Those persones, that were commen doers, in prouing maisteries at the games of Olympia, were called in greke *ὀλυμπιονίκαι*. Of whiche sort when *Diogenes* had by chaunce founde one keeping sheepe. O Moun sire Capitain (said he) with howe great celeritee and speede haue ye conueied and gotten your self from Olympia to Nemea.

¶ Finding a mery toye in the affinitee or similitude of the Greke vocables. For *Νέμεα* in greke, are certain games of prouing maisteries so called of the place where thesame were celebrated and holden, euen as *Olympia*, afore mencioned. And the greke verbe *νέμω*, souneth in latin *Pasco*, in Englishe, to keepe or feede catalles in the pastures, and *νόμος* is in latin *Pascua*, in Englishe, pastures or leasues.

in the whiche *Clitorium*, as witnesseth *Ouidius*, was a wel or fountaine of which who so euer did drinke, could not afterward away with drynking wyne. In the wodde or forest of this *Nemea* did *Hercules* kill the hougic great Lion, whose skynne he wore on his back for his weede. And in the honour of the said *Hercules*, did the people of *Argos* euen there celebrate and kepe solemne games, whiche were named *Nemea*, of the place in whiche thei were holden and kepte, in like maner as is afore saied of Olympia.

**Pontus* & *Euxinus*, are taken all for one. And it is parte of the sea from *Bosphorus* of *Thrace*, vnto the great Marice of *Scythia*, called *Meotis*. It is also abroad & wyde region marching round about the coastes of the same sea encompassing

103. many prouinces, as *Colchos*, *Armenia*, & *Cappadocia*. And in *Cappadocia* (being a desert and baren countree) stode *Sinopa* the citee, in which *Diogenes* was borne.

Nemea, is a region of the countree of *Arcadia*, situate & liying betwene twoo citees, the one *Cleone*, and the other *Clitorium*

Being asked wherfore the champions or fighting menne called *Athletæ*, had no sense ne feeling: Marie (quoth he) because they haue been brought

104.

brought vp altogether with porke & beef, and soch other grosse feding.

Grosse meates
maken the bo-
die strong but
the witte dull.

To haue a feel-
ing in a matter.

¶ For that sort of men are fedde vp with the grosse kindes of meates, which in deed conferren to the body hard brawne, and clene strength, but as for the witte, it maketh as grosse and dulle, as can be thought. But to this present mery saiyng, the ambiguitee or doubtfulnesse of the vocation, & nothyng els, gaue place, and was occasion of it. For as with the Grekes, *αἰσθησθαι* & with the Latin men, *Sentire*, so in English, to haue a feling belongeth as well to the mynde as to the bodye. But the demaunder of the question, asked what was the cause, wherfore the said champions, lacking (as ye would saye) bodely sense and felying, were neuer offended ne greeued with stripes or strokes. And *Diogenes* had more phansy to note the brutish grossenesse & dumping of the minde.

For we saie commonly in Englishe, that we feele a mans minde, when we vnderstand his entent or meaning, and contrariwyse, when thesame is to vs verie darke, and harde to be perceiued, we doe commonly vse to say, I can not feele his mynde, or I haue no maner feling in the matter &c.

105. He vsed nowe and then to resorte to Images of stone or brasse, or other metal, set vp in the honour of this or that God, & to aske one or other boune of them. And to soch persones as made great wondring wherfore he so did, That I may enure my selfe (quoth he) not to be moued, ne to take in euill part, if at any time I doe not obtaine my requestes & petitions that I aske of men.

Vse assuageth
griefes.

106. After that *Diogenes* by extreme pouertee (coarcted and driuen therunto) had begon to begge for his liuing, his accustomed guyse was, after this forme to fall in hand with men for their almes: If thou hast been a geuer of almes
to

The fourme of
begging that
Diogenes vsed.

to any other persone heretofore, giue to me also, if to no bodye, begynne nowe at me.

¶ He signified that he was no lesse worthy to haue the charitee of men, then the residue of beggers, & therfore to be mete, that who were liberall in geuing to eche body at auenture, should extende his liberalitee vnto *Diogenes* also: and who were such a niggarde or hayn, that he coulde not finde in his harte afore that daye to departe with an halspeny to any creature liuing, for soch a feloe to be hyghe tyme ones in his life, to beginne to departe with somewhat to the poore.

Being on a tyme asked the question of a certaine tyranne of what sorte of brasse metall it was most conuenient that images should be made: Of the very same (quoth he) in which *Harmodius and Aristogiton were casten. 107.

¶ Betokening, that the partie, if he were well serued, was worthy to be dispatched out of the waye. For the sayd *Harmodius* & *Aristogiton* had been tyrannequellers.

*When the citie of *Athenes* was oppressed and holden in seruitude by thirty tyrannes

Harmodius and *Aristogiton*, by suche prouision as they made, did subdue and destroye the sayd tyrannes. Wherefore, the people of *Athenes* agnifyng their vnestimable benefite receiued at the handes of thesaid *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, made and sette vp in their honour and perpetual memorie, their Images and portures in copper, which Images were long time after, had in soch reuerence and honour, that *Xerxes*, when he had wonne *Athenes*, toke from thence thesaid Images, & the same caried into his owne kingdome. And after many yeares *Sileucus* made prouision, and found the meanes to haue thesame Images conueighed home againe to *Athenes*, and to be set vp in their old places. Also the *Rhodians* did the same Images (being arriued at their citie in the waye homewarde) highly receiue with procession, and honourably entreate them at the publique charges of the citie & did place them in the tabernacles of the Gods, as witnesseth *Valerius Maximus*.

To one demaunding after what sorte *Dionysius* did vse, handle, and entreate his frendes that were familiare about hym: Like as if thei were bottles, said he, the full he hangeth vp, and the emptye, he casteth aside in a corner. 108.

How *Dionysius* the tyranne vsed his familiare frendes.

¶ Signifyng, that by the said tyranne *Dionysius* the ryche and welthy of his subiectes, went daily to the

potte and were chopped vp, & soch beggery wretches as had nothing to leese were nothing medled withal, ne had any thing said vnto them.

109. *Howe Hercules was worshipped in old time and by what surnames. Hercules ἀλεξίκακος. Hercules, Callinicus.*

Hercules was in olde time, worshipped vnder the name of ἀλεξίκακος, that is: the depoulsour and driuer away of all euils: because of the valiaunt sleynge of many sondrie monsters, by him extincted. He was also the sonne of Iupiter, and by another name called Callinicus, for respecte of his manifolde actes of prouesse, and noble victories that he had gotten, in subduing aswell his enemies, and giauntes, as also other hougie monsters, as aforesaid. And so it was, that a certain persone had written vpon the dore of his house, this hygge triumphaunt title or poysee: The sonne of Iupiter, Callinicus, Hercules, in this house hath his habitation, no euill thing therfore motte there entre into this place. Diogenes by this inscription espyng the folly of the feloe, said: When the stede is already stolen, shutte the stable dore, or when I am dead make me a caudle.

μετὰ πόλεμον ἡ συμμαχία, id est, post bellum auxilium. Aide after that the field is already foughten.

¶ Noting that it was ouer late to saye, God saue the house from al euils, nowe that soch a lewde feloe was already entred to dwell in it. For it had been necessarie that the sayde *Hercules*, ἀλεξίκακος, that might saue the house from all misfortunes, or misauentures, had taken vp his habitacion in thesame, before the owner selfe of the house had settled him selfe to dwell there, who on his owne partie and behalfe was soch a feloe as a man should rake hell for.

109. Espying a ryotous surfeiting feloe in his hoste his house, eating oliues towards the euening: Sirrha said he, if thou haddest made thy dyner with soche meate as that, thou wouldest not nowe suppe with the meate that thou doest.

Meaning

¶ Meaning, it not to be for any point of frugalitee, or sobre diet, that he had nothing to his supper besides a fewe oliues, but for that his stomake beyng ouercharged, with the excessiue denty diner which he had made at noone, had no appetite to take any thing at supper. For a light and a spare dyner, is the best medicine or sauce in the worlde, to make one haue a good appetite to his supper.

The best medicin to make one haue a good appetite to his supper, is a light dyner at noone.

Full often & many a time did he saye, couetousnesse of money to be the head *palaice, or the head citee of al euils or mischiefs.

I I O.

Where couetousnesse of monie is, there reigneth all mischief.

¶ Not very moche varyng from the sentence of the wyse man Salomon, who sayeth, that couetousnesse of money is the roote of all euils.

i. Timoth 6.

* The greke worde is *μητρόπολις*, as if ye shoulde saye, the place where all euils are conceiued, or from whence all euils doen issue. For it is compounded not of *μέτρον*, measuring nor of *μήτηρ*, *τρός*, mother, but of *μήτρα*, *μήτρας* a matrice, that is to saie, the place of conception, and of issuynge. And therof is *Metropolis*, called the chief citee where the Archbishop of any prouince hath his See, and hath all the other diocesses of that prouince subiect to him, as Canterbury and Yorke, here in Englande.

Vertuous and good men, he affirmed to be the liuely and true Images of the Goddes.

I I I.

Diogenes auouched honest and vertuous men to be the true Images of the Goddes.

¶ Forasmuche as the Goddes, of their very nature been altogether full of all goodnesse the propertee of thesame is, to doe good to all folkes, and to hurt no body. And this Image is muche better represented in sapient and good men, then in dead Images of stone or metall, since that the Goddes are thinges mere ghostly or spirituall, and not materiall of bodily thinges.

Loue he saied to be the occupacion or businesse of idle folkes, that had nothinge els to set them selues on werke withall.

I I 2.

Loue is the occupation of idle persones.

¶ Because this pangue or guerie of loue doth especially aboue all others, inuade and possesse soche persones as been altogether drowned in idlenesse. And so commeth it to passe, that whyle thei geuen theimselues

theimselues wholly to idlenesse, they stumble on a thing that filleth their handes as full of combrous busynesse as they are able to awaye withall, and yet in the meane time, the Deuill of the one chare of good werke they doen.

113.

What thyng
Diogenes re-
kened the moste
miserable in
this life.

He is not to be
accounted
poore that hath
in youth pur-
chased good
disciplines, &
honest frendes.

He is in the
moste wretched
state of beg-
gerie, that is
endued with no
good qualitee.

To one demanding, what was the moste miserable thing in this life? he made aunswere :
An aged bodye in extreme pouertee.

¶ For when the sure staves or lenyng postes of nature doe fail a man, then must the feblenesse of age be propped, bolstred vp, or vnder set with the succour & help of worldly substaunce. Albeit, that persone is not to bee rekened or accounted in the nombre of poore folkes, who hathe in his youth purchased vnto himselfe good disciplines or other craftes and honest frendes, the moste assured and trusty prouision to liue by in a mans olde dayes. That feloe is a begger in moste wretched condicion, that is endued with no good qualitee.

114.

What beast
hath the moste
perilous and
hurtfull stinge.

Being asked, what beast had the moste perilous and hurtful stingue : If thy question be of saluaige beastes (quoth *Diogenes*) the backbiter: if of tame beastes the flatterer.

¶ For the backbiter hydeth not his hatered towardes any body, ne recketh who knoweth the same : the flatterer, vnder the visour or cloke of a frende, hurteth tenne times more greuously then the other.

115.

*The *Cen-
taures* were a
people of the
countrie of
Thessalia, not
ferre from the
mount *Pelion*.
They were the
first that euer
fought on hors-
back. Whiche
thei were

Beholding twoo * *Centaures* fighting in a painted table, of wondrous euil werkmanship, Whether of these two, saied he, is the worse ?

¶ Noting the rudenesse and default of cunning in the Painter, as though he stode in doubt whether of the bothe had been worse drawen or sette out in painting. But the pith of the sayyng consisteth in that he vsed a worde that may be taken in two sondrie senses: For the greke vocable *χείρον*, in englishe, worse, is said aswell

aswell of one that is worse in estimation of value, or any other comparison, and also that hath the worse or is put to the worse in fighting.

driuen to, for to destroye a great heard of wilde bulles,

that did much scathe in all the countree about. And of this (because to the sely people beholding them a ferre of, they appeared after a monstrous facion & shape the Poetes doe feigne that they were gyauntes, in the vpper parte of the body men, and in the nether parte horses, and that *Ixion* begot the first of them on a cloude, they are called of the latines *Centaury*, of the greke worde, *κεντήριον*, that is to pricke, or to spurre, because they keeked and set spurres thicke to the horses sides, when they galloped in chacing the wilde bulles, but their greke name was a word compounde *hippocentaury*, for *ἵππος* is an horse.

Faire and smothe speaking, not proceeding 116.
from the bottome of the harte, but altogether framed to please the hearer, *Diogenes* customably vsed to call an hony brake, or a snare of honey.

Faire & smothe speaking framed onely to please the hearer, *Diogenes* called a trappe or snare of honey.

¶ Because thesame vnder the pretense of loue, embracing a man as though the speaker wer ready euen to crepein to the bosome of the hearer, cutteth the throte of thesame.

The bealy of excessiue gourmaunders & gluttons, he called the *Charybdis* of mans life, for that thesame deuoured al that euer it might gette, and yet was neuer saciate.

117.
The bealies of gluttons *Diogenes* called the *Charybdis* of mans lyfe.

¶ *Charybdis* * swalloweth vp only soche thinges as are carried by sea, & after a little tyme, casteth vp again whatsoeuer it goulped in before: but the bealies of gulliguttes (that can naught do, but eat & drinke & slepe) neither the aire, nor the land, nor the floodes & riuers, nor yet al the seas are able to suffise. Yea, & rather then fail, both whole mainor places, & also whole Lordships, thei make no bones, ne sticke not, quite & clene to swallow doune the narrowe lane, and thesame to spue vp again.

**Charybdis* and *Scylla*, after the feigning of the Poetes ar two monstres of the sea, in the way betwene *Calabria* and *Sicilia* standing the one directly against the other & the same so daungerously,

that thei destroy al the shippes that come within the reach of either of them. For *Charybdis* they fable to be a monster that swalloweth vp all thinges, and thesame shortly after spouteth vp againe: but in very dede, it is a daungerous goulfe, making sore ouerfalles by reason of the meting of sondrie streames in one point. And *Scylla* in very dede, is a great rocke in thesame streight standing so directly against *Charibdis*, that except the shippes cutte and take course euen iustly betwene both they hardely escape drowning. And because that *Scylla* afar of, representeth to the eye the figure and shape of a Christian body and to the eare (by reason

of

of roing and beating of the wawes) it representeth the barking of Dogges, therfore the Poetes haue feigned, that *Scilla* is a monster of the sea, hauing in the vpper part, the shape of a mayden, and in the nether part the likenesse of a fyshe, the bealy of a woulf, and the tayle of a dolphin fyshe, as witnesseth *Virgilius* in the third volume of the *Aeneidos*. Albeit, *Homere* wrytteth, that *Scilla* hath sixe heades, and twelve feete, and barketh like a dogge.

118. When certain persones made relacion to Diogenes, howe that one Didymo was attached for liyng with an other mannes wife : If the wretche were well serued (quoth Diogenes) he should be hanged vp euen by thesame thing that he beareth the name of.

Didymi. ¶ In dede, *Didimi*, is greke for a paire of mans stones, so that the mynde of *Diogenes* was, that soche a sinfull Caitife, ought to be hanged vp by that membres of the whiche he had his name, and by the which he had committed the offense & trespase.

119. One that laboured the study of naturall Philosophie, opposed Diogenes with this question, For what cause golde looked to the eye somewhat pale and wanne of colour? Marie, quoth he, because there be so many folkes liyng in awayt for it.

For what cause
golde loketh to
the eye pale &
wan of colour.

¶ Soche persones as knowe that they haue awayte or watche layde for theim, cannot but be a fearde. And the propertee of any body beyng in great feare is to loke with a pale and wanne colour.

120. When he sawe a woman sitting in an horselitter, or charette, he saied : that another maner caige then that, had ben more mete for a beast of that kynde.

¶ Noting, that soche frowarde creatures as many women are, ought rather to be pended vp in a cage of iron.

¶ *Lectica* was a certain maner of seate for noble women, which I doe here call an horselitter, because we haue no kynde of seate so nyghe, or so like in facion to the *Lectica*. Albeit, they were not in olde time drawn with horses, but carried vpon sixe mens shoulders, and they were made with preatie lattesse windores and

and crosse barres or grates, and paines to shutte & to open, for looking out at pleasure. So that it shewed and represented to the eye muche what the facion or likenesse of a caige for byrdes, or of a pende, wherein to kepe other beastes.

¶ And in soche did the ryche or welthy women : yea and also the other nycibecetours or denty dames, customably vse, both to sitte for their pleasure, and also to be carried about the stretes for their solace and recreation.

Espying a bondseruaunt, that was a rennewaye, 121.
or at lestwyse a strayer from his maister, sitting by a welles side: Take hede young man, saied he, that ye sitte fast for getting a fal.

¶ He did no more but daly with a worde, that may indifferently be taken in diuerse senses. For the greke verbe, ἐκπίπτειν, souneth in latin *Excidere*, in english to get a fall, or to haue a fall. And he is properly saied in greke ἐκπίπτειν, in latin *Excidere*, in englyshe to geat a fall, both that falleth down into a pit or a welle, and also that is violently tumbled or taken out of his place. And mine opinion is, that welles in old time among the Gentiles, had the strengthe of sanctuarie, and that it was not leeful violently or by force, to plucke any body from thesame, no more then out of the temples of the Goddes, or from the Image and porturature of the prince.

When he had espied at the hotehouse, a feloe 122.
that vsed to steale away gownes & coates, or other garmentes (and soche an one the Grekes callen λωποδύτην) he said vnto him : Syrrha, ar ye come to the bath, or els to the bayte.

¶ Albeit, *Diogenes* dalyed with the affinitee of greke voyces, whiche it is not possible with eguall grace to expresse either in latin, or yet in our mother tongue. The greke wordes ben, ἐπ' ἀλειμμάτων, ἢ ἐπ' ἄλλ' ἱμάτων, betwene the wordes, at (lestwise in soun) there is wondrous smal difference. For of the verbe αλείφω, is deriued a nune, αλειμμα, that is, oyntment or enoynting

*Alipte were those to whose cure were committed those persones to be enointed (that thei might haue their iointes nimble & lithy) that should fighte in the solemne games that were celebrate & holden in the honour of any of the goddesses. He is also called *Alipta* that enointeth woundes or sore places of the body to souple them.

ing, and thereof *ἀλείπται, whose office was to enoynt men, had their name. And of δλεμμα, is fourmed a diminutiue, δλεμματίον : nowe, ἄλλ' ἱμάτιον, are two sondrie wordes, albeit by reason of the figure called *Synalephe* (whiche is, when two vouels concurring together, the former leeseth his power and sounne by collission) it seemeth in maner no more but one diction, for if one take away the *Synalephe*, the whole wordes ben ἄλλο ἱμάτιον. That is, an other litle garment, so that the veray righte wordes that *Diogenes* spake to the feloe, were these : Are ye come to be enoynted, or els to steale an other garment ?

¶ For in the bayne or hotehouse, folkes were in olde time enoynted, & in the selfe same place, the pikepurses and stealers of apparell diligently applied, and went aboute their occupacion : for it was the guise to washe naked, their clothes put of, and laid aside. *Diogenes* therfore gaue a quippe to the embesleer or briber, that thesame hauing stolen some garment elsewhere afore, was nowe come thyther to purloyn and conueigh away an other.

¶ And because a gowne or a cote so rechelesly cast aside, is a good bayte for one that seeketh it : and to thintent that the sayng might haue some what the more grace, I haue thus translated it, to the bath, or els to the baite. That if it had not been more for discharging the ductie of a translatour, then for any greate delite, or profite to the vnlearned reader, I would haue passed ouer this *Apophthegme*, and left it cleane out.

123. When he was on a time entred into an hot hous, that laie horrible filthie, sluttishe and vn-cleane, he saied in this maner : Thei that washe in this place, wher be thei washed after it ?

¶ He signified that soche persones as came in thither pure and clene, wer there embrued with durte and filthinesse, and soche as were at any time washed there, to haue veray great neede of a second rynsing, wherewith eftsons to be scoured and made clene.

124. When he had on a time espied women hanging vpon an oliue tree, & there strangled to death with

with the halters : Would God (said he) that the other trees to had like fruite hanging on them.

¶ For *Diogenes* was one that loued no women in no sauce, but hated them dedly, and for that cause had a great zeale and affection to see them euery one swinging and tottering in halters.

Diogenes was μισογυνῆς that is one that hated women to the deuill of hell,

Diogenes seing a certaine feloe, that had a very euill name and reporte, that he should be a spoyler & robber of dead mens tombes and herses, salued, or hailed hym with this verse of Homere.

125.
Howe Diogenes saluted one that had an euill name for robbing of dead mennes tombes.

τίπτε σὺ ὧδε φέριστε,
ἢ τινα συλήσων νεκύων κατατεθνεώτων,

Moun sire, for what purpose hath your good grace,
At this present now approched hither ?
To spoile any of these, whiche in this place
Lye dead, and buried here together ?

Being asked the question whether he had any man or woman seruaunte of his owne, he answered, No in good faith, not one in the worlde. And when the demaunder had ferther saied, Why, who shall then carie thee to thy graue, in case it fortune thee to die ? Marie (quoth he) euen whosoeuer shall haue neede of my house, for to dwell in it.

126.
Diogenes had neither man ne woman seruaunt.

¶ Many persones are very supersticiously carefull, how and by what persons they shalbe brought to their graues, and laied in the ground : of all soche maner thought or care, was *Diogenes* clere voyde, casting no doubt, but that there should come one or other bodye, that would conueigh his dead carcasse out of doores, though it were for nothing els, but to make the house voyde. Albeit his chaunce was in fine, to be very honestly buried.

Diogenes toke no thought how or by what persones he should be buried.

Beholding a certain young springal, as he slept rechelesly at all auentures, he pounched thesame with

127.

with his staffe and recited the verse of Homerus here foloyng.


The daunger
of sleping neg-
lygently in eu-
ery corner.

ἐγείρεο,

μήτις σοι εὐδοντι μεταφρένω ἐν δόρῳ πήξῃ.

Sus, lest some body while thou slepest here,

Come and gore the through the back with a speare.

 The grace of the sayng consisteth in this pointe, that *Diogenes* feactely applied the verse of *Homere* to his purpose, by sayng εὐδοντι, instede of φεύγοντι for in *Homere* it is, μήτις σοι φεύγοντι μεταφρένω ἐν δόρῳ πήξῃ that is.

Lest some man, whyle thou rennest away for feare,
Thrust the behinde, quite through with a speare.

It been the wordes of *Diomedes*, in the .viii. of the *Ilias* vnto *Ulysses*: whome, when he was renninge away, *Diomedes*, biddeth to turne againe for shame, & not to flee: lest some man, &c.

128. To a feloe that was beyond al reason, or out of all course euen full and whole geuen to good chere, and all kindes of riot and excesse, he applied that piece of *Homer* his verse:

ὠκύμορος δὴ μοι, τέκος, ἔσσειαι That is. In feith my childe, your dayes are but short.

¶ Signifyng that the partie would with his riotous facions kill himselfe ere he wer halfe olde.

129. *Like as in
materiall and
sensible grosse
things we see
that the hosiers
haue hanginge
by them in
their shops pur-
posly certaine
paternes, out of
which thei take
the facion of the
clocke of an
hose whenso-
euer they must
make any soch
and semblably
the shoemakers

The * *Idees*, that *Plato* deuised, and muche treateth of, euen *Aristotle* laughed to skorne. And so it was, that at a certain season, when *Plato* made a great long circumstaunce, about the declaring of the *Idees*, and toke much peine with vocables of his owne forging, to expresse and plainlye to set out the same *Idees*, a thing feined, and founded onely in the concepte of imagination, hauing in his mouth at euery second worde the said forged vocables of the *Idees*, as for example, tabletes, for the facion of a table, by it self to be conceiued in the imagination of the minde for a comen paterne as it were laide vp,
and

and kept in the mynd, wherby all other like tables are to be deuised & shaped. And cup-pitees, for the commen paterne whereby all drinking cups are to be deuised, facioned & wrought by the maker : Diogenes mocking soch quidifical trifles, that wer al in the cherubins, said: Sir Plato, your table and your cuppe I see very well, but as for your tabletee, & your cupitee, I see none soche.

¶ Albeit there be euen at this present daye to, that with their sorteitees, and their ecceitees be in their own conceiptes euen doctours of the chaire.

Yet neuerthesse Plato paied Diogenes home againe well enough, and gaue as good as he brought. It is no meruail, said Plato ; for thou hast eyes with the whiche cuppes and tables are seen, but witte and reason thou hast not with whiche are perceiued and seen the tableitees and the cuppytees.

of mans reason, is able to comprehend or to conceiue. And that out of the example or copie of those generall patermes, nature from time to time hath still, doth, and continually shall forme and shape all singular or particulare thinges of euery seuerall kinde: so that an Idee is the appropriate forme, and peculiar likeness of thinges in euery kinde, out of the whiche as being a substantial, paterne eternally remaining, ar figured shaped and produced, al particular thinges in this or that kinde. For example and declaration wherof as when we see in waxe a thousand sondrie imprintinges all of one likeness, we doe easely & promptlie conceiue that all thesame emprintinges were originally made and emprinted with one seale, so may we by our intelligence comprehend that all the particular menne in the world, haue ben formed of one generall paterne of mankinde, whiche hath in eternal substaunce remained ready for that purpose. And semblably must the imagination or reason conceiue of an horse, of a table, of a cuppe, and of all other kyndes of naturall thinges. And this the position and assertion of Plato dothe saint Augustine allowe and vpholde (as ye may reade in his treatise of the .lxx. questions) and also Eusebius in his werke *De praeparatione Euangelica*, both whiche autours Ambrosius Calepinus, doeth in his dictionarie cite for testimonie and declarations of the said Ideas.

To one demaunding when best season were to wedde a wife : For a young man, (quoth he) it is to soone, and for an olde manne ouerlate.

¶ Albeit the greke wordes by reason of a certain vicinitee,

haue alwayes ready hanging on a nayle, patermes of lether purpose-ly reserued and kepte wherby to shape the vpper leathers, and also other patermes for the heeles of all the shoes that thei make: so did Plato affirme, that ther be, and eternally haue ben, of eche naturall thing certaine generall patermes to euery of thesame kindes seuerally belonging, which patermes onely the imagination and vnderstanding

I 30.

When Diogenes thought moste expedient for a manne to wedde a wife.

The ripe time
of being mar-
ryable for man
& woman by
the prescription
of *Aristotle*.

The Romaines
thought Aprill
and June lucky
monethes to
marrye in, &
May vnlucky.

vicinitee, haue most grace, *μηδέποτε*, not yet, and *μηδενώποτε* not at all. Geuing a pretie watch worde, that best wer vtterly to abstain from matrimonie. But the demaunder would very faine haue learned, at what yeres of a mans age, or in whiche part of the yere, it were expedient for a man to chose his make : As *Aristotle* doth by prescription appoint the conuenient or ripe time of being mariable, to a virgin, the age of eightene yeares, to a man, the age of thirtie & fiue yeares. And the Romaines thought the monethes of Aprile and Iune propice and good to wedde in, & the moneth of May vnlucky.

131. To a feloe demaunding what he would haue, to take a blowe or a buffette : Marie (quoth he) a sallette.

A mery answer
unloked for.

¶ This merie ieste to, hath all his grace of the sodain aunswere that no man would haue looked for. For the other partie looked to heare what recompence or hier, *Diogenes* would require for a blowe on the cheeke.

132.
What *Diogenes*
said to a young
man trimming
him selfe, after
the gallant sort

When he sawe a young ruffler trimming himself after the moste galaunt and minion facion : If that trimming bee for men (said he) it will not be : if for women, it should not be.

Awife ought to
be wonne with
honest maners
and behaueour

¶ This sayng souneth more pleasauntly in Greke, by reason of thaffinitee of the two voices, *ἀνχῆς* thou failest of thy purpose, and *ἀδικεῖς* thou doest plain iniurie. For it is in vaine for one man to trimme himselfe for an other, sence that betwene theim can be no mariage. And a wicked deede doth any young man, if by setting forth of his beautie, he do laye abaite to beguile the fraile sexe of womankind, where as a wife ought to be wonne, not with the lure of wantonnesse, but with honest maners & behaueour.

133. To a certain young ladde blushing, & by reason
Blushing in a of the same blushing sore dismayed : Take a
good

good heart my sonne (quoth he) that same hewe or coloure is of vertuous diyng, or doth the dieuat of vertue geue.

young thinges
chekes is of
vertuous diyng.

When he had heard two cunning lawiers contending, trauersing, & earnestly laiying the law between themselves together, about a matter of theft: he saied they were false knaues both of them, and condemned aswell the one as the other, alleging that the one had committed theft, and that the other had lost nothing.

I 34.

What *Diogenes* said of two lawiers contending, laiying the one against the other.

¶ Signifyng that both of them wer well worthy to be hanged. The subtiltee of this present sayng consisteth in this point onely, whoso piketh or priuely steal-eth awaie any thing hath some auantage & gain thereby: & the partie, from whom any soche thing is pielfed & bribed away hath by thesame, disauantage & losse. But in this present case, there had a mad or fond knock befallen. The one partie had pielfed, or embesleed awaie a thing of the others, & yet the partie from whom the thing was pieked, susteined no losse ne damage, for himself had stolen thesame thing afore, which his feloe bribed away afterwarde from him again.

To one demaunding what wyne he best loued and liked with his good will to drinke, Marie (quoth he) of an other mannes purse.

I 35.

The best wine is, that a body drinketh of an other mans cost.

¶ Here also the ready answering much contrary to the expectation of the demaunder geueth to the sayng all his grace. The other partie looked for an other maner aunswer, as the whiche in his question asking, meant of the kynde of wyne.

To one that saied vnto him: All the worlde almost doth mocke thee. Yea, but for all that, saied he again: I am not mocked.

I 36.

¶ And this a man would thinke to be a thinge vnpossible that one should strike you, and yet ye not be stryken. But *Diogenes* denied that he was had in derision,

Diogenes
thought the
skorning of the
fond people,
nothing to
touche him.

derision, either for that he was no manne worthy why,
or els for that he thought the skorning of the fonde
people, nothing to touche him, nor himself to be in any
point the worse for thesame.

137. To another persone affirming that it was a
miserable and a wretched thing to liue here in
this world. No (said Diogenes) to liue is no
miserable ne wretched thing, but to leade an
euill or a vicious life, is a thing wretched and
miserable.

To liue is no
miserable thing
but to lede a
vicious life.

Nothing is
euill, but that
is coupled with
dishonestee
and with vice.

¶ The moste part of folkes calleth it a miserable
life, or a dogges life, that is subiect or in present daunger
of trauailes, of bodely grief or peines, of sicknesse or
diseases, of losse of goodes, of exilinges & banishe-
mentes, and many semblable incommoditees. But the
Philosophier rekened nothing to be euill or miserable,
sauing that was lynked or coupleed with vice and dis-
honestee.

138. Diogenes had a seruaunt, that was called
Manes, and when this Manes had taken his
heelles and renne awaye from his maister, the
frendes of Diogenes, auised him to seeke out the
renneawaye: Marie sir (quoth Diogenes) that
were a mad thinge of all thinges, if Manes doe
already willingly liue without Diogenes, and
Diogenes could by no meanes liue without the
companie of Manes.

Manes the ser-
uaunt of *Dio-*
genes.

The answer of
Diogenes to his
frendes auis-
inge him to
pursue after
his bondman,
that was renne
away from him.

¶ Yet many men pursue after their seruauntes in
mynde and purpose, to be auenged on thesame: but
Diogenes had regarde to the nede of vsing or occupieng
a seruaunt. That if any one Philosophier be of righter
sorte then another, it is he, that nedeth fewest thinges.
And in consideration therof *Diogenes* would not in any
wyse seme worse then his bondman.

The best Philo-
sophier is he
that feleth nede
of fewest
thinges.

☞ For *Manes* had renne away from him, because he could
lyue without his maister well enough.

On

On a time Diogenes made all his dyner with 139.
 Oliues onely : and tarte & other sweete meates,
 anone after brought in place, he flong from him,
 and therewithall songe this greke verse, out of
 some oldæ tragedie.

ὦ ξένη τυράννοις ἀποδὼν καθίστασο.

Stand vtter ye geast vnbidden, pick you hence
 Aback, out of our sight and regal presence.

And also this piece of Homere his verse.

ἄλλοτε μάστιξεν δ' ἑλάν.

Somewhiles with scourges, he chaced away.

¶ Calling himselfe a kyng, a contemner of all
 sensuall delices, whiche delices, his will & mynde was
 to haue clene out of all mens presence and occupying
 abandoned.

*Diogenes a con-
 temner of all
 sensual delices.*

Diogenes was commonly abroad called dogge. 140.
 And of doggues there ben diuerse sortes mo then one.
 For ther be hariers, or buckhoundes, there be spanyels
 made to the hawke, or for taking of foule, ther be shepe-
 herdes cures, there are tye dogges or mastifes for
 keepinge of houses, there ben litle minxes, or pupes
 that ladies keepe in their chaumbers for especial iewelsto
 playe withall. And so, to one demaunding what
 maner a dogge he, for his part was, he feactely
 aunswered and saied : When I am hungry I am
 a litle mynxes ful of play, and when my bealy is
 full, a mastifé.

*What maner
 a doggue Dio-
 genes was.*

¶ For that, when he had good lust or appetite to
 eate, he would fawne vpon folkes, and speake them
 faire, and when his bealy was well filled, he would euer-
 more buffe, & barke, & bite a good.

Being asked, whether Philosophiers were eaters
 of tartes or sweete meates to? Yea, of all thinges
 (saied Diogenes) euen like other Christian bodies.

141.
*Philosophiers
 eate all maner
 meates as o-
 thers that are
 menne.*

¶ In this also, he made an vndirecte answer, to
 the question that was asked of him. The demaunders
 question

question was, whether it wer conuenient for Philosophiers) who professen frugalitee or temperaunce) to feede of tartes and marzepaine, the meates of deintye
 εἰρωνεύων . . . mouthed persones. *Diogenes* sembleing to haue no great witte ne knowledge, but to be more then halfe a foole, so shaped his aunswere, as though Philosophiers were no men in deede, and yet did eate meates to the diete of man belonging. For euery kynde of the brute beastes, do not eate all maner thinges at auenture without exception. The oxen eateth heighe, the lyon wold none of it: the sheepe loue the lefes and toppes of willowe twigges, the horses woulde haue otes. Some byrdes are fedde with the beries of Iuniper, some foules are deuourers of fleshe, some doe fede altogether on fyshe. And to this alluded *Diogenes*.

142. When *Diogenes* on a time at the table emong companie, was eating of a tarte, and one that sate in thesame companie, said: What art thou eating now *Diogenes*? (deming that the cynike Philosophier had no knowledge what maner thing a tarte should be:) he aunswered bread, of a very good making, or bread very well handled in the baking.

¶ Pretending that he knew not what it was. To others it was swete tarte, to *Diogenes* it was no better then bread, who did not eate it for sensualitee, or for to sweete his lippes, but for his necessarie foode and sustenance.

143. To one demaunding why men were liberall to geue almes bounteously to other beggers, and to Philosophiers nothing so, Mary, (quoth he) because they haue hope to see it sooner come to passe, that they shall be lame or blynde, then that they shalbee Philosophiers.

Why menne
 geue almes
 more bounte-
 ously to other
 beggers then to
 Philosophiers.

¶ Soch folkes as taken pitee and compassion vpon persones visited with affliction,) of which sorte are all beggers

beggers for the moste part) doen thesame in consideration of the state, condicion or chaunce of this worlde, being indifferent and commen to all mortall menne in this present life. So they releue a blynd body, casting thus in their mynde: This veray selfsame thing, may in time to come, chaunce vnto my self: but of a Philosophier, they haue no soche cogitation. The sayyng hath somewhat the more grace, by reason of the improprie vsing of the latin word *sperant*, in Englishe, thei haue hope or affiaunce: for a man in processe to become a Philosophier, may be hoped for, but for the losse of the eyesight, or for halting like a creple, no man vseth to hope.

Diogenes asked, whatsoeuer it was, in the waye ^{144.} of almes of a feloe being a niggarde and lothe to depart with any thing: whome when he sawe long in doing, and more like vtterly to saye him naye then to geue him aught: O thou man, saied he, I aske thee for a dyning not for a diyng.

¶ To expresse as nere as may be, the affinitee of the Greke vocables, τροφή, and ταφή, of the whiche τροφή, in latin *Cibus*, in englishe meate, and ταφή, in latin *Sepultura*, in Englishe a graue.

☞ As if he should haue said: What nedest thou to make so muche sticking at the matter: I doe not require thee to go hang thy selfe, but onely to geue me as muche money as may suffice to paye for my poore dynner, whiche he spake, because the feloe made as much sticking, and shewed himselfe as lothe to departe with any money, as if *Diogenes* had said vnto him: go thy wayes at ones, & hang thy selfe. All the matter is in daliyng with the Greke dictions.

To a certaine persone laiynge to his charge, ^{145.} that he had in time tofore, been a false coyner of countrefeite money, (for he was vppon soche a matter banished his countree, as is aboue mentioned:) I confesse (saieth he, the time to haue ben, when I was soche an one, as thou art now, but soche an one as I am at this present, thou art neuer like to be, while thou shalt liue.

In the .cii. apothegme of *Diogenes*.

10

It

Many doe re-
buke in others
the trespasses of
youth and yet
emende not
their owne in
their
olde age
neither.

¶ It was a checke to those persones, who doe in others finde great faulte at the errorrs and folies of youth, where as thesame doe amend and correcte their owne misdeds, no not in their old age neither.

To an other feloe casting him in the nose with the selfsame matter, he defended his crime by the pretexte of youth, saynge : ¶ Yea I did in my youth many thinges moo then that, whiche I doe not nowe in myne age. For at that age I could haue pissed quickly without any payne, so doe I not nowe at this daye.

Many men doe
many pointes
of folly in youth
which thei will
not doe in age.

¶ With a Cynical circuition or going about the bushe, he signified young age, whiche doth easely and at the first assaye make water, where as old folkes be much combred with a spiece of the strangurie, that they cannot pisse, but with great pain, one droppe after an other.

¶ So meaned *Diogenes*, that in his olde age he could not possibly by anye persuasion or meanes haue ben brought to coyne false money, wherunto the folly of youth had afore brought him, through default of mature discretion.

147.
Myndusa town
in Asia.

Taking a iorney on a time to the towne of Myndus, when he sawe great wide gates and of gorgious or royall building, where as the towne was but a litle preaty pyle: he said, Ye towne dwellers, or ye enhabitauntes of Myndus, shutte fast your toune gates, that your citee go not out at them.

¶ Noting the towne to be so litle, that it were possible for the same to go forth at the gates.

148. Seing a feloe attached, that hadde by priue stelthe embesleed a piece of purple silke, he applied to thesame, this verse of Homere.

Ἀλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταίη.

That is,

The death of purple, hath thee by the back
And by princely destiney, thou goest to wracke.

Purple death
and princely

¶ It can not haue the full grace in englyshe. But *πορφύρεος* in greke, and *Purpurreus*, a, um, is a denominatiue of *Purpura*:
and

and the poetes doen often ioyne it for an epitheton with the substantiue *Mors*, death. Because that when a body is slaine, the gore bloud that issueth out of the wounde is of purple colour. And he called it princely destiny to dye in riche araye, or for precious and gaye thinges.

Craterus the lieutenaunte or high Capitaine with Alexander the great, being a man of great welth and riches, had of his owne mere mocion inuited and hartelye praied Diogenes to come and dwell with him: To whome Diogenes made answer. I can better be contented to liue in Athenes with bread and chese, then with Craterus at mine owne will, to haue all the deinties in the worlde.

¶ Meaning that libertee (be it neuer so poore) is rather to be chosen then all the delices and iunkerie, or sumptuous fare of the ryche cobbles, to be restrained and kept short of libertee.

* Anaximenes the rhetorician, had a panche as fatte and great as he was able to lugge away withall, to whome Diogenes came, and spake in this maner: I pray you geue to vs lene craggues some bealy to: for both yourselfe thereby shalbe well lighted and eased of your burden, and ye shall do to vs a good turne and a pleasure.

* *Anaximenes* a philosophier, the scholar and successour of *Anaximander*, & the maister and next predecessour of *Anaxagoras*.

As Anaximenes was on a time in making an oration to the people, Diogenes bearing in his hande, and holding out a pestle or gammond of bakon, made all the audience full and whole to turne away from Anaximenes to gaze vpon him. Anaximenes fuming and taking highe indignation at the matter, helde his peace, as a man destitute and forsaken of his auditorie. Then saied Diogenes, Loe, one poore halpenny matter

destenie. *Purpureus*, a,um, an epitheton of *Mors*.

149.

Craterus lieutenaunt with *Alexander* the great. What *Diogenes* aunswered to *Craterus* inuiting him to come and dwell with him. Libertee, bee it neuer so poore, is to be preferred to all delices, wher libertee is restrained.

150.

What *Diogenes* saied to *Anaximenes*, the rhetorician hauing a great bealy.

151.

matter hath clene dashed all this earnest and
solemne talke of Anaximenes.

¶ Signifyng that all his babling was of light and
friuelous matters, which made not the audience very
attent, or willing to geue eare vnto him.

152. Certain persones obiection vnto him as a point
Why *Diogenes* would eate as
he went in the
open streate. against all good nourture, that he would go
maunching and eating euen in the open streate:
What meruail, quoth he? honger commeth on
me in the streate.

¶ He made a reason, of that the logicians callen,
relative opposita. If honger were not hasty on a man
in the open streate, it might percase, bee a matter of
shame to eate in the open streate. But by the selfsame
colour he might haue defended himselfe if he did his
easeement or els made water in the open streate.
Relative opposita or *relatiues*, in logike, are
two thinges so
connexed, and
mutually de-
pending the one
of the other, that the same doe euermore either the other importe and notifie, as to
being a father belongeth hauing a child, & to being a sonne or doughter, belongeth
hauing a father and semblably of hongre & eating.

153. There be wyrters that doe father this also
Howe *Diogenes* taunted *Plato*
secretly, re-
prouing him
for his course
fare. vpon *Diogenes*, *Plato* happely finding him wash-
ing a sorte of salade herbes, said vnto him round-
ing in his eare. If thou wouldest haue ben
rewled by *Dionysius*, iwys thou shouldest not
after this maner washe these herbes. *Diogenes*
rounded *Plato* in the eare againe, sayng: Iwys if
thou wouldest haue washed herbes for thine owne
dyner, thou shouldest not in this maner haue
been a Ihon hold my staf to *Dionysius*.

¶ But this appeareth to be a tale forged after the
likenesse or example of the sayng afore reported on
Afore in the
first sayng of
Aristippus. *Aristippus*, as this same in like maner, whiche I will
put now next of all.

154. To one sayng, many a man hath thee in de-
riision (O *Diogenes*) And them peraduenture,
many an asse (quoth he) again. The other feloe
sayng
Diogenes no-
thing passed on

saiyng moreouer, and thus repliyng, Yea, but thei care nothyng for the Asses, he aunswered, And I asmoche and not a iote more for them that ye speake of.

them that had him in derision.

¶ He attributed vnto Asses, the propertee of mockyng or skorning, because thei do euery other while, by shewyng their teeth bare, as ye would saie, counterfeact grennyng and makyng mowes with their lippes. And besides that, when men doe mocke any body, thei wagge their handes vp and doune by their eares at the sides of their hed and doe counterfeact the facion of an Asses eares. So then the Asse also appereth by waggyng his eares vp and down, to mocke & skorne folkes yet is there no bodie therwith displeased, or greued.

Seyng a young strieplyng to applie the studie of philosophie, Well doen, quoth he, the harkners of carnall beautie thou callest awaie to the beautie and goodlinesse of the minde and soule.

155.

¶ Meanyng, that the partie, in that he laboured to garnishe and adourne his minde with vertues or good qualitees, and with honest disciplines, should finally, atteine to be assured of better frendes by a great waie. For there is nothyng more goodlie or beautifull then Sapience, nothyng then vertue more amiable.

Who laboureth to adourne the minde with good qualitees and honest disciplines, shalbe assured of much the better frendes.

The custome and vsage of men in olde tyme was, soche persones as had been saued from greate perilles, or misauentures to hang vp in the Temples Donaries, that is to saie, giftes, presentes, or oblacions, as agnisyng to bee the onely benefite of the Goddes, that thei had been preserued and saued harmelesse. Therefore, when to Diogenes, hauing taken a iourney into the countree of *Samothracia, were shewed the iewelless or oblacions that sondrie persones hauyng been from perishyng in battaill, from dyng by sicknesse, from beyng drowned and loste on the sea, or from any

156.

*Samos is an Isle in the sea called *Mare Aegeum* adiacent, marching and bordring vpon the countree of *Thracia*, whiche afterwarde by reason

of the commix-
tion of bothe
peoples, was
named *Samothracia*, as wit-
nesseth *Vergil-
ius*, sayng :

Threiciam quae

Samum, quae nunc Samothracia fertur. This Isle was consecrate to *Iuno*, who was in thesame Isle borne, bredden, and brought vp, and finallie married to *Iupiter*. There was also an other Isle in the same sea of thesame name foreayenst *Ephesus*.

Diogenes sup-
posed men to
be saued from
misauentures
by mere
chaunce and
not by the
grace or gifte
of God.

Diagoras a
philosophier
surnamed
ἄθεος that is,
a miscreant,

not beleuing that there were any Goddes, ne thesame to be of any power.

any other great hasard preserued, had offred vp :
Yea, quoth *Diogenes*, but these would bee a
moche greater number, if all those persones, which
in like case haue not been saued, had offered vp
soche giftes as these.

¶ He meant (mine opinion is) those persones that
were saued from misauentures, to bee saued by very
chaunce, and not by the benefite or grace of the
Goddes. That in case it be to bee imputed to the
Goddes, if a man be preserued, to thesame is it also to
be imputed, that mo in nomber do perishe, then are
escaped. There been writers that doen attribute this
present sayng to *Diagoras Melius*, a miscreant and a
wicked despiser of the goddes. And as for the *Samothracians* wer sore blinded and infected with greate
supersticion in soche maner thynges.

157. To a welfauoured young springal, goyng on
his waye towards a feast or banquet, he saied:
Thou wilt come home again worse man then
thou goest forth. So when thesame young man
returning homewarde again from the banquet,
had said to *Diogenes*, I haue been at the feaste,
and yet am returned nothing the worse man
therfore. Yes (quoth *Diogenes*) and so muche
the worse euen for that worde.

χείρων μὲν οὖν

Af younge man
from excessiue
reuelling re-
turneth worse
man, then he
went thither.

¶ Notifyng to be vnpossible, but that soche a young
strepling must remedillesse from excessiue and vnsobre
reuelling, come home lesse honeste, then he went thither.

☞ And that he hadde of the pottes and cuppes taken soche
stomack and impudencie, as without fether prouocation to chatte,
and choppelogike with an auncient Philosophier, was a mani-
fest argument and an euident declaration, that his condicions
were rather appaired then emended, besides that it was a token of
small grace, to be so blynded in foly, that he would not see ne
knowlege his faulte.

Diogenes

Diogenes asked of one Euritius some great thing, whatsoeuer it was, and when thesame (as is the guyse) saied naye to his requeste with these wordes: I will doe it: if thou canst persuade me therunto: If I were able (quoth Diogenes) to persuade thee to do all thinges after mine aduise, I had long ere this daye, geuen thee counsell to hang thyselfe.

The Cynicall plainnesse of *Diogenes*, in speking his mind.

¶ In this sayng, out take Cynical plainnesse and boldnesse of speaking, and there is no great point to be maruailed at.

¶ Except percase he thought requisite, to reprove the fast-holding of soche niggardes, as will departe with nothing to the poore, but with more suite and praiyng then the thing is worth.

He had been to see the citee of Lacedemon, and being from thence returned to the citee of Athenes, one asked of him (as the maner is) whether he would, and from whence he was come. Forsoth (quoth he) from very men to very women.

The corrupt & effeminate maners of the *Atheniens*.

¶ Noting the maners of the *Atheniens* with sensual pleasures & delices effeminate, wher as the *Lacedemonians* wer hardely brought vp.

One asked him as he returned homeward from the Olympia, whether he had not seen ther a great companie, Yes truly, (quoth he) a very great companie, but woondrous fewe men.

Much companie and fewe men.

¶ This also appeareth to be counterfaited and forged by the other sayng, that is afore rehersed of the hotte house.

Afore in the 58. sayng of this same *Diogenes*.

Those persones, who of a ryottousnes did prodigally lauesse out and waste their substaunce or goodes vpon cookes, on reuellers, or ruffians, or harlottes, and vpon flatterers: he auouched to bee like vnto trees, growyng on the edges or brinkes of clieffes and rockes of a down-right pitche, or a stiepe down fall: the fruites of whiche

161. Wasteful and ryotous lauersers of their goodes to what thing *Diogenes* likened.

Thei that ser-
uen onely the
throthe and the
bealie, are not
woorthie the
name of men.

whiche t̃rees no man could euer geat a taste of,
but thesame were from time to time, deuoured
by the crows and the rauens.

¶ Mening on that one part, soche persones as
seruen onelye the throthe and the bealie, not to be
worthy the name of men.

☞ And on the other side, goodes so wastefully spent, to be
worse then cast awaye.

162.

Diogenes a-
uouched to be
more daunger-
ous to fal in the
hands of flat-
terers, then of
wilde beastes.

*ἐς κόρακας
ἀπελθεῖν ἢ ἐς
κόλακας.

To light among
crows then e-
mong flatterers
Diogenes allu-
ded to the greke
prouerbe,
βάλλ' ἐς
κόρακας,
hence to the
crows and (as
we saye in en-
glyshe) to the
deuill of hell.

The Grekes, if they wishe to any body extreme
mischiefe, or shamefull death, they do (by a
prouerbiall speaking, in their tounge used) bidde
them go picke them to the crows, in greke,
ἐς κόρακας. But *Diogenes* of a customable wonte
auouched to bee a thing muche more daungerous
to fall in the handes of *flaterers that will hold
vp a mans yea & nay (be it true or false) then to
lighte among crows.

☞ For the crows doe not pecke but the carckesses of dead men,
the flatterers deuoure men euen whyle they are aliue, be they neuer
so honest and good.

¶ The pleasauntnesse of this sayng (which in the
greke by reason of the affinitee of the vocables hath
an exceedyng great grace) both in latin & in english
vtterly quailleth or dieth. For crows the Grekes callen
κόρακα and one litle sole letter chaunged, thesame
called flatterers κόλακας. This sayng is ascribed to
Antisthenes also.

Erasmus in his *Chiliades* citeth *Zenodotus* for his autour, that there was a cer-
tain place of execution in *Thessalia*, called the crows, into the which, persones
founde giltye of any cause or crime of death, and therevpon condemned, were
caried and cast hed long so to perishe there. The originall cause why thesaid
place was so named, whoso is desirous to know, if he be learned, may at large
reade in *Erasmus* vpon the prouerbe aboue cited.

163.

*Of *Phryneitis*
noted afore in
the xli. sayng
of *Aristippus*.
As touching
this present
Apophthegme,

*Phryne a naughtie packe, or a woman of light
conuersation, hanged vp for a iewell, by the waye
of oblacion in the temple of *Apollo* at the
towne of *Delphi*, an Image of *Venus*, made of
clene golde. *Diogenes* espyng thesame Image,
wrote and set this posee or testimoniall vpon it:

Of

Of the inordinate and vicious liuing of the Grekes.

¶ For it was a plaine conuincing of the Grekes, that they were too too muche drowned in the vice of the body, that a commen strompet had gathered together so muche golde, of money gotten by soche abhomin-
ation.

pollo. When *Diogenes* read this scripture, he wrote hard at the addition: *Of the inordinate liuing of the Grekes.*

the most likely-
hod is, that vp-
on the Image
that *Phryne*
had consecra-
ted, was thus
wrytten: *This*
golden Venus
hath Phryne
offred and
geuen vnto A-
taile of it this

There been that ascriben to *Diogenes* this
saiyng to. When *Alexander* the great had come
vnto him, and saluted him, *Diogenes* demaunded
who he was: And when the other had in this
maner aunswered, I am that noble *Alexander*
the king: Mary (quoth *Diogenes* againe:) And
I am that ioyly feloe *Diogenes*, the doggue.

164.

Diogenes glo-
ried as muche
in his libertee,
as did *Alexan-*
der of his king-
dom.

¶ Taking no lesse pride & glorie of his libertee,
that he was at no mans becke ne commaundement,
then *Alexander* did of his kingdome, and crowne
Emperiall.

Being asked for what pranks or doynges it
had come to his lot to be commenly called
doggue of euery body: Mary (quoth he) because
that, on soche as geue me ought, I make muche
fauning: at soche as wyll nothing departe with-
all, I am euer barking: and soche as be naught,
I byte, that they smart again.

165.

Howe it came
to *Diogenes* his
lot to be called
doggue.

To *Diogenes* plucking fruite of a certain figge
tree, when the keper of the orchyarde had spoken
in this maner: Vpon the same tree, that thou
gatherest of, a feloe not many daies agone
hanged himselfe. Mary (quoth *Diogenes*) and I
will purifie and clense it againe.

166.

¶ The other partie supposed, that *Diogenes* being
so aduertised, would haue forborne the tree inquinate
or

Diogenes clere
voyde of all
spiece of super-
sticion.

or polluted, in that it had borne a dead carkesse. But *Diogenes* beyng free and clere from all spiece of supersticion, estemed the fruite to be no point the more polluted, or impure for that respect.

What *Diogenes*
saied when he
sawe a chalen-
ger of *Olympia*
set an earnest
eye on a wenche

167. Marking one that was a greate prouer of maisteries in the games of *Olympia*, to set an earnest iye on a common strumpet, in so moche that he turned his hed backe, and behelde her, after that she was gone paste him, he said : Loe, how a principall ram, for the toothe of Mars himself, is leed awaie in a bande (his necke set clene awrie) by a damisell, that is as common as the cartwaie.

¶ He thought it a matter of laughter, for the feloe to bee a prouer of maisteries, with pieked or chosen men of price, and thesame to be haled or drawn awaie as a prisoner, without any chordes at all, by a shitten arsed gerle.

Beautiful
strumpettes *Di-*
ogenes likened
to swete wyne
tempered with
deadlye poyson

168. Well faouered or beautifull strumpettes, he auouched to bee like vnto bastarde or Muscadine, tempered and mixte with dedlie poison.

¶ For that thesame caused in deede at the beginnyng, delicious pleasure & voluptie, but euen at the heeles of whiche pleasures immediatly ensued endlesse dolour & wofulnesse.

Diogenes called
theim dogges,
that stood
round aboute
hym while he
dined.

169. As he was making his diner euen in the open strete: when a greate nomber stode round about him, for the straungenesse of the sight, and euer emong made a cryng at him, Doggue, doggue : Naie, quoth *Diogenes*, ye be doggues rather, in that ye stand round about a manne beyng at his diner.

¶ For that is one of the common propertees that dogs haue.

170. When mencion was made of a boie, in moste detestable

detestable abominacion abused, Diogenes beyng asked what countreeman the boie was: made aunswer, by daliyng with a worde that might be twoo maner waies taken, and saied: He is a Tegeate.

¶ For, *Tegea*, is a citee of *Arcadia*. And therof is deriued a nounge gentile *Tegeates*, a Tegeate, or a persone of *Tegea* borne. And the Greke vocable *τέγος*, is otherwile in one significacion, *Lupanar*, a brothell hous, or a place where bawderie is kepte. And thereof the Philosophier vsurped a worde of his owne deuising, or forgyng, and called the boie a Tegeate, of *τέγος*, for respecte of the moste abominable vice, with whiche he had been defoiled.

Tegea, a citie of *Arcadie*.
Tegeates.

When he sawe a feloe now taking vpon him, to practise and minister Phisike, who had afore been a common doer in the games of wrastlyng but in deede, was a verie slouche, and a verie dastard, he said vnto thesame: Wilt thou now by course ouerthrowe them againe, that haue heretofore ouerthrowen thee?

171.
Howe *Diogenes* mocked one that from a wrastleer fell to be a Phisician.

¶ A wrastler is properly saied, to cast or ouerthrowe any partie whom he ouercometh and putteth to the wurse. And the phisician also ouerthroweth those persones, whom he coucheth in bedde, or bryngeth to their longe home. As for the meanyng of *Diogenes* was, that the partie was now as euill a Phisician, as he had afore been a falseharted wrastleer. A merie ieste moche like to thissame, there is in the poete *Martialis*, of a feloe whiche from a Phisician, hauing become a fighter in harnesse, did none other beeyng *Hoplomachus*, then what he had dooen being a Phisician.

Two kyndes of casting, ouerthrowing, or giuing a fall.

To a bastarde or basseborne boie, that had a common harlotte to his mother, and was whurling little stones among the thickest of the people
at

172.

at auenture, he said : Take heede sirrha & beware, lest thou hit thy father.

¶ For he was born of a common naughtipack & by reason therof, his father not certainly known.

173. Certain persones highly magnifyng & praising the bounteous liberalitee of one, that had giuen to Diogenes a thing, what euer it was : And why doe ye not praise me to, saied he, that haue deserved to haue it giuen me ?

¶ For to be worthie a benefite, is more then to haue giuen a benefite, accordyng to that the sentence of *Publius Mimus*.

To be worthy a benefite is more then to haue geuen a benefite.

Beneficium dando accepit, quid digno dedit.


Hymself by giuyng receiueh a benefite

Who giueh to a person worthie to haue it.

174. The aunswere of *Diogenes* to one that had geuen him a mantell, and would needes haue had it from him againe.

To one that required of Diogenes, restitution of his robe or mantel, he thus made a wondrous feacte and pleasaunte aunswer. If thou gaue it me freely, I haue it : if thou diddest lende it me, I doe stil occupie it.

¶ Signifyng, that he was nothing minded to restore it home again, whether it was of free gift or els by the waie of lone for a tyme, that he had receiued it. It is shame for a bodie to require again, that he hath freely giuen. And it is a point of inhumanitee, hastily to snatch away that the occupier hath neede of, and cannot well forbear.


175.  *Supposititii partus*, are in Latine called children, that be feigned or sembled to haue been borne of that wombe forth of whiche they neuer came (as for example) if a woman should be deliuered of a monster, or of a dead childe, and haue an other liue childe of due forme and shape laied by her in the place of thesame, or if a woman should bring forth a wenche, and thesame conceived away, should haue a manne childe of an other womans bearing, laied by her in stede of hir owne, or if a woman should counterfaite traouailing and labouring of childe, and haue an other womans childe laied by her, and vsed as though she had been deliuered

liuered of it her selfe in very dede, that childe so impropreed to a wrong mother, may properly in latin be called *partus supposititiu*, as ye would saye in englishe, a childe mothered on a woman that neuer bare it, or a chaungeling, and suche persones are euer after called *supposititi*, or *suppositi*. There is also an other latin worde, *indormire*, in englishe, to slepe vpon, or to lie vpon while we slepe. And it maie be taken in two diuerse, and in maner contrarie senses. For wee are saied in Latin, *indormire*, to lie vpon, or to slepe vpon our gooddes or treasure, for safe keeping of thesame, and we are also saied in Latin *indormire*, to slepe vpon, or to lie sleping on a thing that we sette no greate store by, nor doe any thing passe on as a matte, or a couche. And in dede *Diogenes* vsed his mantell in the night season, in stede of a mattresse.

Suppositus, is also a participle of *Supponor* and souneth in englishe laid vnder as a piloe is layde vnder ones head in the night.

And so it was, that when soche a chaungelyng, as is aboue mencioned, had saied to *Diogenes* in skorne: Loe, he hath gold in his mantell, *Diogenes* laied the reproche verie well in the feloes owne necke, sayyng, Yea and therefore *supposito indormio*.

Howe *Diogenes* taunted a chaungeling who in skorne and derision said that *Diogenes* hadde gold sowed in the patches of his cope.

 Meaning the partie to bee a chaungeling, and therefore despicable, or worthie to be censured: wheras the wordes might in the grosse care of the feloe, soun also to this sense, that *Diogenes* laied the mantell nightly vnder him when he slept, for safe keeping of soche a precious iewel.

To one demaunding, what auantage he had by his Philosophie: Though nothing els, saied he, yet at lestwise this foredele I haue, that I am readie prepaired to almaner fortune, good or badde.

176.

What auantage & foredeale is gotten by Philosophie.

¶ This sayyng hath scacely any smelle or sauour of *Diogenes*, although he beareth the name of it.

Beyng asked of a feloe what countreeman he was, he aunswered *κοσμοπολίτης* that is, a citezen of the worlde.

177.

What countreeman *Diogenes* affirmed hymselfe to be.

¶ Signifyng that a Philosophier, in whatsoever place of the worlde he is resiaunte, or maketh his abode, liueth in his owne natiue countree.

 And all the worlde to be but as one citee for man to inhabite.

When *Diogenes* on a time asked an almes, and
in

178.

After what
forme *Diogenes*
asked an almes
of the commen
Almener of the
citie.

in speakyng to the publique almener of the citee
(who is in Greke called ἐρανάρχης) he vsed none
other stile but this verse of Homere.

Τοὺς ἄλλους ἐνάριζ' ἀπὸ δ' Ἑκτορος ἴσχειο χεῖρας.

That is

As for other persons, despoile of their geare
But thy handes from Hector, se thou forbear.

¶ The festiuitee or mirthe and pleasaunt grace of the
saiyng, in this point consisteth, that wher he should
haue said ἐράνιζε, giue me your almes or, giue me your
charitee, he vsed a worde of contrarie signification,
saiyng ἐνάριζε, dispoile out of harnesse, or turne naked
out of the cloutes. By the name of *Hector*, noting his
own self. And that person committeth plain robbery
or spoile, who denieth an almes to any poor creature,
being in extreme nede. And in dede, men of this
ordre ben most commonly full of bribing, embesling, &
purloining.

179. Paramoures, he affirmed to be the queenes of.
Strompettes & paramoures, *Diogenes* af-
firmed to be
the queenes
of kinges.

Kynges, because thesame mighte craue of the
saied kinges, whatsouer their phansie lusted, and
bee assured to obtaine their asking.

To paramoures
nothing is de-
nied.

¶ For, vpon this he gaue to them the name of
queenes, not for that thesame were pieres, mates, or
feloes like with wiues of the kynges: but for that thei
abused the kinges selves as subiectes vnto theim, at eche
becke and commaundement. The kynges selves doe
not at all seasons impetrate of the people, that thei
would haue by exaccion, but to a paramour nothyng is
denied. Of this sort & trade, mine opinion is, that the
barbarous or saluage kinges were in old time.

180. The Atheniens of mere adulacion or flaterie,
How *Diogenes* mocked the de-
cree made, by
the *Atheniens*, to please Alexander, made a decree, that the-
same Alexander should be taken & wurshipped
for Bacchus (who by an other name was called

Liber

Liber pater.) * This honour Diogenes laughyng to skorne, saied: And I pray you my maisters, make me † Serapis to.

that *Alexander* the great should be taken & wurshipped for *Liber pater*, that is to saie, for *Bacchus*.

¶ For in thesame degree that *Bacchus* was among those that were called † *Satyri*, was *Serapis* wurshipped of the Egipcians, in the similitude or likenesse of an oxe.

* *Liber pater* was one of the names of *Bacchus*, or *Dionysius* the God of

And *Diogenes* thought himself as truly to be thone as *Alexander* was thother.

wines, for *Bacchus* first inuented the vse, and the making of wine; and because wine deliuereth the harte from all care and thought, when a bodie is pipe merie, *Dionysius* was among the latines called *liber*, of the verbe *libero*, ras to deliuer, to ridde, to dispatche, or to discharge.

† *Serapis* or *Apis* the highest and the chief God of the Egipcians, whom thei wurshipped in the likenesse of a liue Oxe. For so it was, that *Osiris* the sonne of *Iupiter*, and of *Niobe* the doughter of *Phoroneus*, being the king of the *Argiues*, first succeeded the same *Phoroneus* in the kingdom of the saied *Argiues*, and when he had there reigned certaine yeres, he left his brother *Aegialus*, protectour and gouernour of the kingdom of all *Achaia*, and to winne victorie, honour, and conquest, made a voiage into Egypt, and the Egipcians subdued, he tooke to wife *Isis*, by an other name called *Io*, the doughter of *Inachus*, first king of thesaid *Argiues*, and reigned ouer the Egipcians. Among whom, aswell *Isis* for inuventing the forme of letters, and the feact of writing, as also *Osiris* for many other roiall artes and feactes, whiche he to them taught, were bothe honoured and wurshipped as Goddesses. At laste *Osiris* was priuclie by his brother *Typhon* slain, and long sought by *Isis*, & at length found hewed and mangled all to gobbettes or pieces, not ferre from the citee of *Syene*, whiche *Syene* (as *Plinius* in the seconde booke testifieth) is situate in *Zona torrida*, so directly vnder the tropike of *Cancer*, that when the sunne being at the highest, doth entre into the saied signe of *Cancer* at midsomer (about fiftene daies afore the feaste of the natiuitee of Saint Iohn Baptiste) it lieth iust ouer the toppe of the citee, and causeth in thesame no maner shade of any thing at al to be seen or to appere. *Isis* caused hir husband with much mourning and lamentacion to be buried in a liue Isle then called *Abatos*, in the Marice nighe to the citee of *Memphis* (being the chief or principall citee of al Egypt next after *Alexandria*, whiche Marice was from thenceforth named *Styz*, that is the place of mourning and wailing.) But when in thesame Marice had sodainly appered to the Egipcians a certaine oxe, they esteeming the oxe to be *Osiris*, fell prostrate, and kneled to it, and toke the oxe aliue and brought him to a temple (whiche afterward was called *Serapion*) where they did to him, all honour and homage, and wurshipped thesame as their God, serueng him daily with gold and al precious vessels, and with all delicates mete for a king or a God to be serued withall. And called him *Apis*, whiche in that language is an oxe. And euer after a certain time, thei would cast him aliue as he was into a floode, where he should be drowned. This doen thei would go with mourning and lamentacion, and neuer ceasse seking vntill they had found a newe oxe as like in colour and all proportion of feature vnto the first *Apis*, as might possible be. And thus from time to time wurshipped the Egipcians a liue oxe as their God, & gaue to thesame first of all, the name of *Apis*, & afterward that the first was dead or the second in processe *Serapis* by a worde compounded of *Apis* and *cropos* a cophin, (soche as the carckesses of noble persons ar cheisted in, ere they be laied in their

their graue.) And so was it first *Serapis*, and in conclusion by chaunging the letter o into e, *Serapis*, so that *Osiris*, *Apis*, and *Serapis* is all one.

‡*Satyrt*, (as the poeticall fables tellen, and *Plinius* in the fifth booke doth testifie) wer fower beastes in the mountaines of *Ethiopia*, & of the *Indes*, of exceeding lightnesse of foote, and swiftnesse in renning, of the figure, shape, and likenesse of a man, sauing that thei had hornes, and had the feete and legges of a gote clouen, and full of rough hie. And these maner monstres the olde antiquitee beleued to be the Goddes of the forestes, of wildernesse, and of all rusticall places of husbandrie. Whereof saint Hierome saith in this maner, speaking of saint Antonie. He sawe an elfish man, with a long croked haukes nose, and a forehead or brough with hornes sticking out, whose nether partes of the body grewe out into feete soch as gotes haue. And when Antonie, (the signe of the holy crosse premised) had in the name of God demaunded, what he was, it is reported that the other thus made aunswere. I am a mortall man of the worlde, one of the bordrers on the edge of wildernesse, who, by the gentilitie with vain error deluded, are called *Fauni*, *Satyri* and *Incubi*.

181. Being chidden, for that he was a goer into places full of stinke and all vnclenlynesse, he saied: Why, the sunne also doeth crepe vnder houses of office, and yet is not therewith defoyled nor embrewed, or made durtie.

An honest man is not the worse for the infamie of any place that he resorteth vnto.

¶ His meaning was that the honestee of a perfect vertuous man, is nothing empeched, stayned or made worse for the infamie of anye place that he resorteth vnto.

182. When it fortun'd hym to bee at supper in a temple, and mustie or sluttishely kept loues of bread, to be sette afore him: he cast the loues and all out of the temple, allegeyng, that none impure or sluttishe thyng ought to entre into the hous of God.

None impure thing ought to entre the temple of God.

183. To a feloe, malapertlie demaundayng why Diogenes, sens he had nomaner learnyng ne knowlege, professed and openlie tooke vpon him the name of a Philosophier: he saied: If I countrefaict a Philosophier, or if I shewe any neere towardnesse of a Philosophier, euen that verie point is to be a Philosophier outright.

¶ Halfe noting philosophie to be a thing of so high difficultee, that euen to counterfeacte thesame, and to shewe

shewe any towardnesse of it, is no small porcion of Philosophie. As that persone hath an high pointe, and a greate fordeale, toward being a king, that can expertly and cunningly, in gesture & countenance represent the state of a kyng. So in deede, whoso counterfeacteth or maketh shewe or countenance of a thing, doth as moche as in hym lieth, imitate and foloe al the facions to thesame belonging. And by imitacion to drawe nigh to all the facions or pointes of a Philosophier, is a greate part of beyng a right Philosophier in deede, that is to saie, of beyng a studious and painfull labourer, to atteigne Philosophie or perfecte sapience.

To shewe nigh towardnesse of a philosophier, is a great porcion of being a philosophier outright.

A certain persone brought a childe vnto Diogenes, to the ende that thesame childe might take some part of his doctrine. And so, to comende hym, that he might be the more welcome, and the better accepted of the Philosophier, the partie auouched the ladde to bee alreadie, bothe with excellent witte, and with singular good maners and behaueour highly endued. At these wordes Diogenes saied: Why, what neede hath he than of my help, if he be alredy soche an one?

¶ He gaue a shrewd checke to the vnmeasurable praiser, who attributed to the ladde that thing for the sole atteinyng and getting whereof, children are at all tymes set and committed vnto the handling and trainyng of Philosophiers. It had been enough to praise and exalte in the childe, an honeste towardnesse, disposicion or aptitude, and good hope of well prouyng in soche thynges, as should be taught hym.

Unmeasurable laude & prayse Diogenes improued.

Honest towardnesse or aptitude and good hope is a sufficient prayse in a childe.

Those persones who talked moche of vertue, and yet did not lede a vertuous life he affirmed to be like vnto the harp, which with the soun or melody, did pleasure and good to other, but it self neither perceiued, ne heard any thing at all.

185. Such persones as talked of vertue and lyued not vertuously Diogenes likened to an harp.

1 Corinth. 13. ¶ This sayng varieth not verie moche from the sayng of saint Paule, of a tinkleyng Cymballe.

186. On a certaine daie, as the people wer comyng out from the place, where sightes and plaies wer exhibited, he on his partie with all his might, thrustyng and shouldreyng, against the throng of the people, heaued shoued and laboured to get in. And beyng asked why he so did, he saied: This am I of purpose earnestlie bent all daies of my life to doe.

The better philosophier the more earnestly bent to discord from the people.

The most part of men are led with carnall appetites.

¶ Meanyng, that to doe the duetie and parte of a right Philosophier, is, in all accions or thinges to be doen, al that euer maie be to discord and to be of contrarie waies, from the multitude or common rable of the people, for because the most parte of folkes are ledde with carnall lustes and appetites and not by reason or good discrecion.

187. Beholding a yong man, bothe of apparell and of demeanure, nothing comely ne conuenient for one that should be a man: Art thou not ashamed, quoth he, to bee more backe frende to thyself, then the minde or will of nature self hath been? For she created and made thee a man, and thou dooest disguise and reforge thyne ownself into a woman.

Howe Diogenes toke vp a young man that apparelled & demeaned himself vnmanly.

¶ Theself same wordes maie be wellspoken of many an one, whom, where as nature hath created and made men, themselves of their own voluntarie inclinacion, fallen from their proper nature and kind, to thabusions of swine, & other brute beastes.

188. When he sawe a certain minstrell, setting his instrument in tune, where hymself on his owne behalf, was a lewde and vicious feloe, and of demeanure clene out of all good order and frame, he saied: Thou feloe, art thou not ashamed of thy self, that thou knowest the waie how to sette tunes

Howe Diogenes rebuked a minstrell of inordinate maners & behaiour.

tunes in true corde vpon a piece of woode, & canst no skille to frame thy life, by the rewle of right discrecion and reason?

¶ This *Apophthegme* too, appereth to haue been deuised and drawn out of some others aboue written.

To a certain feloe, who, at what tyme Diogenes moued & auised him to the studie of sapience, found and alleged many excuses, sayng, I am nothyng apte to learne Philosophie: Why dooest thou liue in this worlde then (said he again) if thou haue no regard to lede a vertuous life?

¶ For a man doeth not liue here to this ende, that he may goe vp & doun loitryng, and nothyng els: but that he maie learne to liue in a right trade of vertue & honestie. To liue, is the gift of nature, but Philosophie giueth the gifte to liue vertuously. Nature produceth vs into this worlde apt to learn, and to take vertue, but no man is alredie endued with cunning at the first daie that he is born into this worlde.

189.
Diogenes thought that persone not worthy to liue that would not study to liue vertuously.

Philosophie geueth the gift to liue vertuously.

Nature produceth vs apt to learne, but not already learned

To a feloe that despised and would not knowe, ne looke vpon his owne father, he said: Hast thou no shame to despise that persone, to whom onely and no man els, thou art bounde to thanke euen for this veraie pointe, that thou settest so moche by thy peinted sheathe?

¶ The grace of the sayng, resteth in the collacion or comparyng of twoo contraries. For these twoo thynges will in no wise accorde, to despise an other, and to stande well in ones owne conceipte.

Hearyng a young strieplyng, of a verie well fauoured and honeste face, vsyng vn timerly communication, Art thou not ashamed, quoth he, to drawe a sworde of lead out of an ieuorie sheathe?

190.
Howe Diogenes rebuked one that despised his own father.

191.
To drawe a sworde of lead out of an ieuorie sheath.

¶ Ieuorie was taken for a precious thyng in old tyme, and moche sette by. And the minde or solle of man

The mind doth
clerely appere
in ones com-
munication.

man is couered, and (as ye would say) housed or hid-
den within the tabernacle or shrine of the body, and
doeth in a mannes communication clerely appere and
euidently shewe itself.

192.

Howe *Diogenes*
auoided a check
geuen to hym
for drinking in
a tauerne.

When a feloe had in the waie of reproch laied
vnto his charge, that he was a drinker at common
tauerns: So am I shoren at the barbers shoppe
to, quoth he again.

Totake excesse
of drinke is eu-
erywhere ab-
hominable.

¶ Signifyng, that it is no more dishonestee to
drinke then to bee rounded, or to bee shauen. And
as no man findeth faulte at beyng shauen in a barbers
shoppe, because it is a place for that thyng purposely
ordeined, so it ought not to bee thought a thing vn-
honest, if a body drinke in a common tauerne, so that
he drinke with measure and with reason: for to take
excesse of drinke, in what place soeuer it be, is a thyng
shamefull & abhominable.

193.

The answer of
Diogenes to one
objecting that
he had taken a
cope of *Philip-
pus*.

To one reprochfully casting in his nose that he
had taken a Cope or a Mantell, of Philippus the
kyng, he aunswered with a verse of Homere in
this maner.

οὔτοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα.


Giftes of honour are not to be refused,

With the which men ar by the gods endued.

The defense of
Erasmus for tak-
ing giftes &
rewards of no-
ble men or of
bishops.

¶ That *Homerus* wrote of the beautie and fauour of
the bodie (whiche is the benefite and gifte of God)
that did *Diogenes* wreste to a mantell, giuen him by a
king. Thesame verse might euen I my self also, ring
in the eares of soche persones, as do by a wrongfull
querele objecte vnto me, that I do now and then take
of noble men or of bishoppes, soche thinges as be
giuen me for to doe me honestee. There is not one
of them, of whom I haue at any time in all my life
craued any thyng, either by plaine wordes, or by other
meanes, but in deede soche thinges as thesame of their
owne voluntary willes and mere mocions, doe laye in
my

my lappe, I receiue gladly with al my heart, not so greatly for rewardes to the enriching of my purse, as for testimonies of their beneuolence and fauour to-wardes me, especially sence their habilltees are of more welthie enduement, then to wrynge at the abatement of so smal a porcion as commeth to my snapshare.

 In the thirde boke of *Homere* his *Ilias*, *Hector*, rebuking his brother *Paris*, among other wordes of reproch saieth vnto him in skorne & derision after this maner.

Your harpe and singyng melodious
With the other giftes of Venus
As, your goodlie heere, and aungels face,
So amiable, and full of grace,
Will not you saue, ne helpe, this is iuste,
When ye must lye toppleyng in the duste.


To whiche point, among other things, *Paris* maketh aunswere after this sorte.

Thou doest naught, to entwite me thus,
And with soche wordes opprobrious
To vpbraide the giftes amorous
Of the glittreyng Goddess Venus.
Neither ought a man in any wise
Proudely to refuse or els despise
Any giftes of grace and honour,
Whiche the Goddes of their mere fauour
Conferren, after their best likyng,
And no man hath of his owne takyng.

Diogenes curiously and with earnest diligence, 194.
teaching a lesson of refreining angre, a certaine saucie or knappishe young springall (as ye would saie, to take a proof and triall, whether the Philosophier would in deede shew and performe, that he taught in wordes) spetted euen in the verie face of hym. This thyng Diogenes tooke coldely and wisely, sayyng: In deede I am not angrie hitherto, but yet by saint Marie, I begin to doubt, whether I ought now of congruence to bee angrie, or not.

The patience
of *Diogenes*.

 He

 He meant that sharplie to punishe soche a saucie pranke of a lewd boie, had been a deede of almes, and of charitee.

195. Yiyng a certain persone humblie crouching and kneling to a woman of euill conuersacion of her body, for to impetrate that he desired, he said: What menest thou wretched creature that thou art? It wer moche better for thee, not to obtien that thou suest for.

To be reiected of a strompet, is a more happie thing then to be taken to fauour.

¶ To bee reiected and to haue a naie of a stroumpet is a more happie thing, then to bee taken to grace and fauour. And yet many one maketh instaunt suite to purchase their own harme and buien thesame full dere.

196. Swete sauours of the body, do cause a mans life to stinke.

To a certain persone hauyng his heere perfumed with sweete oiles: Beware sirrha quoth he, lest the sweete smelling of thy hedde, cause thy life to stinke.

A mans fame is the chief odoure that he smelleth of. Continually to smell of sweete odours is an euill sauour in a man.

¶ The Greke vocables, that giuen all the grace to the sayyng, are εὐωδία, fragraunt odour, and δυσωδία, ranke stenche. For swete oiles or pouthers, in one that should be a man, plainly argueth womanly tendernes & nicitee of the life. And thesame of euery persone, is (as ye would saie) the odour that he smelleth of. A moche like sayyng hath the Poete *Martialis*.

Neuole, non bene olet, qui bene semper olet.

O Neuolus, that man smelleth ill,

That smelleth of sweete odours euer still.

197. Masters being vicious persons and voide of grace, doe liue in worse seruitude then their boundseruants

Betweene bondeseruauntes, and their maisters, beyng vicious and euill persons he auouched to be none other point of difference, besides the names, sauing that the drudges or slaues, did seruice vnto their maisters, and the maisters vnto naughtie appetites.

Whoso is led with euery pangue of natural mocions, hath many

¶ Signifyng, bothe parties to be bondseruauntes, and yet of bothe, the maisters to liue in more miserable state of bondage then the slaues: in case the maisters be vicious persones & euill disposed, or voide of grace.

For

For whoso is led by the direccion of the corrupte mocions or appetites of the minde, hath many maisters to serue, and thesame bothe detestable, and also mercilesse, and voide of all pietee.

maisters to serue, & the same detestable & mercilesse maisters.

¶ Bondseruauntes, namely soche as be ren awayes 198.
are called in greke *ἀνδράποδα*, which vocable semeth to be compouned of *ἀνὴρ* *ἀνδρὸς* a man, & of *ποὺς* *ποδὸς*, a foote. Albeit the grammarians declare another maner propriete of signification, for they saien them to be called *ἀνδράποδα*, because that bondmen are in respecte and comparison, the feete of their maisters, and these as the heads of the seruauntes.

So when a feloe, full of vngraciousnesse and of lewde disposition had demaunded of Diogenes, vpon what original cause, bondseruauntes that would ren away from their maisters, were called by the name of *ἀνδράποδα*, Marie, (quoth he) because they haue the feete of men, and a minde or herte of soche disposition as thy selfe hast at this present, which mouest the question.

Why fugitiue bondmen are called *ἀνδράποδα* in Greke

¶ Meaning that the partie had the mynde or stomake, not of a man, but of a very brute and saluage beaste.

Of one that was a prodigal and wastfull spender of al that euer he had, he asked fourty shillings at ones, in the waye of almes. The partie meruailing at his earnest and importune crauing, asked this question of Diogenes: Where as thy vse & custome is of other men to desire an almes of an halfpenny, vpon what occasion doest thou aske of me the summe of a whole pound or two? Marie, said he again, because that of others, I am in good hope after one almes to haue another again at another season: but whether I shall euer haue anye more almes of thee, after this one time

199.

Why *Diogenes* of a prodigall waster of his goodes, asked an almes of xl. s. at ones.

time, or not, *θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται*, that is, lieth in Gods hand onely, or must bee as pleaseth God.

¶ For that halfe verse of Homere, he lynked to his sayyng, to make it perfect, because it made so directly and was so fit for his purpose. And in dede a good plain maner of knowledge geuing, it was and a shrewd likelihood, to be toward and euen at hand, to light on the necke of soch a wastful consumer of his goodes within few daies to be brought to soch extreme penurie, that he should not haue so moch as one poore halfpenny left to comfort or helpe himselve withall.

200.

Diogenes saied that *Plato* was a priue crauer and he an open asker.

Certain persones laiying to him in reproche, that he was a commen crauer, and asker of thinges at euery body his hande, where as *Plato* being a Philosophier (as he was) did not so, he saied: Well, *Plato* is a crauer as well as I,

But laiying his head to another mans eare,
That no straunge persones may it heare.

¶ For that is the englishe of this greke verse of *Homerus*.

Odyssæ, a.

ἀγχι σχὼν κεφαλὴν ἵνα μὴ πευθοίαιβ' οἱ ἄλλοι, whiche verse *Diogenes* abused in an other sense then *Homerus* did, to signifie that *Plato* was euen as great a begger and poller as he was, sauing that *Plato* did craue priuely whispering in mens eares, & he apertly, making no counsaile of it.

201.

Merily spoken.

Espiyng a feloe shooting very euill at his marke, he sate him down euen hard by the prick: and to soche persones as demaunded the cause of his so doing, he saied, lest he should by some chaunce hitte me.

¶ Signifyng, that the feloe was like to hitte what soeuer other thing it were, sooner then the marke: yet other lokers on conueighen themselves aside as ferre as possible is, wyde from the marke, for feare of catching a clappe.

Those

Those persones that shote or cast wide of their marke, or other wyse misse to hitte it, are saied properly in greke ἀτυχῆν, to lese their shotte or cast, or to shoote or cast awrie. But Diogenes auouched plainlie, not those persons to misse to lese their shot or to hitte awrie, that wer wide or short of their marke, but them that directed and leuelled their cares & studies, toward sensuall pleasures, as toward their marke or butte.

¶ For, by soche pleasures, thei seeke and desire to haue perfecte beatitude, wheras by meanes of thesame, thei fall or tumble doune, into the moste deepe pitte of miserie and wofulnesse.

202.
What persons
shoote or cast
all awry.

Through sen-
sualitee menne
fall into the
deepe pit of mis-
erie and wret-
chednesse.

Beeyng asked the question whether death were an euill thyng : By what meanes possible should it bee euill, quoth he, sens that we feele it not, at the verie houre when it is come ? And when it is awaie, it is euil or harme to no bodie. As long as a manne hath perfecte sense and feelyng, he is aliue, so then death is not yet in place, that if thesame be present, then sense and feelyng is awaie. And euill is it not, that is not felt.

203.

Howe Diogenes
argued death
not to bee an
euill thing.

¶ This maner of argumentacion or reasoning certain writers ascriben to *Epicurus*. And in deede death it self is not euil, but the iourney or passage to death is pieteous and full of miserie. Of thesame iourney if we stande in feare, all the whole life of man, what other thyng is it, but a passage or iourney toward death ?

Thei tellen that Alexander the greate, standyng at the elbowe of Diogenes, demaunded of thesame, whether he were in any drede or feare of him. Then saied the other again, Why, what art thou, a good thing, or an euill thing ? Alexander aunswered : A good thing. And who standeth in drede of a good thing (quoth Diogenes ?)

204.

The answer of
Diogenes to Al-
exander de-
maunding
whether he
stode in drede
of him.

He

¶ He plainly conuincd that a king was not to be feared, except he would to all the worlde denounce himself to be an euill or a mischieuous person. But if that wer a sufficient good argument, he might therby haue gathered & concluded that God were not to be feared.

205. Erudicion or learning, Diogenes by these
*Howe Diogenes commended
 erudicion to al
 men.* wordes commended vnto all men, alleging that thesame vnto young folkes geueth sobrenesse, to aged persones comfort and solace, to the poore richesse, to rich men ornament or beautifyng.

¶ For because that the tender youth, being of the owne propre inclination ready to fall, it brydleth and restreigneth from all inordinate demeanure, the incommodities or displeasures of a mans later daies, it easeth with honeste pastimes and recreation, vnto poore folkes it is sure costage to liue by (for they that are learned, be neuer destitute of necessaries.) And the substaunce of welthie persones, it doth gaily vernishe and adourne.

206. The Greke vocable *κόρη*, doth indifferently be-
*Of the self-
 same Didymo
 afore in the
 cviii. saiying of
 this Diogenes.* token the balle of the eie, and a virgin or a maiden. And so it was, that one Didymo, (who was in great slaundre or infamie, and had in euery bodies mouth a very euill name of being a muttonmongre) had in cure the iye of a certain young damisell. To this Didymon Diogenes saied, See that ye bruise not your cure.

¶ For that waye, the saiying maye haue some grace in englishe, by reason that the worde, cure, may be taken in a double sense, like as *Diogenes* dalied with the ambiguitee of the Greke worde, *κόρη*.

207. Being aduertised and doen to wete by a certain person, that awayte was laid for him by those whome he tooke for his frendes, to thintent that he might beware thereof and prouide for himself

himself: Why, what should a man doe (said he) if in our conuersation we shall be all in one maner case & taking, both with our frendes, and with our foes?

¶ We vse to beware of our enemies that they may not hurt vs, our frendes we do nothing mistrust. That if we shall haue nede, to be as wel ware of the one as of the other, smal pleasure or comfort it is, to liue in the worlde.

It is small pleasure to liue, if a man may not trust his frends.

Being asked What was the principall best thing in this present life, he saied libertee.

208.

The best thing in this present life, is libertee, said *Diogenes*.

¶ But that persone is not in very true libertee or fredome, who is vtterly subiect to vices: neither may he possibly be a man of perfecte freedom, that standeth in great nede of many sondrie thinges: and very many thinges wanteth the couetous persone, the ambitious persone, & whosoever is drouned in delices or sensualitee.

The couetous persone, the ambitious, or otherwise geuen to vice, can not be free

In scholehouses, there were comenly painted of an auncient custome, the Muses, as presidentes and the ladie maistresses of studies. Enttring therfore into a schole, when he sawe there many Muses, and very fewe scholares, he saied vnto the scholemaister: With the Goddes ye haue many scholars.

209.

¶ Daliyng with the phrase of greke speaking, indifferēt to be taken in a double sense, for the Grekes sayen: *ὁν θεοῖς*, with the Gods, for that that we saye in English Gods pleasure being so, or by the wil and grace of God, or & God before, or God saying amen. And sometimes the preposition, *ὁν*, which signifieth a thing ioyned with an other companion, as in this maner of speaking, that here foloeth, With many persones I toke thy part. That is to say: I & many persones mo besides me, toke thy part, or held on thy syde.

ὁν, the preposition of Greke.

Whatsoever

210. Whatsoever thing wer not of it selfe vn honest, he affirmed not to be vn honest in open presence, or in the face of all the worlde neither. Whereupon he made a reason or argument in this maner & forme. If to dyne be not a naughtie or euill thing, then to dyne abroad in the open streete is not euill neither, but to dyne is no pointe of naughtinesse, Ergo, to dyne in the mids of the streete is no euill thing neither.

Whatsoever thing were not of it self euill, *Diogenes* affirmed not to be euill in the open streete neither.

Virtuous and well disposed persones loue honestee and shamefastnes in all places.

¶ Thus ferre the Cynicall syllogisme might be reasonably borne withal, but who could abide him that after like forme of arguing would conclude, to ease the body by going to stoole, or to make water, or one to compaignie with his wyfe, or a body to turne himself naked out of al his clothes, is no euill thing, *Ergo*, to doe thesame in the open strete is no point of naughtinesse neither: Vertuous and weldisposed persones loue honestee & shamefastnesse euerywhere.

211. He auouched vse and exercitacion, as in outward actions concerning the bodie: right so, euen in the action of vertue and of the minde, to engendre both a certain celeritee or spedinesse of doing thinges, & also facilitie or easinesse to thesame.

Use in al things maketh maisteries.

- Neither 212. It was also a sayng of his, that neither is there any lawe without a citee or bodye politike, nor any citee or bodye politike without a lawe.

is ther any law without a citee, ne citee without a lawe.

213. Noblenesse of birth, or dignitee & other sembleable enhauncementes of fortune, *Diogenes* affirmed to be none other thing els but the clokes or couertes of mischief & vngratiousnesse.

Noblenesse of birth or dignitee with other high giftes of fortune *Diogenes* called the clokes of vngraciousnesse.

¶ For richemen, whereas they be not one iote better then others, yet they doen amisse and perpetrate much vn happynesse, with lesse restraint of correction or punishment, according to that, the sayng of the Poete *Flaccus*, of a ryche persone :

Et

Et quicquid volet, hoc veluti virtute peractum
Sperauit magnæ laudi fore.

Whatsoever thing, shal stand with his will,
He hath assured trust and affiaunce
To turn to his laude, be it neuer so ill,
As a thing doen by vertues gouernaunce.

And in deede the moste part of the galaunt ruffleers,
euen at this present daye, thinke all that euer them-
selves doe, to be lawfully & well doen.

Great gentle-
men thinke all
wel that them-
selues doe.

Whyle he was bondeseruaunt with Xeniadēs, 214.
his frendes wer together in communication for to
bie his fredome, and to rid him out of seruitude.
No, not so, quoth Diogenes, is it not to you
knownen, that not the Lions are as bondeser-
uauntes to those persones by whome they are
kept vp, but rather the keepers as bondeser-
uauntes to attende vpon the Lions?

Diogenes wil-
leth his frendes
not to redeme
him out of ser-
uitude.

¶ For a Lyon whersoever he is, continueth al-
wayes a Lyon.

☞ And a Philosophier is not by his condicion of seruitude any
thing the lesse a Philosophier.

When he was awaked out of his mortall slepe, 215.
that is to saye, the last that euer he had before
his death, and the Phisitian demaunded, howe it
was with him? Right well (quoth he) for one
brother embraceth the other.

¶ Alluding vnto the Poete Homere, who feigneth *Homere feign-*
θάνατον, death and *ἕπνον*, slepe to be brothers germaine. *eth death and*
For that slepe is a certain Image and representacion of *slepe to be bro-*
death. *thers germain.*

Being asked how he would be buried, he bidde 216.
that his dead carkesse should bee cast out in the
fieldes without sepulture. Then said his frendes:
What, to the foules of the aier, and to the wyld
beastes? No by saint Marie, quoth Diogenes
again, not so in no wyse, but laie me a litle
rottocke

Diogenes neglected all curiousnesse of sepulture.

rottocke harde beside me, wherwith to beat them away. The other eftsones replied, sayng : Howe shal it be possible for thee to doe so ? for thou shalt fele nothing. Why then (quoth Diogenes) what harme shall the tering, mangling, or dismembriing of the wylde beastes do vnto me, being voide of al sense & feling ?

217. *Ouermuch humanitee in a Philosophier Diogenes reproched.*

When Plato gaue a greate laude and prayse to a certain persone for this point & behalfe, that he was exceding gentle and courteous towardes al folkes : What laude or thanke is he worthy, saied Diogenes, that hauing been so many yeres a student continually occupied in philosophie, hath yet hitherto geuen no bodye a corrosif ?

The propre office of a Philosophier is to cure the vices of men.

¶ Meaning to be the proper office of a philosophier, to cure the euill condicions or vices of men, & to be vtterly impossible thesame to take effecte, but by the only meanes of feare and of grief: feare of reproche, and greif of the open shame and slaundre present.

218. Thesame Diogenes, eiying a certaine feloe of a straunge countree, in the citee of Lacedæmon, curiously trimming and decking himselfe against the solemnitee of an high feastfull daie, said : What doest thou ? is not euery daie without exception highe and holy to an honest man ?

To a vertuous and wel disposed persone euery daie is high and holy. All this vniuersal world is the temple of God.

God presently beholdeth all thinges.

With idle persones it is euermore holiday.

¶ He meened all this vniuersall world to be a temple for God conuenient, in the whiche man being constitute and set, ought of his bounden dutie, to behaue himselfe and to liue perpetually after an honest sorte, as in the sight & face of the deitee, who presently beholdeth all things, and from whose yie nothing is or may be hidden. And to this matter he wrested the prouerbe, in whiche it is saied : That with the slouthfull and idle lubbers that loue not to do any werke, euery day is holiday.

It

It was his commen sayyng vnto young striepelinges being towardes mans state, Syrrha, go into the houses of harlots, that thou maiest thoroughly see, what vile and filthy thinges, how derely they ar bought.

¶ To this matter alluded *Terence*, sayyng: All this geare to knowe, is helth and safegarde vnto youth.

Unto the helth and safegarde of a man, he said that it was nedefull to haue, either feithfull frendes, or els eagre enemies. In consideracion, that the one geuen a bodye gentle warning of his faulte and the others doen openly reprove and checke.

¶ So bothe parteis (in deede after contrarie sortes) but yet equally, doen to vs benefite and profite, while by thesame we learne our faultes. This sayyng doth *Laertius* appointe to *Antisthenes*, and *Plutarchus* to *Diogenes*.

Being asked by a certain persone, by what meanes a body might best be auenged of his enemye, he aunswered: If thou shalt from time to time approue and trie thyselfe a vertuous and an honest manne.

¶ This point whosoeuer doth accomlishe, both doth to himselfe moste high benefite, and in the best wyse possible vexeth and tormenteth his enemies. For if a mans eiuill willer beholdinge his ground well tilled and housbanded, is therewith greued at the very herte roote, howe shal it be with him, if he see thine owne-selfe beautified and adourned with the substanciall and vndoubted Iewels of excellent vertue?

When he came to visite *Antisthenes* liyng sicke in his bedde, he spake vnto the same in this maner. Hast thou any neede of a frende?

¶ Signifyng, that men should in time of affliction, moste of all be bolde on their feithfull and trustie frendes,

219.

What goodnesse may bee gotten by the consideration of harlots facion.

220.

Unto the safegarde of mene it is nedefull to haue either feithful frendes or els eagre enemies.

221.

Howe one may best be auenged on his enemye.

222.

Men should in affliction moste


of all be bolde
on their frendes

frendes, whiche may either helpe them in very deede,
or els by geuing good wordes of comfort, ease some
portion of their grief and woe.

223. Unto thesame Antisthenes, at another season
(for because it had come to his eare, that the-
same Antisthenes, for loue and desire that he
had to liue, did take his sicknesse somewhat
impaciently) he entreed with a woodknife by his
side. And when Antisthenes bemoning himselfe
had saied vnto him : Alas, who will dispetche &
ridde me out of these my peines? Diogenes
(the hanger shewed foorth) said : Euen this same
feloe here. Naye quoth Antisthenes (replyng
again) I saied, out of my peines, not out of my
life.


Death riddeth
a body out of
peines.

Antisthenes
was loth to die.

224. Making a iourney vnto the citee of Corinthus,
he entreed the schoole whiche  Dionysius
being expulsed and driuen out of his kingdome,
had ther set vp. And heard his boyes saye
their lessons veray naughtyly. Dionysius in the
meane whyle coming in, because he thought
verely that Diogenes had come to comfort him,
saied : It is gently doen of you Diogenes, to
come and see me. And loe, soche is the multa-
bilitie and chaunge of fortune. Yea, quoth Dio-
genes again, but I meruaill, that thou art suffreed
still to liue, that diddest perpetrate so much mis-
chief in the time of thy reigne. And I see,
that thou art in al behalves, euen as lewd a schole-
maister now, as thou wer an euill king afore.

What *Diogenes*
entreyng the
schole of *Di-*
onysius, saied
vnto him.

Dionysius as
lewd a schole-
maister, as he
had ben a king
afore.

 There reigned in *Sicilia* *Dionysius* the father, and next after hym *Dionysius*
the sonne, who for his moste horrible tyraunie was expulsed out of his kyngdome,
and afterwarde receiued again, but at last, by finall exterminion banished for euer.
And being expulsed from *Syracuse*, he went to *Corinthus*, and there after that he
had a certain space liued a bare life, at length, for very extreme nede, he was driuen
to excogitate some waye and meanes whereby to get his liuing. Whereupon he sette
vp a schoole and teaching of children, and so continued vntill his dyng daye.

Another

Another of the saynges of thesame Diogenes 225.
was this: Emong the other sortes of men, to
suche as liue in welthe and prosperitee, life is
sweete, and death hatefull: & contrarie wyse, to
soche as are with calamitee and misfortune op-
pressed, life is greuous, and death to be wished
for: but vnto tyrannes both life and death are
painfull and coumbrous.

Unto Tyrans
bothe lyfe and
death are com-
breous.

¶ For like as they liuen more vnpleasauntely, then
those persones who doen euery daye with all their
heartes wyshe to die, euen so doen they none other-
wyse stande in continual dred and feare of death, then
if thei ledden the moste sweete and pleasaunt life in all
the worlde.

To a certaine persone that shewed him a diall: 226.
In feith, quoth he: A gaye instrument, to saue
vs from being deceiued of our supper.

Diogenes disal-
lowed Geome-
trie with the
other sciences
Mathematical

¶ Meaning the arte of Geometrie, with all other
the sciencies *Mathematicall, to bee to very litle vse or
purpose.

*The artes or
sciencesMathe-
maticall, are,
227. Geome-
trie, Mu-
sike, Arithme-
tik and Astro-
logie.

To another feloe making great vaunte of his
cunning in musike and in playinge on instru-
mentes, he made aunswere with these two greke
verses:

γνώμῃς γὰρ ἀνδρῶν εὖ μὲν οἰκοῦνται πόλεις,
εὖ δ' οἶκος, οὐ ψαλμοῖσι καὶ τερετίσμασιν.

By the prudent auise of men veraily
The states of citees are well preserued.
With the glye of carolles and mynstrelsie,
Priuate housholding is not wel maintained.

Housholding
is not mainte-
ned with sing-
ing & piping.

When Speusippus being impotent by reason of 228.
shaking with the palsey, was carried in a wagen
toward the schoole called *Academia, and to
Diogenes meting him on the waye by chaunce,
had said, χαῖρεις, Well art thou: So art not thou
(quoth

*Academia was
a place full of
groues, one
mile from the

citee of *Athenes*. And it was called *Academia* of one *Academus* a noble man that had there inhabited. In the same ground was a mainour place in which *Plato* was borne, & in the same afterward taught philosophie, of whom for that cause the Philosophiers of his sect haue been from thence hitherto named *Academici*.

‡ *Speusippus* was a Philosophier of *Plato*'s secte, brought vp vnder him, and in teaching his schole succeeded him, and continued viii. yeres maister of that schole. He was *Plato*'s sisters daughters sonne. At length he killed him selfe for paine and sorow being a very aged man, albeit *Plutarchus* & some others written that he died of lice continually growling out of his fleshe as *Scylla* and *Herode* did.

229. When he sawe a little boye vnmanerly behauing himself, he gaue the creansier or tutour, that had the charge of bringing vp the same childe, a good rap with his staf, sayng: Why doest thou thus teach thy pupill?

It is to be imputed vnto the bringers vp, if youth proue well manered or otherwyse.

¶ Notifiyng that it is principally to be imputed vnto the breakers and instructours of tendre childhood at the beginning, if youth proue well manered, or otherwise. The reporters of the tale are *Aphthonius* and *Priscian*.

230. To a certain persone obiecing pouertee vnto him in reproche, wheras himself was a feloe full of naughtinesse & mischief, he said: I neuer yet sawe any man put to open punishment for his pouertee, but for knauery many one.

231. To pouertee he gaue a prety name, calling it, *ἀπὸρῆν αὐτοδίδακτον*, a vertue that is learned by itself without a teacher.

Pouertee a vertue lerned without a teacher.

¶ Riche folkes haue nede of many rewles, preceptes, and lessons, that is to wete, to liue a frugall or sobre life, to exercise their bodies with labours, not to set their

their delite or felicitie in pompeous or stately apparel-
 ling and deckyng of the body, & others mo out of
 nombre, all which thinges pouertee teacheth hir owne
 self without any other scholemaister.

Riche folkes
 haue neede of
 many lessons
 to doe well.

¶ Next after these three Philosophiers, but the same in
 this kynde, most excelleng, we shall adde like nombre of
 kynges & no mo, whiche for their saynges with ciuillitee
 and good facion replenyshed, haue a name
 of honour aboue all other kinges.

That we may not with to
 many thinges pestre
 and cloy the
 Reader.





THE II. BOOKE.

¶ *The sayniges of Philippus.*

KYNG OF MACEDONIE.

OF al the kinges, that among the Grekes in auncient time haue reigned, in my sentence and mynde hath not ben one, whome we maye with *Philipus* king of the *Macedonians*, and father of *Alexander* the great, worthely compare, either in dexteritee and good conueighaunce of witte, or els in disporte of sayniges consisting within the boundes of honestee and good maner.

This Philipus vsed many a time and oft to say, that him thought the Athenians to be much happie, who could euery yeaere finde the full nombre of tenne sondry persones, whom to create their Capitains for battaill: where he for his parte in many yeres had founde one sole Capitaine for warfare onely, that is to wete, *Parmenio*.

¶ Signifyng to be a thing litle to the benefite of a commen weale, euery other whyle to chaunge the Capitaines, but to be muche better, when ye haue ones found a fitte or mete man for the purpose and trustie withall, in no wyse to chaunge thesame for a newe. Ferther and besides that, to make no force how many Capitaines ther be in nombre, but howe apt and mete for conueighing a battaill, and for warre keeping.

When tidinges was brought vnto him, that many sondry thinges had in one daie happely and

Philipus king of the *Macedonians*, & father of *Alexander* the great, first conquered *Athenes* and brought all grece vnder his subiection. A manne of all writers muche praised for his greate humanitee, curtesie & most princely gentlenesse.

I.

Parmenio the onely capitaine of *Philipus* his warres.

Often to change Capitaines to be vnprofitable to a commen weale. It forceth not how many Capitaines there be, but how meete for keeping warre.

2.

The praier
of *Philippus*
when he had
nondrie good
chaunces all
in one daie.

and prosperously fortunèd on his side, and for his behouf (for at one and thesame tyme Tethrippò had gotten the price and chief maisterie at Olympia, and Parmenio had in battaill discoum-fected or vanquished the Dardanians, and his quene Olympias had been brought a bedde of a sonne,) lifting vp his handes on high to heauen, he cried with a loude voice, and saied : And thou lady fortune, for so many and the same so greate good chaunces, dooe me no more but some light & small shrewd turne again, at an other season.

The cockering
of fortune is to
be suspected &
mistrusted.

¶ This man beyng of passyng high prudence, & moste profounde experience or knowlege in the course of the world, did not insolently skippe and leape, or shewe tokens of ioyfull gladnesse for his well spedying, or for the successe of thynges, but rather did suspect and mistrust the cockeryng of fortune, whose nature he knewe to bee, that to whom she werketh vtter confusion and exterminion, thesame persones she doeth firste laugh vpon, and flatre with some vnquod prosperitee of thinges. To this matter apperteineth that *Plinius* reporteth of **Polycrates* the tyranne of the *Samians*.

* *Valerius*
Maximus, and

the other Historiographiers written, that *Polycrates* the Tyranne of the *Samians*, had liued many yeres, in soche incomparable prosperitee, that in all his affaires either publique or priuate, neuer any thing went against him, nor any mischaunce fell vnto him, in so moche that being, (as ye would saie) wearie of soche continuall successe of thinges, euen in despite of good fortune, (to the ende that it might not bee saied of him, that he neuer had in all his life any losse, or mischaunce,) as he rowed in the sea for his pleasure and solace, he willingly and of purpose cast away into the sea a golde ring with a precious stone in it, of valour vneth estimable. And yet in soch wyse did fortune flatre him, that within a daie after, his cooke founde thesame ring in the bealy of a fyshe, whiche he garbaiged to dresse for his Lordes diner, and restored to thesame his own ring again. Yet this notwithstanding, in his later daies fortune chaunged hir copie, and *Polycrates* taken prysoner by *Orontes* the high Capitain or leutenant of *Darius* king of the *Persians*, was after moste painfull and moste greuous tormentes, hanged vp on a iebette vpon the top of an high hill. The wordes of *Plinius*, whiche *Erasmus* here speaketh of, are in the first chapter of the .37. volume of his naturall historie, in maner and forme as foloeth. Of this originall begon auctoritee and dignitee in precious stones, auanced in processe and hoysed to so high loue, desirefulnesse and fansie of men, that vnto *Polycrates* of *Samos* the rigorous tyranne of all the Isles and sea coastes of the countree in the voluntarie losse & damage of one precious stone, semed a sufficient and large emendes for his felicitie and prosperous fortune (whiche felicitie euen himselfe

himselfe would oftentimes plainly confesse and graunte of very conscience to bee ouer greate) if he might bee euen with the rolling and mutabilitie of fortune, and touch touch like, mocke hir as wel again: & that he plainly thought himself to be largely raunsoned, and bought out of the enuie of thesame continuall prosperitee, if he had had no more but this one sole greife or hertesore, to byte him by the stomake. Being therefore cleane weried with continuall ioye and gladnesse, he rowed in a vessell for his pleasure, a great way into the chanell of the streame, and wilfully cast one of his ringes into the sea. But a fishe of exceeding bignes, (euen by destiney appointed to bee a present for a king) euen purposely to shewe a myracle, with a trice snapped vp thesame in stede of feeding, and by the handes of fortune awayting him an euill turne, restored it again into the kechin of the owner thesaid *Polycrates*.

After that he had subdued all the Grekes, 3.
when certain persones moued him & would haue had him to kepe the citees with garisons, that thei might not forsake him, or fall from him againe, he saied, I haue more will and desire, long time to be called good and easie or gentle to awaye withal, then for a fewe dayes and no longer, to be called souerain.

¶ Mening a reigne or empier, that wer with benefites and with hertie loue holden, to be for euer perpetuall that by power and dred onely, to be of no long continuance.

A reigne or empier with benefites and hertie loue holden, is perpetuall.

A certain buisie open mouthed feloe was a daily and a commen speaker of railing wordes against Philippus. And so it was that his frendes aduised him thesame feloe to exile and banishe the countree. But he saied, that he would in no wise do it, and to them greatly meruailling why, he saied: Lest that he wandring and rousing about from place to place shall report euill of me among mo persones.

4.
Philippus contemned a feloe that vsed daily to speake rayling wordes against him.

¶ That he did not hange the railer vpon the galoes, was either a point of clemencie and mercifulnesse that he forgaue him, or els of magnanimitee and princely courage that he contemned him: that he would in no wyse driue him out of the countree, came of prudence. For the feloe beyng in straunge places should haue ben able to do to him the more vilanie.

Smicythus

The clemencie
and modera-
tion of Philip-
pus.

5. Smicythus complained to the king vpon Nicanor that he still without ende spake euill of the king. And when the frendes of Philippus aduised him, that he should commaunde the feloe to be fet, and so to punish him, Philippus answered in this maner. Nicanor is not the worste of all the Macedonians. It is therfore our parte to see lest we do not our duetie, but be slacke in some thing that we should doe hereupon, after that he had knowledge thesame Nicanor to be greuously oppressed with pouertee, & yet to be neglected and nothing looked on by the king, he commaunded some gift or reward to be borne to him. This dooen, when Smicythus eftsons enformed the king, that Nicanor did in al companignies without ende reporte muche prayse and goodnesse of him: Now then, ye see (quoth Philippus) that it lieth in our selves, to haue a good report, or euill.

It lieth in our
selves, to bee
wel or euill
spoken of.

¶ An exceding thing it is, how ferre odde those persones are from the nature of this prince, whiche neuer thincken them selves to be praysed enough wheras they do nothing worthie laude or praise, neither doe they study with benefites to wynne or allure beneuolence & harty good wil of men, but haue more appetite & fansie to be dreded, then to be loued. And whereas they doe oftentimes perpetrate thinges to be detested and that in the open face of al the worlde, yet fare wel his life for a halpenny that presumeth or dareth so hardie in his hedde, as ones to open his lippes against them.

Philippus
oughed most
hartie thanks
to the rewlars
of the *Athen-
iens*, for their
railling at him.

6. He saied, that to those, who in ordring or administring the commen weale of the Atheniens were the chief ring leders he was much bound to ough most hertie thanks, for that by reason of their reprocheful railyng at hym, thei caused hym aswell in vsyng his tongue, as also in his maners, and behauour to proue moche the more honest

honest man, while I endeouour my self, quoth he, aswell by my wordes, as by my doynges, to make & proue them liers.

¶ O the right Philosophicall harte of this prince, who had the waie, euen of his enemies, also to take vtilitee and profite, neither (as the common sorte of men are wont) to this sole thyng to haue an iye how to do scathe, & to werke some mischief, to soche as railled on hym, but that hymself might be emended & made lesse euil, being wel admonished & put in remembrance of himself, by their slaundrous reporting.

The right philosophical hert of *Philippus*.

Howe to take vtilitee & profite of a mans enemie.

When he had freely perdoned and let go at their libertie the Atheniens, as many as euer had been taken prisoners in battaill at Cheronæa, and thei, not thinkyng that to be enough, required also to haue restitution of their apparell, & all their baggage, and did for thesame entre accions of detinue, and commense suite against the Macedoniens, Philippus laughed, sayng : What ? Doeth it not appere, the Atheniens to deme and iudge, that thei haue been ouercomed by vs, at the hucklebones ?

7.

Of *Cheronea* it is aforesaide & at this *Cheronea* did *Philippus* conquere and subdue al *Grece*.

¶ So mildely did he beyng the conquerour, take the vnthankfulnessse of persones by hym conquered & subdued who did not onely, not render thanks ne saie remercies, for that thei had been let bothe safe and sounde, and also without any penie of raunsome payng to escape, but also with naughtie language sued the *Macedonians*, and laied to their charges, because thesame did not also restore vnto them, bothe their apparell, and also all their other ragges and baggage. As though thei knewe not of what nature the Lawe of armes was, and as though, to trie the matter with dinte of swearde, were nothyng els, but to trie it at the *huckle bones, whiche is a game for boies and children.

The ciuillitee of *Philippus*.

The ingratitude of the *Athenians* towards *Philippus*.

ἀσπράγαλος
is in Latin, *talus*.

lus, and it is the little square huckle bone, in the ancle place of the hinder legge in all beastes, sauing man, and soche beastes as haue fingers, as for example, Apes and Mounkeis, except also beastes that haue the houe of the fote not clouen, but whole

whole. With these hucklebones they had a game in olde time, as children haue at this daye also, whiche game was in this maner. If the caster chaunced to cast that syde vpwarde, whiche is plaine, it was called, *Canis* or *Canicula*, and it stode in stede of blanke or of an ace, and that was the lest and worst that might be cast, & the caster should thereby wynne no part of the stakes, but was of force constrained in the waye of repele to laye downe to the stake one peece of coyne, or one point, or one counter, or one whatsoeuer thinges were plaied for, and to take vp none at al. The contrary to this (whiche was the holowe syde) was called *Venus* or *Cous*, and that was cocke, the best that might be cast. For it stode for a sixe, by whiche casting, the caster should winne and take vp from the stakes, six pieces of coyne, or sixe poyntes, or sixe counters, &c., and besides that, al the repeles by reason of *Canis* found sleping. The other two sydes of the hucklebone wer called, the one *Chius*, by whiche the caster woonne & toke vp three, and the other *Senio*, by whiche the caster gotte & toke vp fower. In the hucklebones, there was no dewce, nor cinque. This was the commen game, but there wer other games, as there ben varietee of games in diceplayng, whiche dice they called, *Tesseras*, of their squarenesse. Albeit, *Tali* are sometimes vsed for *Tesseras*, and taken to signifie diceplayng as euen here also it may be taken.

8. When the canell bone of his throte, or his chest bone had been brooken in battaile, & the Surgeon that had him in cure, was from daye to daye euer crauing this and that, he saied : Take euen vntil thou wilt saie hoe, for thou hast the keie thyself.

The ciuillitee of
Philippus.

¶ Daliyng with a word that might be in double sense taken. For the Greke voyce κλεις, signifieth both a keye, soche as a cupborde or a dore is opened withall, and also the canell bone, or chestbone, that knitteth together a mans shoulder with the breste. And what thing could there be of more ciuillitee, then this the herte of Philippus, who had a pleasure to vse iesting wordes and to be mery, both in his dolorous greef, and also towardes his couetous Surgeon, neither to be for his moste painfull smarte any thinge the more waywarde or testie, nor with the importunitie of the incessaunt crauer any thing displeased or offended.

9. There were two brethren, of whome the ones name was in Greke Amphoteros, whiche vocable souneth in englishe, both : the name of the other Hecateros which by interpretacion souneth in englishe, the one and the other. Philippus therefore espiyng and marking the saied Hecateros to be a prudent feloe, and a fitte man to haue doinges

doinges in thinges, & contrariwyse Amphoterōs to be a loutyshe persone, vnmete to haue doings, and a very beast: clene turned, and countreframed their names, affirming, that Hecateros was Amphoterōs, and Amphoterōs was to be named Vdeterōs, whiche souneth in english neither of bothe.

¶ Signifyng the one of the brethren, that is to wete, *Hecateros*, in himselfe to comprise the vertues and good qualitees of both twain, and the other brother to haue in him not so muche as one good point or propertee. Therfore the name of him that was called *Amphoterōs* he chaunged to the contrarie that he should bee named *Vdeterōs*, in token that he was for the respect of his qualitees not to be esteemed worth a blewe point or a good lous.

To certain persones, geuing him counsaill, that he should deale with the Atheniens and handle them after a more sharpe and rigorous sort then he did, he aunswered that they did against all reason in that they aduised him, both doing & suffring althinges onely for mere glorie and renoume to cast awaye the staige of thesame his glorie and renoume, whiche he studied and laboured to achiue.

¶ Signifying that he studied and went about, not how to destroye the citee of Athenes, but how to aproue and to commend his vertues or good qualitees, vnto that right famous citee being in moste florant state by reason of the great aboundaunce and multitude of many excellent high clerkes and men of learning in the same citee reciaunte.

Two feloes being like flagitious, and neither barell better herring, accused either other, the kyng Philippus in his own persone sitting in iudgement vpon them. The cause all heard, he gaue

IO.
Philippus called the citee of *Athenes*, the staige of his glorie & renoume, that is to saie, the place in whiche all the worlde might vieue & behold his glorie.

Athenes in the time of Philippus flourished with the aboundaunce of many excellent highe clerkes.

II.
The iudgement of Philippus vpon two flagitious feloes ac-

cusing either
other before
him.

gaue sentence and iudgement, that the one shoulde with all spede and celeritee auoide or flee the royalme or countree of Macedonia, and the other shoulde pursue after him.

¶ Thus Philippus acquitted neither of them bothe, but condemned both the one and the other with banishment.

12. When he addressed to pitch his tentes in a faire goodly ground and was put in remembrance, that there was in that place no feeding for the horses and other catals, he saied: What maner of life is this that we haue, if we must of force so liue, as may be for the commoditee of asses?

The miserable
condicion of
warfare.

13. When he had prefixed and appointed to take a certain castle and fortresse being very strong and well fensed, and his spies had brought word again, to be a thing out of perauentures hard to doe, Yea and (the south to say) vtterly vnpossible: he demaunded whether it wer of soche hardnesse and difficultee, that it were not possible for an asse being heauie loden with gold to haue accesse and entraunce or passage vnto it.

There is no-
thing but that
with golde it
may be ouer-
comed & won.

**Abas* the xii.
king of the
Argiues, had a
sonne called
Acrisius,
whiche *Acri-
sius* succeded
his father in
the kingdome
of the saied
Argiues, and
had onely
one daughter
called *Danae*, a goodly and a passing beautifull ladie. And so it was, that *Acrisius*

¶ Signifiyng, that there is nothing so strongly fensed, but that it may with golde be wonne. Which very selfsame thing the Poetes haue signified by the fable of **Danae* by *Iupiter* defloured, but not until thesame God *Iupiter* had first transformed himself into gold, wherof the poet *Horatius* speaketh in this maner.

Aurum per medios ire satellites,
Et perrumpere amat castra potentius
Ferro.

Golde hath a fansie, and great delite,
Through harnessed men, passage to ieperde,
And to make waye through tentes of might
More forceably then deynthe of sweorde.

had

had knowledge geuen to him, by an oracle, or voice coming from heauen, that he should be slaine of his daughters sonne. Wherefore he enclosed and shut vp the saied *Danae* his daughter in a very strong toure, and there kept hir, to thentent that she might neuer haue sonne. At lenth *Iupiter* in forme of a shoure raining dropes of golde gotte *Danae* with childe. So by *Iupiter* she had a sonne called *Perseus*. Whiche thing being come to light, and being knowen, hir father set both hir & hir infant childe enclosed in a trough or trounke of wood in the wilde sea. So was she carried by auentures on the sea, vntill she arriued in *Italie*, and there *Pilumnus* the king, and graundfather of *Turnus*, toke hir to wyfe. And afterward *Perseus* being ones come to mans stature killed *Medusa*, and deliuered *Andromeda*. And at last returning to *Argos*, he slew the king *Acrisius* his graundfather (according to the prophetic) and reigned in his stede.

When those persones that wer at Lasthenes 14.
found theimselfes greued, and toke highly or
furnishly, that certain of the traine of Philippus
called theim traitours, Philippus aunswered, that
the Macedonians wer feloes of no fine wytte in
their termes but altogether grosse, clubbishe, and
rusticall, as the whiche had not the witte to cal a
spade by any other name then a spade.

The *Macedo-*
nians wer plain
feloes in cal-
linge eche
thing by its
right name.

¶ Alluding to that the comen vsed prouerbe of
the Grekes, calling figgues, figgues: and a bote a
bote. As for his mening was, that they wer traitours
in very deede. And the fair flatte truthe, that the vp-
landishe, or homely and playn clubbes of the countree
dooen vse, nameth eche thing by the right names.

τὰ σῦκα σῦκα
τὴν σκαφήν
σκαφήν
λέγων.

It was his guyse to aduertise his sonne Alex-
ander after a courteous and familiar gentle sort
to vse himselfe and to liue with the Macedonians,
and through beneuolence & hertie loue in the
meane time purchaced abroad among the com-
minaltie, to gather vnto him mighte and puis-
saunce, while during the time of an other mans
reigne it lay in him without any his harm or
hinderaunce to shewe humanitee and gentlenesse.

15.
A good lesson
to all younge
princes.

¶ Like a prudent and an expert man right well per-
ceiuing and vnderstanding, like as an empier by no
earthly thyng better or more fermely to be establyshed,
then by the hertie loue and good will of the subiectes
towards their prince, euen so, to be a thing of moste
highe

A kyng maye
not to all per-
sones without
exception shew
fauour.

Haynous
transgressions
must of necessi-
tee be suppres-
sed by due cor-
rection & pun-
ishment.

Kinges must
so ferre extend
fauour, that
thei may in the
mean time not
empeche their
autoritee and
state royall.

highē difficultee & hardnesse for any persone that hath ones taken vpon him the office of a king, & hath nowe alreadie in hande the gouernaunce and ordning of a royalme or emper, towardes all parties without exception, to shewe gentlenesse and fauour, not onely because the office and power of a king, lieth in the open waye to be enuiēd, but also for that a commeweale may not possibly be preserued and kept in perfect good state, onlesse haynous transgressions be restrained and suppressed by due punishment and correction. For kynges must so ferre extēde humanitee and fauour towardes their subiectes, as they maye in the meane time accordingly vpholde and maintain their autoritee and estate royall. For goodnesse & fauour, without ende or measure shewed is many a time and oft the mother of contempte.

16. Thesame Alexander, he auised and counsailed, that he should winne and make frendes vnto him, all suche persones both honest and vn timer, good and badde, as beare any rule, stroke or autoritte in the commē weale, and that the good men he should vse, and the euil persones he should abuse, that is to saie, applie to some good vse, that of themselves they are not apte nor inclined vnto.

Kynges must
vse honest per-
sones, & abuse
the vn timer.

The chief feact
of kinges, is to
reiecte no per-
sone, but to
make all per-
sones profita-
ble to the com-
mon weale.

Wise princes
haue the feacte
to make profit-
able instru-
mentes, aswell
of the euil per-
sones, as of the
good.

¶ The chief and highest feacte of kinges is to reiecte no persone, but rather to applie the labour and seruice of all men to the publike vtilitee and profite. As almighty God being the only Monarche and prince of the whole vniuersall world abuseth the euil spirites and the weeked men, to the vtilitee and profite of the churche, so, princes of high wisdomē and policie haue the feacte to make instrumentes as wel of the honest persones as of the vn timer, not that themselves been workers of any euill thing, by the helpe of the euil persones, but that by the euill, they doe punishe the euill. Nerethelesse, many princes there be, which
contrarie

contrarie to the right course, doen abuse the good men and vse the euil. In executing matters of cruell tyranny, thei associate and ioyned vnto them soche persones as for the opinion of holinesse are famous & of great name, to thentent that the people should esteeme all thing that they doe, to be good and godly.

Thesame Philippus when he laye for hostage 17.
and pledge in the citee of Thebes, soiourned and was lodged in the house of one Philo a Thebane, and besides his high entretainment in that behalf, he receiued at the handes of thesame Philo many high beneficiall pleasures. And when the saied Philo would in no wise take any rewarde or gifte of Philippus again. Naye, (quoth Philippus) robbe me not now (by leauing me behind hande in bountifulnesse,) of that laude and prayse whiche hetherto I haue euer had, that, yet vnto this present daye no man hath passed me, or gon beyond me in doing mutuall pleasures & benefites.

Neuer man did
any thing for
Philippus but
that *Philippus*
did as muche
for him again.

¶ Oh an hert and stomake worthy a crowne imperial. He demed it a more high and ioly thing to haue the ouerhand in doing deedes of bountie then in the prerogative of power.

When a great many hauing been taken prisoners in warre, wer in sellinge, Philippus sate at the portesale, his garment or robe short tucked vp about him, muche vncomely. And so it was, that one of the captiues that was to be solde, cried with loude voice: Be good and gracious lorde vnto me O Philippus, and graunt me pardon, for I am your frende, and my father was an olde frende of yours. And Philippus demanding in this maner, howe so good feloe, and by what meanes is this frendship betwene vs two come about? If I may approche nerer to your
grace

grace, quoth the partie, I shall shewe you. And being here vpon licenced & bidden so to doe, as though he should haue told him some secret matter in his eare, the feloe said : Sir, let down your cape a litle more about you, for after this cutted facion as it sheweth now, ye sitte wondrous euilfaouredly and vnsemely for a king. Immediatly saied Philippus, let this feloe depart free. For I knew not till now, that he was to me in verye deede a welwiller, and a frende.

Philippus being a great king was nothing displeased to haue fault found at him.

The beneficence of Philippus.

¶ Being so great a king, he was nothing greued ne displeased, neither with the coulourable pretense, nor with the fault finding or admonicion of a feloe that was to him a straunger of none acquaintance : but did all vnder one, both with mutual simulation on his partie couer and keepe secrete the colorable doyng of the saied feloe, and also recompense that very slendre pointe of kyndnesse with the great and highe rewarde of free charter and dimission, when he stode to be solde as a bondeman.

19. Being on a time, by an especial frend of olde acquaintance, desired to a supper, in going thitherward, he tooke with him to be his geastes a great many that he happely mette on the waye as he went. But when he perceiued the partie, whiche receiued him into his house, to be sore dismaied, for that the purueiaunce that he had made, was nothinge nere enough for so great a compaignie, he sent a ladde aforehand about to euery of his frendes then present, and bid them to keepe a corner of their stomakes for the tartes, wafrie, and iounkettes, that wer to be serued and to com in after the meat. Thei being brought in full beleef therof, while they gaped for tarte and other like confections, fed litle or nothing on the other

other cates, so came it to passe, that the supper was sufficient to serue all the companie.

¶ With this pleasaunt mery toye, he both made his frendes beleue the moone to be made of a grene chese, and also founde a waye to saue the honestee of him that made the supper.

Hipparchus of Euboia being deceased, Philip-
pus by manifest tokens declared how heauily he
toke his death. Whereupon, to a certain persone
being desirous to mitigate and asswage his do-
loure, and alleging in this maner: Well, he is at
a conuenient age and time departed, being nowe
already wel stricken in yeares, Yea (quoth Philip-
pus) for his owne parte in deede, he is at a con-
uenient age departed, but to meward, long afore
his daye. For death hath by preuencion taken
him away before that he hath receiued at my
hande any benefite worthie and meete for the
frendship that was betwene him and me.

20.
*Why Philippus
so greuously &
so heauily toke
the death of
Hipparchus an
Euboian.*

*The liberall
herte of Philip-
pus.*

¶ It is a very rare thing in Princes to feele the mo-
cions and pangues of the graces, but many noble men
vsen their frendes none other wyse, but euen as they
doen their horses. As long as they be able to doe
them seruice they set by theim and keepe theim, when
they be past occupiying and doing any more seruice
they ridde and dispetche their handes of thesame, and
shift them away. Yea and rather spoyle them of that
they haue, then doe them good or helpe them with
condigne benefites or preferment.

When he had secret knowlege brought vnto
him that Alexander his sonne found himselfe
greued, for that his father was a getter of children
by sondrie weomen he gaue vnto Alexander an
exhortation, in this maner. Well then, sens it is
so that thou hast mo feloes beside thyselfe to
stand in election for to haue this emper and to

21.
*The exhorta-
tion of Philip-
pus to his
sonne Alexan-
der.*

weare the crowne after my deceasse, so applie thyselfe that thou maiest at length proue an honest or vertuous and a well-disposed man, that thou maiest appeare to haue achiued the crowne not by me, but by thyne owneselfe.

It is not of so great moment, to haue an emper, as to bee worthy to be a kyng.

¶ This man with right princely wisdom and experience endeued, did not with swete wordes put his sonne in any comforte, but put thesame ferther in feare, to the ende that he might the more pricke him forthward vnto vertue, geuing notice and intimacion that ther was none other waye for him to conceiue any hope to be king after him, except he shewed himself a man worthy to succede in the crowne, neither to be of so great moment to attein and get an emper, as worthily to haue deserued to be a kyng of a royalme.

Howe Philip-
pus exhorted
his sonne Alex-
ander to the
studie of Philo-
sophie.

22. He exhorted thesame Alexander that he should geue good eare and attend well to Aristotle, to whome he had been committed to be broken and brought vp, and that he should diligently applye himself to the studie of philosophie, Lest that thou doe committe and perpetrate (quoth he) many things, whiche thinges in time past to haue doen, it doth nowe repent me.

A learned kyng
an vnestimable
treasure.

¶ Right wel perceiued this excellent wyse prince that no man beyng vntraded in philosophie, is an apt and mete persone to be a king. Neither was he ashamed to confesse that he had through errour doen amyse in many thinges, by reason that he had not euen from his tendre babeship ben nousled in the preceptes of philosophie. For those persones, who by their own mere practise assaiyng & experimentes, doe learne to ordre & gouerne a royalme and to execute the office of a king, although they haue euen from their mothers wombe, been of neuer so excellent high witte, yet both ouerlate, & also to the great scathe and impeachment of the commen weal, after long processe of yeres they

they grow to be good kynges. But * who cometh to the administration of a roialme, armed aforehand with the holsome preceptes and rules of philosophie, if there be in him a mynde and herte with no spice of corruption entangleed, it shall vneth lye in his power to swerue from the perfect right trade of honestie and vertue. Where ben thei now, which yalle & rore, that learning and the studie of philosophie is vtterly nothing available to the gouernaunce and administration of a commen weale?

He had created and autorised one of the frendes of Antipater to be of the nomber of the iudges. But afterward, when it was come to his knowlege that the partie vsed to dye his beard and his heare, he deposed thesame again and discharged him of that office, alleging that who in the heare of his head was not faithfull and vpright, the same in publike doinges semed full euill worthy to be put in trust.


¶ He vsed deceipt & falshod in diyng his heare, whereby was no great auantage ne gaine to be gotten, muche more was it like that he would vse deceipte and falsehod in publike affaires, where guile dooeth at a time auantage to a man a good pot of wine. And this ought to bee the chief care of kynges, that they put in autoritee persones vpright and void of all corruption to be head officers in hearing and iudging of causes. And howe may that possibly be, where the offices of sitting in iudgement be sold for money, and that persone appointed and made iudge, not that passeth others in honestee and goodnesse, but that cometh first to enointe or greace the handes of him that geueth the office, or biddeth most mony for it? But with Philippus, no not the autoritee of his dere beloued frend *Antipater* might weighe and do so much, but that he deposed the suspected persone from the benche and ordre of the iudges.

Sitting

* Who cometh to the office of a kyng armed aforehand with the precepts of philosophie, can not lyghtly swerue from the right trade of vertue. Thei are in a wrong opinion that supposen learning to be nothing available to the gouernaunce of a commen weale.

Of *Antipater* read in his saynges.

Who vseth deceipt and guile in smal things is euill worthy to be trusted in higher & more weightie matters.

24. Sitting in iustice on the benche, he had before him, to geue sentence & iudgement vpon the cause of one Machætes, but he was so heauie of slepe that he coulede in no wyse holde vp his iyes, ne geue his mynd, as he should haue doen, to the equitee of the lawe. Whereupon he gaue sentence and iudgement against Machætes. And when thesame cryng with a loude voice, he said that he appealed from thesame sentence, the king being angrie, saied again, To whome doest thou appeale? For the worde of appealing,  (Whiche is euermore from the inferiour iudge & power to an hygher) vnto kinges very odious. Then (quoth Machætes) euen to your ownself sir king, doe I appeale, if your grace will awake, and with more earnest and tendre attencion of mynde, heare my cause. Immediatly here vpon, the king arose & stood him vp. And when he had better weighed the matter with himself, and well perceiued that the said Machætes had had wrong in deede, the sentence of iudgement ones geuen and already pronounced he would not reuoke ne breake, but the summe of money, in whiche Machætes had ben cast and condemned, himselfe paied out of his own purse euery ferthing.

The equitee of the law is that the lawers calen the *Epicai*, which thei take for the moderation of all seruente and rigour of the law, when iustice & law is ministered with fauour.

Howe Philip-
pus vsed one
Machaetes by
his sentence
wrongfully
condemned.

¶ Loe, in one facte, how many sondrie arguments and tokens of princely vertue. He continued not to be angry with the feloe both appealing from his sentence, and also openly in the face of the court laiying slepyne to his charge: but leasurly with better diligence he considered the matter in his own mind, being now clere voyde of all wrath and indignacion. Be this a point of ciuilitie and of princely moderacion. but that nowe ensueth, was a point of high prudence and wisdom, that by a wittie and politique deuise, the partie condemned he did in soche wyse deliuer and despatche of all losse & damage, that yet neuerthelesse
he

he did not stayne ne put to lacke or rebuke his royall autoritee in geuing sentence of iudgement, the penaltee and fyne that *Machaetea* was cast in, he priuately satisfied and paid as if him selfe had been therein condemned.

The frendes of Philippus fuming and taking high indignation, for that the *Peloponnesians did with hissing mocke and skorne him at the games of Olimpia, especially hauing receiued many benefites at the kinges hande, and with that tale pricking and stiring Philippus to auenge himselfe on them: Why, quoth he, howe will the matter then go if we doe vnto them any euill?

¶ Graciously and with wondrous ciuillitee turned he the argument of his frendes to the contrarie, thus: If thei be of soche frowarde nature and disposition, that they mocke and skorne those persones who haue doen them benefite, they will doe much more annoi-
aunce and harme, if a bodie thereunto prouoke them with shrewd turnes or dedes of mischief. A manifest token & proufe it was not onely of moderation or patient sufferance and of mercifulnesse, but also of a certain excellent high magnanimitee, a king to neglecte and set light by the hissings of ingrate persones.

the daughter of *Oenomaus*, king of the saied region, on whom went a prophecie, that whensoever his daughter married, he should leese his life. Wherefore with all soche princes and knightes as came to sue for the mariage of *Hippodamia*, he (the saied *Oenomaus*) appointed tomanentes for life and death with this condicon, that who so could that waye winne his daughter should haue hir, who so were ouer-
comed should suffre death. After many wooers thus slaine and put to death, came *Pelops*, and corrupted *Myrtilus* the maister of the chairettes with *Oenomaus* promising to the same *Myrtilus*, that in case he would be his frende that he might haue victorie, he should lie with *Hippodamia* the first night. Then did *Myrtilus* sette in the chairette of *Oenomaus*, an axeltree of weaxe by reason whereof at the first ioyning it brake, and *Pelops* wonne the victorie. Whereupon *Oenomaus* killed himselfe. And *Pelops* not only obteneid and enioyed the ladie *Hippodamia*, but also succeded *Oenomaus* in the kyngdome of *Achaia*. And when *Myrtilus* required his promise, *Pelops* caused him to be cast into the sea, whiche sea of his name was called *Mirtoum*. In the region of *Peloponnesus* wer these noble and florent citees, *Argos*, *Miceneae*, *Corinthus*, *Lacedaemon*, *Patrae*, the mountaine of *Malea*, liying on the sea coste *Epidanrus*, and these countrees, *Arcadia*, and *Siciona*.

25. *The *Peloponnesians* wer the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* whiche was a region of Grece, in old time called *Achaia* and now *Morea*, liying between two seas, the one called *Ionium*, and the other *Aegeum*, and with the same seas so enclosed, that it is in maner a very Isle. It was named of *Pelops*, the sonne of *Tantalus* kyng of the *Phrygians*. And *Pelops* was husband to *Hippodamia*

Harpalus

26. Harpalus in the fauour and behalfe of Crates, being both his familiare frende & of aliaunce, and sued at the lawe vpon an accion of trespase for wronges and extorcion by him doen, made instaunt request and petition vnto Philippus, that thesame defendaunt might paie the damage and fyne, but yet might for sauing his honestee be quieted and dispatched of the suite and accion, leste that being in the face of the court condemned, he shoulde haue all the worlde to raile and speake euil on him. At these wordes, better it is (quoth Philippus) that he be euill spoken of, then me to haue an euill name for his cause.

The vprightnesse and integritie of Philippus, in ministering the lawes and in doyng iustice.

¶ He was tendre and fauourable to his frendes, and beare with them albeit no ferther then he lawfully might without empechement of the existimacion and credence of a iudge.

27. When Philippus being in the campe with his armie had slept a great long while together, being at last awaked, I haue slept in safegarde saieth he, for Antipater hath in my stede watched & forborne slepe.

Antipater the deputie and high Capitaine vnder Philippus.

Not to be the part of a prince to take his full rest and slepe, especially in time of warre. A prince maye be in securitee that hath a trustie and a vigilaunt deputie.

¶ Declaring by that watche worde, not to bee the part of a prince, to lye in bedde all daye, or to take his full reste and slepe, especially in tyme of warre, and yet nerethelesse, that thesame may at a tyme without perell or daungier be doen, if a kyng haue a trustie and a painfull deputie. Thus with the laude and prayse of his frende, he made a good excuse in that he had ouerslept himselfe.

28. At an other season eftsons it fortunied, that while Philippus in the daye time toke his reste and slepe, a sorte of the Grekes, (whiche had in a great nombre assembled about his doore) toke peper in the nose, and spake many wordes of reproch

proch by the king, for that by reason of his slug-
ging they might not at the first chop be brought
to his speche: then Parmenio being in presence,
in this maner defended the kynge, and made
excuse in his behalfe, sayng: Meruail ye not if
Philippus doe nowe repose himselfe and take a
nappe, for when all ye wer in your ded slepe, he
watched.

¶ Signifyng, that the Grekes rechelesly conueighing
their affaires, Philippus brooke many a sleepe to pro-
uide for their defense and safegarde.

*How Parmenio
excused Philip-
pus sleping in
the day time.*


*Parmenio was
one of Philip-
pus gentlemen
and a Capi-
taine & in
very high fa-
uourand truste
with him, and
after his dayes
with Alexander
Magnus.*

Like as himself was mery conceipted and full
of pretie tauntes, so did he muche delite in the
saynges of others, if thesame had any quickenesse
or grace in them. Wherefore, when he was dis-
posed on a time, as he sate at his supper, to com-
trolle a minstrelle plaiyng at that present before
him, and talked his phansie of fingreing &
striking the stringes of the instrumente: God
forfende sir king (quoth the minstrelle) that ye
should haue more sight and knowledge in this
geare, then I.

29.

¶ Pleasauntely and as might stand with good manner,
did the feloe take vpon him to iudge in his owne arte
and facultee, and yet nothing offended or displeased
the king, whome he iudged to be of more dignitee &
high estate, then for to contende or striue with a min-
strelle about the twangyng of harpstrynges and lute-
strienges.

*Euery body is
best iudge of
his owne art &
facultee.*

Yea and the right sharpe or poynaunte sai-
ynges of others, so it wer spoken in time and
place oportune, and not toto ferre out of course,
he could take in good parte. For when he was
foule out, both with  Olympias his wyfe, and
also with Alexander his sonne, he demaunded of
Demaratus a Corinthian euen at that present
time


30.

*The humanitee
and pacience of
Philippus.*

Demaratus
Ambassadour
from Corinth
with Philippus.

time happely comming vnto him in Ambassade, what concorde, peace and vnitee the Grekes had among themselves one with another. Immediately saied Demaratus to him again. Iwys iwys, ye dooe of likelyhood take great thought and care for the concord and tranquillitee of the Grekes, when those that are nighest and moste dere vnto you, beare soche herte and minde towards you.

¶ What would a man in this case haue loked for, but that the king being highly displeased with the bolde and plain speaking of *Demaratus*, should haue commaunded thesame to bee had away out of his sight? Yet for all that, because the wordes of *Demaratus* meant to reuoke him from ire and wrath, to taking better waies: the kyng pacified and reconciled himselfe at the correption of the straunger, and all indignacion and wrathe laied a parte, fell to a full atonement with all his folkes.

 The debate and displeasure of Philippus with *Olimpias* and *Alexander*, both *Plutarchus* in the life of *Alexander* shewe, in this maner: When by reason of the loue and sondrie mariages of *Philippus*, muche troublous mourmuring and fraiying, arose and begonne within the court of *Philippus*, among his owne folkes, in so muche that the kinges wife and the other women could scarcely abide one another, muche quereling, bralling and discord grewe and daily came in vre, euen vnder the nose of *Philippus*. Whiche grudges, queeles, debate and variaunce, the sharpenes or curstnes, the zelousie, and the eagre feersenes of *Olimpias* did augment and sette on *Alexander* against *Philippus*. Also of debate and enmittee one *Attalus* ministred a wondrous good cause at the mariage of *Cleopatra*, whome where *Philippus* had fallen in loue withal being yet a young damysell vnmariable, anon after he tooke to wyfe. For *Attalus* being vncke to the maiden being through drunken, euen in the feaste time of the mariage, exhorted and encouraged the *Macedonians* to make praier vnto the Goddes, that a lauffull and right borne heire for the succession of the crowne and emper might be begotten betwene *Philippus* & *Cleopatra*, with whiche thing *Alexander* being highly moued, said: Why thou naughtie villain, what thinkest thou of vs that we are bastardes, or misbegotten? and euen with that word he caught a goblet in his hande, and cast it at the hedde of *Attalus*. Philippus immediatly thereupon arising ranne at *Alexander* with a naked sword to haue slain him, but (fortune beyng them bothe good ladie) what by reason of furie, and what of wyne the stripe did no harme at all. Then *Alexander* beginning to raill on his father saied This is the ioyly feloe and gaye man, whiche making preparation to passe out of *Europa* into *Asia*, and about to go but out of one chambre into an other stumbled and hadde a great fall. After this high wordes and reasoning had in cuppes, when the saied *Alexander* had conueighed awaie with him his mother *Olimpias*, and had left hir in the region of *Epirus*, hym
selfe

selfe abode and liued in the countree of *Illiris*. And at thesame season, it fortuneth that one *Demaratus* a *Corinthian* a very familiar acquaintance and frende of *Philippus*, pretending to be one that woulde hym selfe in all causes frankely, frely & boldely saie his mynde, was come vnto *Philippus*. Of whome after they had shaked handes, and had with pleasaunt and frendly wordes salued either the other, thesaied *Philippus* enquired, how the Grekes agreed and accorded within themselves. To whome *Demaratus* thus aunswered: O *Philippus*, of all men lest of al it behoueth you to haue care and charge of Grece, that haue thus heaped your owne courte and palaice with so many kyndes of discorde & with so many troubles and aduersitees. Whereupon *Philippus* repenting his folye, sent the saied *Demaratus*, to desire and praye *Alexander* to returne home again, and so he did.

To an olde wyfe being a poor sely sole, and
cryng and calling vpon Philippus to haue the
hearing of her cause before him, nor ceasing
with this importune and earnest prayer in maner
dayly to ring in his eare, he at last made aun-
swer, that he had no leasure. And when the olde
wife hadde eftsons cried out vpon hym, saiyng
Why: then be no longer kyng neither: Philippus
greatly meruaillyng at her bolde & franke speak-
ing, did from thenceforth geue eare not onely
vnto her, but also to all others like.

The office of
kinges is to
heare the com-
plaines and
causes of all
persones with
out exception.

¶ This selfsame thing the latines doen attribute
vnto Adrian Emperour of Rome.

Philippus, when it was come to his eare that
his sonne Alexander had in a certain place
shewed himself to be a cunning musician, gra-
ciously & courtisely chidde him for it, saiyng:
Art thou not ashamed of thy selfe to haue so
good sight in musike?

Not euery acte
is meete for a
king.

¶ Signifyng that other artes then musike were more
mete and seming for a king.

Thesame Philippus hauing on a time gotten a
fall in the wrastlyng place, when in the arising
again he had espied the print and measure of his
whole body in the dust, he saied: Oh the folly of
man, howe we to whome of nature a veray small
porcion of the yearth is due, desire to haue in
our handes all the vniuersall worlde.

Philippus re-
proued the am-
bicion of man
in desiring em-
pier.

¶ Would

The ambition
of *Alexander*.

¶ Would God this sayng had been well enprinted in the herte of his sonne, to whose ambition and covetous desire all the whole world semed but a little angle.

Beneuolence
ought to bee
purchased by
vertue and not
by giftes.

34. Philippus chiding his sonne Alexander for that he laboured and sought with presentes and giftes to purchase the beneuolence and hertie loue of the Macedonians, did thus frame and set his woordes: What (the deuill) consideration or meanes hath put soch a vain hope in thy head, & brought the into this fooles paradise, to suppose that they will in time to come be faithfull and true vnto thee, whom thou shalt haue corrupted and bought with money? What doest thou go about to bring to passe, that the Macedonians shall esteeme thee to bee, not their king, but their almoynier, or pursebearer?

35. The Atheniens had sent an Ambassade vnto Philippus. Thesame graciously receiued and heard, to thende that he would with all possible courtesie and humanitee, dimisse the Ambassadors, he willed them to speake, in what thing he might doe to the Atheniens any good pleasure. Anon, Demochares taking the tale in hand, said: Forsouth sir, if ye goe and put your neck in an halter and hange your selfe.

* *Demochares Parrhesiastes*, one of the Ambassadors sent in legacie from the *Atheniens* vnto Philippus. The boldnesse that some persones haue,

¶ This *Demochares* was one of the Ambassadors, & for his malapart tonge called at home in his countree in their language * *Parrhesiastes* (as ye would say in english) Thom trouth, or plain Sarisbuirie. The kings frendes at suche a carlishe aunswere fuming and taking highe indignation, Philippus appeased them, and commaunded them safe and sounde to let go that same † *Thersites*. Then turning himself to the residue of the Ambassadors, he saied: Go bear word home again to the *Atheniens*, much more pride and stately presumption

presumption to rest in the speakers of soche vngodly wordes as these, then in theim whiche heare thesame spoken vnto theim, and suffer it to passe vnpunished. When al is doen these are the stomakes and heartes worthy to haue empier.

plainly and without respect, feare, acception or sparing of any body whatsoever he be, to

vttter and to speake that lyeth in their stomake, yea, whether it be to geue a checke and a rebuke to ones face, or els any other wise howsoever it be, is called in greke *παρρησία*, & thereof whatsoever persone hath that propretee without feare or sparing to saye his minde in al thinges as he thinketh, is called *Parrhesiastes*. And soch an one was this *Demochares*. *παρρησία*, is in a manne the qualitee contrarie to assentacion, whiche assentation is the southing of eche bodies tale and saynges, and holding vp their yea and nay.

†*Thersites* was one of the Grekes, and came emong the mo out of the countree of *Aetolia* vnto the battaill of *Troye*: a great gentleman born, but the worst of feature, of shape and of fauoure, that possible might be, and a very cowarde: Whome *Homerus* in his second volume of his werke, entituled *Ilias* (that is, of the battaill of *Troie*) describeth both in wordes and sense, much like as foloeth:

Emong all others, to *Troie* there came,
An euill fauoured geaste, called by name
Thersites, a pratleer be ye sure,
Without all facion, ende or measure.
Whatsoever came, in his foolyshe brain,
Out it should, wer it neuer so vain.
In eche mans bote, would he haue an ore,
But no woorde, to good purpose, lesse or more:
And without all maner, would he presume
With kinges and princes, to cocke and fume.
In feactes of armes, nought could he doe,
Nor had no more herte, then a gooce therunto.
All the Grekes did him, deride and mocke,
And had him as their commen laughing stocke.
Squyntyed he was, and looked nyne wayes.
Lame of one leg, and himping all his dayes.
Croump shouldreed, and shrunk so vngoodly,
As though he had had but halfe a bodye.
An hedde, he had (at whiche to ieste and scoffe)
Copped like a tankarde or a sugar lofe.
With a bushe pendente, vnderne the his harte,
Three heares on a side, like a drowned ratte.

And not long after his arriuall to *Troye*, for that he was so busie of his tongue, so full of chatting and pratleing with euery kyng and noble man of the Grekes, *Achilles* being moued with his saucines & importuntee, vp and gaue him soche a cuff on the eare, that he slew him out of hande, with a blowe of his fist.

¶ The

¶ *The saynges of Alexander.*

THE GREATE.



IN the saynges of Philippus there was nothing, but whiche besides the vrbanitee and pleasaunt grace, might not also auayl to good maners and honest behaueour. Neither dooe I see, whome more conueniently to ioyn vnto Philippus, then his owne sonne Alexander.

1. This Alexander beyng yet but a little boye, when his father Philippus executed many righte highe enterprises, and many right puissaunte and noble actes of prowesse, achiued with veray prosperous happe and successe: was therewithall nothing wel apaied, but to his plaifeers, and soche as wer brought vp at nourice with him, he vsed thus to saie: My father will leaue nothing at all for me. They sayng again: Yes iwys, it is you and none other for whome he purchaceth and procureth all this same. And what good may it dooe me (quoth Alexander) if being a Lord of great possessions, I shall haue none affaires whereabout to be doing, and to be sette on werke?

Alexander
euen of a child
was of an am-
bicious and
stiering nature.

¶ Euen at that age might a bodye right wel espie and knowe in him a sparke of an ambitious and actif or stiering nature towarde.

2. Thesame Alexander whereas he was passing light or nymble of body and veray swifte of foote to renne, to his father willing him at the games of Olympia to renne the race emong the others, I would sir with all my herte, saieth he, if I should haue kinges to renne for the price or maisterie with me.

Alexander very
nymble of body
and swift to
renne.

¶ In

¶ In this pointe also may ye euidently espie and knowe a man of haulte courage, and one that would not to any persone liuyng geue place, or yeld an ynche, in the triall of laude and dominacion. Himselfe was not yet come to be a kyng, and for all that would he not vouchesalue in prouing maisteries to be matched with any persones being vnder the estate of kynges.

The hault courage & stomake of *Alexander*.

Alexander in prouing maisteries would not be matched but with kinges

When a certain young woman was veray late in the night brought vnto Alexander to be his bedfelow, the king demaunded, where she had ben so long: the woman making aunswer, that she had taried and awayted, vntill hir husband might first be gon to bedde: he called his seruants that had brought hir and gaue them an highe and a sore rebuke, saiyng conueighe this woman home again, for I was not ferre from the point, nor failed but veraye litle through your default, to be made an auoutreer.

3.

¶ A passing gaie example of chastitee, on the oneside in a young man, and on the other side in a kyng, (and most of all in an *Ethnike*.) For emong them, simple fornication was reputed for no crime ne sinne at all. And by this historie it semeth likely, that the maner and vsage at those dayes was, (as in Italie yet stil at this present daye it is) that mens wiues laye aparte in a sondrie chaumbre and bedde from their husbandes, onlesse they were at this or that season called.

A notable example of chastitee in *Alexander*.

In old time the wiues laye a part in a sondry chaumbre & bed from their husbandes.

To Alexander in his childhood excessiuey making incense and sacrifice vnto the goddes, and euery pater noster whyle renning to take still more and more of the frankincense, * Leonides who was his gouernour and had chief cure and charge of his body and of his bringing vp, and at that time was there present, saied: Sirrha, my childe, then shall it be meete for you with thus great largesse to make incense vnto the Goddes, when

4.

Paedagogus is he that hath the tuicion, gouernaunce, nourture, breaking & bringing vp of a childe as wel in maniers as in learning whiche was in

old time as wel among the Romaines as the Grekes, an honorable bothe name and function. Neither was there any noble mannes sonne, but that he had a peculiar tutour and gouernor. But *Alexander* because he was sonne to so noble a king, and also was of singular courage, stomake & towardnes had many *paedagogues*, nourturers and scholemaisters, emong whom the chief preeminence had *Leonides*, and to him by especiall commission appertained the principall, cure, charge, autoritee and rule ouer *Alexander*, partly for that he was a man of singular grauitie, wisdom, and seueritee of maniers, and partly because he was of nere kynred and frendship towardes *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander*. Nerethelesse because *Leonides* thought the name of *Paedagogue* ouer basse and vile for a man of soche dignitee as him selfe was, *Lysimachus* had the name of *Paedagogue*, and in veray deede was he that continually attended and tooke daily peines in nourturing, teaching, and breaking *Alexander*, & *Leonides* was called his tutour, gouernour, directour, and (as ye might saye) Lorde Maister.

* Thee countree where odours growen, that is here meant was *Gaza*, whiche was a towne of the countree of *Palestina* or *Iewrie* in *Phenicia*, being a part of *Arabia*, whiche *Alexander* (as *Plutarchus* writeth) did subdue and conquer. And when he sent from thens to his mother *Olympias* and to *Cleopatra*, and to his other frends, cote armours & spoyles there wonne, he sent also at thesame time (as thesame *Plutarchus* maketh mencion) to *Leonides* his old maister, fwe hundred talentes of frankinsense, that is of our Troy weight or poysse fowertie sixe thousande and fwe hundred poundes of weight or thereabout, and of Myrrhe, one hundred talentes, that is of englishe poysse, nyne thousand three hundred poundes of weight or thereabout. For I take here a talent for the comen talent *Attique* whiche conteined of englishe poysse thre score two poundes and one halfe pounce or thereabout.

5. When he was readie and would nedes auenture battaill vpon the souldiers of *Darius* at the floude
 † *Granicus*, he badde the Macedonians to feede lustely at their dyner, not sparing to fille their bealies with soche vitailles as they had, for they should be assured the morowe next folowing to suppe of the prouision of their enemies.

† *Alexander* making a viage & going with an armie royall of thirtie fowre thousand footemen, and fwe thousand horsemen against *Darius* king of the *Per-*

¶ A lustie courage, and an herte that could not faint ne be dismayed, and as touching the ende of the battaill

battaill being in no maner doubt, mistruste, ne feare, but that the victorie should go on his side.

ouer *Hellespontus* (which is a narowe and veraye daungerous sea, reaching from the Isle of *Tenedus*, vnto *propontis*) & so came to *Granicus* a floudde in the countree of *Phrygia*, whiche *Phrygia* is a region of *Asia* the lesse. At *Granicus* because it was (as ye would saie) the gates of *Asia*, and for that there was none other entreaunce ne passage into *Asia* to come to the *Persians*: the Capitaines of *Darius* had so sette there souldiers in araye to resiste *Alexander*, that ther might be no waye made but with dynte of sweorde. Wherefore *Parmenio* the dere frende, the moste feithful herted counseillour and the moste trustie Capitaine of *Alexander* auised him for many considerations in no wyse to enterprise so harde and so daungerous an auenture. Why, quoth *Alexander* again, *Hellespontus* would blush for veray shame now that I haue alreadie passed ouer it, if I should be afearde to wade ouer so litle a floudde as *Granicus*, and then after that he had encouraged his souldiers to haue cherefull hertes, taking with him thirteen rayes of horsemen, himselfe flounced me into the floudde, & at length in despite and maugre the heddes of all his enemies, he gotte to the other side of the same.

sians, con-
ueighed his
hoste & passed

Parillus one of the noumbre of Alexanders 6.
famiare frendes, desired of Alexander some
dourie of money towards the mariage of his
doughters. The kyng bad him take fiftie ta-
lentes of money. And when the other had aun-
swered tenne talentes to be sufficient, Yea, (quoth
Alexander) so much is enough for thee to take,
but the same is not enough for me to geue.

Parillus one of
Alexanders fa-
miliar frendes.

The bountee &
munificence of
Alexander.

¶ Gaily and roially spoken, had not his towardnes
vnto vertue ben vitiated and corrupted with ambition.

Alexander had commaunded his treasurer to 7.
delyuer vnto the Philosophier Anexarchus how
muche money soeuer he would aske. And when
thesaied treasurer had herde the request, and
being therewith more then half astonned, had
made relacion vnto Alexander that the Philoso-
phier asked no lesse then an hundred talentes:
he doeth wel (quoth the king) knowing himself
to haue a frende, whiche is both able and willing
to geue so great a summe.

The bountee &
munificence of
Alexander.

¶ Here may a man doubte whether of these two
thinges he ought rather to maruail at, the kings liberal-
itee in geuing, or els the vnreasonablenes of the Phi-
losophier,

losophier in asking, except we lust rather to call the same assured trust and confidence that he had in the kynges beneficence.

8. When he had seen in the citee of Miletus many and thesame right greate, and bowerly images and porturatures of soch persones as had tofore times wonne the victories or chiefe prices in the games of Olympia & of Pythia, he saied : And where were these so great gyauntlike bodies, when the barbarous did besiege your citee.

Apollo by one other name was called *Pythius* of the great dragon *Pythion*, whiche dragon to his great honour glorie and renown, he slew with his bowe and arroes.

And for a memorial of that act ther were holden & kept in the honour of *Apollo Pithius*, certain games of lusting, renning, wrastlyng, and shooting, & of the name of *Apollo* they were called *Pythia*.

¶ Nippingly did he taunte and checking the folishe ambition of theim, who glorie and braggued of soche persones as being in greatnes and strength of body perelesse, had gotten victorie in turnamentes, iustes, wrastleyng, renning and other sembleable games made for pleasure and disporte, where as in so great perelles and daungers of the citee, there had been none at all, that could trie and shewe theimselfes to be soche ioyly valiaunt feloes.

9. Where Adas quene of the *Carians had a great delite and phantasie stil day by day, ordinarily to sende vnto Alexander presentes of cates and of iunquettes or confections dressed and wrought with great cunning, by the finest diuiseurs pastlers & artificers of soche thinges, that could be gotten : Alexander saied, that himselfe had of his owne muche better cookes and dressers of his viandrie, that is to wete, for dyner, his iourneyeng the night afore, and for supper, a spare and light repast at noone.

This *Ades Alexander* for fauour that he had to hir, of his own minde tooke for his mother, and so called hir, & made hir quene of the *Carians*.

The cookes that *Alexander* had to dresse his meate.

* *Caria* is a prouince in the countree of *Asia* the lesse, liyng betwene *Lycia* and *Ionis*, the inhabitauntes whereof were called *Carians*, a vile people and very abiect, in so muche that diuerse prouerbes the Grekes inuented, in reproche of their vilanie. As, *Ite foras, Cares, non amplius Anthisteria.* & in *Care periculum.* Of whiche prouerbes reade in the *Chiliades* of *Erasmus*.

On

On a certain season, al thinges being in a perfect readines to ioynе battaille and to fighting the fieldе, when he was asked the question, whether his pleasure were that any thing els shuld be doen? Nothing (quoth he) but the beardes of the Macedonians to be shauen of. Parmenio wondering what this sayng should meane: Why, doest thou not know, saied Alexander, that there is in battaill nothing better or more apte to take holde on then a bearde?

¶ He signified that fighting in warre ought to be within handy gripes, in whiche kynde of strife and tryng beardes are great hindaunce, for that the soul-diours or men of warre, may very easely be caught by the beardes and be holden faste.

10.

Darius offred vnto Alexander these condicions, that he should haue tenne thousand talentes of money, & besides that the emper of the whole countree of Asia to be egually deuided betwene them twaine. When Alexander this offre refused: I would surely haue taken it (quoth Parmenio) if I wer Alexander. And so would I (quoth Alexander) if I wer Parmenio. But vnto Darius he made aunswere in this maner, That neither the yearth might endure or abyde two sonnes, nor the countree of Asia, two kinges.

11.

The condicions offred by Darius vnto Alexander.

The aunswere of Alexander concerning the condicions offred to him by Darius.

¶ Here also might one allowe & commend his haultnesse of courage or stomack: if the sayng did not sauour of a certain inordinat wilfull heddines to be Lorde alone, and to haue all vnder his owne subiection.

Alexander would nedes be Lorde of al the world alone.

When Alexander was like at a certain toune called *Arbeles, to be put to the plounge of making or marring, & of habbe or nhabbe to wyne all, or to lese all (for he had to fight with a million of menne of armes wel appointed, and

12.

The battail betwene Alexander and Darius foughten at the toune of Arbeles

Howe *Alexander* tooke that his souldiers had conspired among them selves to conuert all the boties that they should geat, to their own priuate vse.

prepared to trie it by strokes) there came vnto him certain of his souldiers that bare towards him very good and true feithful hertes, and complained on their feloes, that in the campe thei made a muttreing emong themselves, and conspired together, of all the preaye & bootie that they should get, not to bring a iote into the kinges pauilion, but to conuerte it ful and whole to their owne peculiare profite & auauntage. These thinges heard, Alexander smyled, and saied: Sers, ye haue brought me good tidinges. For I heare the wordes of feloes mynded to wyn the victorie, and not to flee.

¶ Neither was he deceiued in his geasse. For vnto hym came right many an one of the souldiers, sayng: Be of good chere sir kyng, and haue good herte, neither feare ye the great nombre and multitude of your enemies, they shall not be able to abyde, no not so muche as the very smell of vs.

* *Plutarchus* in the life of *Alexander* saieth in maner and fourme here foloyng. Immediatly hereupon was there a great field foughten with *Darius*, not (as some autours written) in the toun of *Arbeli*, but at *Gaugameli*. Whiche worde *Gaugameli* is as much to saye, as the Camels hous. Whiche it is saied, that a certain king in forne yeares, when he had on a Dromedarie Camele escaped the handes of his enemies, builded there, and appointed to the ouersight and the charges of thesame, the reuenues of certain townes and villages.

I 3. The same *Alexander*, his armie nowe already set in araye, and appointed euen out of hand to fight the field, when he espied one of the souldiers euen at thesame present houre trimming a strop or loope to set on his darte, he put out of wages, and discharged of his rounge, as one like to doe no good seruice at al, whiche then and not before begonne to make readie his weapens when it was alreadie high time to occupie thesame.

A strop is the stryng that is fastened in the mids of a darte wherein to put ones fynger when he picketh it.

It is an euill man of warre that will haue his weapon vnready when he should occupie it.

¶ This was to be put rather emong *Stratagemes* then emong

among *apophthegmes*, euen as is also this same, whereof I shall nowe next after make rehersall.

Alexander was reading a letter sent from his mother, whiche letter contained certain secrete matters oi' counsaill, together with false crymes surmised against Antipater. These letters did Hephæstion after his accustomed maner read together with the kyng. Neither did the king forbid him to reade, but after reading of the epistle, he pulled his signet ryng from his finger, and set it hard to the mouth of the said Hephæstion, warning thesame by thus doying, to kepe his counsaill secrete.


14.

Hephæstion was so highly in fauour with *Alexander* that he called him *alter se*, the seconde *Alexander*, and vsed him as familiarly as his owne selfe, hyding from him none of all his secretes.

¶ An example of notable truste and affiaunce hauing in his frende, yea and also of passing great humanitee, in that he would these false accusacions and complaints to be spred abroad, although in dede he loued * *Antipater* at that tyme no better then a doggue.

*At the first beginning, who

so highe in price, estimacion or trust with *Alexander*, as was *Antipater*? in so muche that *Plutarchus* in the life of *Phocion* reherseth for a thinge notable and worthy memorie, that thesame *Alexander* neuer woulde vouchsalue to shewe to any persones so muche honoure, as in his Epistles or lettres to wryte vnto them this familiare clause in the beginning of his lettres, We grete you wel, sauing only to *Phocion* of *Athenes*, and to *Antipater*, whiche twoo persones he had in especia l high regarde and honour. And *Iolas* one of the sonnes of *Antipater*, was vnto *Alexander* chief butler and cup bearer. But in the latter dayes *Antipater* lost vtterly all the fauour of *Alexander*, and was of thesame suspected, mistrusted and deadly hated.

In the temple of  Ammon, when he was by the president or chief priest there, called the sonne of Iupiter: It is no meruail (said he) for Iupiter in deede of nature is father vnto all men, but of them he taketh for his very own children in deede, especially all soche as are good and honest.


15.

¶ He did after a very humble sorte expounde the † oracle. For the minstre of the temple called him the sonne of *Iupiter* in the waye of flatterie, as if *Alexander* had ben likewise begotten of *Iupiter* as *Hercules*

† *Oraculum* an oracle, is properly the mind and aunswer of God by some

diuineinterpre-
ter declared, as
by some Pro-
phet, priest, or
otherwyse by
man.

Hercules was reputed and beleued to be the sonne of *Iupiter*. But *Alexander* confessed that *Iupiter* was of nature the autour and parente of all mortall men, but yet that thesame did agnise and knowlege peculiarly or proprely for his sonnes, soche persones and none other, as by vertue and noble actes drewe nighest, and were moste aunswerable to the nature of God. And that is, vnto al persones without exception to be beneficiall.

 *Ammon*, was *Iupiter* worshipped in the fourme and likenesse of a ramme. For when *Bacchus* otherwyse called *Liber pater* (all the whole countree of *Asia* nowe subdued) was conueighing his armie through the wyldernesse of *Lybia* (whiche *Lybia* is a region or coste of the countree of *Afrike*, bounding vpon *Egipt*, and sometime set for all *Afrike*,) being almoste lost for drought both he and all his armie, he besoughte his father *Iupiter* of helpe and succour. Wherupon immediatly appered vnto him a ramme, whiche ramme while he pursued, he came by chaunce to a right pleasaunt and a plenteous welle. *Bacchus* therfore thinking this ramme to be *Iupiter*, anone builded there a temple, and sette in it the Image and porture of a ramme to be worshipped for *Iupiter*. And it was called *Ammon* (as ye would saie in english *Iupiter* of the sande, because the temple was edified & builded in a sandie place) for the Greke vocable *ἄμμος*, souneth in english the sande. Albeit, some there be that affirmen *Iupiter* in the language of the *Egiptians* to be called *Ammon*, and thereof this temple to haue taken the name of *Ammon*. But *Pausanias* holdeth opinion, that it was so named of one *Ammon* a shephearde, who first builded thesame temple.

16. When his leggue was wounded with an arroee
What *Alexander* said, when he was wounded with an arroee.
in battaile, and many came renning about him, whiche had of a custome ofte times vsed to call him a God, he with a bolde and a mery countenance alluding to a verse of the Poete *Homere*, saied :

Alexander being wounded knowlaged himself to be a man mortall.

This that ye see, is bloud withouten oddes
Euen suche like as commeth from the Goddes.

¶ Mocking in very deede the vanitee of those flat-treers, for as muche as the thing selfe declared him to be nothing els but a mortall man, as others wer. As for the allusion that he made, was to a place of *Homere* in the fifth volume of his werke entitleed *Ilias*, where it is tolde howe *Venus* was wounded of *Diomedes*.

17. Many persones highly commending and praying the frugalitee and spare maner of liuing that *Antipater* vsed, who led a life very homely or grosse,

grosse, and farre from all delices : Yea (quoth he) *Antipater*, though he seemed to liue homely, yet in deede was ambitious and stately.

¶ Noting the feigned and colourable sparing of homeliness of the saied *Antipater*, where as he was, that notwithstanding, in very deed as ambitious and stately as the best.

When he was on a daye in the winter season, and in sharpe cold weather, feasted by a certain frende of his, and sawe there a litle litle herthe, and in thesame a litle preatie small fier, he saied : Sers, either lay on wood, or cast in frankincense. 18.

¶ Half geuing a checke vnder a colour, that the feaster or banquetter plaied as muche the niggard of his wood, as if thesame had been frankincense, wher as in soche extreme colde, euen very frankincense ought not to haue ben spared : and farther signifying that there was fier sufficient for makinge incense to the Goddes, but not enough to defende and kepe awaie colde. *How Alexander noted a frende of his to playe the niggard of his woodde.* Unseasonable husbandrie.

When he supped on a time at the hous of *Antipatrides*, and the same had brought in before Alexander at the supper, a passyng faire damisell, being a minion doer in singyng, Alexander beyng rauished with the sight of her, was sodainly stricken with hot burning loue. And anon demaunded of *Antipatrides*, whether he for his owne parte, were not ferre in loue with the damisell, *Antipatrides* plainly confessyng that yes, Alexander saied : O vngracious man, wilt thou not with all hast, haue her awaie from the table and this compaignie? 19.

¶ How ferre was that hart and minde from defilyng an other mannes wedded wife, whiche stode in so greate feare of himself, lest he should fal ouer ferre in loue with the leman of his frende, making him a supper.

At

The continencie & great chastite of Alexander.

20. At what tyme Alexander reuersed backe again to the sea, (to departe out of his armie) as many of the Macedonians as wer sickly, maimed and feble, or impotent of their limmes, there was one persone bewraied, that had billed hymself in the number of the sickfolkes, whereas in deede he had no disease, nor impediment at all. This manne, when he was brought to the sight and presence of Alexander, and beyng examined, did confesse that he had made a pretext and semblaunce of a disease or maladie, for the loue of a woman called Telesippa, who was gon afore toward the sea, Alexander asked, to whom might be committed the charge, to commaunde the saied Telesippa to returne backe again to the armie. (¶ Supposyng that she had been bondwoman to one or other of his soldiers.) But when he had due knowledge that she was no bondwoman, but free borne: Why (quoth Alexander) then lette vs O Antigenes (¶ for that was the feloes name) entreacte, and by faire meanes perswade Telesippa to tary still with vs. For by force or violence to compell her therunto, being a free woman born, in no wise lieth in vs.

Plutarchus in the life of Alexander nameth this man Eurilochus.

Alexander wold not enforce or compelle any persone free borne.

¶ In soche sort did he fauour the loue of a stoute & valiaunt man of warre, whom he was desirous to kepe still in his armie, that neuerthelesse he would not that freborne woman to come backe againe, but if she might bee brought in mynde so to dooe, with her owne consent and agremente.

21. When the Grekes, that tooke waiges to fight againste Alexander, vnder the baners of his enemies, were come vnder his power and iurisdiction, as for the Atheniens, he commaunded to be laied fast in shacles and fetters, because that, where thei might haue had waiges competent, at home

How Alexander vsed the Grekes which toke wages of his enemies to fight against him.

home at the publique charges of their own citee, thei had for all that become souldiers with his enemies. Of the Thessalians also; he commaunded thesame, for asmoche as thei hauyng a right fertile countree of their own, did let it lye waste, without bestowing any tillage or housbandrie vpon it: but the * Thebanes he demised and let go at their libertee, sayyng: These poore soules are by vs put out of all together, nor haue any thyng at all left vnto them, neither citee to dwel in, nor lande to tille.

¶ So did he moderate the punishment of them all, that those persones who had well deserued to dye, he commaunded no more but to be laied in irons, & the fault of them, which might iustly make their excuse, that by verie necessitee, thei had been driuen to dooe as thei did, he laied from them, and toke vpon himself.

The moderation of peine ministered by Alexander vnto the Grekes, that had highly offended him.

* When the *Thebanes* became rebelles against *Alexander*, and had procured vnto thesame, the aide and help of the *Atheniens*, *Alexander* with a great puissance laied siege to the citee of *Thebes*, and yet willing to geue them space to repent their folly and by submitting themselves to be reconciled, offered them bothe pardon that present, and from thens forth to be free, vpon condicion to deliuer into his handes *Phoenix*, and *Prothytes* (who had been thaucthous of the defeccion.) The *Thebanes* on their partie required of *Alexander* to haue deliuered to them *Philotas* and *Antipater*, twoo of the capityines of *Alexander*, and made an open Proclamacion, that whosoecer was desirous to haue all the countree of Grece, to be set in their old state of fredome, should come and take their parte. Then *Alexander* with all his power of the *Macedonians* set vpon them. The *Thebanes* wer nothing slacke, but fought stoutely and valiauntly against their enemies, being in nomber ferre mo then thei wer. But anon came in vpon them at their backes, others of the *Macedonians*, and so in fine were thei beaten doune, their citee taken, spoiled and destroyed, bothe sticke and stone. The *Atheniens* he pardoned, and by this acte he put all Grece in soche terrour, that thei laie all quiete, and durst not ones to stiere against him.

A certaine Indian taken in the warres, bearyng 22.
name of a felowe perelesse in the feacte of shootyng, in so moche that by the common reporte and bruite that went on hym, he could as oft as hym lusted, shoote his aroe quite and cleane, euen through a ring, *Alexander* commaunded to shewe a point of his cunnyng. And where the
partie

Glorie and re-
nounge is to
many persones
more sweete
then life.

Like beareth
loue vnto like.

23. This Taxiles
(as testifieth
Plutarchus in
the life of Al-
exander) was
a man of sing-
ulare wise-
dome and sa-
pience, & had
vnder his gou-
ernance the
more parte of
India, enui-
roned with al
the whole cir-
cuite of the vni-

partie refused so to doe, the kyng taking ther-
with high displeasure and angre, commaunded
that he should be putte to death. As he was in
ledyng to the place of execucion, he saied to them
that ledde hym, that he had not of long tyme
afore practised his feacte of shootyng, and by
reason thereof to haue stande in feare, lest he
should haue missed. When woorde hereof was
brought backe again, and relacion made vnto
Alexander that the feloe had not of any disdein
or frowardnesse, refused to shoote, but onely for
feare of beyng openly shamed for euer, if he
should haue failed, the kyng hauyng wonder at
the nature of the feloe, so desireful of glorie and
renoume, bothe gaue vnto the same perdone of
his life, and also dimissed him bounteously re-
warded, because he had been in mynde and wille,
rather to suffer death, then to appere vnworthie
the name and fame that went on hym.

¶ Here it appereth not to be altogether a lie, that is
so commonly spoken in the prouerbe, Like beareth
faueur and loue vnto like. For *Alexander* being out
of al measure desirous of renoume, loued the sem-
blable affection and appetite in other persones.

Taxiles one of the kynges of India, presentyng
hymself vnto Alexander, spake vnto hym in this
maner, I prouoke thee sir kyng (saied he) not to
fightyng, nor yet to battail, but to an other sort
of tryng maistries. If thou be inferiour to me,
take som benefite at my handes: if superiour,
let me receiue some benefite at thyne. To whom
Alexander thus aunswered. Marie, euen for that
verie pointe ought we to striue together, whether
maie in doyng benefites, haue the ouer hande of
the other.

¶ And hereupon, with al possible humanitee, em-
bracing

bracing the saied *Taxiles*, he did not onely not deprive thesame of his dominion, but also gaue him more to it. uersal Countree of Egipte, a ranke ground for pasture, and an excellent good come countree. And of this *Taxiles* Alexander toke many great giftes and presentes and gaue to him as many againe, and laste of all sente vnto him for a gifte, a thousande talentes at ones.

When he had heard of a certaine rocke in the Indies, whiche by reason of the exceding heighth of it, is called in Greke *ἄσπρος*, birdelesse, as if ye would saie, so high, that the birdes maie not get to the toppes of it. When Alexander had heard of this rocke, that the place self was harde to be wonne, but the capitaine that kept it, to be a fearful feloe, & to haue no more hart then a shepe: By this time, quoth Alexander, the place is easie enough to be gotten. 24.

ἄσπρος, a rock in the Indies.

¶ Signifyng, that fortresses and municions dooe nothing auaille at all, excepte an hardie mannes bodie defende and maintein thesame. For a castle, or any stronghold is not so sure and safe from enemies, by the sense of diches and walles, as by valiaunte and hardie mennes bodies. Fortresses and municions doe nothing auaille except hardie & valiaunt mens bodies, defend and maintaine thesame.

Plutarchus thus telleth thesame historie. *Alexander* hauing with siege encoumpaced the towne of one *Sisimithres* standing on a rocke impenetrable, when he sawe his souldiers to be of heauy chere, he demaunded of one *Oxiartes*, what herte & courage thesaied *Sisimithres* was of, *Oxiartes* aunswering that he was the veraiest dastarde alyue, Well, then (quoth *Alexander*) by thy sayng the rocke will sone and easily be wonne, forasmuche as the lorde thereof is a cowarde and no man of warre. And euen so came it to passe, for *Sisimithres* was with the onely menacing, thretning and facing of *Alexander* so feared, that he yelded and gaue vp his holde without any resistaunce at all.

An other certain capitaine, where he held, and kept a rock vnpossible to be won (as it was thought) neuerthelesse submitted and yelded himselfe into the handes of Alexander. But Alexander, not onely did make thesame partie Lord and gouernour of all that seignourie and countree about, but moreouer spake and saied as foloeth. I holde this man sapient and wise, in that 25.

Howe *Alexander* vsed a capitaine that gaue himselfe & his holde into his handes and mercy.

that he thought better, and had more phansie, to put his trust & affiance in an honest & a good man, then in a place strong & well fensed.

26. After the taking of a certain strong holde or fortresse standing on a rocke, when the frendes of Alexander saied, that in feates marciall and in noble actes of prowesse, he ferre surmounted Hercules: Nay (quoth he) I thinke the actes that I haue dooen sens I haue been a king, are to to ferre oddes, to be in the way of comparison conferred with the thinges which Hercules did in his time.

*Alexander con-
temned Hercu-
les in respect of
himselfe.*

*The mynde of
Alexander no
flatterie was
enough to sa-
tisfie.*

¶ The other spake to flatter him, but the mind of *Alexander* no flatterie was enough to satisfie.

27. Certain of his frendes he punished by the purse, and put to their fine, because he had perceiued them, in playng at dyce, not to playe for pastime, as meete was.

*How Alexan-
dervsed certain
of his frendes
for being ouer
earnest in plai-
yng at dyce.*

*The incom-
moditees that
come by plai-
yng at dyce.*

¶ For many there ben that bestowe and vse themselves in this game, as if it were in the moste earnest matter of the worlde. For those persones do not playe, who doen hasarde and auenture all their substaunce at ones, yea & sometimes their sonnes and heires to, to stande to the grace and direction of the dice.

☞ At lest wyse, homely playe it is and a madde pastime, where men by the course of the game go together by the eares, and many times murdre one an other, or at lestwyse of right louing frendes, are made mutuall enemies all dayes of their life after.

*Alexander 28.
of al his
frendes and
true seruaunts,
moste honour-
ed Craterus
but most loued
Hephaestion.*

*Craterus φι-
λοβασιλεὺς
Hephaestion,
φιλαλέξαν-
δρος*

Emong those, whome he reputed and tooke for his principall frendes, or chiefe seruauntes about him and most of power, he shewed himselfe to honour Craterus aboue the reste, but aboue all others to loue Hephæstion. For Craterus (saith he) loueth the king, and Hephæsteon loueth Alexander.

¶ This sayng hath more grace in the Greke, by reason of these two wordes φιλοβασιλεὺς and φιλαλέξανδρος

αλέξανδρος. The meaning of *Alexander* was, that *Craterus* in soch things as concerned his dignitee royall did the partes of a true faithfull frende, but *Hephaestion* of a certain priuee affection to beare his hertie loue and beneuolence towards the persone of *Alexander*, without the respecte that he was a kyng. Wherefore these two parties, whose loue and affection towards hym proceded of vnlike respectes, he did after twoo sondrie sortes egually rewarde, either according to his demerites. * For *Craterus* he auauuced to high dignitees, and *Hephaestion* he receiued to moste entiere familiaritee about his persone.

these two with *Alexander*, that all the *Macedonians* whiche had any sute to the court, were from time to time assigned to fette their aunswer & despetches at the handes of *Craterus*, and all the *Barbarians* of *Hephaestion*. And so highly did the kyng honoure *Craterus*, that when thesame *Craterus* was on a time sore sicke, *Alexander* did openly muche sacrifice to the Goddes for his helth, and wrote letters with his own hand to *Pausanias* his phisician, that he should with all diligence & atendance possible, not onely tempre drinckes and medicines for him, but also bee present with him to teache him howe thesame should be receiued.

* So highe in dignitee and autoritee were

Unto *Xenocrates* the Philosophier, he sent of free gift fiftie talentes: which when the Philosophier refused to take, alleging that he had no nede of money, the king demaunded whether he had not so much as any one frende neither, that had nede. For to me (saieth *Alexander*) vneth al the treasoures and riches of *Darius* hath suffised to bestowe & to deuide emong my frendes.

29. *Xenocrates* refused to take money of *Alexander*.

¶ Whether of these two mens mindes is in this behalfe more worthy admiration, I cannot yet determine nor perfectly saye: either of the kyng so propense vnto liberalitee, or els of the Philosophier, whiche sent backe again so great a gifte by so great a king of his owne mere motion offred.

The bountee of *Alexander* and propense minde to geue.

¶ Kyng *Porus* being subdued and taken by *Alexander*, and after the field foughten being asked by thesame *Alexander* this question. How shall I now handle and vse thee? *Porus* aunswered

30. How king *Porus* being taken by *Alexander*,

& asked howe
he would be
vused, made
answere.

The humanite
and modera-
tion of *Alex-
ander* toward
kyng *Porus*.

The affection
of *Alexander*
toward hertes
that would not
shrinke.

That kinges
may vse their
good fortune
with modera-
tion.

swered in this maner, Regally : *Alexander* ferther demaunding, & nothing els but that ? In this one word, regally (quoth *Porus*) all thinges possible are comprised, *Alexander* hauyng admiration as well at the wisdome of the man, as at his haulte courage and magnanimittee, conferred vnto the same besides his owne former royaltie a dominion of muche more large and ample circuittee then thesame whiche he was Lorde of before.

¶ To the saied *Porus* humbly summitting himselfe, and falling downe at his fete, *Alexander* would not haue shewed so muche goodnesse. Soche fauour, zeale, and affection did the courageous yong man beare toward hertes that would not shrink. *Quintus Curtius* telleth it somewhat of an other sorte.

Porus being at the daye of his taking asked the question, What waye he thoughte moste mete and conuenient for *Alexander* (by whome he was nowe conquered,) to take with him : Soche waye (quoth he) as this present daye may putte in thy minde, in whiche thou hast by experience found, how sone felicittee or high estate may haue a fal, and be brought full lowe.

¶ He gaue a by warning vnto *Alexander* not to be ouer proude of his good fortune, but to vse it with moderation bearing wel in mynde, to be a thing possible, that lyke chaunce might befall him, as had lighted on *Porus*.

☞ This *Porus* was one of the kinges of *India*, a stoute and a valiant man of armes, and also a man of greatesse puissance, whom *Alexander* had a busie piece of werke, and muche a doe to vanquishe. *Plutarchus* in the life of *Alexander* affirmeth many wryters to agree in this point, that *Porus* was in height sixe foote and one hand bredthe, where as the naturall Philosophers auouchen the vttermoste extente that maye possibly be of the height of a man, not to excede seuen foote. *Porus* was so tall of stature and personage, that when he sate on his Elephantes backe (for he vused to ryde on no other beaste) his tallnesse was answerable to the greatnesse of the Elephant that he rode on, although it was a mighty big Elephant. And *Plutarchus* writeth that thissame Elephant shewed euen at that season wondrefull prudence, and no lesse wondrefull loue towardes his maister, then
if

if it had ben a creature with reason indued. For as long as the king was safe without receiuing anye wounde, the Elephaunt made great stiering, & fought hardly against his enemies, and destroyed them on euery syde. And as soone as he perceiued *Porus* to be sore wounded, and to haue sticking in sondrie partes of his bodie very many dartes, fearing lest he should by reason thereof sinke and fall downe from his backe, of his owne accorde he sounke downe fair and softly vpon his knees, and with his snoute tenderly plucked out of his maisters body all the saied dartes, one after an other. And in deede of Elephantes howe disciplinable and of howe great prudence, dociltee and (as ye would saie) capacitee and aptitude they are, and also what tender loue & affection they doe naturally beare towards man: *Aristotle*, *Plinius*, and other naturall Philosophiers shewen examles almoste bothe innumerable and also incredible.

When it came to his eare, that there was a certain feloe, who ceassed not speaking the worste of him, Yea (quoth he) it is a thing to kinges peculiar, for their good desertes, to be euill reported.

¶ Neuer was there any thing more noble, or of a more righte sort, then this sayng, albeit thesame is named on diuerse others as well as on Alexander.

Being euen at deathes doore, he cast his yie on his frendes, and saied: I see a great *epitaphie towarde.

¶ As hauinge halfe a foreknowlage, that his actes should after his death bee to his great honour and renoume chronicled and set out by the eloquence of many wryters. Neither did his geasse deceiue hym.

☞ For what wryter almoste at leste wise in matters prophane is not full of the actes of *Alexander*? Albeit the meaning of *Alexander* was, that he plainly perceiued to be no waie but death. For epitaphies are not commonly made, or at lest wise not set out till the parties be deceased. *Alexander* therefore as he knewe that his actes should by wryters bee spred throughout all the worlde, so he perceiued the time of thesame nowe approche and be at hande.

At what time he had the daughters of Darius prisoners with him, he would bid them good morrowe, good euen, or good spede, not casting his yie on them, but looking downe to the grounde, and that but seldome neither, standing in feare of himselfe to be rauished with their
excellent

31.

No persones so muche askings for their wel-doinges are of som persons euill reported.

32.

* An epitaphie is the writinge that is sette on deade mennes tombes, or graues, in memory or commendacion of the parties there buried.

33.

Plutarchus in the life of *Alexander* writeth largely of the singuler continencie and chastitee

of *Alexander*, excellent beantie. And emonges his familiares these words folowing wer much in his mouth : The damiselles of Persia maken sore iyes.

though the wife of *Darius* did in beantie & feacture excol & passe all other queenes (like as *Darius* on his partie also was both of beantie and tallenesse one of the goodliest men of the worlde) and the two doughters of theim in all pointes of beantie and making eguall with their parentes : yet not one of theim in all the time that they wer with *Alexander*, to haue heard come out of his mouthe so muche as one wanton word, ne to haue seen by him any wanton loke or token to-wardes any of them, but from their first entreing into his tentes, after muche comfortable and cherefull wordes, and right honourable entreinment, they had purposely provided and appointed vnto them a priue lodging, wher they might liue at their owne arbitrimēt, without al maner feare of any point of vilanie to be offred vnto them, either by *Alexander*, or by any other persone. This wryteth *Plutarchus* of the continence of *Alexander*, with many lyke thinges worthy admiration, namely in an Ethnike or Gentile, in a king, in so victorious a Prince, yea and immediatly vpon so noble a conquest, as might in a Christian Prince perchance be an occasion of insolencie, and some cause of forgetting himselfe.

34. He gaue streight charge and commaundement by proclamacon, that his physiognomie or porturature should not be drawn by any other painter, then by * *Apelles*, nor engrauen or cast in brasse or other metall by any other persone then by *Lysippus*.

Alexander gaue charge by proclamacon not to be painted but of *Apelles*, nor to be engrauen in metall but by *Lysippus*.

* *Apelles* the moste excellent peynter of the old time, & *Lysippus* the best statuarie.

¶ Being the two principall and moste excellent werkemen of that same time. For he iudged that same point also to appertain to the dignitee of a prince.

† By a *Philippes* gildren is not mened here the coyne

that is now curraunt in Flaundes by that appellation, but an olde coyne of fine golde, in whiche was striken the Image of *Philippus* father vnto *Alexander*, which coyne *Budeus* valueth at tenne Frenche crownes.

And with *Cherilus* the Poete he was at a couenaunt, that thesame for euery good verse that he made, shoulde receiue a † *Philippes* gildren, and for euery euill verse a good buffet.

A mans goods are no where more safelye layd vp, then in the handes of his frendes.

35. Being asked the question in what place he had his treasures liyng : In the handes of my frendes (quoth he,)

¶ Signifyng that a mans goodes are no where more safely then so layd vp in store. For when the case requireth,

requireth, goodes so bestowed come again to ones handes with encrease.

When a certain persone, that hadde brought some message or tidinges, came renning towardes him hopping for ioye, and holding out his hande as ferre as he could stretche it, about to make relation of the good successe and proceding of his affaires: Alexander saied What great good newes haue ye to shewe good sir, if ye doe not bring worde, that Homere is aliue again?

The zeale of
Alexander to-
wardes Homere

¶ Signifying that all the glorie of his noble actes was like to perishe neuer after to be spoken of, onlesse it might be his happe to haue soche a trumpet of his laudes as *Homere was.

* In the werke of *Homere* entitleed, *Ilias*, are moste excellently described and set out the actes, the laudes; and the prowess marciall of *Achilles* to his immortall glorie and renoume. For whiche cause *Alexander* had soche loue and zeale towardes the saied Poete, that wheresoeuer he went, he caried thesame his werke entitleed *Ilias*, euermore about him in the daye time, and in the night vsed euermore to haue his dagguer, and the saied *Ilias* of *Homere* liyng vnder his bolster at his beddes heade. So desirous he was of honour, renoume and eternall memori, and to be set out of the best and most cunning doers, as maie appeare by somethings afore mencioned, and also by the .xl. saiyng of this *Alexander*.

A certain countree to the ende that it might haue quiet and rest, no more to bee vexed with the armure and ordinaunce of Alexander, offred vnto thesame a good porcion of their possessions, and also the one moytie of all the other goodes that they had. To whom Alexander thus aunswered. I am come into Asia in this minde and purpose, not to take what liked you to geue me, but that ye should haue what liked me to leaue vnto you.

37.

What *Alexander* aunswered to a certain citie offering him part of their landes, & halfe their goodes to be in rest and quiete.

Alexander had in seruice one Eudemonicus a Philosophier, but more full of flatterie then any parasite. This Eudemonicus, on a tyme when it thoundreed verie sore, in somuche, that all the coumpaignie were right euill afraied, saied
unto

38.

Eudemonicus a Philosophier in seruice with *Alexander* a gret flatterer. Albeit *Plutar-*

*claus maketh
Alexander
the Sophist
speaker of these
wordes.*

unto Alexander: the sonne of Iupiter, Why doe not ye also Alexander the sonne of Iupiter thoundre in this wyse? But the other not able to abide the woordes of soche a vile Philosophier, laughed and saied: For I am not willing to be terrible, as thou teachest me to be, which biddest me to make a supperservice for my table with the heddes of Dukes and Kinges.

** Athenaeus a
Greke historio-
grapher.
The tender loue
of Alexander
towards his
Lorde.*

¶ Thus doeth **Athenaeus* rehearse it. But *Plutarchus* in the life of *Alexander*, telleth it somewhat varyng from this. What? art thou angrie with me, because I am serued at my table with fishe, and not rather with the heddes of noble menne.

¶ *Parasites*, were called soche smellefeastes as would seek to be free geastes at richemens tables. Who to the ende that they might at all times be welcome, would speake altogether for to please and to delie the ryche folkes, flattering them, and holding vp their yea, and naye, whatsoever they saied, were it neuer so contrarie to reason, trueth, or likelyhood.

39.
*The exceeding
humanitee of
Alexander, and
tendrenesse
ouer his soul-
dours.*

Alexander as he conueighed his hoste from place to place in the wynter season, sitting by a fier made in the field, begonne to take vieu of his armie, as they passed by. And when he espied a certain aged persone quaking and she-uring for colde, and seeking to haue a place to stande in by the fier, he commaunded the feloe to sit down in his chayre, saying: If thou haddest been borne in Persis, it would cost thee thy head to sitte in the kinges seate, but for one born in Macedonia it is not vnleefull.

*Among the
Persians, it
was a matter
of death for
any private
person to sit in
the kings seate*

40. Alexander being yet but euen a young striepleing, when he sawe his father Philippus, about to reiecte and cast awaye (as a thing that would neuer be brought to doe any good service,) an * horse that was passing fierce, and would not suffre any man to mounte or get vp on his backe, saied: Oh what an horse these folkes doe marre, while through default of skill, and by reason of coward

coward stomakes, they haue not the waies to handle him. So when himself with meruailous policie and cunnyng, without beating or striking had had the handling of the saied horse, at last he lept vp on his back, and put him to a galop, and then clapped spures to him. And when he sawe his time, gently turning his head with the bridle: assone as he had brought the horse backe again, and had elighted down, his father moste louingly kissing his cheeke, said: O my dere sonne, go serche out some other kingdom meete for thee, for Macedonia is already all to litle for thee.

Macedonia was euer to litle for Alexander.

¶ Full well did it geue this prudent and wyse Prince in his mynde tofore that to soche an haulte courage, and excellent nature, his fathers dicion might not suffice. But this horse is an exauple for vs, that many wittes at their first beginning excellent, are in processe vtterly destroyed and loste through the fault of those that haue the breaking, trainyng, and bringing vp of them, who for the moste part knowe not the waye howe to ordre & rewle them, excepte they shall first haue made them of kindly horses, very sterke asses.

Many goodly wittes marred through the fault of the instructours.

* This horse was called *Bucephalus*, as ye would saye in English, bulles hedde, either of his ougly looke, or els of the figure and prient of a bulles hedde, with an hotte iron marked on his shoulder. One *Philonicus a Thessalian* had bought him for .xiii. talentes, purposely to the vse of king *Philippus*. But after this facte, *Alexander* had the horse, & vsed him for his owne saddle in all his warres afterwarde, vntill the horse was thirty yeares olde. And then was he deadly wounded in a certain battaill, and had moche cure doen vpon him to saue him, but it would not be. The death of *Bucephalus* *Alexander* tooke as heauely, as if he had lost one of his highest and derest frendes, in so much that he builded a citie in the place where the horse died, and for a memorie of the same called the citee *Bucephalon*, or *Bucephala*, or (as it is in *Plutarchus*) *Bucephalia*.

Thesame Alexander did continually shewe great honour and reuerence vnto Aristotle, to whome he had in his childhod been committed to be enstructed & taught, auouching himselfe to bee no lesse beholding to thesaied Aristotle,

41.

Alexander did continual reuerence to his master Aristotle.

We are no lesse

bounden to our
scholemaisters
then to our pa-
rentes.

then to his father, for that of his father he had
receiued entreaunce into this life, and of his
schoolemaister to liue well.

42.
How a Pirate
being taken
answered *Alexander*, when
he was exam-
ined.

When a rouer on the sea was taken & brought
before him, and was asked vpon whose suppor-
tacion he durst be so bolde to do soche mischief
on the seaes, he answered at fewe wordes as
foloeth : I (saieth he) because I so doe with no
more but one sely poore foyste, am called a
pirate, and thou, wheras, thou doest thesame
with a greate nauie, art called a king.

¶ *Alexander* meruailing at the fearelesse herte of the
feloe, gaue him perdone of his life.

Delphi, 43.
orum, a
toun in the re-
gion of *Phocis*,
where *Apollo*
had a notable
goodly temple,
and gaue vnto
Pilgrimes that
resorted thither
oracles, that is
to say answers
voices, & to-
kens from hea-
uen of soche
thinges as they
sought to
know, which
we cal werking
of miracles, &
thinges shewed
by reuolation.
Alexander toke
all to his au-
auntage, that
was to his ap-
petite and pur-
pose.

Where he had in his own persone purposely
made a iourney to *Delphos*, when the *Prophetisse*
there saied that she would in no wyse at that
present tyme desire of that goddes, any aunswere
of the matter whiche he was come for, (because
it were daies prohibited, during the which it was
not lefull, no not so muche as for the oracles
neither, to speake, or to geue aunswer in any
matters,) *Alexander* haling and pulling with him
thesaid prophetisse parforce, ascended into the
temple. And when the *Prophetisse* by his im-
portunitee and violent compulsion, enforced to
goe whether she would or not, spake these words.
Thou art inuincible my sonne. This is euen
enough of the oracle for me (quoth *Alexander*.)

¶ Accompting and rekening the womans priuate
wordes for an answeere of his purpose directly geuen
vnto him from the God.

44.
The assured
trust and confi-
dence of *Alex-
ander* to pros-

After that *Alexander* hauing taken a viage on
warrefare into Asia, had distributed, and in
maner geuen away by patentcs vnto his capi-
taines & men of armes all his possessions and
lande :

lande: vnto Perdicca asking this question, What haue ye nowe left to yourself sir king? Mary (quoth he again) hope. Then saied Perdicca: And as for hope shal be indifferent and commune for vs your souldiours, as well as for you, & so refused to take the lordship or mainour, whiche Alexander hadde assigned out for him.

¶ Soche assured truste & confidence had they on all handes conceiued, to make a prosperous and a luckie viage.

Thesame Alexander at the beginning of his reigne, when he sate in iudgemente vpon causes concerning life and death, he would euermore stoppe thone eare as long as the accuser was telling his tale. And beyng asked why he did so, The other eare (quoth he) I do wholly reserue & keepe for the partie defendaunt.

☞ Woulde Christe all Iudges would doe likewyse at these dayes.

Against *Caellisthenes in no behalf framing himselfe to the facions and guyse of the kinges court, but both in woordes and in his other demeanour openly pretending and shewing himselfe to mislike all that euer was doen there, Alexander had ofte in his mouthe this litle Greke verse.

μισῶ σοφιστήν, ὅστις οὐχ αὐτῷ σοφός.

I hate that wyse man, what euer he is,

That to his owne behouf, is not wyse.

* *Callisthenes* was a Sophiste, and a man of great eloquence as declareth *Plutarchus* in the life of *Alexander*. He was brought into *Alexanders* court, by the meanes of *Aristotle*, whose nere kinsman he was. For *Aristotle* and *Hero* the mother of *Callisthenes* were come of twoo sisters. *Plutarchus* saieth that some writers affirmen *Alexander* to haue hanged him on the galoos, and that other wryten him to haue died in prison, by reason of long keeping there in cheines & fetters, and that others saien him to haue died of the congeling of greace or talow betwene the skinne and the fleshe.

Being about to make assaute vpon the tounce 47.
of *Nisa, for to wynne it, when he perceiued his souldiours

per in all his enterprises.
Perdicca one of *Alexanders* Capitaines.
And *Plutarchus* writeth that as *Perdicca* did, so did a great nombre mo, to whome *Alexander* had geuen & assigned portions of landes & possessions.
45. *Alexander* wold in matters of complaint euer more reserue one eare wholly for the party defendaunt.

46. *Callisthenes* contemning the facions of *Alexanders* court at length grew out of fauour, and incurred his mortall hatred.

The froward-
nesse of *Alex-*
ander in mar-
ciall entre-
prises.

souldiours by reason of the deapth of the flood,
whiche renneth a long by the citie, to be clene
discouraged and afearde to auenture, he stamped
and sterted at it, crying out with a loude voice,
Oh the naughtiest feloe aliue that I am, whiche
neuer learned to swymme, and euen with a trice
laiyng his bodie vpon his shielde or terguet in
stede of a corke to staye him aboue water, he
swimmed ouer the floodde first of all his own
selfe.

* This *Nisa* was a toune in *India*, builded by *Bacchus*. For there was another
Nisa in *Egipt*, where *Bacchus* was nouriced by the Nymphes. There wer also
other townes mo then one or twaine of thesame name elsewhere, as testifien the
Geographiers.

48.
Alexander pro-
nounced *Achil-*
les happie that
euer he was
borne.

Makyng a iourney to Troie, and there arriued,
he decked and trimmed the image of Achilles
with garlandes, and saied, Oh, happie art thou
Achilles, that euer thou were borne, to whom in
thy life time, it fortunated to haue soche a frend,
and after thy decesse soche a trompet and dis-
plaier of thin actes.

Patroclus the
frend of *Achil-*
les in his life
time, and *Ho-*
mere the trom-
pette of his re-
noume after
his death.


¶ Speaking of *Patroclus* and of *Homere*: of which
the one was vnto *Achilles* a moste faithfull & trustie
frende, and the other, through all his whole werke en-
titled *Ilias*, conteinyng .24. volumes spredeth and
bloweth about all the worlde, his glory and renoume,
now when he is dedde and gone.

* *Patroclus* a *Locransian*, the sonne of *Menetius*, when he had doen a murder in
his own countree, fled into the countree of *Thessalia*, vnto *Peleus* the king there, to
whose sonne *Achilles* he was derely beloued, and a mutuall louyng frende to him
again, for he would neuer after forsake *Achilles*, but wente with thesame to the
bataille of Troie. And when *Achilles* (for displeasure and angre that *Agamemnon*
king of Grece had parforce taken awaie his paramour *Briseis*) would no more
fight against the *Troianes*, but did a long time forbear and refuse to come forth
of his paultion vnto battaill, *Patroclus* did on his owne body, the armour and har-
nesse of *Achilles*, and mindyng thereby to make the *Troianes* afeard, (for of all
things in the worlde, thei could not abide the sight of *Achilles*) he bickered and
fought with the *Troianes* and was slaine with the handes of *Hector*. Wherefore
Achilles to auenge his death, bethought himself again, & returned to battaill, &
slue *Hector*, and buried *Patroclus* honorably, & oft times did moche sacrifice to the
Goddess at his tounge.

Where

Where he was by the commune talking of many one reported to be a God, he saied that by twoo thinges especially, he did well perceiue him selfe to be a man or creature mortall, that is to wete, by slepe, and by compaigni yng with women.

¶ For that these two thinges did principally aboue all others discrie the feblenesse of mannes bodie. As touching all thinges els, he was inuincible. For slepe is an Image and representacion of death, and the acte of venerous copulacion a playne spiece of the falling euil.

 *Plutarchus* addeth hereunto that onely the infirmitie and wekenesse of mans nature is the breder and cause of werinesse, & of carnall pleasure.

Being entreed into the palaice of Darius, when he sawe a chaumbre of a great highth, and in thesame, the bedde of estate, the tables to eate on, and all other thinges after a wondrefull gorgeous sorte furnished, euen to the pointe deuise : Why (quoth Alexander) was this to be a king ?

¶ Esteaming that it was vnmete for a king to geue hym selfe to soche maner delices.

Thesame Alexander, whensoever he went vnto his bed, he would of a custome diligently serche his robes, and all his wearing geare, and saie : Hath not my mother (trowe we) put some point of delicatenesse or some superfluous thing here about my clothes ?

¶ So greatly did he abhorre from delices more appertaining to women, then to men.

Being brought vnto his handes a litle caskette or gardeuiaunce, in whiche there was not founde emong all that other rychesse of Darius, any one iewell either more precious or elles more goodlie to the iye. When the question was moued, vnto what vse it might best bee applied, eche man geuyng,

49.

By what argumentes *Alexander* perceiued his mortalitee.

Slepe an Image of death & the venerous acte a spiece of the falling euil.

50.

What *Alexander* saied when he sawe the palaice of *Darius*, so gorgeously appointed.

Vnmete for a king to geue himselfe to delices.

51.

Alexander abhorred effeminate delices.

52.

The precious casket, or deske or standishe of *Darius*.

Howe Alexander esteemed the Ilias of Homere, and why. geuyng, one this auise, an other that. It will be the best thing in the worlde (quoth Alexander) wherein to keepe the Ilias of Homere.

¶ Estemyng no treasure to bee more precious then thesaied boke. Soche was the conceipt of this king being in his lustie youth, & wholly in all behalves framing himself after the paterne of *Achilles*.


53. When Parmenio gaue thesame Alexander counsaill to set vpon his enemies by night, allegeing that otherwyse it would be a very great daunger, if he should openly by daye time auenture battaill vpon so great a multitude, (for of the roubleing noyse rebounding from a ferre, as it had ben the roring of the sea, thei might coniecture the contrarie part to be in maner a nnumber infinite) he said : I came not hether to steale the victorie.

The animositie of Alexander.

¶ Refusing to wyne the victorie by the defense or aide of the darkenesse.

54. When he had read a long bible written and sent to him from Antipater, in whiche lettres wer conteined many surmised matters and false complaints against his mother Olympias : It appeareth (quoth he) to be a thing to Antipater vnknown, that one teare of my mothers iyen, shal at al times washe away all epistles that come, be they neuer so many.

Antipater surmised false accusacions against Olympias the mother of Alexander. Howe muche Olympias might doe with Alexander with one tere of hir yies.

55. When he had perceiued and founde that his sister vsed wanton conuersation with a certain young man of excellent beautie, he toke no displeasure therwith, but saied, to be a thing reasonable, or, to bee a thing to bee borne withall, that she also should in some behalfe haue prerogatiue to take fruicion of being a princesse in a royallme,  Forasmuch as she was a kinges daughter.

¶ Being

¶ Being of a muchē contrarie mynde to *Augustus* Emperour of Rome, who toke nothing more greuously, then the laciuousnesse of his daughter and of his daughters daughters.

Read of this the vii. xlv. xlv. and xliiii. *apophthegmes* of *Augustus*.

When he had heard the Philosophier *Anaxagoras* holding opinion and mainteining in a certain lecture, that there wer worldes out of noubre, the reporte goeth, that he fell on weping. And to his frendes demaunding, whether any mischaunce had befallen him, meete to wepe for, he saied : Haue I not, trow ye, a good cause to wepe, in that, whereas there ben worldes innumerable, I am not yet come to be full lord of one ?

56.

The insaciabie ambition & desire of emper that reigned in *Alexander*.

Philippus at the fighting of a certain field receiued of the *Triballes* a sore wound by hauing a spere thrust quite and clene through his thighe. And being afterwarde by the cure and helpe of his Surgeon saued, and recouered from perill of death, yet he toke heauily, that the deformitee and disfigure of hymping on the one legge, whiche had come to him by thesaied wounde, did still remain. To whome *Alexander* saied : Sir, take no discourtfort to shewe yourselfe a-brode, but euer when ye sette foorth your foote to goe, haue minde on your valiaunt manhood.

57.

The *Triballes* a people nigh vnto *Hungarie*.

Philippus wounded in fighting a field against the *Triballes*.

Howe *Alexander* coumforted *Philippus* taking thought for that he should halte al daies of his lyfe.

¶ And prowesse that ye shewed when ye receiued this wounde.

¶ This sayng is ascribed to others mo besides *Alexander*.

If at any time, either in familiare communication, or els at the table, there had come in place any contention about the verses of *Homere*, one sayng this verse to be best, an other that verse, *Alexander* would euermore allowe & prayse this verse here ensuing, aboue all the other verses in the booke.

58.

What verse *Alexander* allowed best of all the verses of *Homere*.

ἀμφότερον,

ἀμφότερον, βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερὸς τ' αἰχμητής.

That is,

Both a good Capitaine to guide an armie,
And with speare & shield valiaunt and hardie.

Alexander avouched that Homere in collauding Agamemnon prophesied of him.

He would moreouer saie, that Homere did in this verse both make honourable report of the manhood and prouesse of Agamemnon, and also prophecie of thesame to come in Alexander.

59. *Hellespontus the narrow sea betwene Grece & Asia.*

At what time Alexander hauing passed ouer Hellespontus, went to see Troie, reuoluyng and castinge in his mynde the actes of auncient Princes of renoume, a certain persone promised to geue him the harpe of Paris, if he had any mynde to it. No, no, (quoth Alexander quickly again) I haue no neede at al of the harpe of Paris, forasmuch as I haue alreadie the harpe of Achilles.

Alexander hauing the harpe of Achilles, cared not for the harpe of Paris.

Paris the sonne of Priamus king of Troie, of whom is noted afore in the .iii. Apophthegme of Aristippus.

¶ Achilles beyng on his owne partie a knyght stoute and actiue, vsed euermore on his harpe to plaie songes of the laudes and prayses of hardie men and valiaunt, whereas *Paris* with his harpe did nothing but twang fonde fansies of daliaunce and lasciuiousnesse.

60. *The women of Darius his court were his wife, his mother, and his two daughters.*

Hephaestion somewhat bigger made, & taller of personage then Alexander.

Sygambris the mother of Darius.

On a tyme he went to see the women of Darius his courte, taking Hephæstion with him. And this Hephæstion (because he went at that tyme in thesame maner apparell that the king did, and also was of personage somewhat bigger made then he) Sygambris the mother of Darius kneeled vnto, in stede of the king. And when she had, by the nodding and becking of those that stoode by, well perceiued, that she had taken hir marke amisse, she was muche dismaied withall, and begonne of freshe to doe hir dutie vnto Alexander. Anon sayed Alexander: Mother, there

there is no cause why to be dismaied. For this man to is Alexander.

¶ Doyng to wete, that his frende was a seconde Alexander.

When he was come into the temple of Hammon, the minister there being an auncient saige father, welcomed him with these wordes, All haill *my sonne, and it is not I that doe call thee by this name, but the God Iupiter. Then saied Alexander, I take it at your hande O father, and wilbe contented from henceforth to be called your sonne vpon condicion that ye graunt vnto me the emper, and dominion of all the whole worlde. The priest went into the priue chauncell, and (as though he hadde spoken with God,) came forth againe, and aunswered that Iupiter did by assured promisse make him a graunt of his boune that he asked. Then eftsons saied Alexander. Now would I fain knowe, if there be yet remaining vnpunished of any of those persones whiche killed my father. To this the priest thus made aunswere: As many as put their handes to the sleing of Philippus, haue receiued condigne punishment for their offense euery one of theim, but as for your father, no mortall creature hath power to destroye, or to werke displeasure vnto, by laiyng awayte for him.

¶ Signifyng that he was the soonne of *Iupiter* and not of *Philippus*.

* *Plutarchus* writeth certain autours to afferme, that the minister welcomed hym in Greke, & mynding tenderly & gently to salute with this word *παῖδιον*, sonnekin, or litle sonne, tripped a litle in his tongue and by a wrong pronounciation in steade of *παῖδιον*, said *παῖδιος* which being diuided into two woordes *παῖ διός*, souneth the sonne of *Iupiter*.

Alexander esteemed Hephæstion a second Alexander, according to the prouerbe

amicus alter ego. ipse that is, two frendes are one soul and one body.

Howe Alexander coming into the temple of Hammon was saluted by the priest, or minister there.


Alexander made to beleue that he was the sonne of Iupiter and not of Philippus.

Where as Darius had set his armie royall of a 62.

☞ wondrous great noumbre, in a readinesse to fight

Alexander
taken with a
dedde slepe
euen in the daye
time when *Darius*
laye in the
campe ready
euery houre to
set vpon him,
what he saied
when he was
awakened.

fight, Alexander was taken with a meruailous dead slepe, in so much that being euen in the daie time, he coulde not holde vp his hedde, nor awake. At the last great perill and daunger being euen at hande, his gentlemen entring his bedde chaumbre, made him to awake. And when they saied vnto him, that they meruailed how he could in that present state of his affaires be so quiet and voide of all care, as to slepe so soundely. Mary (quoth he) *Darius* hath deliuered and quite discharged me of great carefulnesse and trouble of mynde, in that he hath gathered all his puissaunce together into one place, that we may euen in one daye trie, whether he shall haue the soueraintee, or els I.

 *Plutarchus* in the life of *Alexander* saith that *Darius* had in his armie vi. hundred thousand fighting men, besides those whiche were in his nauie on the seas.

63.
The *Corinthians*
made *Alexander* free
burgesse of
their citee.

The *Corinthians* had by Ambassadors geuen to *Alexander Magnus* to enioye the right of all their libertees and franchise. This kynde of pleasure doing, when *Alexander* had laughed to skorne, one of the Ambassadors saied: Sir, we neuer yet vnto this daye made any for euer free of our citie sauing now your grace, and ones afore time *Hercules*. This heard, *Alexander* with all his herte, accepted the honour vnto him offred.

¶ Whiche honour, partely the raritie made vnto him acceptable, and partlye, that he was therein ioyned with *Hercules*, a knight of moste high prayse and renoume.

64. At the siege of a certain citee, whyle he serched for the weakest places of the walles, he was stricken with an arrowe, but yet he would not leaue of his purpose. Within a whyle after that,

that, the bloud being staunched, the anguishe of the drie wounde encreaced more and more, and his legge flagging down by the horses syde, by litle and litle was all aslepe, and in maner sterke stife, he being of force constreigned to geue ouer that he had begonne, and to call for his Surgeon, saied to soche as were present: Euery body reporteth me to be the sonne of Iupiter, but this wounde saieth with an open mouth, that I am a mortall manne.

Alexander agnised & knowleged himselfe, to be a mortall man.

One Xenophantus customably vsed by certain 65.
measures plaiyng on a flute, to set Alexander
forthwarde to battaill. And all persones
woundring that musike should be of
soche force & power, one emong
them saied: If Xenophantus be
soche a cunning doer, leat him
plaie some measure to
call Alexander home
again from
makeinge
warres.

¶ Meaning that it was no very high point of cunning to bring a body to the thing,
whervnto thesame is of him
self propense, and of
his owne propre
nature inclined.


¶ The

¶ *The sayniges of Antigonus*

THE FIRSTE

KYNG OF THE MACEDONIANS.

☞ This *Antigonus* was of all the successours of *Alexander* moste puissaunt and mightie. And *Plutarchus* in the life of *Demetrius* saieth that *Antigonus* had by *Stratonice* the doughter of *Corthaeus* two sonnes, of which the one he called (of his brothers name) *Demetrius*, and the other (of his fathers name) *Philippus*. And thesame *Plutarchus* in the life of *Paulus Aemilius*, and els where in mo places then one saieth, that this *Antigonus* euen by the title of his birthe and descente, claimed to haue the name of a king, and first begun to reigne in *Asia*, after the deceasse of *Alexander*. Albeit (as thesaid *Plutarchus* in the life of *Demetrius* testifieth) the successours of *Alexander* wer not euen at the first called kinges, but certain yeres after, when *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, had on the sea subdued *Ptolomeus* the king of *Egypt*, & had destroied al his nauie, then came one *Aristodenus* a *Milesian* from *Demetrius* in post, & salued *Antigonus* by the name of kyng. Then *Antigonus* not onely on his owne partie and behalfe vsurped the name, the honour, the estate, & the ornautes and armes of a king but also sent vnto his sonne *Demetrius* a diademe, that is to saie, a kynges croune, together with letters, in whiche he called him a king. *Antigonus* reigned .xxii. yeres, and kepte in the time of his reigne many warres, and at last was slain, and died euen in the field.

- I.  *Antigonus* was an egre and a sore man, in taking exaccions of money of his subiectes. Whereupon, to a certaine persone, sayng, I wis *Alexander* was no soche man: A good cause why, quoth he again, for he reaped *Asia* & had all the eres, and I doe but gather the stalkes.

How *Antigonus* excused his greuous exaccions of money ermong his subiectes.

Alexander spoiled *Asia* & lefte it as bare as *Iob*.

¶ Meanyng that *Asia* sometime the richest and welthiest countree of the worlde, had been afore his tyme spoyled by *Alexander*, and that he must be glad and faine to scrape together what he might be able to get ermong them, hauing been afore in soch wyse pilled, and left as bare as *Iob*.

2. Beholding on a time a certain of his soul-diours to plaie at the balle, hauinge both their iackes

iackes and their salettes on, he was highly well pleased with the sight therof, and commaunded the capitaines of thesame soldiers to be called and fette, to thintent to geue them thanke, & to prayse them in presence of their capitaines: but when woorde was brought him, that the saied capitains wer drinking and making good chere, he conferred their captainships vnto those actiue souldiers, whiche hadde plaied at the balle, in their harnesse.

How Antigonus vsed certain of his capitaines which sate drinkeinge whyle their souldiers exercised themselves with playng at the ball in their harnesse.

¶ All vnder one both punishing the sluggishnesse of the capitaines, and with honour and promociō rewarding the actiuitee of the souldiers.

Euery bodie meruailing that wher in the beginning of his reigne he had been a very sore man, nowe being stricken in age, he gouerned his royalme with all mercie and gentlenesse: At the beginning, saith he, it behoued me to haue a kingdom, and at this daie I haue more nede of glory and beneuolence.

3. *Antigonus in the beginning of his reigne, a sore man, but in the later end full of al mercy and gentlenesse.*

¶ Mening, that an Empier is ofte times by the sweord and by roughnesse purchaced or acquired, but thesame not reteined, or long yeares continued, without the honest opinion that the subiectes haue of their king, and the hertie good wil of the prince mutually towardes his subiectes.

Thesame Antigonus vnto his sonne Philip being full of questions in presence of a great nombre, and sayng: Sir, when shall we remoue the campe? thus aunswered: What, art thou afeard, lest thou alone of all the coumpanie shalt not heare the trompette blowe?

4. *What Antigonus aunswered to his sonne being muche inquisitiue when the campe should remoue. Albeit Plutarchus nameth that it was Demetrius that was so inquisitiue.*

¶ Noting the lacke of experience and skylle in the young man, in that he would in the hearing of a great compaignie moue soche a question to his father, whereas in time of warre, the ententes and purposes

The ententes & purposes of princes oughte in no wise to be vttered in time of warre.

poses of princes, ought in no wyse to bee vttered ne disclosed, but as often as the campe must remoue, a troumpette geueth a knowledge therof to the vniuersall multitude all together.

5. How *Antigonus* disappointed the purpose of his sonne, seeking to be lodged in an house wher his loue was.

When his sonne the saied Philip being a young man, had made wondrous earnest request and suite to haue his lodgeing appointed him at a wedoes house, that had three faire & welfauoured daughters, Antigonus calling for the knight her-binger, saied vnto thesame: Wilt thou not see my sonne voyded out of soche a streight corner?

¶ He did not discerie howe the young mans herte was set, although he knewe thesame to seeke wheron to bestowe his loue, but founde an impedement by the narrowe rounge of the house in which the wedoe liued with hir thre daughters.

6. Sicknesse putteth vs in remembrance not to be proude in hart forasmuch as we bee mortalle.

After that he had perfectlie recouered of a sore disease and maladie, Well (saith he) al this is no harme. For this sicknesse hath giuen vs a good lesson, not to be proude in hart, forasmuche as we be mortal.

Insolencie one of the moste perilous diseases in the worlde.

It goeth not al amisse, when the lighter disease shifteth awaie the grater.

¶ Who had taught this Heathen kyng soche a pointe of philosophie, mete and worthy for any christian hart? His frendes lamented and bewailed, as a great euill, that he had been so sore sicke, but he enterpreted and toke, that to hym thereby had redounded more good then euill. The maladie had made his bodie leane, and bare of fleshe, but it endued & replenished his harte with sobernesse and humilitee. It had shreudly abated the strength of his bodie but from his harte it pulled awaie insolencie, that is to saie, presumption in takyng highlie vpon hym, whiche is one of the moste perillous diseases in the worlde. And therefore the matter goeth not all of the wurst, when the lighter maladie either forefendeth and debarreth, or els expelleth and driueth out the greater.

Hermodotus

Hermodotus a Poete had in his versis, written 7.
Antigonus to be the sonne of Iupiter. Antigonus readyng thesame, saied : To this thyng was that pissepot bearer, neuer made priuie, nor of counsaill by me.

The humilitee
of *Antigonus*.

¶ After a very pleasaunt sorte, mockyng the flaterie of the Poete, and with no lesse humilitee, agnifyng & knowlegyng the base linage that he was come of, in comparison of beyng sonne to *Iupiter*. *Lasanum* is Greke and Latine for an yearthen pissepot, or chaumber vesselle, and thereof *Lasanophorus*, a chamberer, or, a grome of the stoole, so that if *Antigonus* were the soonne of *Iupiter*, thesame thing had vnto that presente houre escaped vnknowen, aswell to his grome, whose daily office it was, to giue vnto hym, his vrinall in his chamber, as also to him self the saied *Antigonus*.

Lasanum.

Lasanophorus.

A certain persone sayyng, that All thynges wer 8.
honest and iuste, or leefull for kinges to do : By Iupiter, saith Antigonus, and euen so thei be, for the kinges of barbarous wilde, and saluage nations, but to vs that knowe what is what, those things onely are honest, whiche be honest of themselves, and onely soche things leefull, or standing with iustice, which are of their nature iust and leefull in verie deede.

How *Antigonus*
aunswere
one, sayyng al
things to bee
honest & leefull
for kinges to
dooe.

To good
kynges onely
soch thynges
ar honest and
iust as been in
verie deede honeste and iuste.

¶ He did with high grauitee dampe and put to silence, the flattryng wordes of the partie, by whose mynde and will all things should be permitted as leful vnto kinges and gouernours. For truly a kinge is not the rewle of honestee and of iustice, but the minister of them. And would God the eares of christian Princes neuer heard any lyke wordes spoken, or if they did, that they would with sembleable seueritee reiecte and abandon thesame. For what other thing saien those persones, who are alwayes harping on this streng, and syngyng this songe, that foloeth : What standeth

A king is not
the rewle of
honestee and
of iustice, but
the minister of
them.

standeth with the liking and pleasure of a Prince hath the force, strength and vertue of a lawe. And those who doen affirme a king not to be vnder bond or subiection of any lawes, and soche as doen attribute and assigne vnto a king twoo distincte powers, the one ordinate, and the other absolute, of which the first may doe no more nor no otherwyse, but as the lawes and statutes of a royalme, as couenauntes and bargaines betwene partie and partie, and as leages and agrementes publike betwene royalme and royalme doen require, & the other, whatsoeuer standeth with the pleasure, appetite, and phansie of the Prince.

9. Marsyas the brother of Antigonus had a matter of suite and trauese in the lawe: but he besought the king that the matter might be heard, and a secrete court purposely holden at home within his house for it. To whome Antigonus in this wyse made answer. If we doe nothing but according to iustice, it shalbe muche better that it be doen in open court, and in the face & hearing of all the people.

What *Antigonus* said to *Marsyas* his brother, beseeching that an accion of his might be heard and iudged in a secrete place, and not in open courte.

The vpright iustice of *Antigonus*.

¶ The naturall zeale and tendre loue toward his owne brother could not obtaine of the king, to haue so much as one iote of the lawe or of the ordre of iustice releassed.

And as for Marsyas he cloggued & bound on all sides with this saynge that could not possible be auoided. If thou knowe thy matter to bee naught, why doest thou sue, or trauese the lawe? if thou know thy cause to be good, and the lawe to be on thy side: why wouldest thou auoide to haue al the world priuie to it, and labourrest in any wyse to haue a matter of open court to be doen secretly in hugger mugger, assured there, not to escape or auoide the sinistre, mistrusting of al the countree, yea although thou shalt

It is to be gretylly mistrusted, if one labour to bring a matter of open courte into a secrete chamber.

shalt cast thine aduersary, and haue the matter rightfully to passe with thee?

Where he had on a time in the winter season, 10.
constrained his army and tentes to be remoued, vnto a place where was no store ne prouision of thinges necessarie, & for that cause certain of the souldiers spake many naughtie wordes of reproche by the king, not knowing him to be euen at their polles, he put abroad the loures of the tente with a ruttocke that he hadde in his hande, and saied: Sirs ye shall beshrewe yourselves, except ye go ferther of to speake euill of me.

The lenitee & mercifulnesse of *Antigonus*.

¶ What thing more full of mercie then this worde of pleasaunce? or what thing more full of pleasaunce then this deede of mercie? he sembled and made as though he toke not indignation or displeasure for their speaking euill of him, but for that they did it so nere his nose, that they might easely be heard of the partie, on whome they railled.

Unto one *Aristodemus* (who was one of the 11.
kinges priue chambre nere and familiar about him, but descended (as it was thought) of a cooke to his father) vnto this *Aristodemus*, auising him to abate somewhat of his great charges, and of his bounteous geuing rewardes and fees, he said. *Aristodemus* thy wordes doe smell and sauour all of the gruell.

How *Antigonus* aunswered one *Aristodemus*, auising him to abate of his charges & pensions giuing.

¶ Couertely and by a preatie colour telling him that sparing, pinching and playng the nygardes or haynes, belonged to cookes, and not to kinges: and therefore that he the saied *Aristodemus* in soche counsaill geuing had no remembraunce ne consideration with whome he was of housholde in high degree, fauour, and acception, but of what man to his father he was descended.


Bountie & largesse is befalling for kinges

12. When the Atheniens, to shew honour vnto Antigonus, had admitted & recorded or enrolled a bondman of his in the number of their free citezens or burgesses, as though thesame had ben come of an honest stocke, or had ben borne out of seruitude and bondage. It is no point of my minde or wil (quoth Antigonus) that any citezen of Athenes should come vnder my handes to be scourged with whippes.

What *Antigonus* saied, when the *Atheniens* had made a bondman of his free citezen among them.

In olde time it was lefull for the maisters to beatetheirbondseruauntes with rodde, or to scourge them with whippes at their owne pleasures, & as often & as moch as them lusted.

¶ Signifiyng to bee a thing of their own voluntarie doying and of their owne handie working, that he might lawfully scourge, or beate with whyppes one citezen of *Athenes*, beyng & remaining still his bondman : but yet in the citee of *Athenes* many mo then one to had well deserued to be whipped of the king, for that as-muche as in them laie they releassed and made free another mans bondseruaunte.

13. A certaine young strieplyng, beyng a disciple or scholare of Anaximenes the rhetorician, pronounced in the presence of Antigonus an Oracion deuised and made by his maister not without great studie, and the young thing taught afore for the nones, and purposely brought in to pronounce it,  (As though the Oracion had been of his own making, and that it might none otherwise appeare vnto the king.) And so when Antigonus in the middes of geuing audience vnto the proposition (being desirous to be certified and to haue knowledge of whatsoever it was) asked a question, and the young man forthwith had sodainly stopped in his matter not able to proceade in it, nor hauinge a worde more to saie : Why howe saiest thou (quoth the king) was not this also drawn and copied out for thee afore in a booke ?

¶ That this kyng iudged contrarie to all reason and reprocheable, in one that was in maner but euen a very


very childe, thesame nowe at this daie is accoumpted an high point and royall thing, that is, euen graund seigniours hauing to saie before kinges and princes, to cunne by herte, and to rendre again after the maner of an oration or sermon, hauing ben in making a whole halfe yere together with sore labour and study by some rhetorician or learned man hiered thereunto. And many times it chaunceth, that soche persones, (yea euen no body at all breaking their tale) forgotten theimselfes, and fallen clene out of their matter, & maken all the presence to laugh at theim.

Bosome Sermons and orations of an other mannes making.

Hearing one other rhetoritian rolling in his painted termes, and telling his tale after this curious sorte, *χιονοβόλος ἡ ὥρα γενομένη λειποβοτανεῖν ἐποίησε τὴν χώραν* that is, The snowe casting season nowe coming in place, hath made this climate vtterly desolate of herbage, or hath brought this climate to clene disherbageing : Why (quoth he) wilt thou not surceasse to deale with me, in thy termes, as thou doest with the simple innocentes of the commen people ?

14.

Antigonus was moche offended with a *Rhetorician* vsing ouer curious ynkehorne termes in telling his tale.

¶ The king was muche offended and displeased with the ouer exquisite maner of telling his tale, with the which maner curious filed termes the *Rhetoricians* vsen to set out their painted sheath among the vnexperte or ignoraunt multitude of the people. But the same to do before a king was an abusing of the Princes pacience. In stede of these wordes, *χιονοβόλος ἡ ὥρα*, the snowe casting season, he might haue saied, the wynter season. And these wordes, *λειποβοτανεῖν ἐποίησε*, that is, hath brought this climate to clene disherbageing, smellen all of the inkehorne, and maye scacely be well licenced vnto a Poete,  muche lesse to an Oratour.

A Clime is a region or coste of a countree.

Unto Thrasillus a Cynique asking of him, in the waye of a rewarde a grote or six pence : That is no rewarde for a kyng to geue (quoth he) The Cynique

15.


How *Antigonus* defeacted a *Cynique* Philoso-

phier asking a reward of him. Of the valour of a drachme & a talent it is noted afore in the seconde sayng of *Aristippus* & xlvj. leafe.


Cynique eftsons replying Well, then giue me a talent : Nay (quoth he) that is no mete reward for a Cinique to receiue.

¶ So on both sides he defeated and disapointed the importunitee or saucinesse of the crauer that would not bee aunswered, whom he deamed not worthie to haue any good doen hym.

How *Antigonus* exhorted his soonne *Demetrius* when he sent him forth with an armie to deliuer Grece

16. When he sent his soonne  *Demetrius* with a great nauie and with a great puissaunce of soldiers for to deliuer the Grekes, and to set them free from all yokes of homage or forren subiection : he saied, that glory and renoume was like a beaken, enkindled or set on fire from Grece, as from a mountain with an high top, to extende & sprede light ouer all the whole vniuersall worlde.

¶ Prickyng forthward the yong man with desire of glorie, to make hym doe the part of a valiaunt knight, forasmoche as by so doying, the brute of that same his high praise and commendacion was not to be hidden or pended, within the limites and precintes of Grece, but rather to ren abroade, throughout all coastes and partes of the worlde, by reason of the greate fame and name that Grece had euey where all readie.

 Wher it is afore noted that *Antigonus* had two sonnes, & named the one by his brothers name *Demetrius*, & the other by his fathers name *Philippe*, *Plutarchus* saith that soche was the fame & brute that went of him. Albeit (saith *Plutarchus* in the life of this *Demetrius*) many chronicleers haue left in wryting, that this *Demetrius* was not the sonne of *Antigonus*, but his brothers sonnes sonne. For the father of *Demetrius* being deceased, and his mother being married vnto *Antigonus*, *Demetrius* being a very young infant, was beleued to be the sonne of *Antigonus*, and muche the more, because that *Philippe* being twoo or thre yeares younger of age then *Demetrius* died, and *Demetrius* was by *Antigonus* made his heire apparaunt, to succede him in his crowne and emper.

The familiare iesting between the king *Antigonus*, & the poet *Antagoras*.

17. The Poete *Antagoras* he founde on a time in his tente sething a coungre, & buisily stiering the panne with his own hands : and standing euen herd at his polle behind him, he saied : Doest thou suppose O *Antagoras* that *Homere*, when he wroote

wroote the actes of Agamemnon,* did sethe counGRES as thou doest nowe? To this saied Antagoras again: And thou sir king, doest thou suppose that Agamemnon in the tyme of doing those noble actes, made soch curious searchyng as thou doest, if any bodie in the hoste sodde any Coungers?

¶ The Kyng toke paciently & in the good part, to be paid home ieste for ieste, euen as though the matter had ben betwene twoo familiare plaifeers eguall of degre or feloes like.



king of them all. But at his retourne from Troie he was slaine by his owne wife *Clitemnestra*, by the helpe of *Egiptus* who kept hir by adulterie, because he had (as *Clytemnestra* supposed) slain *Iphigenia* his daughter and hers in sacrifice vnto *Diana*, at the porte of *Aulia*, when the Grekes should take their viage towardes Troie.

* *Agamemnon* the king of *My-cena*, and of all the *Argiues*, the sonne of *Atrius* and the brother of *Menclaus* king of *Lacedaemon*, (for whose wife *Helene*, all the kings of Grece made warre against Troie.) And *Agamemnon* was the hedde and chief

Antigonus had on a season in his dreaming, 18. seen Mithridates reping golden corn, and therefore laied awaite to haue thesame Mithridates by the backe, and to despeche hym out of the waie. And when he had opened this matter vnto his soonne Demetrius, he bound thesame by an oth, to make no wordes at all of it. Wherefore Demetrius taking Mithridates in compainie with him, went walking vp and down on the sea banke, & with the nether ende of his spere wrote in the sande, as foloeth: Mithridates auoide the countree. Mithridates* well perceiuyng what the matter meant, fled into Pontus, and there reigned as kyng, al the daies of his life after.

The faithfulness of *Demetrius* toward *Mithridates* his frend sauing his oth vpright, and not breaking the commaundemente of *Antigonus*.

* Of this *Mithridates* kyng of *Pontus*, it is written that he was a man of a mightie great stature, strong of bodie, of a noble courage, of excellent wit and policie and of incredible memorie. For where

¶ But this historie, forasmoche as it is no *apophthegme*,  (for an *apophthegme* consisteth in woordes spoken) semeth to haue been put in by some other bodie.  Then by *Plutarchus* who compiled the treatise of *apophthegmes*. Albeit woordes after soche sort, and for soche purpose written, maie haue the force, strength, and place of woordes, with the tongue and voice pronounced.

where he was king of .22. nations, it is certain that vnto euery of thesame, seuerally he made lawes, and kept courtes, and ministred iustice in their own tongues, and that during the time of his reigne, whiche continued by the space of .56. yerres, he neuer neded the helpe of any interpreter betwene him and any of the nations being vnder his obeisaunce & subiection, but would talke withall and singular persones of thesaied nations in their own languages. He kept warre against the Romaines many yerres. At last he was discomfaicted by *Lucius Scylla*, and vterly ouercommmed by *Pompeius Magnus*. And at last being besieged in a certain castle by his owne sonne, he toke poyson to destroye himselfe, but when he sawe that it would not worke vpon him (for he had by the continuance of long and many yerres, accustomed himselfe to take euery daie preseruatiues & immediatly vpon the preseruatiues to take poyson purposely, that if any soche chauce fell it might not hurte him) he called one of his trustie seruantes to slea him, and where as the feloe being with the very sight of his maister dismaied, failed in herte, nor had the power to execute that deed *Mithridates* called him backe again, and helped his hand to the ministerie of cutting his owne throte.


19. When the frendes of Antigonus aduised hym, that in case he should winne and take the Citee of Athenes, he should fense and ward thesame with strong fortresses, and sure garisons, to thende that it might no more fall to rebellion, & that he should with most earnest cure and diligence kepe it, as the fundament, the staie, or the leaning poste of all Grece: he aunswered that he had euermore been of this mynde, that he beleued none to be a more sure fortresse or garison of a royallme then the beneuolence and hertie loue of the subiectes towards their prince.

Athenes the foundamente of all Grece, and the onelie poste to leane to.

The most sure garrison of a realme, is the beneuolence of the subiectes towards their Prince.

20. Thesame Antigonus when he heard reported that all the other kynges of Grece had conspired his destruction, woundrous presumptuously aunswered, that he would with one stone, & with one shought make them al to take their heeles and to ren euery man his waye, euen as one should spring a whole flight of byrdes pecking vp corne newly sowed.

What Antigonus saied when it was shewed him that al the other kynges of Grece, had conspired his exterminacion.

 But neuerthesse in this battail was *Antigonus* slain, and *Demetrius* vanquished and put to flight, and al their kingdome spoiled, and parted emong *Antiochus Seleucus*, and the other Princes that made warre against them, as testifieth *Plutarchus* in the life of the saied *Demetrius*.

When

When Antigonus had camped in the browes 21.
or edges of felles and cliefes, and in places all
vneuen and full of pittes, arising and hanging in
height muche about the plain champion grounde,
Pyrrhus after pitching his tentes about Naplia,
sent on the next morow by an harald of armes
to bidde him come downe into the plain, &
there to assaie and trie what he could dooe in
battaill. But Antigonus made answer, that his
maner of battring stode not a whit more in the
furniture of harnesse and ordinaunce, then in the
oportunitē of times when to fight, and that for
Pyrrhus, (in case thesame were wery of his life)
there wer wayes many enough open or readye
to dispetche & ridde him out of the worlde.

This was
at the siege of
Argos a noble
citee in *Achaia*.
For *Pyrrhus*
& *Antigonus*
came thither
both at one
time, and both
in mynde and
purpose to win
the citee. But
the *Argiues*
sending to ei-
ther of them
Ambassa-
dours, & prai-

ying them to holde their handes, and to absteyne from doing iniurie to a foren citee
whiche neither of them bothe had anye right or title vnto, *Antigonus* promised
to departe and gaue vnto the *Argiues* in hostage thereof his sonne *Alcyoneus*. But
Pyrrhus, where as he promised to doe thesame, yet did it not, but by night entreed
the citee vnawares and vnknowyng to the *Argiues* till he was euen in the middes
of their high streete. Then were the *Argiues* faine to desire *Antigonus* to come with
aide and rescue and so he did. And ther and then was *Pyrrhus* slaine.

Antigonus beyng asked the question, Whiche 22.
of all the capitaines of his time, he iudged to
surmount all others in worthinesse, Marie, * *Pyrrhus*
(quoth he againe) if he might liue to be an
old man.

¶ He gaue not a determinate sentence, that *Pyrrhus*
was alreadye the verie best, but that he was like to be
the principall best in deede, if age & continuaunce of
tyme might acquire, the experience and perfect know-
lage of thynges.

* *Pyrrhus*
was king of
the *Epirotes*
(a nacion be-
twene *Mace-*
donie and *Illy-*
ricum whiche
Illyricum is
now called
Slauonie)
moche praised
of all writers,

for a gentle and a courteous king, wittie, politike, quick in his buisnesse, auentur-
ous and hardie, and of soche a stiering nature, that (as *Plutarchus* in his life testi-
fieth) neither hauing gotten any victorie or conquest, nor yet being venquished or
ouercomed, he could quiet himself to be in rest and peace. And *Plutarchus* in the
life of *Anniball*, and also of *Titus Quintius Flaminius* telleth, that when *Scipio*
among many other thinges, required *anniball* to shewe him, euen as he thought in
his minde whom he reputed of all that euer had been, or were then aliue, to be the
moste worthie and moste noble captain of an army. Marie (quoth *Annibal*) *Al-*

exander

exander the greate, I esteeme to be chief and principall, and next vnto him *Pirrhus*, & my self the third. And of thesame *Pirrhus* he saied at an other time, that if he had had the feacte to hold and kepe an Empire, as well as he could achieue and winne it, he had had no cousin. Al this was doen when *Pirrhus* would haue taken the Citee of *Argos*, as is saied in the annotacion of the *apophthegme* next afore going.

23. Thesame Antigonus seyng one of his soldiours, beyng in all behalves, or, at all assaies stoute and valiaunt, and foreward or prest to enterprise all maner hasardes or auentures, to bee not verie well at ease in his bodie, demaunded what was the matter, that he loked so pale and wan of colour. When the partie had confessed vnto hym a priuie disease, liyng within his bodie. Antigonus commaunded his Phisicians, that if it might possibly by any meanes be doen thei should giue medicins that might cure him. But the soldier being now clene ridde of his maladie, begon to waxe euill willing, slacke, & lothe to fight, and with lesse forewardnes, to put himself in any perilles or daungers. The king greatly meruailing there at, asked of him, what was the cause of his minde so chaunged. Then saied the soldiour: For soth sir, euen you and no man els hath been the cause. For when I liued in continuall anguishe and pein, I had no feare of my life, beeyng in soche case, but now, sens by your meanes, my life is becom more dere vnto me, I am moche more charie, that it maie not be lost.

The tendernes of *Antigonus* towardes his soldiours if thei were sicke.

Felicitee maketh menne timorous and false harted.

24. Antigonus the first vnto a certain Sophiste, offryng him a booke, conteinyng a traictise of iustice, saied: Certes thou art an vnwise man, whiche, where thou seest me with all ordeinaunce of warre, werkynge and doing mischief, to the citees of foreners, yet neuerthelesse, wilt nedes talke to me of iustice.

This *Antigonus* was the firste king of that name and there was besides him an other *Antigonus* the seconde king of *Macedonie*.

¶ His

¶ His meanyng was, that soche persones as either for the enlargyng of their dominion, or els for to purchace glorie and renoume, doen make warre vpon alien citees, or foren countrees, can not saue the lawes of iustice vpright.

Antigonus the first, when he had often times suffred Bias importunatly, troubleing him with begging this and that: at last beyng ouercomed with werinesse thereof, Sirs, (quoth he) deliuer vnto Bias a talent, though it bee perforce and againste my stomake.

¶ Signifying that *Bias* had not with his good harte and will, obtained that benefite, but rather had forcibly and by violence extorted thesame, with importune and endelesse crauyng.

Antigonus, when he had heard in the derke night season, certain of his soldiours wishyng all the mischief possible, vnto the kyng, that had brought them into that euill pece of waie, and into that moire, not possible to wade through, or to geat out of, he came to them that were moste encombred, and when he had dispeched them out of the moire (the parties not knowyng who had succoured and holpen them, so wel to passe through it: Now, (quoth he) curse Antigonus by whose fault ye haue fallen into this encombreaunce, but wishe well to thesame, and praie for him, that he hath now recouered you againe, and brought you out of this goulfe or quauemoire.

¶ With this sole auengement, was the right noble hart of this kyng contented and satisfied.

Thesame Antigonus when the Grekes wer besieged, in a little pretie pile or castle and the same Grekes, vpon thaffiaunce and boldnesse of the place (because it was a verie strong holde, of so smal a thing) setting their enemie at naught, made moche

Soche persons as for Empire or for glorie doen inuade foren citees, cannot saue the lawes of

25. Iustice vpright.

With what wordes *Antigonus* gaue a talent vnto *Bias*, of whose importune crauyng he could not be ridde.

26.

The excedyng humanitee and most noble hart of *Antigonus*, in auenging euill wordes spoken by hym.

27.

Antigonus lowe
of stature, and
hauing a flatte
nose.

What *Antigonus*
saied when
the Grekes,
whom he be-
sieged in a
castle, iested &
railled at hym
ouer the walles

How men ta-
ken prisioners
in battaill,
wer vsed in old
time.

The humanitie
of *Antigonus*
and lenitee to-
ward his ene-
mies.

moche and great iestyng, at the deformitee and
bleamishes of *Antigonus*, and made many
mockes and skornes, now at his dwarfishe low
stature, and now at his nose as flat as a cake,
bruised or beaten to his face : I am glad yet
(quoth he) and trust to haue some good chaunce
and fortune by it, now that I haue * *Silenus* in
myne armie. And after that he had with lacke
of vitailles, brought those choploges or greate
pratlers, as lowe as dogge to the bow (as the
maner is to do with soche persones, as are taken
prisoners in warre, that is to wete, soche as maie
doe good seruice in warre to be appoynted,
sorted, and placed vnder one baner or an other,
among the ordinarie soldiours, and the residue
to bee offred to sale by an open crie) he saied
that he would not doe so with them neither, sa-
uing for that it was expedient for them, to haue
some maister, to correcte and punishe them,
which had soche naughtie tongues.

¶ This sayng I suppose to be al one with that
whiche *Plutarchus* maketh mencion of, sayung that it
is otherwise tolde of *Seneca*.

* *Silenus* was the fosterfather of *Bacchus*, whom for his monstreous misshape, &
for his fonde toies, *Iupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Bacchus*, *Mercurie* and *Vulcan*, and the
vniuersall compaignie of the Poeticall Goddes, vsed for their foole (soche as our
princes and noble men haue now of daies) to make them sport and pastime to
laugh at. For it was an euill disfigured apish body, croumpe shouldred, short
necked, snatnosed, with a Sparowes mouth, full of vngracious pranks of laugh-
ter, clad in a fooles cote, neuer without his belle and his cockes combe, and his in-
strument whereon to plaie toodle loodle bagpipe, moche after the facion of fooles
(soche as are exhibited in Morice daunces, and soche as are painted in many pa-
pers or clothes with wide mouthes, euer laughing with their Jille, hauing fooles
hoodes on their heds, with long asses eares.) By the paterne and likenesse of this
Silenus, wer deuised and made in old time, to set in the galaries and chambers of
noblemen, little monstreous and eluishe mishapen Images, so wrought that thei
might be taken one piece from an other, and that thei had leaues to fold and to
open. These Images being shut close represented nothing, but the likenesse of a
fonde and an euill fauoured mishappen bodie, made like a foole, blowing on a bag-
pipe, or a shalme, or on some other facioned pipe, but thesame being vfolded and
spred abroad, shewed some high mysticall matter, and some excellent piece of
werke full of maiestee, moste contrarie to that it shewed, to be at the first vieu when

it

it was shut. Unto this sort of Images doeth *Alcibiades* in the werke of *Plato*, entitled, the Banquet, compare and liken *Socrates*, because thesame was a moche other maner man, if one sawe him throughlie, and tooke view of his minde and harte within, then at the first blushe, in apparaunce of bodie he semed to be (as who lusteth to reade, maie se more at large in the prouerbe *Sileni Alcibiadis*, in the chiliades of Erasmus.) And to thesame alluded *Antigonus* signifiyng, that although he wer of personage, of feacture, and in shape not moste comelic, nor all of the beste made, yet in good qualitees of the minde, in feactes of policie, in Marcialle prowesse, in knowlege of gouerning a realme, and in all semblable princelie vertues, he gaue place to none other of his progenitours, the kinges that had been tofore him. Yet *Plutarchus* saith in the life of *Demetrius*, that thesame *Demetrius* was a verie tall manne of personage and stature, and yet not althing so tall as his father.

Thesame *Antigonus* when he had taken vp 28.
in his hande an instrument, written in greate letters of texte hande: Yea Marie (quoth he) these letters are big enough to se, euen for a blinde mannes iyes.

Antigonus iested at the impiedimente of his owne iyes.

¶ Jestyng at the bleamishe and impediment of his own *iyes. For he had no more but one iye to see withall. But those same words, an other bodie should not haue spoken without ieoperdie, and perill of his beste iointe, whiche thyng euen so proued, and came in vre by † *Theocritus* the *Chian*, of whom in an other place and tyme shalbe mencioned.

* *Antigonus* being a singulare good manne of war in his yong lustie yeares, when *Philippus* the father of *Alexander*,

laie in siege of *Perinthus* (a noble citee of *Thracia*, in the coste of *Propontis* now called *Heraclea*) had the one of his iyes stricken cleane out with the shotte of a quarell, out of a crosse bowe. And many persones approchyng vnto hym, and addressyng to plucke out the quarrell, *Antigonus* would not suffre them, but let it sticke still, neither did he plucke it out or departe aside or ceasse fighting, vntill he had discomfaicted his enemies, within the walles of the citee, and put them to flight.

† The historie of *Theocritus* the *Chian*, doeth Erasmus write in the .vi. booke of his *Apophthegmes*, as foloweth: When *Theocritus* had been attached and should be brought afore the king *Antigonus* and the persones whiche led him by the armes, bid him to bee of good chere, for that he should escape, and bee aswell as euer he had been, at the firste houre of his coming vnto the kinges iyes. Naie (quoth *Theocritus*) now ye put me clene out of all hope of my life to bee saued. Geuyng a sore bityng, or bloudie worde towards the king, that he had but one iye, and not iyes. The king no soner heard of the feloes iesting, but he commaunded thesame streight waies to be hanged on the galoes.

Kyng *Antigonus*, when woorde was brought 29.
vnto him, that his sonne *Alcyoneus* was slaine fightyng in the felde: stooode hanging doune his hed a pretie space, musing or studyng with himself

What *Antigonus* saied when he heard that his sonne *Alcy-*

*oneus was slain
in battaill.*

self in his mind, and within a while he brake out into these wordes : O my sonne Alcioneus thou hast chaunged life for death, not so sone as of right thou shouldest haue doen, which hast so vndiscretely assailed thine enemies and auentured vpon them, not hauyng regard neither of thine owne life, nor of my often warnynges to beware.

*Antigonus
thought hym
not worthie to
be mourned for
that had been
cast awaie
thorowe his
owne folie.*

¶ He thought his owne sonne not worthie to bee mourned or sorowed for, whiche had through his owne folie miscaried, & had ben the procurer of his own casting awaie. This is tolde of the report of *Plutarchus*.

30. Thesame Antigonus seyng his sonne Demetrius somewhat fierslie or roughlie, and after a straunge sort of lordlinesse, vsing or handlyng his subiectes, ouer whiche he had empier and dominion, saied : Sonne art thou ignoraunt, that our state of reigning, or beyng kinges, is a seruitude faced or set out, with dignitee & worship ?

*Reigne or Em-
pire, sauing for
the dignitee is
a mutuelle
seruitude.*

¶ Nothyng might possibly be spoken, with more high wit or prudence. For aswell is the prince constreined to serue the commoditee of the people, as the people to serue the turne of the Prince, sauynge that the Prince dooeth it with a prerogatiue of dignitee, that thyng accepted, in verie deede it is a mutual seruitude, of the one partie to the other.


*A prince per-
petuallie careth
for the welth of
his subiectes.*

For the prince bothe night and daie, perpetually careth for the safegard, tranquillitee, defense, commoditees, wealthe, and auauuncement of his subiectes, neuer satisfied ne pleased with his owne felicitie, excepte it bee all well with his people to.

¶ Now to the entent that wee maie after a sorte make some likely matche of Romaines with the Grekes, we shall to *Alexander* sette *Iulius Cesar*, to *Philip* we shall sette *Augustus*, and to *Antigonus* we shall tourne *Pompeius* of Roome.

¶ *The*

¶ *The saynges of Augustus Caesar.*

 *Octavius Augustus Cesar* was the sonne of *Octavius* by *Iulius Cesars* sisters doughter, whiche *Iulius Cesar* the first perpetuall Emperour of Rome, had before his death made a will, by whiche he adopted, that is to say freely chose thesaid *Augustus* to be his sonne and heire, and executour, and successour, *Augustus* then beeyng a young man absent from Rome, a scholare or studente in *Apollonia* (a good citee of *Macedonie* 7. miles from the sea into the lande ward, at the first inhabited by *Corinthians*, purposelic sent thether to inhabite, when it was deserte) afterward this *Augustus* being come to Rome, and set in possession of soche gooddes, as thesaid *Iulius* had lefte vnto him, and hauing purchased the fauour and benouolence of the citezens, by reason of distributing certain legacies of *Iulius* vnto the people, he ioyned himself in societee with *Marcus Antonius*, & *Marcus Lepidus*. And these three diuided all the whole Empier of Rome betwene them, to hold by strong hande, as it had been by a iuste and right title of enheritaunce due vnto them. In processe *Augustus* and *Antonius* (not withstanding all bondes of societee, league, and alliaunce) fell out, and warred either againste the other, *Antonius* at length was driuen into Egypt, where he was receiued into the citee of *Alexandria*, and aided by *Cleopatra* the quene there (who loued him.) And there did he gore himself through the bealie with a sworde. And *Augustus* tooke *Cleopatra*, and all her richesse and iewelles, and wonne the citee, &c.



Hen *Rhymerales* kyng of the *Thracians* (who had among other kinges mo forsaken *Antonius*, and taken the parte of *Augustus*) did at a certain banquet verie arrogantly, or with many high braggyng wordes, make greate vaunte of his desertes towardes *Cæsar*, and without ende entwyng thesame, with taking his part in warre, made moch tittle tattle, nor would in nowise linne pratyng thereof: *Cæsar* makyng as though he marked not the reprochefull chattyng of thesaid *Rhymerales*, dranke to one other of the kinges, and saied: The treason I loue well, but the traitours I doe not commende.

¶ Signifyng, no thanks at all to be due vnto soche persones, as haue doen a man a good turne, by committing

I.
Rhymerales
king of the
Thracians for-
sooke *Antoni-*
us, and tooke
the part of *Au-*
gustus Caesar.

What *Augus-*
tus Caesar
said when
Rhymerales
made vaunte
of his desertes
towards him.

No thanke at
all is due to
them that doe
an other bodie
a pleasure, by
committing

treason on
their owne
behalf.

mitting treason on their own partie. For though the pleasure, that thei shewen be for the tyme acceptable, yet are the parties selues reputed for naughtie feloes, and breakers of league and faithfull promises afore made to an other.

2. When thinhabitauntes of Alexandria (~~the~~ the hedde citee of all Egypte) after their citee entred and taken by force of armes, thought to haue none other grace, but vtter exterminacion by fier and bloudshed, Augustus got him vp into an high place, taking with hym euen by the hande, one Arius a Philosophier of thesame citee borne, and saied vnto the people, that he did freelie perdon the citee : first for the greatnes and goodlinesse of the citee self : secondarily, for the respecte of Alexander the great, that was the firste founder, edifier, and builder of it : and finally for to do his frende Arius a pleasure.

The clemencie
of Augustus to-
wardes the
Alexandrines
when he had
won & taken
their cite.

For what cau-
ses Augustus
freelie perdoned
the citee of
Alexandria.

Arius a Philo-
sophier of Al-
exandria, to
whom Augus-
tus for his lern-
ing shewed
moche honor
& frendship &
familiaritee.
And (as *Plu-
tarchus* in the
life of *Marcus
Antonius* wri-
teth) euen at
this tyme, be-
sidesthis highe
point of honor
shewed to-
wardes Arius,
he did at the in-
tercession of the
same, perdon many particulare persones, whiche had dooen him moche displea-
sure, and had deserued not onelic his displeasure, but also all extremittee.

¶ It was a pointce of mercifulnesse, not many times seen or heard of, not to riefle or spoile a citee whiche had moste stubbornely and obstinatly rebelled, but no lesse praise deserued, that same his greate ciuillitee, that the thanke of soche a benefit as this was, he toke not to himself, but gaue one yea, and the principall parte of thesame vnto the citee self, an other porcion he attributed vnto *Alexander*, whose memoriall he knewe to be of moste high acceptacion emong the *Alexandrines*, the third piece he put ouer to *Arius*, a burgoise of thesame Citee, with so high a title, commendying and setting forthe his frende, vnto his owne countremen.

3. When it was complained vnto Augustus, that one Erotas the solliciter of Egypte had bought a quaille, whiche in fightyng would beate as many
as

as came, and at no hande could be beaten, or put to the worse, and the same quaille beyng roasted, to haue eaten vp euery morsell : he commaunded the feloe to be brought afore him, and the cause well discussed, immediatly vpon the parties confessyng of the cause, he commaunded thesame to be hanged vp on the top of a maste of a ship.

Erotes the soliciter of Egypt, put to death by Augustus for eating of a quaille.

¶ Judgyng hym vnworthie to liue, who for so small a delite of his owne throte, or deintee mouthe, had not spared a birde, whiche in fightyng might many a long daie, and to many a persone, haue shewed pleasure and solace, and the whiche furthermore, by a certain gladde signe of good lucke to ensue, betokened vnto *Caesar* perpetuall successe, and prospering in his warres.

In the countree of Sicile, in the steede or place 4: of Theodore, he made Arius capitain or lieutenante. And when a certain persone put vp vnto Cæsar a supplicacion or bille of complaint, in whiche were writen these woordes : The pield pated Theodore of Tharsus was a briber and a theefe, what semeth you ? the bil perused, Augustus subscribed nothing but this onely, Mesemeth.

Tharsus the chief citee in Cilicia, where .s. Paule was borne.

Unto *Athenodorus a Philosophier, by the pre- 5: texte or excuse of olde age, makyng instaunt request that he might haue licence to departe home againe into his countree, Augustus graunted his desire. But when Athenodorus had taken his leaue, and all of the emperour, beyng in minde and will to leaue with thesame, some monumente or token of remembrance, meete and seming for a Philosophier, this he said more then euer he had doen tofore. Sir emperor at what time thou shalt be angred, neither saie, ne do thou any thing, before that thou shalte haue rekened

What coun-
saill *Atheno-*
dorus a Philo-
sophier gaue
vnto *Augustus*
againste the
furious heate
of sodain anger

Of faithful
silence the
rewardes are
daungerlesse.

To kepe in an-
gre that it brek
not out into
woordes, is a
pointe of saftie.

An holsom
lesson geuyng
deserueth at
the handes of a
Prince an high
recompense.

rekened vp by rewe, one after other in thy minde the names of the .24. letters of the Greke alphabete. Then Cæsar frendly taking the Philosophiers hand in his, said : Yet a while longer haue I nede of thy compaignie and presence about me. And so kept hym there with hym stil, euen a full yere more, allegyng for his purpose, that same the Prouerbe of the Grekes. Of faithfull silence, the rewardes are daungerlesse.

¶ Either allowyng the Philosophiers sentence for that in deede to repress and keepe in ones anger, that it breaketh not out into wordes, were a thing sure and safe from all perill of after clappes : or els meanyng, that it should haue been a good turne to the Philosopher, if he had spoken no soch worde at the later ende, beyng in purpose and redinesse to departe his waie. Albeeit, soche an holsome and especiale good lesson, deserued to haue some roiall rewarde and recompense.

* *Athenodorus* a Philosophier in the time of *Augustus*. Ther was also an other *Athenodorus* a Philosophier of *Athenes*, of whom *Plutarchus* both in the life of *Alexander* and also of *Phocion* maketh mencion. And the .3. a werker of Imagerie in metalle, a *Rhodian* borne, of whom is mencioned in the .34. and in the .36. boke of *Plinie*.

6. When he had heard saie that *Alexander* being .32. yeres of age, after hauing passed ouer not a few regions or countrees of the worlde, had put a greate doubte what he might haue to doe, all the residue of his life to come, *Augustus* meruailed moche, if *Alexander* had not iudged it a greater act or werke, well to gouerne an empire gotten, then to haue acquired or purchaced a large and ample dicion.

Alexander at the age of .32. yeres hauing won almoste all the world, doubted what he should haue to doe all the residue of his life.
How *Augustus* reproued the vnsaciable ambition of *Alexander*.
It is both more goodlie & also more hard with goodlawes and

¶ Of good right did he reprove the vnsaciable ambition of *Alexander*, whiche had esteemed none other office belongyng to a kyng, but to enlarge the precint or limites of his dominion, wheareas it is a greate dele bothe a more goodly thing, & also more hard, with right

right and iust lawes, and with honest or goodlie manners to beautifie a realme, that to a man is fallen then with dint of sworde, to adde kyngdome to kyngdome.

Augustus had enacted and published a Lawe concernyng adulterers, after what forme of processe, persones detected of this crime should be iudged, and what kinde of punishement thesame should haue, if thei wer conuincd or found guiltie. Afterward in a rage or furie of wrathe, he flewe on a young man accused of hauyng to do with Iulia the doughter of Augustus, and all too poumleed thesame with his handes. But when the young man had cried out in this maner : O sir emperour, ye haue made and set forthe a lawe of this matter : it repented the emperour so sore of his doying, that he refused to take or eate his supper that day.

¶ The offence euen of it self was hainous, and besides that, trespassed in the Emperours owne doughter. What prince in soche a case, could temper his dolour and anger ? Or who in soche a case could abide the long processe of the lawes and of iudgements ? Yet this so greate a Prince, tooke soche displeasure with hymself, that he punished his owne persone, because he had not in all poyntes been obedient vnto the lawe, whiche hymself had geuen vnto others.

At what tyme he sent Caius his doughters sonne into the countree of * Armenia with an armie againste the Parthians, he wished of the Goddes, that there might go with hym, the † hartie beneuolence of men which Pompeius had, the auenturus courage ‡ that was in Alexander, and the § happie fortune that hymself had.

¶ What was in euery of the saied three persones seuerally the chief & highest poincte, thesame did

maners to adourne a kyngdome, then by warre to adde realme to realm.

7. *Augustus Cesar* made a lawe, that there should be no adulterers, or if any soche wer found, that thei should be punished. And it was called *Lex Iulia*.

Augustus with his own hands beate a young man, detected of hauing to dooe with *Iulia* his doughter.

Augustus sore repented that he had in his fury doen contrary to the law, whiche himself had made.

8. What *Augustus* wished vnto *Caius*, his doughters sonne, when he sent him into *Armenia* on warfare against the *Parthians*.

Augustus

The humble-
nes and mod-
estie of *Augus-
tus*.

Augustus wish to be in one man alone. But as for this thing, truly it proceded of a singulare humblenesse that beyng a man in witte, in knowlege, and in pollicie excelleng, he ascribed his owne noble actes vnto Fortune. ☞ And would not take them vpon himself.

* *Armenia*, a realme in *Asia*, liyng betwene the two greates mountaines *Taurus* and *Caucasus*, and stretcheth on lengthe from the countree of *Cappadocia*, vnto the sea called *Mare Caspium*.

† Of *Pompeius* it is written, that neuer had any other person of the Romaines, the propense fauour and beneuolence of all the people, either soner begon in his young daies, or in his prosperitie on all behalves, more assured and strong, or els when good fortune failed him, more constaunte in long continuing. And iuste causes there wer (saieth *Plutarchus* in his life) mo then one, wherfore the people did beare soche hartie loue towards him, his chaste liuing, his expertnesse in feactes Marcial, his eloquence of tongue, to perswade any matter, his substanciall and true dealing, and his sobrenesse or humilitie to be communed withall. He neuer desired or asked any thing of any person, but with an heaue moode as one lothe to aske, he neuer did any thing at the request of an other, but with a glad chere, as one prest and readie to doe all persones good. And of his good gifts or graces, one was to giue nothing after a disdainful or stately sort, an other to receiue nothing, but as though it had been a large and high benefite, were it in deede neuer so slender. Euen of his childhoode, he had a countenance or looke, of no small grace to allure and winne the hartes and fauour of the people, &c.

‡ Of the stomake, courage and hardinesse of *Alexander*, besides the testimonie of *Plutarchus*, of *Quintus Curtius*, and of other historiographiers, sufficient declaration maie be taken by his ieopardieng to ride the vnbroken horse *Bucephalus*, of which in the .xl. *Apophthegme* of *Alexander* it is afore mencioned) & by auenturing ouer the flood of *Granicus*, wherof read in the .v. *apophthegme* of *Alexander*. Neither was there any so hie, so harde, or so daungerous an enterprise, that *Alexander* would feare to attempt and to auenture. At the age of .16. yeres he set vpon the *Megarians*, and thesame discomfited and vanquished. He sought the waie to the temple of *Ammon* through wilderness, where bothe he and all his compainie should haue been lost, had it not fortunéd him to be brought into his waie again, and to be conducted or guided by a flight of Crowes. In pursuyng *Darius* he rode .400. miles in x. daies vpon one horse. At the toune of *Gordium* (the principal toune of all *Phrygia*) whereas there was in the temple of *Iupiter* a waine with thonges, writhen and wound with so diffuse a knotte, that no man could vndoe it, and a prophecie depending of thesame, that whosoever could vndoe the knot, should achue and obtin the Empire of the whole vniuersal worlde. *Alexander* perceiuing the knot to be ouer buisie to bee vndoen with his handes, neglected all religin and superstitious feare, and with his sworde chopped me jt quite in sonder at a stroke. These thinges and many others mo did *Alexander*, wherby is euident what stomake & corage he was of.

§ As touching the felicitie and good fortune of *Augustus*, *Cornelius Nepos* in the life of *Pomponius Atticus* saieth in this maner. So high and great prosperitee foloed *Augustus Caesar*, that fortune left nothing vngiuén to him, that euer she had at any time afore conferred, or purchaced to any liuing creature, and that was possible for a citezen of Rome to haue. Whiche he addeth, because *Augustus* was no king. For at that daie it was not leefull for a citezen of Rome to bee a king, and it was high treason if any man attempted to be a king.

He

He said he would leaue behind him vnto the Romaines, soche a successour in the Empier, as neuer consulted or tooke deliberacion twis of one matter.

¶ Meanyng by *Tiberius* a manne of a verie readie witte and of greate policie.

On a tyme when his minde was to pacifie certaine young gentlemen of high dignitee, and thei tooke no regarde vnto his wordes, but persisted in their querele and noise makyng: Heare me, ye young menne (quoth Augustus) to whom beyng but a yong man, olde folkes haue geuen eare.

¶ For *Augustus* beyng scacely come to mannes state, was put to haue doynges in the common weale, & was of right high autoritee. With this onely sayng he appeaced the parties that were at strief, neither did he minister any fether punishement to thesame, for the troubleous rumour and noise by them areised and stiered vp.

When the people of Athenes semed to had trespaced against him in a certain matter, he wrote vnto theim from the Citee of Aegina, in this maner. I suppose not it to bee to you vnknown that I am angry with you. And in deede I purpose not to lye here at Aegina al this winter to come?

¶ Neither did he any thyng els speake or doe vnto the saied *Atheniens*, rekenyng sufficient to manace and threaten them, onlesse thei would surceasse so to abuse hym.

When one of the accusers of Euclides takyng his libertee and pleasure, to tell his tale at large, and to speake euen his bealy full, at the laste had gone so ferre, that he spake moche what these wordes folowing: If all these thynges seme

9.

The readie wit
and policie of
Tiberius.

10.

The authoritie
of *Augustus*,
euen of a young
manne.

The clemencie
of *Augustus*.

11.

What *Augustus*
wrote to the
Atheniens hau-
ing trespaced
against him.

12.

The clemencie
of Augustus.

seme not to your grace high and great matters, commaunde him to render vnto me the seuenth volume of Thucidides : Cæsar beyng highly displeased with those wordes, commaunded the saied accuser to be had to warde. But as sone as he heard that thesame partie was alone remaining aliue of the ofspring of * Brasidas, he bidde thesame come to hym, and after a moderate or gentle correpcion, let hym go at his libertee.

* *Brasidas* a stout and valiaunte capitaine of the *Lacedemonians*, slaine in battail in defendinge the Grekes, whiche inhabited *Thracia*. For at his first setting forth towarde battail, he wrote vnto the officers of *Lacedemon*, that either he would put of for euer, all the ciuill that was in battaill, or els he would dye for it. And when woordes of his death was brought by ambassadours, purposely sent therefore to his mother *Archileonide*, at the first woordes that euer she spake, she demaunded whether *Brasidas* had died with honour or not. And when the *Thracians* praised his manhode, and said that the citee of *Lacedemon* had not his feloe left in it, Yes yes (quoth the woman again) full little doe ye knowe, what maner feloes the *Lacedemonians* are. In deede (quoth she) *Brasidas* was a right good man of his handes, but yet the citee of *Lacedemon*, hath many better mennes bodies then *Brasidas* was. For the respecte and memorie of this noble and valiaunte capitaine, *Augustus* perdoned the vnmeasurable accusar of *Euclides*.

13. Unto *Piso* substancially buildyng an hous, euen from the foundation vnto the vttermoste raftreyng and reiring of the roofe, *Augustus* saied : O *Piso*, thou putttest me in good cumfort, and makest my harte glad, in that thou so makeste thy buildynges, as though Rome must euer endure, and continue to the worldes ende.

Augustus interpreted the doynges of men to the better parte and not to the worse.

† After the expulsion and finall extermination of kinges out of the Citie of Roome, if any man either had

any high or large mansion place, or attempted any sumptuous or ample building, he incurred suspicion of tyrannie, & of taking a kinges croun and power vpon him : in so moche, that *Valerius Publicola* a noble man of Roome, and one of the chief doers in expulsyng *Tarquinius* the proude, the last king of Roome, because

he

¶ He was not offended with the ouer curious furniture of edifyng : but that some other prince would haue suspected and mistrusted to meane some spiece of tirannie, *Augustus* turned vnto a gladde beginnyng and prophecie of the Empire of Rome long to endure. Thus ferre hath *Plutarchus* in his treatise of *Apophthegmes*. The *Apophthegmes* folowing, are for the most part taken of *Macrobius*, and out of *Suetonius*.

he had a faire hous and high, and nere vnto the kinges palaice, was not free of that suspicion, but to declare himself, was faine to pulle doune his hous sticke and stone, euen to the plain ground. Thesame thing purchaced vnto *Pompeius* also, and diuers others moche enuy, & suspicion of vsurping a kinges power, which to do in *Rome* at those daies, was the most high & ranke treason that could be.

Augustus had written a tragedie entitled *Ajax*, 14.
and thesame tragedy afterward (bicause it mis-
liked him) he wiped out with a sponge. So, The tragedie
when one *Lucius* a writer of tragedies demanded, of *Augustus*
what is *Ajax* did? By my faith (quoth *Augustus* called *Ajax*.
woundrous merely again) he hath renne hymself *Augustus* his
through with a sponge. *Ajax* ran him-
self through with a sponge

¶ Alluding to the argument or matter of the enter-
lude, in the whiche it is contened, that * *Ajax*, as sone
as he wist what thynges he had bothe said and doen,
in the tyme of his madnesse, ranne or sounke doune
vpon the point of his owne sworde, and killed hymself.
* This *Ajax*
was the sonne
of *Telamon* and
of *Hesione* the
daughter of
Laomedon and
was the moste
valiaunt and moste worthie knight of all the Grekes, next after *Achilles*. But
when *Achilles* was slaine, *Ajax* required to haue his harnesse and weapon, as a
manne moste apt and meete to haue the wearing and vse of it. *Vlysses* also made
suite for thesame, & by help of his eloquent tong preuailled against *Ajax*, and had
thesaid harnesse deliuered vnto him by the iudges. For angre whereof *Ajax* fell
madde, and in his madnesse went emong an heard of cattail, and slue a greate
number of theim, wening to him that he had slain *Vlysses* and his compaignie.
Afterward being come to himself again, when he considered his folies, he killed
himself, sinking doune on the point of his awn sword.

To a certaine persone presentyng vnto him a 15.
supplicacion fearfully, now putting forth his
hande, and now pullyng it backe again, he said :
What? doest thou thinke thy self to geue a penie
to an Elephant.
What *Augustus*
said to one
fearefullie put-
tyng vp a sup-
plicacion vnto
hym.

¶ For little boies vsed to hold forthe and geue little
pieces of coigne to an Elephante, whiche pieces of
coigne, thesame Elephant (not without the woundryng
of the beholders) will in soche wise snatch vp quickly
with his long snoute, that he will not hurt the childes
hande. In thesame wise do we se children put their
hand into the yanyng mouth of beares, not without our
fear. It was to this most good prince a mater of grief,
that he was feared. It was greuous
to *Augustus*
that he was
feared.

When

16. When one Pacinnius Taurus asked a rewarde of him, allegying to be spred abroad by the comen voice of the people, that no small somme of money had been geuen to him by the Emperour : Well (quoth Cæsar) yet be not thou of minde to beleue it.

How Augustus auoided one Pacinnius asking a reward of hym beyng not disposed to geue.

¶ By a pleasaunt worde of ieste doying hym to wete, that he would none geue hym. The other partie looked to haue it come to passe, that *Cesar* would saue his honestie, lest that (in case it should come to light and be openly knowen, the saied brute and communicacion of the people to bee nothyng true) he should be had in derision. But *Augustus* shewed him an other remedie, whiche was, that he shuld suffre the people to talke their pleasure, & to saie what thei would, so that thei perswaded not to hym, the thyng that were false.

17. An other persone beyng dismissed & put from the capitainship of a companie of horsemen, was not afeard for all that to require of Augustus a greate fee to, by this colour, allegying himself not to aske soche waiges or pension for any lucre or gaines, But (saith he) to the ende that I maie appere to haue obtained soche rewarde or recompense by your graces iudgement, and so maie be verely beleued, not to haue ben put from mine office against my wil, but willinly to haue resigned and giuen it vp : Well (quoth Augustus) saie thou to euery bodie that thou haste receiued it, & I will not saie naie.

How Augustus auoided a feloe asking a pension when he was putte from the capitainship of a compaignie of horsemen.

¶ If nothyng els moued the crauer, but onely the feare of shame and reproche, a waie was shewed by whiche he might aswell saue his honestee emong the people, as if he had in deede receiued the money, that he asked.

18. A certain yong man named Herennius being with many vices corrupted, the emperour had commaunded

commaunded to auoide his campe and armie. And when the partie being discharged of his rounge, did with falling on his knees, & with moste lamentable blubberyng or weepyng in this maner, besече the Emperour not so to put him awaie: Alas sir, with what face shall I retourne into my countree? And what shall I saie vnto my father? Marie (quoth Augustus) saie, that I haue lost thy fauour.

¶ Bicause the yong man was ashamed to confesse, that hymself had encurred the disfaueur of *Cesar*, *Cesar* permitted him to tourne the tale in and out, and laie the wite or blame on hymself the saied *Augustus*.

A certain souldiour of his, hauing been striken with a stone in a viage on warfare and beyng therby with a notable scarre of the wounde in his forehed disfigured, because he bare the open marke of an honest wound, bosted and craked beyond al measure, of the greate actes that he had dooen. The presumptuous vaunting of this soldiour, Augustus thus chastised after a gentle sorte: Well sir, (quoth he) yet beware that ye looke backe no more in your renning awaie.

19.
How *Augustus* did put to silence a souldiour of vnmeasurable gloryng of his actes and woundes receiued in battaill.

¶ Halfe notifying that it might full well bee, that the wounde, which he gloried and bragged of so highly, he caught not in fightyng manfully, but in fleyng cowardly.

One Galba hauyng a bodie misshapen with a greate bunche, whiche bossyng out made hym crookebacked (in so moche that there wente a common sayng on hym, The wit of Galba to be lodged in an euil dwellyng place) where this Galba pleadyng a cause before Augustus, euery other while saied these wordes, Emende and streighten me Cæsar, if ye shall see in me any thyng worthic to bee reprehended or disallowed:

20.
The feact and meryaunswere of *Augustus* vnto *Galba*.

Naic

Naie Galba (said Augustus) I maie tell thee what is amisse, but streighten the I cannot.

¶ A thyng is saied in Latin *corrigi*, and in Englishe to bee emended or streightened, that is reprovod or disallowed, and also that of crooked is made streight.

21. *Augustus wysshed that CassiusSeuerus had accused his court hous that he had put to making, for then it shoulde haue ben rid and dispatched as all those were whom thesaied Cassius accused.* When a greate mainy persones arrained at ones, at the pursuite and accusation of Seuerus Cassius were dispatched and rid in iudgemente euery one of them, and the carpenter with whom Augustus had couenaunted & bargained, for edifyng a court hous, where to sit in iustice, delaied hym a long time, with continuall looking and lookyng, when that werke should be finished? Full gladly would I (quoth Cæsar) that Cassius had accused my Courte * hous too.

* The Latine woorde, *Forum*, in one significacion is a court hous, or a place where to sit in iustice, soche as is Westminster hall, or the sterc chamber, or guild halle. And wee reade of three soche court houses, or Guilde halles in Roome, one that was called *forum latium*, or *forum Romanum*, whiche the aunciente Romaines vsed at the beginning: the seconde that was called *forum Caesaris dictatoris*, whiche *Iulius Caesar* builded, and had there standing his Image in harnessse like a capitaine, and a knight of puissance: and the .3. *Augustus* erected within the temple of *Mars*, that was called, *Vltor*, *Mars* the auenger.

¶ He founde a matter of iestyng, in a vocable of double significacion. For bothe a piece of werke, is saied in Latin, *absolui*, and in Englishe, to be despatched or ridde, that is finished and brought to a perfect ende, and also a persone that in a matter of iustice or lawe, is quitte and deliuered. Bothe a maister Carpenter riddeth his werke, and also a Judge riddeth a persone aunsweryng before hym to the lawe at the barre.

22. *In old time the religion or obseruaunce of sepulchres was greate.* In old tyme greate was the obseruaunce of sepulchres: and that porcion of mennes groundes, whiche was especially appoynted for their monumentes or graues, was not broken with any plough. Weruppon when one Vectius beyng with this poynte of religion nothing afeard, had eared vp his fathers graue, Augustus made

What *Augustus* saied when one *Vectius*

a

a pleasaunt ieste of it, sayng : Yea Marie, this is euen in verie deede to harroe and visite ones fathers monument.

brake his owne fathers Graue with a plough.

¶ Yet ones again he dalied with a worde of double significacion. For the latine verbe, *colere*, in one significacion is to honour or to worship, and in an other significacion it is to tille or to housbande, as grounde or any other sembleable thyng is housebanded.

¶ Whiche I translate to harroe or to visite, as we saie that Christe harroed hel, and visited hell, when he descended doune to hel, immediatlie after his passion, and poured, scoured, or clensed thesame of soche soules as him pleased. And visiting is in Englishe, a kind of shewing honour, as we visite sicke folkes and prisoners, to doe them honor and comfort. It had been a double *amphibologie*, ¶ at lest wise for the Latine. If in stede of, monumente, he had saied, memoriall, as I thinke *Augustus* did saie in deede. For vnto vs high and holie is the memorialle of those, whom beyng out of this life departed, we honour, ¶ (as the memorialle of all saintes & al folkes departed in the true faith of Christ. And the monumentes of persones deceassed, we cal their memorials by imitation of the Grekes, ¶ who callen thesame *μνημεία*, or, *μνήματα*.

When the brute of Herode his crueltee was come to the eares of Augustus, howe that the saied Herode * had commaunded to be murdred and slain, all the young babes in Jewrie, as many as were not aboue the age of twoo yeres, and how that emong the mo Herode his owne soonne also had gone to the potte as well as the best : Yea (quoth Augustus) it is moche better to be Herode his hog, then his soonne.

It is better to be the hog of Herode (saied Augustus) then his soonne.

¶ *Herode* was a Jewe. And the Jewes of a greate conscience & of a rule doen abstein from eatyng of al maner swines flesh. ¶ So that *Herode* would kill no swine.

* It is, I thinke, to no christian manne vnknown, the moste detestable slaught-
ter of infantes, whiche *Herode* caused to be slain round about the precinctes of
Bethleem, for the hatred of Iesus, and vpon the querele, that he had been mocked
by the wise men that wer called, *Magi*, as appereth in the .2. Chapiter of the Gos-
pell

pell of Mathewe. And that the lewes should eate no swines fleshe, was prescribed vnto them in the law of Moses by God himself, in the .xi. of Leviticus, and in the .xxiii. of Deuteronomium. Where are forbidden all vncleane meates. And vn- cleane are accompted as many kindes of beastes, as doe not bothe diuide the hoof into twoo clawes and also chewe the cudde.

24. Augustus after the takyng and entring the citee of Alexandria, had graunted life to many persones, for Arius the Philosophiers sake: yet one Sostratus (a man in deede of a verie readie tongue, and especiall good vttraunce, but yet of soche sort, that he incurred the indignacion of Cæsar, for that vndiscretly or harebrainlike, he would nedes in any wise bee reputed and taken for an Academicque) he wold not hear, ne receiue to grace. But the said Sostratus, in ragged apparell, as one that had no ioye of the world and with his hore white bearde, hangyng doune of a greate length, begun to folowe Arius at the heles, whethersoever thesame went, hauyng euer in his mouthe this little verse of Greke.

Of Arius and of the taking of Alexandria, it is noted afore in the .2. apophthegme of Augustus.

Sostratus an Alexandrine a man of special good vtter- aunce, but hed- dillie taking on hym to bee an Academicque.


Of philoso- phiers academ- iques is afore noted in the sayyng of Plato.

Why Augustus would not at the first pardon Sostratus

among other of the Alexan- drines, at the intercession of Arius.



σοφοὶ σοφοὺς οὐλοῦσιν ἢν ὧσω σοφοί.

Wise men, if in deede thei wise bee,
Can saue wise men, and make them free.

¶ By this craftie meanes he constreined *Caesar* in maner parforce, to geue hym perdone.  Albeit *Caesar* perdoned him (saith *Plutarchus* in the life of *Antonius*) more for to deliuer *Arius* from enuie, then *Philostratus* from feare. For so doeth *Plutarchus* cal him, and not by the name of *Sostratus*.

25. When he was now .40. yeres olde and vppward, and laie from Rome in Gallia, it was by present- mente brought vnto hym, that Lucius Cinna a yong gentleman of noble birth, that is to saie, the neffewe of Pompeius, wrought treason against his person and went about to destruie him. Plain relacion was made, where, when, and how, the traitours entended to assaill hym. For thei had purposed & fully resolved to murder hym, when

Cinna the nef- fewe of Pompe- ius sought to destroy the persone of Augustus.

when he should next be in doyng sacrifice. The enditement and sentence of atteindour of the saied Cinna was sette on werke to bee drawen and engrossed. But Augustus speakyng at that present, many wordes to this and that sondrie purposes,  (Concernyng how Cinna should bee vsed) In cometh Liuia the wife of Augustus. Sir, said she, do ye accordyng to the guise and vsage of the Phisicians, who at soche times as the customable medicins will not werke, doen assaie and proue the contraries. With rigour and sharpe execucion, yet vnto this daie little haue ye preuailed, now an other while practise to be mercifull. Cinna being thus found and proued faultie or culpable, is not of power to doe a pointes worthe of harme to your life, but to your renoume he maie doe moche good. Immediatly hereupon Augustus commaunded Cinna to bee sent for by himself alone, to come and talk with hym. As sone as he was come, the emperour caused an other chaire to bee set for Cinna. Then spake the Emperour & saied : First and foremost O Cinna, this I require of thee, that thou dooe not interrupte ne breake me of telling my tale. Thou shalte haue tyme and leasure enough, to saie thy minde at large, when I haue doen. Then after the rehersal of diuerse and sondrie his benefites towards Cinna, how that he had saued his life and pardoned hym, beeyng founde in the campe of his enemies : howe that he had releassed and graunted vnto him all his whole patrimonie and inheritaunce,  (whiche of right he ought to haue forfaicted & lost) how that ouer and besides this, he had ornated, enhaunced or promoted hym, with the dignitee of a prebende, in a colledge of priestes : after the rehersall of al these thinges, he

A notable historie, how Augustus Caesar made a perpetuall frende of Cinna, who had secretlie wroughte hie treason against his persone to destroy him.

The counsaile of Liuia the wife of Augustus, geuen to her husbände.

How Augustus vsed Cinna, beyng found and proued an offender in high treason against his persone.

The benefites of Augustus Caesar towards Cinna.

he demaunded for what cause Cinna thought him woorthie to bee killed. Cinna being herewith vtterly dismaid, Augustus in this maner ended his chiding. Wel Cinna, nowe this is twise that I perdone thee of thy life, ones afore beyng mine openemie, and now the second tyme a werker of priue treason against me, and going about to destruye me thy naturall Prince. From this daie forthward let amitee and frendeship begin betwene vs twoo, let vs striue together, whether I haue more faithfullie to truste vnto, geuen thee thy life, or thou bounde vnto me for thesame. And foorthewith he offred vnto Cinna the Consulship.

¶ Will ye knowe thende what folowed? *Caesar* had of *Cinna* from thensforthe a verie assured frend, and when *Cinna* died, was made and left his sole executour and heire. Neither was *Augustus* any more after that daie, by any person liuyng assaulted with any priue treason against his persone.

26. *Augustus* vsed not to saie nay, almoste to any persone that would desire him to any feaste or banquet.

What *Augustus* said to one who had entreteined him at a spare supper.

Augustus vsed to saie naie, in maner to no persone that would desire hym to any banquet. And so being on a time receiued, and entreteined by a certain persone with a very spare supper, and in maner cotidian or ordinarie fare, when he should departe from the maker of the feast, he whispred softlie in his eare, nothyng but this: I had not thought my self to be so familiar vnto thee.

¶ Some other prince would haue enterpreted soche bare purueiaunce to bee a plain despite and mockage, but *Augustus* ferthermore saued the honestee of the partie that had desired hym to supper, imputing it vnto familiaritee, and that in the parties eare, lest thothers might thinke niggardship to bee vpbraided vnto hym, and caste in his teeth. What thing maie be more

more amiable than this courtesie, in so great a Monarchie, as at this daie vneth thirtie kynges set together, were well able throughe to matche?

Augustus an high & mighty Prince.

Being about to buie a piece of purple of Tyros making, he found fault that it was ouer darke and sadde of colour. And when the seller said, Lift it vp on high sir, and then looke vp to it: Why then (quoth Cæsar) to haue the people of Rome saie, that I go well be seen in myne apparell, must I bee faine to walke on the solares or loftes of my hous?

27.

Tyros an ysl where the beste purple was made.

Augustus had a biddell verie obliuius, wheras this sort of men ought chiefly emong all other thynges, to bee of specialle good memories. This biddell being about to go vnto the guilde hall, demaunded of the Emperour, whether his pleasure wer to commaunde him with any seruice thither: Mary (quoth Cæsar) take with thee our letters of * commendacion, for thou knowest no man there.

28.

What a preatie quippe *Augustus* gaue vnto a biddell of his beyng a felowe very obliuious.

¶ And yet is it the proper office & dutie of soche biddelles (who wer called in latin † *Nomenclatores*) to haue perfecte knowlege and remembraunce of the names, of the surnames, and of the titles of dignitees of all persones, to thende that thei maie helpe the remembraunce of their maisters in thesame when neede is. Of whiche propertee was their name geuen them to. For thei were called *Nomenclatores*, by a worde compounded of Latine and Greke mixt together.

The propre office and dutie of a biddell.

* Letters of commendacion, he meened letters directorie, or letters of addresse, that is to saie, letters that should expressly containe, as well the name of euery person, that he had any matter vnto, as also the message that should bee doen or saied vnto thesame, that the biddell might not fail though he were of hymself forgetfull.

† *Nomenclator* is a vocable compounded of the Latine worde, *nomen* and of the Greke diccion κληρω a caller, reherser, or rekener. So that *nomenclatores*, wer those that we call biddelles, to whom peculiarie appertineth to knowe by harte the names, orders and degrees of all persones. For their office was to call, and reken vp at all tymes requisite, all persones, as senatour, alderman, comener, lorde, knight,

knight, esquire, gentleman, yeoman, freman, bondman, and every partie accordyng to his state, degree, hauour, office, or occupation. As for example, in courtes of lustice, persones sued at the lawe, or in solempne feastes (soche as in olde time the consuls, the pretours, and other hedde officers of Rome made vnto the citezens, and soche as now in London, and other citees and townes of Englande, the Maiour make, doeth vnto the inhabitauntes, or the sergeauntes at the lawe, when thei be first created) the names of all the geastes, whom the feaster muste in the diner time haile, salute, and welcome eche partie by his name, and accordyng to his degree. Thei did also attende on soche persones as stode for the consulship, the preatourship, the tribuneship, or any other of the chief offices, at every chaunge, from yere to yere in Roome, and when neede was, shewed the partie that sued for the office, the names of those persones, whose fauour and voicethesame should sue and desire to haue towarde his eleccion and creacion. Wherefore Cato is moche praised in the histories, for that he duely obserued and kept the lawe, whiche lawe did forbid that any soche biddelles, should awaite on any persone suyng for an office, but would that every soche suter, standing for any soch magistrate should knowe to salute and call every citezen by his name, without the helpe of any Biddelle to prompe hym. Soche Biddelles haue every crafte in London, that knowe every persone of that crafte that thei belong vnto, and their dwelling places, their degrees, their auncientec, who bee maisters of the crafte who haue been wardens, and wardens peeres, who be bachelers, who be in the liuerie, and who be not yet com to it. Soche biddelles haue the vniuersitees, whose office is to knowe who been regentes, and who none regentes, to presente the inferiour graduates to their superiours, at their circuites going, or at disputacions, at takyng degree of schools, at obites, at generall processions, or at other actes scholastical. And to vse and to place every persone, accordyng to his degree, his auncientec of standyng, his dignitee, or his office, &c. And these biddelles maie well be called in latin *Nomenclatores*.

29. Augustus beyng yet a young thing vnder mannes state, touched Vatinius feactly and after a pleasaunt sorte. For this Vatinius beyng euill cumbred with the spiece of the goute, labored to appere that he had clene put awaie that impediment, & made a proude bragge, that he could now goo a whole mile at a walk. I meruail nothing there at (quoth Cæsar) for the daies are of good length, more then thei wer.

¶ Signifyng the other partie to bee not one whit more free from the disease of the goute, then he was, but the daies to haue waxed longer.

30. After the deceasse of a certain knight of Rome, it came to light and was certainlie knowen, thesame to be so ferre in debt, that the summe amounted to twoo hundred thousande crounes and aboue. And this had the saied knight, during

How Augustus touched one Vatinius sembleing that he hadde clene shaken of the disease of the goute.

during his life tyme kept secrete. So when his goodes was preised for to bee solde, to the ende that the creditours might be satisfied and paied of the money, to bee leuied of the sale, Augustus willed & commaunded, the matresse or vnder-quilte of the knightes owne bedde chambre, to be bought for him. And to his gentlemen hauyng meruaill at soche commaundement : It is a necessarie thing (quoth Augustus) for me (to the ende that I maie take my naturall slepe in the night) to haue that same mattresse, on whiche that man could take reste and slepe, beeyng endebted for so greate a summe of money.

The hedde
of a persone
beyng in great
debt is an vn-
restfull thing.

¶ For *Augustus* by reason of his greate cares, many a tyme and ofte, passed ouer the moste part of the night, without so moch as one winke of slepe.

The high cures
of a good
Prince.

On a certaine daie, it fortunéd hym to come into the hous, where *Cato* surnamed the *Vticensian*, had enhabited in his life time. And so when one *Strabo*, for to flater *Cæsar*, spake many sore woordes againste the obstinacie of the saied *Cato*,* in that he thought better to kil himself with his own handes, then to agnise and knowlege *Iulius Cæsar* for his conquerour, Whatsoeuer persone (quoth Augustus) is vnwilling to haue the present state of a common weale, whiche is in his daies chaunged or altered, the same is both a good citezen, and member of a commenweale, and also a perfect good honest man.

31.
Cato killed
himselfe at
Vtica that he
might not come
aliue into the
handes of
Iulius Cæsar.

He that is con-
tented with the
present state
of his time, is
a good subiect
& an honest
man.

¶ With one sole sayng, he both defended the memorie of *Cato*, and also spake right well for the safe gard and continuaunce of hymself, puttyng al persones in feare from that daie forthward to set their myndes on new chaunges. For the present state was by the wordes of *Caesar* called, not onely the same that was

at

This latin
diccion *prae-*
sens, may be
referred vnto
the tyme paste,
the tyme that
nowe is, & the
time to com.

at that daie, when *Augustus* spake these woordes, but thesame also that had tofore been in the tyme of the conspiresie againste *Iulius Caesar*. For this Latin diccion, *praesens*, emong the right Latine speakers, hath respecte vnto three times, that is to wete, the time past, the time that now is, and the time to come. As for example, we saie in Latine, of a man that was not contented with soche thinges, as wer in his daies, or in his tyme, *praesentibus non erat contentus*: wee saie also in Latine, *praesens vita*, this presente life that is now in ledyng, and thirdly, of a thing at a more conuenient, apte, or propice tyme to bee doen, we saie in Latine *praesens in tempus omittatur*, bee it omitted or let alone vnto a time to seruice for it, that is to say vntill a propice tyme of oportunittee, and occasion hereafter to come.

* *Cato* the *Picensian*, or *Cato* of *Vtica*, was *Cato* the elders soonnes sonnes sonne. This *Cato* the younger in the ciuile battaill betwene *Iulius Caesar* and *Pompeius* the greate, tooke parte with *Pompeius*. And when *Caesar* begun to weaxe stronger and to preuail, *Cato* fled vnto *Vtica* (a toun in *Aphrica*, .30. miles from the citee of *Carthago*) and held thesame with a strong garrison of men of warre. And when he sawe that *Caesar* had conquered, & he must nedes bee taken, he killed himself, because he would not come aliuie into the handes of *Iulius Caesar*. And because he did this at *Vtica*, he was surnamed *Picensis*, *Cato* of *Vtica*, for a distinccon from the other *Cato* his greate graundfather. Read of this more in the .13. *apophthegme* of *Iulius Caesar*.

32. Like as *Augustus* had a great delit and phansie, to finde and make pastime at others with wordes of ieste, consisting within the boundes of honestee, so would he wounderfull paciently take merie bourdyng (yea some times beyng with the largest, and ouer plainly) either begun, or els reuersed backe againe vpon him. A certaine young gentleman, was come out of one or other of the prouincies vnto Roome, in the likeness of visage so meruailouslie resembling themperour, that he made all the people fulle & whole to gase on hym. *Augustus* beyng hereof aduertised, commaunded thesaied young gentleman to bee brought to his presence, and hauyng well

As *Augustus*
had a greate
delite to iest at
others so would
he verie paci-
entlie take
merie iestyng
again.

well viewed the straunger, he examined or opposed thesame in this maner: Tell me young man, hath your mother neuer been here at Roome? No forsoth sir (quoth thother). And perceiuing Augustus to ieste, reuersed scoffe for scoffe, saiyng more ouer in this wise: But my father hath many a time and oft?

¶ *Augustus* being pleasauntly disposed, would fain haue laied vnto the yong mans mother suspicion, as though he had his pleasure on her: but the yong man with a trice, reuersed that suspicion to the mother of *Caesar*, or els to his sister: for the resembelaunce of the fauour or visage, did no more argue or proue the partie to be the sonne of *Caesar*, then to be his brother, or els his neffewe, that is to saie, his sisters sonne. ¶ For (except I bee moche deceiued) Erasmus wrote it, *sororis filium*, and not, *nepotem*. For, *nepos*, is properly the soonnes soonne, or the daughters sonne, and not the brothers sonne, ne the sisters soonne, as *Augustus* himself was vnto *Iulius Caesar*, not *nepos*, but *sororis filius*, his sisters sonne, as afore is saied.

How *Augustus* was answered by a yong gentleman, whom he would haue brought in suspicion to bee his soonne.

In the time while the * Triumvirate dured, 33.
[† Octavius, Lepidus, and Antonius, all three together holdyng thempire of Rome in their handes as lordes of the worlde] *Augustus* had written a great ‡ ragmans rewe, or bille, to be sounge on § *Pollio* in derision and skorne of hym by name. At the same time, Well [quoth *Pollio*] poore I hold my peace. For it is not for mine ease, nor it is no mater of iape, to write rimes or rayllyng songes on that persone, in whose handes it lieth to write a man out of all that euer he hath.

What *Pollio* saide to *Augustus*, who hadde written rymes and raylinge songes on hym by name.

¶ Notyng the tirannicall power of *Augustus*. And yet was not thesame *Augustus* any thing offended, with that franke and plain speaking of *Pollio*.


* The *Triumvirate* here mencioned was, when three persones beyng together confederated as sworne brethren, tooke into their handes by vsurpacion, the whole vniuersall Empire of Rome, to be egually diuided among them, and thei to haue the administracion,


administracion, rewle, gouernaunce and ordryng of all thinges, and the one to maintain the other in al causes. Whiche begun in the tyme of *Iulius Caesar*, beyng so coupled with *Pompeius* the greate and *Marcus Crassus* the riche.

† And ended in the tyme of *Augustus*, when thesame fell to like societee and composicion with *Marcus Lepidus* and *Marcus Antonius*. Of whiche is somewhat touched before, the first *apophthegme* of this *Augustus*. Ther were also in Rome diuers other *Triumvirates*, of whom it were superfluous in this present place to make any mencion.

‡ There was in *Campania* a toune called *Fescenium*, the first inhabitauntes whereof issued from the *Atheniens* (as *Seruius* reporteth.) In this toune was first inuented the ioyltee of minstrelsie, and singyng merie songes and rimes, for makynge laughter and sporte at marriages, euen like as is now vsed, to syng songes of the Frere and the Nunne, with other semblable merie iestes, at weddynges, and other feastynges. And these songes or rimes (because their originall beginnyng issued out of *Fescenium*) wer called in Latine *Fescennina carmina*, or *Fescennini rythmi*, or *Versus*. Whiche I doe here translate (according to our English prowerbe) a ragmans rewe, or, a bible. For so dooe we call a long ieste, that railleth on any persone by name, or toucheth a bodies honestee somewhat nere.

§ Because the name of *Pollio* is common to many, I haue thought good to admonish, that this *Pollio* was called *Vedius Pollio*, alias *Atedius Pollio*, a familiare frende of *Augustus*. Of whiche *Pollio* shalbee spoken more at large in the note of the .59. *apophthegme* of this *Augustus*.

34. One *Curtius* a knight of Roome, a ruffler, and one drowned in al kindes of riotte and sensualitee, when he supped on a time with *Augustus*, toke vp a leane birde of the kind of blacke mackes out of the dishe, and holding it in his hand, he demaunded of *Cæsar*, whether he might sende it awaie. And when *Cæsar* had thus aunswered, Yes, why should ye not? Thother without any more bones caste me the birde  (because it was so caren leane) out at the windoore.

¶ Quickly taking an occasion to plaie that merie toye of ambiguitee, or double significacion of the latin word *mittere*, in Englishe, to sende. For meate is sente from a table vnto mennes frendes, in the waie of a present, which making of a dishe at a feast, was a thing emong the Romaines, at al soche seasons ordinarie, and a thing  (bothe by the significacion of the Latine diccion, and also of the Englishe) is sent awaie, that is floung awaie. Yet was not *Caesar* offended with this merie pranke neither.


Thesame

Athyng muche vsed in Rome to make dishes from their tables & sende it to their frendes

The gentleness of *Augustus* in taking thinges doen for myrth.

Thesame Augustus, beyng not desired therunto, had of his own mere mocion satisfied and contented the debtes of a certain Senatour, whom he had in right good fauour, and loued verie well, and had paied doune for hym out of his Cofers in readie money, one hundred thousande Crounes. And the saied Senatour, after that he had knowlege therof, wrote vnto the Emperour to giue him thankes, nothing els but this: To me not a penie.

¶ In the waie of mirth, pretending as though he had had a querele to *Caesar* for that, whereas he had told out ready paiement to all his creditours, he had geuen to hym for his owne part not a ferthyng. Suche boudyng as this, some other eagre persone would haue enterpreted and taken for ingratitude and vnthankfulness, but this noble Emperour highly reioyced that the Senatour had so moche confidence and trust in him, that he durst be bolde to wryte vnto him after soche a familiare sorte.

Licinius, whom *Cæsar* of his late bondman had made free, vsed euen of an ordinarie custome to geue vnto his old maister whensoever thesame begonne any newe werkes of building, great summes of mony towards the charges of it. Whiche custome Licinius still continuynge, promised vnto Augustus against he should entre the erection of some new edifice whatsoever it was, one hundred thousand crounes by a bill of his hande, in whiche bille, after the summe of money expressed (whiche was marked and sette out with a capitall letter of *C* signifyng an hundred, and a long strieke aboute the head of it, in this wyse, *C*)  whiche in writing Romain summes of money, betokeneth so many thousand pieces of coyne, whether it be gold or siluer, as the expresse letters doen signifie hundredes or scores, there stooode a space vacaunt. *Cæsar* not refusing

35.

Augustus of his owne mere motion secretely payde .xx. thousand poundes of debt for a senator of Rome whom he loued.

Howe a certain Senatour of Rome thanked

Augustus for payng a great summe of money to his creditours.


Augustus highly reioyced, if suche as he fauored, put their affiaunce in him.

36.

Licinius of a bondeseruaunt made free by *Augustus* and enfranchised.

How Augustus
serued Licinius
geuyng him
by a bille of
his hande a
certain summe
of money to-
wardes his
buildyng.

How Licinius
serued Augus-
tus for dou-
bleyng the
somme of his
bill of free gift
made vnto him

refusing soche an occasion, added an other .C̄. vnto the former summe that his late bondeseruaunte now enfranchised had written, and so made it two hundred thousand  (in this wyse C̄C̄.) filling vp as trimme as a trencher the space that stode voide, with his own hand, but forgeing the lettre as like vnto the hande of Licinius as could possibly be made. Whervpon he receiued at the daye of paimente double the summe of money that he should haue doen, Licinius making no countenance at the matter, ne sayyng any woorde to it. But when Cæsar not long after, eftsones entreed new buildinges, his old seruaunt touched him a litle courtesie for that facte, by making and geuyng him an other bille of his hand, of soche purport and tenour as folloeth: Souerain I shall depart with you towardes the charges of these your newe buildinges, as moche as shalbe your pleasure to appointe me.

¶ And did not expresse the iust somme how moche, or how little he would conferre vnto hym, that it might bee at his pleasure, to put in the bille as moche as he would himself, forasmoche as he had dubled the former somme at the other tyme.

37. * *Censura*, in Rome was an office that wee call the highe constablenesship, & he that bare the office was called *Censor*, high counstable, or Lorde Coumptroller, his office was to enquier and examin of all persones how

When Augustus was in the office * of Censour, that is to saie, of lorde Comptroller, or high Conestable. A certaine knight of Roome, was by the waie of complainte presented vnto him, that he had decaid and wasted his substaunce. But the knight beyng brought to his aunswere, made due prooffe that he had contrarie wise emended and encreased his substaunce. And euen in the necke of this, it was laied to the charge of thesame knight, that he had disobeied the lawes, bidding eche man to marrie a wife. But he made his declaracion, and brought in his trialle,

triale, that he was Father of three children of his owne bodie begotten by his lawfull wife. Whereupon thesaid knight thought not himself well, nor held him contented for to be freely quite and discharged of these crimes, but vpbraidynge vnto Cæsar, his lightnesse of geuing credence to reportes and enformacions, saied moreouer in this maner: From henseforth Cæsar when thou makest enquierie of honest persones, geue it in commission to men of honestee.

¶ After a metely plain sorte pronouncing, that those wer no honest feloes, whiche had presented vnto him thinges manifestly vntrue. And by the waie laiynge shrewdly to the Emperours owne charge, in that he made and aucthorised soche surmuisers & pickers of quereles to be his deputies, or to represent his person. And this large talking also *Caesar* perdoned, for the respect and in consideracion that the partie was innocent & giltlesse.

any wer found a persone worthy blame, he was punished at the discretion of the Censour. And if the case so required he was deposed also from the ordre of knighthood.

Being in a certain mainour place in the countree, he toke verie euill rest in the nightes, by reason of an oule, breakynge his slepe euery halfe hower with her oughlyng. A launceknicht or a soldiour auenturer beyng well skilled in foulyng, tooke the peines to catche this Oulet, and vpon hope of some verie high reward, brought thesame vnto Augustus, who, after gannyng hym thanke, commaunded a thousande *pieces of money to be geuen him in reward. The other partie (because he thought the reward ouer small) was not afeard, but had the harte to saie vnto the Emperour: Naie, yet had I rather that she liue still, and with that worde let go the birde again.

¶ What persone can but maruaill that soche a solain


they demeaned themselves, and to punishe transgressours by his discretion. We reade of Censours that haue deposed Senators from their estate, for their misde-meanoure. The office continued in one mannes hande v. yerres. And ones in the yere there was as it were a moustre of all the knightes & gentlemen of Rome, whiche shoulde passe through the viue of the Censour. If

38.

How a certaine souldier auenturer serued *Augustus* not rewarding him according to his expectation

* *Nummus* in the .30. .35. and .36. *apophthegmes*, is taken for peces of golde, & here it is taken for brasse pens, or els pieces of siluer of the valu of a dandis-

prat or i. d. ob. solain froward pranke should escape vnpunished in
 a pece or there- the soldior auenturer?
 about, so that
 the thousand peeces wer moche about the somme of twentie nobles sterlynges.
 The Frenche enterpreter translateth it fue and twentie crounces.

39. One of the olde souldiours of Roome, when he was sued at the lawe, and in daunger of condemnacion, came vnto the Emperour Augustus, euen as he wente in the open strete, desiryng him of his aide, and to helpe to stande betwene him and harme, in the Courte before the Iudge. Cæsar out of hand appointed to go with the feloe in his stede, one of his chief gentlemen, purposely chosen out of his owne traine, whom he required and charged in the suiters cause, to doe his true diligence. At these woordes the soldiour cryng out with an open mouth said: Iwis Cæsar, when ye wer in daunger at the battail of * Actium, I did not seke for a deputie, or assigney to fight in my steede, but I fought for you myne owne handes, and euen with the wordes speaking, discouered the markes of woundes receiued in thesaied battaill. Cæsar shewed a red paire of chekes, and went euen in his owne persone to help him in his cause, moche afeard lest he should seme not onely proude, but also vnthankfull,  towards soche persones as had doen hym true and faithfull seruice.


* *Actium* the
 peake of the
 countree of
Epirus (that
 is to saie, an
 high mountain
 to the seaward,
 soche an one
 as saint
 Mighels mount
 in Cornewall)
 where *Augustus*
 discomfited
Antonius &
Cleopatra, and
 after .x. houres fighting, destroyed on the sea v. M. men, and toke all the nauie
 of *Antonius*, to the number of .iiii. C. shippes. *Antonius* being so put to flight,
Augustus recovered also his armie that tarried the comyng of *Antonius* on the lande,
 to the number of 18. legions of footemen, and 22. M. horsemen. At this *Actium*,
 after the vanquishing of *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*, *Augustus* builded a citee, whiche
 of that same victorie was called *Nicopolis*, for νίκος, is a victorie, and πόλις,
 a citee. In this citee *Nicopolis* was there a noble temple, consecrated vnto *Apolla*.
 And the citee a free citee, inhabited with men of *Augustus* his sending thither.

40. He had on a time at a supper, taken great pleasure and delectacion of singing children, brought purposely to syng afore hym, by one
 Turonius

Turonius Flaccus, that brought them vp in it for the nones, to get money by them, and had giuen to thesame for their reward Wheate, whereas his guise was to geue vnto others large rewards of money. And so when Cæsar an other daie at supper, required to haue thesame boies againe to sing before him, Turonius thus made an excuse: In faith (quoth he) thei are at the mille.

¶ Upbraidying vnto *Caesar* his gifte of come in stede of money. Neither had he any punishment for the worde that he had spoken, beyng not a man of armes, that did continuall seruice in themperours warres, but a lewde bringer vp & seller of boies.

How Turonius Flaccus made aunswere vnto Augustus, requirying to haue his boies syng before hym to whom he had geuen in rewarde afore, not money but wheate.

When he returned to Roome, with all pompe and iolitee, from the victorie gotten at Actium, emong a greate multitude meetyng hym for to welcome him home, a certain persone bearing on his fist a crowe hauyng been taught to speake these woordes: All haile Cæsar Emperor moste victorious: Augustus being moche delited with this salutacion, bought the crowe, and gaue sixe thousande pecies of gold for hym. The partener of him that had doen this feact, because no porcion of that liberal reward had come to his snapshare, did Cæsar to weete, that the self same feloe had yet an other crowe to, which he besought of Cæsar, that the feloe might bee compelled to bryng before him. When she was brought, she souned out plainly soche woordes, as she had learned, whiche were these: All haile Antonius moste redoubted conquerour. Augustus being nothing stiered to anger, onely commaunded the reward afore giuen to be equally parted with the feloe that was the promoter of the later crowe.  Because he perceiued that his complainte, had proceeded of mere malice and enuie.

41.

Augustus gaue a great somme of money for a crowe that had lerned to speak

The goodnesse of Augustus in complaintes or informacions presented of malice and enuie.

Augustus

42. Augustus being semblably hailed or saluted by a Popiniaie, commaunded her to be bought to. And meruailyng at thesame thyng in a Pye, bought her vp also. This example would not suffer a certaine poore Souter to be in rest, vntill he must take in hande the making of a crowe to a like maner salutacion. Who, when he had cleane beggered himself with expenses, would euer now and then thus saie vnto the bird, when it would not saie after him : Both our labour and all our coste is lost. Yet in processe of tyme at last, by reason of continual beatyng it into the crow, he made thesame euen by strong hande, that she could sounne the salutacion, so often ricited vnto her. And when she had therewith salued Augustus, as he passed by, Tushe, tushe (quoth Cæsar) we haue enough of soche saluters as this at home alreadie: Anon the crowe recorded al so the other wordes, whiche she had so often heard, brought out them also in this maner, Bothe our labour and all our coste is loste. Cæsar laughing hartely thereat, commaunded a greate dele more to bee paied for her, then he had geuen for any soche bird tofore.

Augustus
bought diuerse
birdes that
saluted him
as they were
taught to
speake.

Howe Augustus
bought a crowe
that a poore
souter had
taught to
salute him.

43. A poore Greke Poete (to creepe into the fauour of Augustus Cæsar, vsed this facion. Euer when themperour should come down from his palaice, the Poete would exhibite vnto him some Epigramme or other, in his honour and praise. And when he had oft times so doen in vaine, and Augustus sawe that he wold not leaue, he wrote out with his owne hande, a well made Epigramme of Greke, and sente it to the Poete, approchyng to meete hym, as one entendyng to recompense verses with verses. The Greke hauing receiued the Emperours Epigramme read it,
and

Howe Augustus
serued a poore
Greke poet
geuing him
epigrammes
of Greke, &
howe he was
serued of him
again.

and not onely in woordes, but also with countenance and with gesture of bodie praised the same, and made moche woundryng at it. And afterwarde, when he had approched to the litre that Cæsar rode in, puttyng doune his hande into his threedebare pouche nigh penillesse, he tooke out a grote, or twoo or three, and putte it in the hande of Cæsar, with these wordes : Not accordingly as your estate requireth, O Augustus, but if I had more, more would I geue : When all that wer presente, had taken vp a laughter therat, Cæsar called his pursebearer or Coferer, and commaunded him to deliuer vnto the Poete, an hundred thousande pieces of golde.

The liberalitee of Augustus towarde learned menne.

¶ Niggardship in open presence cast in the nose of the Emperour happed well for the Grekes parte.

Iulia the daughter of Augustus, when she came on a tyme to dooe her duetie vnto her father, perceiued his iyes to bee offended with her ouer wanton and staryng araie, though he would nothyng saie to it. Wherefore the next daie folowing, her apparell chaunged into a more sadde sort, she enbraced her father. Then Cæsar, who had kept in his grief the daie afore, was not hable likewise to kepe in his ioye and gladnesse, but saied : How moche better doeth this sadde sorte of apparel become the daughter of Augustus. The young Ladie had an aunswere readie quickly : Forsothe (saieth she) I haue this daie trimmed my self, to please the iyes of my father, and my yesterdaies araie was to please my housbande.

44.

Augustus offended with his daughter Iulia for going in ouer dissolute araie.

At a certaine sight of fightyng and tourneyng, Liuia the mother & Iulia the daughter, had turned the iyes of all the people on them twain, by reason that their traines wer so ferre vnlike,

the

The readie answer of Iulia to Augustus for excusyng her gorgeus going in her apparell.

45.

The diuersitee of the traines awaityng on Liuia the

mother, and
Iulia the
doughter.

Of Iulia reade
more in the
.63. *apoph-*
thegme.

The aunswere
of *Iulia* vnto
her father
Augustus,
aduertising
her of her riot-
tous coum-
paignie of
seruauntes.

the one to the other. About the persone of
Liulia awaited a coumpaignie of menne sage and
auncient, *Iulia* came accompaigned with a sorte
of lustie young rufiers, & wilde merchauntes.
Augustus therfore by letters, admonished his
doughter *Iulia*, to marke what great difference
and oddes there was, betwene twoo women of
high estate. She wrote to her father againe :
Well, and these folkes shalbee olde to, when I am.

¶ This aunswer if one doe interprete it in the good
part, maie seme featly and properly made, if to the
wurste, without either shame or grace.

46.

Iulia the
doughter
of *Augustus*
begun to haue
a white hedde,
somewhat with
the sonest.

Thesame *Iulia* begun somewhat with the sonest
to haue white heares in her hed. And the so-
daine comyng in of Cæsar vpon her, tooke vn-
awares the women, that had kembd her hedde,
as thei wer pickyng vp her white heeres, &
tooke vpon their clothes diuers of the heeres, that
thei had plucked out of his doughters hedde.

Howe *Augustus*
rebuked his
doughter *Iulia*
for plucking
the whyte
heares out
of hir head.

This matter *Augustus* made as though he had
not knowen. And the tyme a preatie while
passed forth, with comunicacion of other mat-
ters at last he brought in mencion of olde age.
And by this occasion he demaunded of *Iulia*,
whether she had lieffer in processe of a fewe
yeres, to haue an hore white hedde, or els to bee
altogether balde. And when she had thus made
aunswere: Forsoth father, of the twoo I had
rather to haue a white hed: Why then [saied he]
doen these damiselles all that thei maie, to make
thee clene balde before thy tyme?

¶ With this pretie inuencion subtilly deuised, he
tooke her tardie with a plain lye.

47.

What *Iulia*
said to an

To a certain frende of hers a manne of graui-
tee, giuing her counsaill to frame her self after
the exauple of her fathers sobre and auncient
maner

maner of liuing, thesame Iulia aunswered pertely enough againe: He doeth not remembre (quoth Iulia) that he is an Emperour, but I do remember that I am an emperours doughter.

auncient saige man exhorting hir to the frugalitee of his father.

Augustus setting twoo iesters together for to plaie their merie partes in gesturing the one after the other by course, called the one of them a daunser, & thother a stopper. 48.

¶ Because the one was out of measure, full of knackes and toies, and thother (which when he should counterfaict to doe after hym, as he had doen afore, could come nothyng nigh to his facions) seemed to doe nothyng but to make pauses, and stoppe or let hym of his daunsyng.

The inhabitauntes of Tarracon, for a glad token of prosperous fortune, bringing him tidynges, that in his altare was sprongen and growen vp a palmetree: Therby (quoth Augustus) full well appereth how often ye do sacrifice of incense in our honour. 49.

How Augustus reproved the flatterie of the Tarraconians, bringyng hym tidinges that a Date tree was growen vp in his altare.

¶ That thei would fain haue attributed vnto the goddess as a miracle, he imputed to their negligence, who seldome or neuer, did sacrifice of burnyng incense in the altare of *Caesar*.

* *Tarraconia*, a countree of Spaine, now called Aragusie. *Tarracon*, the chief citee of that countree, where was an altare consecrated to *Augustus Tarraconensis*, the inhabitauntes of *Tarracon*.

Thesame Augustus when the Galles had geuen him a golden chain of an C. pound weight, & Dolobella prouing his mynd in sport, proceded in merie communicacion, till at the last he saied, Sir emperour I praeie you geue me this chaine: Naie, (quoth Augustus) I had rather I might geue you a garlande * ciuicke or I wil rather geue you a garland ciuicke. 50.



How Augustus auoided Dolobella askyng a golden chaine of him.

¶ After a pleasaunt wittie sort, did he put back the vnshamefastnesse of one that craued to haue a rewarde, and

A garlande
Ciuike, made
either of holie,
or els of oken
leaues.

The garlande
Ciuike of more
honour then
any thyng of
gold that was
geuen for
reward in
battaille.

Augustus
would moche
soner geue
rewardes of
golde to his
men of armes,
then garlandes
Ciuike or mural
that were made
of leaues.

and yet had neuer been in battaille,  (where he might deserue a rewarde) and therefore a garland ciuike was more meete for him, which was wont to be made of Oken leues, and of Holme leues, as the garlande triumphall of golde. Albeit, aswell *castrensis corona*,  otherwise called *vallis corona*, the garlande whiche was geuen by the high capitain of the Romans, vnto hym that first had enterprised to breake into the campe and tentes of the enemies, and ouer the trenches in the field,) as also *corona muralis*, the garlande murall (whiche was thesaid graunde capitain conferred to soche personne, as at the assaulte of any towne or fortresse, had firste scaled the walles, and braste into the towne or holdes of the enemies) and *corona naualis* otherwise called *corona rostrata* the garlande that was geuen to hym, that in battaille on the sea, had first borded any shippe of their enemies or els subdued any pirates) euery one of them ordinarily made of golde. Of whiche matter se *Aulus Gellius* in the .vi. Chapter of the .v. volume. And the garlande ciuike, as a reward of more honour then any other, *Augustus* offered in sporte to *Dolabella*. For *Suetonius* telleth that thesame *Augustus* (among the giftes, wherwith men of armes wer rewarded for any worthie acte or feacte doen in warre) vsed of a custome, moche soner to geue golden trappour or bardes for horses, and chaines trappour, and whatsoever thing els was made of golde & siluer, then garlandes, vallares, and muralles, whiche (as touchyng honour) were farre aboute the other thynges. Whiche thyng excepte one doe knowe, the merie sayng of *Augustus* hath no grace in the worlde. Albeeit as touchyng the stuffe whereof euery of the saied garlandes was made, *Gellius* and *Suetonius* do square and disagree.

* A garlande ciuike was called in Latine *ciuica corona*, whiche one citezen hauing been rescued and saued from killing in battaill, made and gaue to an other citezen by whom he was so rescued and saued, as a testimoniall of his life saued when he should (but for the others aide and helpe) haue been slaine. And this garland was of more honour then any other gift, by manhode & prowesse marciall to be acheued (sauyng onely *corona graminea*, a garland of grasse, otherwise called *corona obsidionalis*, a garlande obsidionall, whiche was geuen to that personne, who by his aide & rescue, had saued the whole vniuersall armie of the Romaines, being besieged and beset, or on euery side enuiroined with their enemies.) And yet wer there many garlandes geuen in battaill, of moche more price & value, then either
of

of bothe aforesaid, as maie appere by the woordes of *Plinius*, which I haue thought good here to set, because it maketh to the declaracion & vnderstanding of this place. The garlande Ciuike (saith *Plinius*) at the first was of holme, afterward it was more fansied to haue it made of oken leaues with acornes. There belonged vnto it many condicions and many circumstaunces were required, he that should haue it must bee one whiche firste of all gettyng vp to the walles of the tounne, that he fighteth for in his own countree, hath slain whatsoeuer persone was so hardie to entreprise breking in. And one that had more desire to saue the life of one of his owne countremen and feloes, then to slea his enemye. And how that thesame place where the deede was doen, the enemies was like to haue enioied the same daie. And that the partie so saued, confesse thesame with his owne mouthe, otherwise witnesses doen nothing auaille, & that he wer a citezen of Rome. Other forener coming to succour & aide the Romaines geue not that honour, though one saue a king. Neither doeth thesame honour passe the common rate in dignitee, though the high capitaine be sembleable rescued and saued. For the first founders would the highest of all to be in any that were a citezen whatsoeuer he wer. A Ciuike garlande ones receiued, it was lawfull for him that had it ones geuen, to weare all daies of life after. If he came to any common plaies or open sightes, it is the guise euen yet stil that reuerence be doen to him, yea, euen of the Senate. He had authoritee to sit in the seates next vnto the Senate. He was exempted and chartered or priuileged from bearing almaner offices of charge, bothe for himself, and his father, and his fathers father.

When he had many diuerse waies both beautified and strengthened or fensed the citee of Rome, and had also for many yeres to come, as moche as in hym laie, made thesame suer and safe from all daungiers, being proude thereof not without cause, he would often saie: I found Rome made but of Bricke, and I will leaue it of Marble.

¶ Nothing to a prince maie be more magnificente or regall, then if thesame doe meliorate and better the state of a dicion or roialme, descended and come to his possession.

When one of his men of warre begged shamefully of hym a thyng (what it was) & he had espied besides hym one Martianus, also coming a pase towards hym, whom he mistrusted, that he for his parte to would beg hard on hym, ere he would haue a naie, he said: I will no more doe that thou desirest (good feloe myne) then that thyng whiche Martianus goeth about to craue on me.

It

51.
What *Augustus* saied of Rome, by him beautified & fortified.

Nothing to a Prince maie be more roial then if he make the state of his realme better than it was ere it came to his handes.

52.
Howe *Augustus* put of two impudent crauers at ones.

53. It was the lawe in Roome, that what person had killed his father, shuld be made fast in a * sacke, (☞ & so cast into the riuier.) And yet was not this punishmente executed, but vpon the partie hauyng first confessed the case. Augustus therefore, to the entent that he would help saue from the moste greuous torment of the foresaid punishment, a persone arraigned at the barre, for killyng his owne father, that all the world knewe to be so in deede, vsed this maner of examin- yng, and lai yng the matter against hym: In faith (I thinke for all this) thou diddest not kill thy father.

The lawe for
suche as killed
their fathers.

The clemencie
and gracious-
nes of *Augustus*
in ministring
the lawe.

¶ Doyng enough to him for to make him saie naie in the matter. So great was the fauourableness of this Prince in ministryng the lawe.


* A lawe was made in Rome by *Pompeius* (& was of his name called, *Lex Pompeia*) that if any persone wrought the actuall deede of killyng his father or his sonne, either priuelic or apert, thesame should bee sewed or fast knit in a poke of sacke clothe, together with a liue dogge, a cocke, an adder, and an ape, and so should bee caste into the sea, if there were any nigh to the place, or els into the riuier: to the ende that being enbraked and hampered in the middes of those mortalle streightes, he might euen in his life time begin to lacke the vse of all the elements, and that the aire should be taken awaie from him, while he were aliue, and the yearth when he wer dedde.

54. He vsed commonly to saie, that there was nothing more vnconuenable for a perfect good capitaine, then ouer moche hastyng, and vnauisednesse, and he had almoste euer in his mouthe, this sai yng of Greke, σπεῦδε βραδέως, ἀσφαλὴς γάρ ἐστιν ἀμείνων ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης. That is, hasten faire and softely. For moche better is the capitaine that will be sure of his matters, ere he go about them, then he that is of courage, to ieop- erde at all auentures.
- Hastyng &
want of dis-
crecion, the
worste pro-
perties that
maie bee in a
good capitaine.
σπεῦδε
βραδέως,
make hast
faire and
softelie, or
spede thee faire
and softelie.


¶ Of whiche matter I haue saied at large in my werk of Prouerbes, whiche is entitiled Chiliades.

☞ The Prouerbe, *spede thee faire and softely*, is a lesson of counsaile, whereby all persones, and especially princes, rulers and capitaines are admonished, in do yng of thinges bothe to adhibite
or

or shewe the quicke speding of actiuitee, and also the slownesse of diligence and circumspeccion, according to that the sayng of *Sallustius*: nedefull it is first to take good deliberacion, and assone as thou hast ones consulted, expedient it is, not to forflow the tyme of doying when it cometh.

Unto his wife Liuia, makynge instaunte requeste in the behalfe of a certain Galle, to be incorporated a citezen of Rome, he gaue a plain naie, but that thesame Galle should enioye the Priueleges and franchesses of Roome,  (as if he had been a citezen in deede) he graunted her of his own mocion vndesired: alleging that he could bee moche better contented to haue of his owne rentes and cofers abated, then the honor of the citee of Rome to bee made ouer common.

¶ As one that preferred the dignitee or highe estate of the common weale, before his owne singulare auantage.

When he sawe at an oracion or proposicion,  (that he made vnto the people) a greate manie in vile apparell (readyng, *palliatos*, in stede of, *pullatos*, as I suppose verely the bokes of *Suetonius* should be) clad in great large cappes or mantelles, being very sore moued therewith, and in an high fume, Loe (saith he) these here been our Romaines, the lordes of the worlde, and wonte in tymes paste, to go in auncient side gonnies.

¶ So greatly did he studie and labour to calle backe again and to renewe the olde auncient facions, that it greued his harte to se the old goyng in apparell, and garmentes chaunged.

Unto the people making great complaint of the scarcitee of wine, & also of the dearth, he said, that by reason of great aboundaunce of waters, conueighed to ren out of newe conduictes lately made by *Agrippa* his sonne in Lawe, there

was

Primum consulto: at ubi consuleris, mature opus est facto.

55. *Augustus* would not graunte vnto *Liuvia* to haue a certain *Galle* incorporated citezen of Roome

Augustus would not make the honour of the citee of Rome ouer common.

Augustus preferred the dignitie of the common weale before his owne singuler auantage.

56.

Augustus studied to bryng vp again in Rome the aunciente facions decayed.

57.

How *Augustus* answered the people of Rome complainyng of the scarcitee & dearth of wine.

Agrippa made many new conduites in Rome for the conueighaunce of water to the citee.


was sufficiente prouision made, that men needed not to be in thriste.

¶ In deede *Agrippa* bestowed all his studie and diligence, from all places that could be, to prouide for the citee of Rome to haue aboundaunce of waters. And *Augustus* on the other side, did sharpelie call backe the people from wine to water.

58.
The incomparable clemencie & graciousnesse of *Augustus* towardes one *Timagines* a writer of histories and chronicles.

Timagines for hated of *Augustus* burned the bokes, whiche he had written of his chronicle

The lenitee of *Augustus* towardes *Pollio Asinius*.

Timagines a writer of Histories, had with open mouth spoken many bloudie wordes against Cæsar, many slaunderous wordes by his wife, and many naughtie wordes by all his whole familie. Augustus sent him a gentle warnyng to kepe a better tounge in his hedde, and to vse it more sobrelly. And where the feloe persisted and held on still to make euill report, and to speake the worst, Cæsar did nothyng els in the worlde, but forbid hym his hous. Well, *Timagines* solemnly afore audience read ouer certaine bookes, whiche he had written, conteining the actes or chronicles of Augustus, & when he had perused them, he cast them in the fier, and burned them, for hated of Cæsar, as one couetyng to suppress and extinguishe for euer, the memoriall of thinges from time to time, dooen by thesame. Yet for all this did not one of the Citezens of Roome kepe out of his doores thesaied *Timagines*, thus openly and stiffely shewing continuall enmittee against Cæsar. In the hous of *Pollio Asinius*, he continued till he was a verie aged manne, and yet did Augustus neuer so moche as geue one foule worde vnto *Pollio*, in whose hous his enmie was lodged, & entreteined, sauyng that one time he saied vnto hym onely thus: *θηριωτρεφείς*, that is, Ye feede in your hous a beast, or a serpente,  (as if one should haue saied, your hous is a denne, or a caue for a serpent.) And

And anon where Pollio addressed hymself to make his purgacion or excuse, Cæsar broke his tale, sayng: Naie, my friende Pollio, take the fruicion of hym hardely, take the fruicion of him. But when Pollio not being yet clene out of feare, said Sir Emperour, if ye so commaunde, I will ere I drinke, forbid him my hous. Why (quoth Augustus) thinkest thou that I will so doe, which haue been the man, that once made you at one?

¶ For this Pollio had afore tyme been angrie and foule out with *Timagines*, and had none other cause to surceasse his maugre, but that *Caesar* begun to take displeasure with the saied *Timagines*. So the graciousnesse of this prince tooke in good gree the euill will of bothe the saied parties against hym.

When *Augustus* begun to take displeasure with *Timagines* then begun *Pollio* to bee his frende.

It fortunèd Augustus to suppe at the hous of one *Atedius Pollio, alias Vidiu Pollio. And one of the bondpages of this Pollio, had by chaunce broken a drinkyng glasse of cristall stone. Anon was commaundement geuen, that the paige should at ons be had awaie, and caste to his Lamproies. The lackey ran for succour, and fell doune at the fete of Cæsar, mindyng to desire of him nothing els in the world, but that he might dye some other kinde of death (then to bee cast aliue vnto the liue Lamproies. Cæsar beeyng moued with the vnquod maner of crueltee commaunded bothe the boie to be let go, and also as many cuppes, or other vessell of cristall as wer in the hous, to be broken in peces before his face euery one of them, and the stewe (where the Lamproies were kept) to bee filled vp with the same, in steede of the boie. And as for his friende Pollio he greuously rebuked: sayng: Why, art thou soche an one so lordely, to bid

59.

The straunge sort of crueltee that *Atedius Pollio* vsed, in castyng his seruantes (if thei displeased hym) aliue vnto liue Lamproies, whiche he kepte in a stewe.

The sore rebuk that *Augustus* gaue vnto *Pollio* for his crueltie.

The pitce and
mercifull com-
passion of *Aug-
ustus* towards
menne.

awaie with thy men in all haste, euen from thy table, and to be gnawen piece mele, with a tormente of a newe sorte neuer seen afore? If it chaunce a scalde cuppe of thyne to bee broken, shall the bowelles and guttes of a man, be toren in pieces for it? Wilt thou so highly stande in thine owne conceipt, or take vpon thee, as to commaunde any bodie to bee had to death or tormentes, in soche place, where Cæsar hymself is present?

* Of the straunge crueltee of this *Atedius Pollio*, alias *Vedius Pollio*, *Plinius* (in the .23. chap. of the .9. volume, treating of the nature of Lamproies) speaketh in this maner. *Vedius Pollio* a knight of Rome, and one of the familiare frendes of *Augustus Cæsar*, deuised and inuented in this fishe, examples and waies how to doe cruell torment, casting in cloce pondes & stewes of theim, the liue bodies of bondmen condemned to dye, not as though the wilde beastes of the yearth, beyng for soche purpose vnsufficient, but forbicause in any other kinde, he might not stande and loke vpon, while aliue man wer toren piece mele, in all the members and partes of his bodie at ones. Againste thesame *Pollio* for thesame crueltee doeth *Seneca* also sore inueigh.

60. At a certain sitting in iudgement, where vnto the charge of one *Aemilius Elianus* of Corduba, among other crimes moe it was laied euen as one of the principall matters against him, that he was a speaker of euill by Cæsar: *Augustus* turning to the accuser saied: I would haue thee to bryng me in prooffes of that, and I shall make *Elianus* to knowe that I haue a tongue to as well as he, and I will telle as many good tales of hym againe, I warraunte hym.

Corduba a citee in Spaine, where *Seneca* the Philosopher, and the Poete *Lucanus* wer borne.

The clemencie of *Augustus* towards *Aemilius Elianus* accused for speking wordes against hym.

¶ And beyng contented with this manacyng, he made no farther enquierie at all against the saied *Elianus*.

61. Unto *Tiberius* oftentimes by letters wrathfully complaining on soche persones as wer reporters of euill by *Augustus*, thesame *Augustus* wrote letters againe, that he should not in that matter be ouer eagre, as men of his age were wont to bee.

This *Tiberius* succeeded *Augustus*. How *Augustus* aunswered *Tiberius* wrath-

bee. For it is enough (quoth he) if wee haue the matter at this pointe, that no man is able to doe vs any harme.

fully complain-
yng of persones
reportyng euill
by hym.

He neuer commended his soonnes vnto the people, but with this excepcion : If thei shall deserue it, and bee founde woorthie.

62.

How *Augustus*
vsed to com-
mend his
soonnes to
the people.

¶ Mindyng and willyng, that honour should bee deferred and geuen not vnto auctoritee, but vnto merites and desertes.

He had banished out of Courte Iulia his doughter, and Iulia his doughters doughter, yea, and after that Agrippa also, afore adopted and made his heire apparaunte, & afterward (because of his beastly and fierse or vnrule facions) caste of again. At all times whensoever was made any mencion of these three, he would customably crie out with this verse of Homere.

63.

Augustus ban-
ished out of his
courte *Iulia* his
doughter, and
Iulia his
doughters
doughter, and
Agrippa for
their lewdenes
& vnthriftines.

αἶψ' ὄφελον ἄγαμός τε μένειν ἄγονός τ' ἀπολίσσθαι.

That is,

Oh, would God, would God, that my chaunce had been,

To liue single, and die without children.

What *Augustus*
would saie,
when any men-
cion was made
either of *Iulia*
his doughter,
or *Iulia* his
nice, or of
Agrippa, and
what name
he gaue them.

Neither vsed he to call thesaid three persones by any other name, but three rotten apostumes, or three rennyng sores of his, or els his three can- cers. For he could moche more pacientely take the death of his children and kinsfolkes, then their dishonour. Yea, & ferthermore he prouided by his last wil, that, in case any thing should chaunce vnto Iulia his doughter, or Iulia his nice other wise then well, neither of them bothe should be buiried vnder his tounge.

Augustus could
better take the
death of his
children, then
their dishonour

Augustus
would not haue
his doughter
Iulia to be
tounge'd
with hym.

He would take very greuouly that any thing should be made of him, and set out in writing, but after a substanciall sorte, and by the princi-
pall

64.

Augustus
would not haue
anything made

of him in writing but after a substanciall sorte, and of the best doers

pall best doers. And to the iustices he signified his pleasure, that thei should not suffre any point of vilanie to come vnto his name, by the metynges and comyng together of iesters, or of common plaiers of entreludes.

Afore in the 34
Apophthegme
of *Alexander*.

¶ In deede in this behalfe cousin to *Alexander*. And certes meete it is for the auctoritee of a Prince, euerywhere to bee maintained in his roiall estate, without any maner spotte or touche of derogacion.

65.
How *Augustus*
named a little
Isle liyng nigh
to the Isle of
Capres.

An other certaine Isle, liyng nigh vnto the Isle of * *Capres* (into the whiche soche of Cæsars court were wonte to departe for a season, as were desirous to seiourne and repose them selues) he commonly vsed to call in Greke, ἀπραγόπολις as if ye should saie in Englishe, the Citee of dooe little.

¶ For the Greke worde ἀπραγία souneth in Englishe vacacion or resting from all buisnesse.

* *Capreae, arum*, is a litle Isle beyond the tounce of *Surrentum* in the realme of Naples, which realme of Naples is in latin called *Campania*.

66.
What *Augustus*
demaunded of
his frendes a
litle before his
death.

When he perceiued and feled his diying houre to approche, he enquired of his familiars, beyng let into his chamber to come and see him, whether it semed to them, that he had any thing handsomely enough played his parte in passyng his life.

¶ Meanyng of the trade and course of this presente iife, which many writers doen resemble and compare vnto playyng a parte in an Enterlude. And then pronounced he this Greke verse folowing, customablie vsed to be sungen at the last ende of Comedies, exhibited and plaid to an ende.

δότε κρότον καὶ πάντες ἡμῖν μετὰ χαρᾶς κτυπήσατε.

That is,

Clappe handes, in signe of contentacion,
And with good harte, allow this our accion.

¶ *The*

¶ *The sayynges of Iulius Caesar.*



Iulius Cæsar, when he fled from Sylla, being yet but euen a stripleyng vnder mannes state, came by chaunce into the handes of pirates, beyng Cilicians.

And at the first when thesame pirates had named the somme, whiche thei would require of hym for his raunsome, he laughed the thieues to scorne, as fooles that knewe not what maner feloe thei had taken priesoner, and promised of his own offre to geue them double their asking. So, the time goyng on, wheras he was safely kept & watched, while the money was in fetchyng, he would charge them to kepe silence, and to make no noise that might trouble him, while he was slepyng. Unto thesame Pirates he would euer read soche oracions and verses as he wrote being there, which his makinges, if thei did not in the best maner allow, he would call them asses and barbarous fooles, and with laughter would threaten to hang them one daie on Ieobettes, whiche thing he did in deede to. For beyng let go, immediatly vpon the bringyng of the money, which the pirates patished for his raunsome, men and shippes gotten together out of the countrie of Asia, he caught the self sam robbers, and hanged them vp, but first hedded, that the seueritee might not be vntempred with mercie.

¶ Doe ye not here euen at the first chop se and knowe of old, the nature and facions of *Alexander* the great, to whom no meane thing could be enough?

Because the woordes of *Plutarchus* in the life of *Iulius Caesar*, seeme to geue no small light to the vnderstanding of this present place. I haue thought it worthy the doing, to annexe the same

I.

Sylla a sena-
tour of *Rome*,
and a man of
great power,
who made
ciuile battaille
with *Marius*,
and vanquish-
ed, and after-
ward waxed a
cruel tiran.

Cilicians, the
people of *Cili-
cia*, whiche is
a region in
Asia the lesse
ioining vnto
Syria, a good-
lie champion
countrie.

The hault
stomacke of
Iulius Caesar,
beyng but a
yong man.

Caesar hanged
vp the pirates,
by whom he
had been taken
prisoner.

Iulius Caesar
moste like in
facions vnto
Alexander the
greate.

same at large. *Sylla* rulyng the roste, & bearyng all the stroke in Rome (saieth *Plutarchus*) was in minde and wille to take awaie from *Caesar*, *Cornelia* the doughter of *Cinna* the dictator (that is to saie, the lord great maister, or the lorde commaunder.) Whiche thing when he could neither for fear ne for hope, that is to saie, neither by foule meanes, nor by faire meanes bryng to passe, he stopped her dourie as forfaict to the chamber of the citee. As for the cause of enmittee betwene *Caesar* and *Sylla*, was the alli-aunce of *Marius* and *Caesar*. For *Marius* the elder had to wife *Julia* the aunte of *Caesar*, of whom was born *Marius* the younger, *Caesars* cousin germain (thei twoo beyng sisters children.) When (*Sylla* settyng and bestowyng his minde, care, and studie about other matters, after the doyng to death and slaughter of many a persone, in the tyme while he reigned) *Caesar* sawe hymself to bee nothing at all regarded of hym, yet did not the same *Caesar* shrinke, ne spare, being euen a very child of age, to steppe to the people, and to entre suite with them for the obtaynyng of a rome, dignitee, or promocion, in the ordre or college of priestes, whiche dignitee he was put besides, and could not obtaine, by reason that *Sylla* was not his friende, but against hym in his suite, *Sylla* continually from that tyme forthward, deuisyng and consultancyng how to destroe *Caesar*, and to rid hym out of the waie, where certain persones auouched to be contrarie to all reason and conscience, to doe soche a yong boie to death. *Sylla* affirmed them all to bee more then madde, if thei did not in that one boie alone, espie many soche as *Marius*. When this sayyng came to *Caesars* eare, he went for a space about from place to place, and laie hidden among the *Gabines* (a people in *Italie* not fer from Rome) afterward, while he nightly remoued from one lodgyng to an other, though he wer verie sickely, it chaunced hym to come into the handes of *Sylla* his soldiours, then scouring the countree, to take all soche persones as laie lurking there in any place, and at the hande of *Cornelius* the capitaine of the saied Launce-knights, he raunsomed hymself for two talentes. Upon this, taking his waie to the sea, he tooke passage ouer into *Bithynia* (a region of *Asia* the lesser, buttyng fore right ayenst *Thracia*) vnto *Nicomedes* the king there, with whom no long tyme hauyng made abode, as he wente doune from thens, he was taken about *Pharmacusa* (a little Isle in the sea of *Salamin*, not ferre from the region of *Attica*) by a sort of pirates, whiche at that present season, with greate shippes of warre, and with whole nauies out of number, helde and kepte the possession of all the seas about. By whom when at the first wer demaunded of him .xx. talentes for his raunsome, he mocked them, for that thei knewe not what maner a man thei had taken, and therefore of hymself he promised to geue them .i. talentes. Then sendyng his folkes abroad, some to one citee and some to an other, for spedic leuiyng of thesaid money, hymself remainyng prisoner among the moste vncourteous *Cilicians*, with one and no mo of his familiare frendes, and twoo seruauntes. But as for the saied *Cilicians* he had in so vile reputacion, that as often as he was disposed to laie hym doune to slepe, he would sende one streightly to charge and commaunde them to kepe silence, and to make no noise. And makyng demourre there emonges them with greate suffraunce .xl. daies
lackyng

lackyng twoo, and vsyng them not as kepers, but as seruantes, and garders of his bodie, he would prouoke them now at gamyng, now with prouyng one or other maisterie, otherwhiles wrytyng verses and oracions, he would desire them to geue hym the hear- yng of thesame, and if thei did not highlie esteeme his doinges he would plainly without any courtesie call them fooles or loutes, and barbarous feloes, threatening them vnder the cloke of laughyng and sporting, to hang them euery one on the galoes. In whiche thinges thei like fooles tooke greate ioye and pleasure, as attributyng all that plain and franke speaking vnto iesting and simplicittee. And immediatlie vpon the bringing of the money for his raunsome, from the toun of *Miletum*, and the deliuerance of the same, beyng set again at his libertee, a nauie of shippes euen with a trice furnished & set out from the haven of the *Milesians*, he made vpon these Pirates, whom lyng yet still at rode with their nauie all at reste and quiete about thesaid Isle, he toke and subdued almoste euery one. And so all their goodes and money taken from them, he laied the feloes faste and suere in irons at *Pergamus* (a toun in *Asia*, & a prouince of the Romaines) and went vnto *Iulius* the chief iustice, hauing at that time the ording of the prouince of *Asia*, vnto whom it belonged to punish soche as wer taken for any trespase. But the saied *Iulius* rather hauing iye vnto the money (for it was no smal somme) saied that he would at leasure, se what was to be doen with the persons whom he had taken. Wherefore *Caesar*, when he sawe his tyme, biddyng him farewell, toke his iourney vnto *Pergamus*, and hanged me all thesaid thieues on icobettes, from the first to the last, accordingle as he had ofte times made promise vnto them, while he abode in the Isle, &c.

When he made suite and labour to haue the dignitee of high *prelate or ordinarie at Roome (Quintus Catulus, a manne of right high dignitee and power among the Romaines, standyng in election with hym for thesame office) vnto his mother bryngyng him going to the gate: Mother (saied he) this daie shall ye haue your sonne, either the high prelate, or els a banished man.

¶ An hault courage toward, and that could in no sauce a bide to be put backe.


2.

What *Iulius Caesar* saied to his mother, when he stode for the dignitee of highebishop in Rome.

Iulius Caesar a man of a wonderous haulte courage

* There was in Rome of old antiquitee a certain college, that is to say a compaignie or feloship of magistrates, to whom appertained the ordering, ministering, executyng and iudging of all sacres, of all holy rites, ceremonies, funerall obsequies, & of all other causes that in any point concerned religion. And thei wer called *Pontifices*. And there were of them two orders, that is to wete, inferiours and superiours, as if ye should saie (at lestwise in case the terme maie serue) bi-shoppes and archbishops. And among them was one hedde, that was called *summus Pontifex*, the highest prelate, and as ye would saie: the chief ordinarie, to whose power and auctoritee belonged to make constitucions, concernyng al the saied

saied rites, ceremonies, and all pointes of their religion, and to see reformation of all inferiour magistrates, encurreng any contumacie, contempte, or disobedience. This magistrate was firste instituted by *Numa Pompilius* the seconde kyng of Roome.

3. His wife * *Pompeia*, because she was in greate slaunder (as one that had misused herself with *Clodius*) in deede he forsoke & put awaie from him. But yet when *Clodius* was vexed in the law, and arraigned for thesame matter, *Cæsar* being called forth for a witnesse, reported no euill worde by his wife. And when the accuser saied, Why then hast thou made a diuorce with her? Forsothe (quoth he againe) because the wife of *Cæsar* ought to be pure and cleare from all slaunder too.  as well as from the crime.

* *Iulius Caesar* forsooke and put awaie his wife *Pompeia*. This *Pompeia* was *Cæsars* .iii. wife, as witnesseth *Plutarchus*, his firste wife was *Cornelia* the daughter of *Cinna* afore mencioned, by whom he had a daughter called *Iulia*, whiche was afterward married vnto *Pompeius* 4. the greate. *Caesar*, when he reade the actes of *Alexander*, could not hold wepyng.

¶ Besides the witnesse of the aunswere, his ciuillitee also maie well be praised, that he spared to defame his wife whom he had abandoned.

When he read the chronicle of *Alexander* the greate, he could not forbear to water his plantes. And to his frendes he said: At thissame age (quoth he) that I am of now, *Alexander* had subdued *Darius*, and I haue not yet vnto this daie, dooen so moche as any one valiaunte acte of prowesse.

The ambition of *Iulius Caesar*

* After that the cite of *Rome* had subdued many countrees, thei did from yere to yere, create and sende into euery seuerall prouince, that thei had a seueralle magistrat, who was called *Praetor*, a lorde presidente. To whose auctoritee appertained the determinacion of causes, and the redresse of all matters, concerning iustice and lawe. A magistrate of moche like sort, as is here in Englande the lorde

¶ *Suetonius* writeth this thing to haue chaunced, at what time *Caesar* beyng lorde * president in Spain, & ridyng his circuite, to holde the graunde iuries or lawe daies, in tounes appointed for sises and sessions to be kept, had seen the Image of *Alexander* in the temple of † *Hercules* within the Isle of *Gades*. But would God soche a nature as this, would rather haue vsed his forwardnesse and quicke spirite, in taking after a prince of a sober sort, then after one that would be perelesse, & alone aboue all others.

president

president of the counsaill in Wales, and the lorde presidente of the counsaill at Yorke, sauing that the *Praetor* of Rome had the assistance, aide and mainteinaunce of men of armes, wheresoeuer he wente to kepe sises, sessions, courtes or lawdaies, or to sit in iudgemente.

† In the moste ferthest part of Spain, beyonde *Granado* westwarde are twoo little Isles called, *Gades*. In the lesse of these twoo Isles, was a citee called *Iulia*, inhabited all with citezens of Roome. There was also in thesame a temple, dedicated vnto *Hercules*, in whiche it is thoughte by many persones, that the twoo pillars of *Hercules* wer, whiche pillars wer of brasse, eight cubites high a peece: whiche *Hercules* (when he had peregrated all the worlde, as ferre as any lande went) did erecte and set vp for a memoriall that there he had been.

As he passed by a beggerie little toun of cold 5.
roste in the mountaines of Sauoye, his compaignie that were with hym, puttyng doubtes and questions, whether in that dog hole, also, wer sedicions & queeles for preeminence and superioritee, as there continually were in Rome, he staied and stode still a pretie while musing with hymself, & anone, Well (quoth he) I promise you, I for my part had lieffer to bee the firste, or the chief man here, then the seconde man in Rome.

¶ This certes is euen verie it, that is written in the poete *Lucanus*, that neither *Caesar* could abide to haue any man aboue hym, ne *Pompeius* to haue any peere.

The ambition of *Iulius Caesar*
Nec Rome potuere pati
Caesarue priorem Pompeius
ue parem.

Neither *Caesar* could abide to haue any superior, nor *Pompeius* to haue any man feloe with him.

He saied that thinges of high enterprise (because thei are subiecte vnto daungers, and wer greate) ought to bee executed and dispetched out of hande, and none aduise ne deliberacion to bee taken of theim, because that to the goyng through with soche matters, celeritee doeth verie greate helpe, and castyng of perilles dooeth plucke a manne backe from hardie auenturyng.

Iulius Caesar would high enterprises to bee goen through withall, without castyng of any perilles.

When he departed out of the prouince of 7.
Galle, to matche against *Pompeius*, assone as he was ones passed ouer the flood of *Rubicon*, now (saieth he) be * it past casting the dice again (as if he should haue said, now happe what shall hap, let altogether turn which waie it will.)

Omnis iacta sit alea.

¶ Declaryng

¶ Declaryng that he was vtterly mynded to put all in hasarde to make or marre, & to bee man or mous. For the said floud of *Rubicon* disseuereth the *Gallie Cisalpine* from *Italie*.

* There is a prouerbe, *omnem iacere aliam*, to cast all dice, by whiche is signified, to set al on sixe and seuen, & at al auentures to icoperd, assaiyng the wild chaunce of fortune, be it good, be it bad. Therefore when *Caesar* saied: be al dice alreadie cast. His meaning was, to bee now ouerlate to repente that he had doen, or to cal again yesterdaie. And therefore that he would now cast no more peniworthes in the matter, but go through with his purpose, chaunce as it would. *Cadat alea fati* (saith *Lucanus* in the persone of *Caesar* against *Pompeius*) *alterutrum mersura caput*, that is, *Let the dye of fate, chaunce as it will, Thone or other of our liues to spill.* *Euripides*, *Plato*, *Terence*, *Plutarchus*, *Lucianus*, and other writers mo, liken the life of manne to the game of Dicing, in whiche plaie, what to caste lieth not in our handes, but onely in chaunce and fortune, but that that we haue caste, wee maie with policie, conueighaunce, and good orderiing, if it bee well caste, vse and applie it to our commoditee, if the contrarie, yet tempere it the lesse to hurte vs.

8. When *Pompeius* had forsaken *Rome*, and had fled to the seas, *Metellus* the high treasurer of *Rome* withstoode *Cæsar*, being desirous and fain to take money out of the treasure, and shut vp thesame treasure fast. But *Cæsar* threatened to slea him, whiche woorde when it had astounded the saied *Metellus*, Iwis young man [quoth *Cæsar*] this thing was more harde for me to speak then to do.

Metellus letted *Caesar* going aboute to take money out of the treasure of Roome.

The manacing of greate men.

¶ Meaning that it was in his power euen with a beck of his hed, to put to death whomsoeuer he wer disposed, forasmoche as whersoever he went, he had with hym a bende of harnessed menne.

9. At a toune of * *Durach* he taried, loking that mo soldiours footemen should bee sent thither vnto hym from † *Brunduse*. Which thing forasmoche as it was very slacke and long in doying, gettyng hym priuelie into a little foist, he assaied to passe ouer the sea of *Adria*. And the vessell beyng euen wel nigh ouerwhelmed and sounken, with the maine swellng surges of this fierse sea, vnto his pilote being now clene in despair to escape

* *Durachium* or *Dyrrachium* a toune in *Macedonia*, first called *Epidamnus*, but the Romanes when thei had conquered it, would nedes haue it called *Dirrachium*, this was

escape drounyng, and thinkyng to be no waie but one, Cæsar opened who he was, sayng: Put thy trust and affiaunce in ladie Fortune, and weete thou well, that thou carriest Cæsar in this little boate of thyne.

¶ He was of soche excedyng hault courage, as though he had had bothe the goddes, and fortune euen at his owne will and commaundement. But yet at that present season the rage of the tempeste wexyng stil worse and worse, he was letted of accomplishing that he had entended. But assone as his souldiours (that wer alreadie at *Durach*) had knowelege of this his doying, thei came fulle and whole rennyng vnto *Caesar*, and tooke verie greuously, if thesame looked for any mo, or other bendes of men, as hauyng some mistruste in them.

But when it came to the battreyng and triall of strokes, Pompeius wone the field, but he did not folowe his victory to the vttermost (as he should haue doen,) but reculed backe to his campe. Then saied Cæsar, This daie (quoth he) the victorie was in the possession of our enemies, but thei haue not a capitaine that can skille how to vse victorie, when he hath it.

When Pompeius had commaunded his armie, albeet thesame wer prest and in full readinesse to fight at *Pharsalum*, yet there to demourre, and to tarrie the comyng of their enemies: Cæsar auouched hym to had doen ferre wide, in that he had by soche delaie and tariaunce, in maner killed the habilitée, the fiersenesse, and a certain diuine inspiracion of his souldiours hartes, beeyng fully appoincted and redie to fall vpon their enemies.

¶ So greatly did *Caesar* contende and striue with *Pompeius*,

when he went to pursue *Pompeius*.

† *Brundusium* a toune in the royalme of Naples, liyng vpon the sea of *Adria*, from which *Brun-duse*, lieth the passage ouer into Grece.

The excedyng haulte courage of *Iulius Caesar*

The hartes of *Caesars* souldiours towardes hym.

IO.

Pompeius wone the first felde against *Caesar*

Pompeius could no skill (saied *Caesar*) howe to vse a victorie

II.

Pharsalum or *Pharsalos* or *Pharsalia*, a citee in *Thes-salia*, in the felde of which *Caesar* van-quished *Pompeius*.

Iulius Caesar matched *Pompeius* not onlie in the fortune of battail, but also in the experience.

Pompeius, not onely aboute the fortune of battaill, but also in the experte knowlege of warre keepyng.

12. When he had euen at the first choppe of encountreyng, vanquished * *Pharnaces*, he wrote briefly to his frendes after this sort: I came, I looked, I conquered.

* *Pharnax*
or *Pharnaces*
kyng of *Pontus*,
& soonne of
Mithridates,
whom beyng

¶ Signifyng the greate celerite and spede of doying.

his owne father he persecuted, and at length droue to kil himself. For he fauoured *Pompeius* making warre against *Mithridates*. And in fine thesaied *Pharnaces* rebelling against *Caesar*, was by thesame discomfaicted, vanquished & driuen out of his countree. This feloe (saieyth *Lucius Florus*, who writeth an abbridgement of the Chronicles of Rome, out of the histories of *Titus Livius*) was by *Iulius Caesar* euen at one felde, & yet not that al foughten, so troden vnder fete, as it had been a thing with a flashe of lightenyng, sodainly crummed to dust and pouthier.

13. After that the soldiours and men of armes, whiche folowed *Scipio* in Afrike wer fled, and *Cato* being vanquished by *Cæsar* had killed himself at *Vtica*, these were the woordes of *Cæsar*: I enuie to thee O *Cato* this death of thyne, sens thou haste enuied vnto me the sauynge of thy life.

Scipio a noble
captain of
Roome.

Of *Cato* is afore
noted in the 31.
apophthegme of
Augustus Cæsar,
where vnto
is to be added,
that *Caesar*
made all the
speede and
meanes possible
to haue
Cato aliue, and
when he could
not, he wrote a
boke of vnkind-
nesse against
him, whiche
he entitled
anti-Cato.

¶ *Caesar* thought it a thyng like to redounde highly to his honour and renoume, if soche a noble man as *Cato* hauing been ouercomed in battaill, shuld be bound to hym, and no man els for his life. But *Cato* rather chose death with honour, then after the oppressing of the publike libertee and fredom, to be as a bondseruaunt to any persone. And therefore *Caesar* enuied vnto *Cato* the honor of soche a death because he had enuied vnto *Caesar* the laude and praise of sauynge the life of *Cato*.

14. Persones not a fewe (because thei had *Antonius* and *Dolobella* in great mistrust lest thei should conspire and werke some treason against *Caesar*) gaue warnyng vnto thesame, that he should in any wise beware of them. Tushe, no no (quoth *Cæsar*) I feare not these ruddie coloured and fat bealied feloes, but yonder same spare slender skragges,

What *Iulius*
Caesar said
when he was
warned to be-
ware of *Antoni-*
us & *Dolobella*
Antonius & *Do-*
lobella fat and
well coloured,

skragges, & pale salowe coloured whoresoonnes, shewyng with his finger Brutus & Cassius.

Brutus & Cassius leane and pale.


¶ Neither did his suspicion deceiue him, for of them .2. was he afterward slain in dede. Of which matter soch as be learned maie reade *Plutarchus* and *Suetonius*.

Brutus & Cassius slue Iulius Caesar.

Communicacion beeyng on a tyme in a supper season begun, what kinde of death was best, he aunswered without making any bones: That is sodain & nothing thought on.

15.

What kinde of death Iulius Caesar thought to be beste.

¶ And that he iudged to be best, chaunced to him in dede.  *Plutarchus* saieth that he supped thesame time (beyng the daie next before his death) at the hous of *Marcus Lepidus*, his greate and faithfull frende.


In a certain battree he caught fast by the hedde and the cheekes, the standarde bearer of one of the legion called Marciall, hauing turned his backe to flee, and plucked backe the contrarie waie. And stretching forth his hande to his enemies ward, saied: Whether goest thou awaie thou feloe? Yonder been thei, that wee fight against.

16.

When one of Iulius Caesars standarde bearers wold haue fled, Caesar plucked him backe by the throte, to go towards his enemies.

¶ Thus with his handes he chasticed one persone and no moo, but with these sharpe and poinaunt woordes, he cleane put awaie the fearfull trembling of al the legions, & where thesame werat the very point to bee discourmfaicted, he taught them a lesson to winne the victorie.

The waie to winne victorie is not to flee, & to renne awaie from the enemies.

After that *Publius Mimus*, a plaier of wanton enterludes, and other iestyng toies had on the staige in open presence, ferre passed all his feloes, and emong them one *Laberius*  a maker & a plaier as *Publius* was, thesame *Iulius Cæsar* pronounced the sentence of iudgemente in this wise. *Cæsar* shewyng thee O *Laberius*, all the fauour that maie bee, thou art ouercomed of the Syrian.

17.

How Iulius Caesar gaue iudgemente of Laberius beyng ouercomed by Publius Mimus in iestyng and plaiying.

¶ For

¶ For thesaied *Publius* was in condicion or state of liuyng a bondeman, & of nacion or countree a *Syrian* borne. Ferre a waie is he left behind, that is ouercomed the iudge beyng his frende, or shewyng hym fauour. ¶ And the iudge beyng but indifferent, it was to to ferre oddes, that a *Syrian* borne should in Roome ouercome a Romain.

18. When Cæsar saw in Rome, certain aliens that wer riche and welthie persones, carryng aboute the streates in their armes and bosomes, little young dogges and apes, & to make all sporte and plaie with thesame, he demaunded whether the women in their Countree, did bryng foorth the no children.

What *Iulius Caesar* said when he saw in Rome straungers carrie young puppees & in their armes to plaie withall.

¶ Meanyng that there were no soche young whelpes of any kinde, more pleasaunte to plaie or finde pastime withall, then their own little swete babes. *Plutarchus* telleth this historie in the life of *Pericles*, albeeit he sheweth not whiche *Caesars* sayng it was, I deme it to be *Augustus Caesars*.

Pericles a noble man of *Athenes* whiche gouerned the commonweale there

by the space of .xl. yeres, a man in naturall eloquence incomparable.

19. When he sawe his soldiours to be wondrous sore afeard of their enemies, whiche thei looked for daily, he spoke openly to the whole compaignie in this maner. Be it knowen to you al, that within these very fewe daies, there will come hither a kyng with x. Legions, xxx. M. horsemen, of others in light harnesse an hundred .M. and .iii. C. elephantes. Therefore some emong you here, ceasse to make any ferther enquire or serche, or to conceiue this or that opinion, and geue the credence vnto me, who haue certaine knowlege of all the truthe, or els in faithe I will cause all soche persones to be put in the oldest and moste rotten ship that I can get, and to be carried hens what soeuer winde shall blowe, into what soeuer Countrees it shall chaunce at auenture.

What *Iulius Caesar* said to his soldiars being in greate feare of their enemies, whose comyng thei daily loked for. This king was the king of the *Persians*.

¶ A

¶ A straunge facion of puttyng awaie fear, not by naie sayyng, ne by lessenyng the number of the enemies, but by encreasing the occasion of terrour, to the ende that beyng adcertained, of sore perille and hasard to come, thei might take vnto them stomakes & hartes for soch great daunger conuenable.

To certain persones comyng in with their fue egges, how that Sylla had geuen ouer his office of Dictature, as he shuld do, wher as Cæsar kept it still, and would not out of it at all (whiche thing to dooe, lacked verie little of plaine vsurpacion of tirannie :) he aunswered that Sylla was not bokishe, nor halfe a good clerke, and therefore gaue vp his * Dictature.

¶ Schoolemaisters, when thei shewe afore worde by woorde, or els recite vnto their scholares, what to write after them, ar said properly in latine *Dictare discipulis*. *Caesar* hereunto alludyng, saied that *Sylla* was not halfe a cunnyng clerke.

¶ Meaning, as I suppose, that on the one side, if *Sylla* had ben so wel seen in histories, in chronicles, and in experience of the worlde, as to consider what great daunger it was, from soche an office so long time by strong hande, continued, to returne to his former state of a priuate man again, he would haue looked twis on the matter, ere he would haue geuen it vp, (of whiche matter is somewhat touched afore in the .24. *apophthegme* of *Diogenes*) and on the other side, that soche a persone as should be in a rome, of soche high power and auctoritee, that what soeuer he would commaunde, must and should nedes be doen, ought to be a manne of high wisdom, knowlege, and discrecion, to kepe himself vpright in all behelfes, and to dooe nothing by violence and power, whiche he might not at all times after auouche and iustifie, as *Sylla* had doen, who in the tyme of his *Dictature*, would not onelic be ruled by no lawes ne minister any iustice, but ferthermore, vsed soche detestable crueltee and tirannie ouer the citee, and all degrees and sortes of men, as could not chuse afterward, but redounde to his finall confusion and exterminion. Albeit (excepte my memorie faile me) the histories saien that *Sylla* gaue not vp the saied office, vntill he laie sicke in his death bedde.

warre in .2. places at ones, whether should go to this place and whether to that. And by reason of soche contencion, many times thaffaires of the citee proceded not, and the citee self was oft in greate daungier. It was therefore by a lawe provided, that in soche time and state of the commonweale, if the twoo Consules betwene them twain, or els the Senate among them, did not ne would agree, there should

Greate matter of daunger requireth harte & stomake according, for to resiste thesame

20.

What *Caesar* said for his excuse of not leauyng the office of *Dictatour*.

Iulius Caesar saied that *Sylla* was not halfe a good clerke.

Dictare discipulis.

* For the better vnderstanding of this place, it is to bee noted, that by reason that the citie of *Rome* was rewled by two persones of eguall power, who wer called Consules and wer chaunged from yere to yere, there chaunced ofte times matter of contencion & strief, whether of the twoo Consules shuld go to battaille, or if thei kept

should bee elected an officer, who was called *Dictator*, as if ye should saie, a lord commaunder, he was called also, *Magister populi*, the maister of the people. His office was called *Dictatura*, the Dictatourship, or the Dictature. Whiche was as touching his auctoritee, the verie absolute power of a king. And whatsoeuer the Dictatour commaunded, or bid to be doen, should bee executed without any maner let, contradiccion, or reasoning. And because the power was so greate, it was by the same lawe prouided, that no one persone should continue in it aboue the space of 6 monethes at ones. And whosoever would not geue vp the Dictature at the 6 monethes ende, incurred the suspicion of tirannie, and of conspiryng to be a king, and thereby the crime of high treason against the commonweale. This lawe notwithstanding, *Silla* being Dictatour, would not at his due time yeld vp his office, but by meanes vsurped a perpetual dictature, for the term of 120. yeres, yet at last he gaue it vp in his last daies. Then came *Iulius Caesar*, and so sembable vsurped the Dictatourship for terme of life. And of that came in, the power of them who wer afterward called *Caesares*. And the office of Dictature ceased. Neither was there any that wer called *perpetui dictatores*, that is perpetuall dictatours, or dictaturs for terme of life, but these two afore named.

21. As Cæsar makyng his triumphe, passed along

Caesar toke verie greuouslie, that one *Aquila* a Tribune made no reuerence to him at his triumphe.

* There wer certain men of office & auctoritee in Rome called *Tribuni*, thei wer as chief of the commons. And their power was as wel

in making of Lawes and decrees, as also in all other causes, to intercede betwene the Senate and the people, that the lordes and nobles might not by any newe founde actes, statutes, or decrees, in any wise oppresse or greue the commonalte. And so greate was their auctoritee in this behalf, that whatsoeuer the Consules or Senate would enacte, if but one of the *Tribunes* saied naie to it, all their doing was voide, ne could make any effect. The College of *Tribunes* for the people in Rome, might well be likened to the compaignie of the Bourgoisses of the Parliament here in England. There were of the *Tribunes* at the first no more but twaine, afterwarde sixe, in processe a college of 36. There wer also *Tribuni militares*, Tribunes of the soldiers, whose office was to see that the souldiours wer wel armed and appointed as thei should be.

22. Unto the people for flatterie, salutyng hym by the name of kyng, I am Cæsar, (quoth he) I am no kyng.

Iulius Caesar refused to be called kyng.

¶ He

¶ He rather chose to bee called by his own priuate name, than by the name of kyng, whiche at that tyme was sore hated in the citee of Rome.

Some one feloe of the people had set on the image of Cæsar a garlande of Laurell wound about with a white linen rolle. But when the Tribunes, the lynen rolle pulled of, had * commaunded the feloe to pryson, Cæsar after that he had geuen the Tribunes a sore rebuke for it, depriued thesame of their offices. And that he might not by so doing seeme to attempte the vsurpacion of the name and power of kyng, he pretended for an excuse, the glorie of refusing soche honour his owne selfe to had been taken away from hym by them.

23.

A croun wound aboute with a white linen rolle was the token of a kyng, and was the verie Diademe.

Iulius Cesar put out of office the tribunes, whiche had taken awaie from his portature, a kynges Diademe.

* *Plutarchus* saith that a diademe or croune *Emperiale*, was at this time set on sondrie Images of *Caesar* in diuerse places, and the twoo Tribunes that plucked awaie the crounes, he nameth the one *Flanius*, & the other *Marullus*, and addeth that thesame tribunes did cast in prieson all soche persones, as thei founde had salued *Caesar* by the name of kyng. *

Because Cæsar had chosen many alienes of straunge countrees into the senate, ther was a bill written and set vp, that it should be a good deede, if some man woulde goe shewe the parliament chaumbre to one of the newe chosen Senatours straungiers.

24.

Iulius Caesar chose many aliens into the nombre of Senatours of Rome

¶ He mened (what feloe so euer it was that set vp the bill) those foreners newly made senatours of Rome, not so muche as to knowe the waie to the senate hous, except thesame wer shewed vnto them.

A feloe wrote vnder the image of Brutus Would God thou wer yet aliue: because that Tarquinius the last king of Rome was expulsed and driuen out of the citee by the meanes of the saide Brutus. And vnder the porturature of Cæsar thei had written emong theim, verses of this sense and meanyng.

25.

What poses certain persones wrote vnder the images of *Brutus* and *Caesar*.

20

Brutus

Brutus quia reges eiecit, consul primus factus est,
Cesar quia consules eiecit, rex postremus factus est.

Brutus * for chacyng of kynges out,
Was created first Consull of Roome,
Cæsar for driuyng Consuls out,
Is now last of all a kyng become.

* There were seuen kynges of Rome, the first *Romulus*, the seconde *Numa Pompilius*, the thirde *Tullus Hostilius*, the fourth *Aucus Marcius*, the fifth *Tarquinius Priscus*, the sixth *Seruius Tullius*, the seuenth *Tarquinius* the proude. Who for his high minde & ouerstately vsing his citezens, and for his moste horrible crueltye, encurred their mortal disdain and hatred. And so it was that while thesame *Tarquinius* was from Rome laiying siege to the toun of *Arde*. His soonne *Sextus Tarquinius* came to Rome priuely by night, and by force and violence rauished *Lucretia* the wife of *Tarquinius Collatinus* against her will, whereupon the said *Collatinus* and *Iunius Brutus* the kynges systers sonnes confederated with *Tricipitinus* banished for euer out of Rome bothe the sonne and the father, and shut the gates of the citee against them. And made a lawe that there should neuer after bee any more kynges in Rome, but twoo magistrates gouernours, whiche should be named Consules. And the first Consull in Rome were created thesaid *Lucius Iunius Brutus*, and shortly after ioyned to *Tarquinius Collatinus*. And of thesame *Brutus* descended this *Brutus* here mencioned, who with *Cassius* conspired, wrought and executed the death of *Iulius Caesar*.

26. When likelyhood appered treason and conspirisie on euerie side to be wrought against him, and warning was geuen him that he should take good heede to himself, he aunswered, that better it was ones for all together to die, then to be in perpetual care of takyng heede.

Better ones to die then euer to feare said *Iulius Caesar*.
One were as good bee out of the world as to liue in perpetuall feare of death.

¶ Signifyng that persone not to liue, who liueth in perpetuall fear of death.

27. When Cesar, after that he had made the Tigurines crye creak, beyng on his waye towards a certaine citee of people ioyned in league with hym, heard that another sorte of the † Syceners were comyng against him in the waye that he had to goe, he reculed into a certain place strong and well fensed. There all his compaignie gathered together, and wel set in aray, his horse ‡ that he had been accustomed to ryde on, was brought vnto him. Well (quoth Cesar)

The animosities & courage of *Iulius Caesar*.

Cesar) after that I shall haue gotten this victorie and not afore, I will occupie this horse in pursuing myne enemies. And so euen on foote he set vpon the Suycceners.

 The *Tigurines*, a people of Germanie, whiche dooen inhabite the fourth part of Suyccerlande.

† The *Suycceners* are the whole nacion of Suyccerlande, whiche is called in Latine *Heluetia*, and the people of *Heluetii*, menne of soche sorte, that for money they will fight, they care not vnder whose banner. And subiectes they ar vnto no prince, ne do any thing passe on life or death heauen or helle.

‡ *Plutarchus* in the life of *Caesar*, and *Plinius* in the .42. chapter of the eight booke doen write, that *Iulius Caesar* had an horse with feete facioned and shaped like a mans foote, and the houle deuided as it were into two toes euen as a man hath. And that he woulde not suffer anye body to sytte him, or gette vp on his back, sauing onely *Caesar*. A like straunge thing is afore noted of *Bucephalus* the horse of *Alexander*.

Cesar now openly doing many thinges by 28.
plaine might and power, and contrarie to all lawes, one *Considius* beyng a man veray ferre striken in age, plainly and with a bolde spirite saied vnto hym, that the senates were for this cause onely slacke in meeting and sitting in counsaill, that they stood in feare of his billes & glieues. And when Cesar at these wordes had saied, Why then doest not thou for thesame feare, kepe thy selfe at home within thy house? Naye as for me (saied *Considius*) old age maketh me out of feare. For sence ther is but a very litle litle tyme of my lyfe behinde, there is no cause why I shoulde take any greate care or thought for the matter.

What *Considius* a Senator of Rome sayed vnto *Caesar* doying al thinges by force & violence in Rome.

Iulius Cesar vnto *Pomponius* a launce knight, 29.
making moche a doe of a wounde receiued in the face, at the insurrection whiche *Sulpitius* * made against the Senate, whiche wound thesaid launce knight made a braggue that he had taken in fightyng for Cesar, Well (saied he) neuer looke behynd thee againe when thou rennest awaye.

What *Iulius Caesar* saied to a Souldiour making vaunte that he had receiued a wounde in the face for him.

¶ Soche

* This *Sulpitius* was a Tribune or Bourgeoise for the people in the time of *Sylla & Marius*, when *Caesar* was a veray young man. Of whome *Plutarchus* in the life of *Sylla* writeth in this maner. Therefore *Marius* toke vnto him *Sulpitius* a Tribune of the people, a man in no pointe behinde, whosoever was moste flagitious. And neuer aske ye the question how he was more vngracious then an other, sence he was more mischeuous then his own self, a man of exceding crueltee, and set a gog with toto moche both presumption and auarice. To whatsoeuer deedes doying abhominacion and all kindes of mischief had enticed him, he had no regarde, he had no consideration to sell the common weale of Rome euen in the open strete to men that had been not many daies afore bondeseruauntes, and to denisens hauing not a foote of lande of their own, and to tel soche money as was by them paied vpon tables set euen in the open mercate place. He maintained three thousand persones that neuer went without sweordes and bucklers, he had also of young horsemen moste quicke and ready vnto all maner feactes a grea: power for the garde of his persone. And these he named *Antisenatum*, a compaignie to matche the Senatours. This man when he had made a lawe that no man of the degree and order of the Senatours might owe aboute two thousande drachmes at ones, him selfe when he was departed this worlde left thirtie hundred thousand drachmes that he owed of due debt. This man being set the people on by *Marius*, when he entended to doe all thinges with violence & with the sweorde, partly enacted many flagitious lawes, and especially one, whiche made *Marius* chief capitain of the warre to be made against *Mithridates*. Wherefore, the Consuls geuing commaundement that the ministring of lawes should for a time cease, thesame Consuls declaring their myndes vnto the people in the temple of *Castor Sulpitius* bringing in among them a compaignie of feloes in harnesse, both slewe many persones, and also thrust to the herte with a dagger the soonne of *Pompeius* then Consull, being of age in manier but a veray chylde, euen in the middes of the guildde halle. But he was within fewe daies after condemned to death by *Sylla*, and by the treason of one of his owne bondeseruauntes slaine, and the seruaunt made a free man (as *Sylla* had promised) and immediatly by the commaundement of thesame cast down hedlong from a rocke where he broke his necke.

30. Thesame Cæsar, when a certain plaintife to aggrauate his harmes, and to make the most of them, alleged that the partie accused, had striken altogether at his thighes and legges, said : Why; what should he haue doen, thou hauing a salette on thy hed, and a cote of fense on thy bodie ?

¶ He was not ignoraunt, for what cause the other feloe was desirous to stricke that parte chiefly, but thesame thyng dissembled, he had more phansie to ieste. An helmette and a Jacke or platecote, hideth all partes of a manne, sauynge the legges.

Thesame

Thesame Cæsar vnto Metellus, withstanding that he might not take any money out of the treasurie, or chamber of the citee and bringing forthe lawes, forbidding thesame to be doen : The tyme of weapon (saith he) and of lawes is not al one. That in case thou canst not be contented with the matter, now for this present get thee out of the waie, and after that (all leages and bondes of peace throughly driuen) wee shall haue laied down al weapon, then (if thou shalt so thinke good) laie to my charge in the behalfe of the people, & I shall make thee aunswer.

Thesame Cæsar would often times saie that he had like entent and minde of dealing against his enemies, as the most part of good Phisicians haue against the maladies and sores of mennes bodies, which is, rather with hungre, then with iron to ouercome them.

¶ For the Phisicians dooe not fall to cuttyng except all other meanes and waies afore proued. And this vsage euen at this present daie, still endureth among the Italians : against all kindes of diseases, thei doe streightly enioyne abstinence. A like thyng vnto this it is, that *Domitius Corbulo* vsed moche to saie, that a mannes enemies in battaill, are to be ouercomed with a carpenters squaring axe, that is to saie, sokingly one pece after an other. A common axe, cutteth through at the first choppe, a squaring axe by a little and a little, werketh thesame effecte.

It breded and areised greate enule and grutch- ing against Cæsar, that one of those persones, whom he had sent to Rome, standing in the senate hous, assone as he knew that the senate would not geue, ne graunt vnto Cæsar proroga- cion, that is to saie, a longer time in his dictature, gaue a greate stroke with his hand, vpon the hiltes

31.

This is touched afore in the 8. *apophthegme.*

What *Iulius Cæsar* said vnto *Metellus*, withstanding that he should not take any mony out of the treasurie of Rome.

32.

Enemies in battaill, are to bee ouercum rather with fa- mine then with the sweorde.

The Italians in all diseases doe enioyne abstinence.

Domitius Corbulo would enemies to be ouercomed sokinglie by little and little.

33.

What thing was occasion of great enule & grutch- e against *Iulius Cæsar*.

Iulius Caesar
by force &
violence op-
pressed the
common weale

hiltes of his swerde, and saied : Well, yet this feloe here shall geue it.

¶ Threatenyng to the common weale, force and violence.

34. What *Caesar*
saied to *Sylla*
threatening to
vse his power
vpon him.
Sylla purcha-
ced the pretour-
ship with great
giftes & re-
wardes.

Sylla hauyng obtained the pretourship, manaced Cæsar verie sore, that he wold vse his authoritee and power vpon hym : Yea, (quoth Cæsar laughing at it) thou doest of good right call it thy power, whiche thou haste bought with thy penie.

¶ Noting *Sylla*, that thesame had purchaced the saied office, by geuing greate giftes and rewardes.

35. Marcus Tullius in the third booke of that his werke entitled, *de officijs* (that is to say of honest behauour, or, how eche man ought to vse and to demean hymself) writeth that, Cæsar had euer in his mouthe these Greke verses, out of the thirde tragedie of Euripides entitled, *Phoenissæ*.

εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή, τυραννίδος πέρι
κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν, τὰλλα δ' εὖσεβεῖν χρεῶν.

That is.

If a man should nedes doe wrong,
It ought to bee onely in this case,
To make hymself a kyng, by hande strong,
In other thinges let right haue place.

36. How *Caesar*
turned an euill
likelihod to the
better parte.
* *Sextus Iulius*
Frontinus a La-
tine aucthoure,
that writeth .4.
bokes of *strata-*
gemes, that is
to saie, of the
sleghtes and
policies of
warre.

When Cæsar goyng towardes the countree of Africa, had slipped and gotten a fall, in goyng out of a shippe, the likelyhood of euil chaunce to come, he turned to the better part, sayyng : I haue thee fast in my handes, o Afrike.

¶ *Frontinus* * thinketh, that this happened at his taking of shippe, and that he said I haue thee fast, O yearth, whiche art my mother. Alluding (as I suppose) herunto, that where he was on a time sore troubled with a certain dream, in whiche it semed to him, that
he

he had to do with his owne mother, the reders or southsaiers expounded, thempire of al the whole world to be prophecied vnto him.

The dreame of
Iulius Caesar.

¶ *The saiynges of Pompeius*

THE GREATE.



Neus* Pompeius, surnamed the greate, 1.
was with the people of Rome as ferre
in fauor as his † father before him,
had been in grutche and hated.

This Pompeius beyng yet a verie young man, wedded himself wholly to the faccion of Sylla. And although he wer neither any officer of the citee, nor senatour, yet he got vnto him out of one place and other of Italie, a greate armie. And when Sylla had commaunded thesame to come and ioyn with hym: Naie (quoth he) I will neuer presente an hoste vnto the high capitain of Rome, with out booties or spoiles, nor vnfleshed on their enemies. Neither did he repair vnto Sylla, before that he had in sondrie battrees and encountreynges, vanquished diuers capitaines of enemies.

¶ Euen at the firste daie, shewed he a greate token & likelihood of a prince moste worthie, and borne to doe greate thynges. It was not his entent to bryng vnto Sylla philip and cheinie, mo then a good meiny, but to bryng hable souldiours of manhood approued and well tried to his handes.

Pompeius. For duryng his life time, thei stode in perpetual fear of his great power, purchaced and gotten by the sword (for he was a verie hardie and valiaunt manne of warre.) But after that he was ones departed out of this life, stricken sodainly to death with a flashe of lightening, his corps being carried forthe to be buiried, the people violently haled the dedde bodie from the bere, and did vnto it all the most vilanie that thei could imagine. The cause why he was so sore hated, was esteemed to bee his vnsaciabie auarice and couetousnesse.

* Of *Pompeius* it is afore noted in the 8.

Apophtegme of Augustus Caesar.

Pompeius being but a very young man, gathered an armie in Itali, before that he was either any officer of the citee, or els a senatour, & tooke part with *Silla*.

† *Plutarchus* in the life of *Pompeius* writeth, that the Romaines neuer shewed against any capitain or hed citezen, either greater or els more eagre hated, then against *Strabo*, the father of

And

2. And being now created a capitain, when he was by Sylla sente into Sicilie, he begun to doe the partes, not onely of a valiaunte and worthie capitain, but also of a iust and righteous capitain. For when he had heard, that his souldiours in going forthward on their viages, made by sterres out of their waie, and did moche oppression in the countree as thei wente, and pieled all that euer thei could finger, soche persones as he toke rouyng & trotting, or scuddying from place to place, thei could not tell where aboute them selves, he punished, and what compaignie himself had sent afore, he emprinted on euery one of their sweardes, the seal of his ryng, that thei should dooe no bodie no wrong, ne harme by the waie.

Pompeius wolde not his souldiours to doe any oppression or piclage where they went.

3. The *Mamertines (because thei had taken parte and sticked hard with the enemies of Sylla) he had appointed to slea euery mothers sonne. But Sthenius the Lorde of that citee or countree, came vnto Pompeius with these wordes: O Pompeius ye doe not according to equitee and conscience, in that ye goe about, for one mans cause that hath offended, to doe a great noubre of innocentes to death. Iwys euen veray I my selfe am the man that both haue persuaded my frendes, and also haue coarcted mine enemies to take the parte of Marius gainst Sylla. Here Pompeius greatly marueiling at the manly herte of this Sthenius, said that he perdoned the Mamertines who had ben persuaded by soche a man, as preferred his countree aboue his owne life, & so deliuered bothe the citee and Sthenius.

* The *Mamertines* a people in *Sicilie*, whose tounne was called *Messana*.
Sthenius the lord of the *Mamertines* toke parte with *Marius* against *Sylla*.
 The noble and manlie harte of *Sthenius*.
 This was doon in the Ciuille battaile between *Marius* & *Silla*.
Pompeius for the respect of *Sthenius* perdoned the *Mamertines*.

¶ In *Sthenius* ye haue an example, what herte a prince ought to beare toward the commen weale in case any perill or daungier doc chaunce: and in

Pompeius

Pompeius a good lesson of placabilitee or myldenesse in that he was more propense to shewe honoure vnto one that had a natural affection and zeale toward his countree, then to execute his wrath to the vttermost.

When he had passed ouer into * *Libya* against *Domitius*, and had ouercomed the same in a † great & sore battaill, his souldiours full & whole saluting him with the title of Emperour, he saied, he would not take at their handes the honour of that high name, as long as the trenches and bulwerkes of his enemies campe was standing whole. This heard, his soldiours (although it were then a greate raine to leat them) so dainly with all their might assailing the campe of their enemies, wonne it, and beate it downe hande smoothe.

¶ Thus thesaied *Pompeius* refused an honoure not yet truly deserued with deedes.

† He calleth it a great victorie, for thesaied *Domitius* (a noble Senator of Rome and Consull with *Messala*) perished in the battaill. And of .xx. thousande, whiche he hadde in an armie, there escaped aliue no mo but three thousand. At this victorie *Pompeius* subdued all *Aphrike* into the power of the Romaines. And for this victorie was he surnamed *Magnus*, and was called *Pompeius* the great.

Thesame *Pompeius* beyng returned from the saied victorie, was partely with other honours highly receiued by *Sylla*, & also besides other things he first of al gaue vnto him the surname *Magnus*, the great. But when *Pompeius* not satisfied with al this, would nedes triumphe to, *Sylla* would none therof, because *Pompeius* was not yet of the degree of a Senatour. But when *Pompeius* had saied vnto the coumpanie then present, *Sylla* to be ignoraunte, that mo persones doen worship the sunne when it ariseth, then when it goeth downe, *Sylla* cried with a loude voice, Let him triumphe.

¶ He

4.
Libya a parte of *Afrike* adioynante to *Egipt*, so named of *Libya* the wife of *Epaphus Iupiters* soonne.

The good courage of *Pompeius* his soldiours.

Pompeius refused honour vntil he knewe himselfe to haue deserued it.

5.
The surname of *Magnus*, when, wherefore, and by whome it was geuen to *Pompeius*.

Mo persones worshippe the sunne when it ariseth, then when it goeth downe saied *Pompeius*.

Pompeius triumphed being a very young man not yet a Senatour.

¶ He was stricken in feare of the courageous stomake of the freshe young man, and of his glory daily more and more encreasing. Neither sticked he or put any doubtles to geue place vnto soch an one, as he sawe coulede in no wyse be brought to yelde an inch to any man liuing.

¶ The meanyng of *Pompeius* was, that the people would bee more propense to fauour the honoure and glorie of a young man comyng vpward, and growyng towards the worlde, as himselfe was, then of an olde man beyng almoste past, and beginning to decaye, as *Sylla* nowe did.

6. In the meane whyle, euen against the tyme, *Seruilius*, a ioyly feloe and emong the heade menne in the commen weale highly esteemed, was madde angry that a *triumphe was graunted to *Pompeius*. The souldiours also not a fewe of them made manye stoppes and lettes, that there might be no triumphe doen, not for that they bare *Pompeius* any grutche, but they required to haue certain rewardes distributed emong them, as though the triumphe must haue been bought at their handes with greate largesse: or els the souldiours threatened that they would echemanne for himselfe catche away of the treasures and riches that should be carried about in the triumphe. And therefore the saied *Seruilius* and one *Glaucia*, gaue him aduise and counsaill rather willingly to parte the saide money emong the souldiours, then to suffer it to be taken away euery man a slyce by stronge hande. But when *Pompeius* hadde made them aunswer that he would rather let al alone and haue no triumphe at all, then he would make any seeking or entreating to his owne souldiours, and euen with that worde set downe before them the roddes bounden together with an axe in the mids garnished and decked with garlandes of laurell, that they should thereof first begyn their spoyle if thei

Pompeius would rather make no triumph at al, then flatter his souldiours, or buie it with money.

thei durst : Nay (quoth Seruilius) nowe I see thee in veray deede to be Pompeius the great, and worthy to haue a triumphe.

¶ For *Pompeius* iudged no triumphe to be honourable and worthy shewe, except that it were as a thing in the waye of recompense or of dutie repaied to good demerites, without anye great suite making, and without giftes geuyng.

What triumphe
is honourable &
shewe worthy.

* When any consull or other high Capitaine by the Senate and people thereunto deputed, had holden great warres, and had with sauynge his owne armie (or at leastwise with smal losse of men) achiued some notable high conquest, or had gotten some excellent victorie vpon anye foren nation, kyng or capitaine, to the high honour, renoume and auancement of the common weale of Roome, or to the victorious enlarging of the emper of thesame, he should at his retourning home bee receiued with all honour, ioye, solemnitee, pompe, and royaltie that might be deuised. He should haue to goe before him the kinge or capitaine by him subdued, and all captiues taken in the warres, he shoulde haue pageauntes as gorgeously set out as might be: of al the townes, castels, fortresses, and people of prouinces by him subdued, himselfe should ride in a chairette moste goodly beseen, bare hedded sauinge a garland of laurell, and after his taile should come his owne souldiours with all ioye, mirth and solace that was possible to be made. And this was called a triumphe, the highest honour that might be shewed. Neither was it awarded to any man, but by the iudgement of the whole armie, with the decree of the Senate vpon the same, and consente of the whole vniuersall people, nor without the desertes aboue rehersed.

It was the guyse in Roome, that the horsemen whiche had been a conueniente space of tyme foorth in the warres, should bryng foorth their horse into a solempne place appointed before by the twoo officers called Censours, and there, after rehearsall as well of soche viages as they had been in, as also of the capitaines vnder whom they had been in waiges, accordyng to their demerites, either to haue thanke and prayse, or els rebuke and blame. So Pompeius beeyng Consull, euen in his owne persone, came and brought his horse before Gallius and Lentulus then Censours, whiche persones according to the custome and vsage demaunding, whether he had truely exercised and doen all the partes and dueties to a souldiour belonging, Yea (quoth Pompeius)

7.
The guise &
custome in
Rome for souldiours that had been horsemen in the warres.

Of the office of censours in Rome it is afore noted in the .37. sayng of Augustus Caesar.

How Pompeius presented himself & his horse to Gallius and Lentulus the Censours.

Pompeius so executed the office of a capitaine, that neuerthelesse he accomplished all the partes of an inferiour soldier. The higheste praise and commendacion that a captain may haue.

Pompeius) to the vttermost in all behalfes vnder mine own selfe the Lorde high capitaine.

¶ Signifiyng, that he had in soche wyse executed and ministred the office of a capitaine, that he did neuerthelesse like no sleeper accomplyshe all pointes that euer belonged to an inferiour souldiour. So was he one and thesame man, bothe an especiall good capitaine, and a lustie valiaunt man of his handes, then the whiche praise and commendacion there may none higher or greater possible chaunce to a capitaine.

8. When he had in Spaine taken the packette of

* Sertorius his lettres, in the whiche were close trussed the lettres of capitaines not a fewe inuiting and calling thesame Sertorius to Roome, there for to make a newe turne of the worlde, and to chaunge the state of the citee, he burned the lettres euery one, to the ende that he woulde geue vnto the caitifes time and occasion to repent, and leue or power to chaunge their traitreous ententes to better.

The moderation and clemencie of *Pompeius*.

¶ This historie like as it might well be rekened in the nombre of thinges vnwrathfully and prudently doen, so doe I not see what it shoulde make emonge *Apophtegmes*. Albeit, right many of soche like sorte are founde in the collections of *Plutarchus*. If he had discried their names, thei woulde vndoubtedly by and by addressed theihselues to a manifest sedicion for veray feare of punishment. On the other syde, in that he suppressed and kepte secrete the lettres of his enemies, he gaue a good lesson what a great offence it is to open other bodies lettres, or to crie at the high crosse, what thou hast been put in truste withall by lettres vnder seale.

To open an other bodies lettres, or to discouer thinges committed to thee by lettres sealed.

* *Sertorius* was borne in *Nursia*, a tounce of the *Sabines*, and was a citezen of Rome, at last an outlawe and a banyshed man, of whome *Plutarchus* thus telleth. Capitaines that haue been as good men of warre, as euer were any, haue lacked the one of their yies, as *Philippus*, *Antigonus*, *Annibal*, and this *Sertorius*, of whome no manne can denie, but that he was a man more chaste of his body in absteyning.

absteining from women, then *Philippus*: more assured and feithful to his frendes, then *Antigonus*: lesse furious and eagre on his enemies, then *Annibal*: in wytte inferiour to neuer an one of theim all, but ferre behinde theim all in fortune, whiche fortune although he founde at all tymes more heauie and sore vnto him then he founde his enemies, yet did he matche to the vttermoste in perfectnesse of warre, *Metellus*: in hardinesse of auenturing *Pompeius*, in fortune *Sylla*, in power the whole people of Rome, being a man banished his owne countree, and bearing rule emong the *Barbarous*, that is to weete the Portugalles, whose countree is called in latine *Lusitania*.

Unto Phraates kyng of the Parthians requiring of him by Ambassadors to be contented that the floodde * Euphrates might be the forthest marke for the boundes of the dominion of Rome, Naye, (quoth he) this were a more meete request to bee made, that iustice may disseuer the boundes of the Romaines from the royallme of the Parthians.

9.
How *Pompeius* answered
Phraates king of the *Parthians* requiring *Euphrates* might bee the boundes of the dominion of Rome.

¶ Signifyng, not to be any prescribyng to the Romaines, how ferre they ought to extend their Empier, from daily enlarging whereof not hilles and flooddes ought theim to keepe backe: but in soche place & none other euermore to bee appointed the limictes and boundes of the Segniourie of Rome, where right would not suffre them to passe any farther.

It was no prescrib-
ing to the
Romaines how
ferre thei ought
to extend their
empier.

* *Strabo* in his werke of *geographie*, that is to saie, of the description of the yearth, wryteth that out of *Niphates* (an hille in *Armenia*) springeth and issueth *Euphrates*, a great, a depe and a swifte ryuer, not ferre from the riuer of *Tigris*. It is the great ryuer of the *Parthians*, and passinge through *Babilon* it renneth into the redde sea. In the first booke of *Moses* *Euphrates* is rekened one of the foure ryuers, whose fountaines or hedspringes are in *Paradise*.

When *Lucius Lucullus* after hauinge a long space folowed the trade of warre, gaue himselfe at the latter cast vnto all sensualitee, ne would doe any thing but spende & make good chere, and on a time called *Pompeius* foole, for that the same before he was of age conuenient, had great desire & mynd to be enwrapped in many coumbreous affaires, and highe doynge, Iwys (quoth *Pompeius* again) moche more out of season it is for an olde man to bestowe himself altogether on sensuall

10.
Lucius Lucullus in his latter daies gaue him selfe altogether to sensualitee.

What *Pompeius* saied of *Lucullus* reproving hym for entryng doynge in the

commonweale
ouer yong of
age.

sensuall delices, then to be an hed gouernour in
a commen weale.

Riot & idlenes
in yong men
foly, in old
folkes abhom-
inacion.

¶ He greuously reproued the mynde & iudgement
of those persones, which thincken, that aged folkes
should haue no maner thinge at all to doe, whereas
it were a gaye thing for a man hauing the rule and
gouernaunce of a commenweale to die euen standing
on his foote. And as for ryot and idlenesse, is in
young men foly, in olde folkes abhominacion.

The manly
hart of Pom-
peius, in con-
temnyng sen-
suall delices.

- II. Unto Pompeius liyng sicke, his Phisician had
prescribed that his diete should be nothing but
blackbyrdes. And when the parties that had
the charge to purueie them, saied that there were
none to bee gotten, (for it was not the season of
the yere in whiche this kynde of byrdes are
wonte to be taken) one persone there, put theim
in remembraunce, that there myght some bee
founde at Lucullus his house, who vsed to kepe
of theim alieue al the yere long. Why (quoth
Pompeius) is the wynde in this doore, that except
Lucullus were a man geuen to delices, Pompeius
might in no wise continue alieue? And so the
Phisician abandoned, he tooke him to meates
purueiable.

¶ O a manly herte of the right sorte in deede,
whiche would not bee bounde to ough thanks vnto
delicate pickyng meates, no not for to saue his veray
lyfe thereby.

12. When there was on a time befallen in Rome a
great scarsitee of corne, Pompeius beyng declared
in wordes and in title the purueiour of corne,
but in veray deede the lorde bothe of the sea
and lande, saylled in to Africa, Sardinia, and
Sicilia: and a great quantitee of corne shortly
gotten together, he made haste to returne to
Rome againe. But the Mariners by reason of a
sore

sore tempest sodainly arisen, being lothe to take the seas, Pompeius himselfe first of all entreed into the shippe, and bidde the ancores to be waied or hoysed, cryng in this maner: To auenture sailyng necessitee constreineth vs, to liue it doeth not.

More regard ought to be had of our countree, beeyng in ieoperdie then of our owne priuate safegarde.

¶ Declaryng that more regarde ought to bee had of our countree beyng in ieoperdie, then of our owne priuate safegarde. For to spende our life in the cares of succouring & relieuyng the commenweale is a highe honestee: but our countree in extreme perill to be desolated through our slouthfulnesse or slacking is the foulest shame in the worlde: here be we put in remembraunce, that not onely brute beastes doen let go libertee, and come into seruitude, but also sturdie & stifnecked men are with famyn brought downe and made to stoope. We bee also taught that our priuate safegarde is lesse to be tendreed then the welth publique.

Menne be thei neuer so high are with famyn made tame enough.

When the breche betwene Pompeius & Iulius 13.
Cæsar was come to light and openly knowen, and one Narcellinus (as Plutarchus saieth, but by the iudgement of others, Marcellus,) one of the noumbre of those persones whome Pompeius was thoughte to had set on loft, had chaunged his mynde from thesame Pompeius vnto Cæsar, in so moche that he was not afearde to speake many wordes against Pompeius, euen in the Senate house, Pompeius cooled & wysshed him in this wyse: Art thou not ashamed O Marcellinus (quoth he) to rayll on that persone, by whose benefite thou arte made of a toungelesse body, eloquente, and of an hungresterued feloe, brought to soch point that thou mayest not hold vomityng.

How Pompeius putte to silence one Marcellinus, railyng on hym in the Senate hous.

¶ He layed sore to the parties charge ingratitude, who abused all that the dignitee, autoritee, and eloquence

The shameful
ingratitude of
many persones

quence that he hadde, to the displeasure of thesame persone whome his bounden duetie had been to thanke for thesame. For this kynde of ingratitude is of all others moste vn honest, but yet alas toto comenly vsed in the worlde.

14. Unto Cato ryght eagrelie yalling at Pompeius, because that where he the saied Cato had oftentimes afore tolde that the power of Cæsar from daye to daye encreasing, would in fine be no benefite at all to the publique gouernaunce of the citee, but was rather enclining & growyng towards tyrannie, yet Pompeius that notwithstandinge would nedes entre familiaritee & bee allied with him, Pompeius made aunswere after this sorte: Thy doynge O Cato doen more nere approche vnto the spirite of prophecie, but myne are moch better standing with frendship and amitee.

The ende of
casual thinges
in the worlde,
no man dooeth
ne maie for-
knowe.

¶ Mening that *Cato* talked at rouers, forasmuche as no man liuing may foreknowe of certaintee the ende of casuall thynges in the worlde to fall, and that he on his behalfe tooke soche wayes as the amitee and frendship whiche was betwene him and *Cæsar* at that present time required. It was a thing certain what of dutie ought to be doen for ones frende, but vncertain it was, whether one that was nowe his frende would afterwarde in time to come be his enemye. And of a frende it was more standing with humanitee and gentlenesse to hope the best, then to foredeme the worste.

Humanitee
wil of a frende
rather hope the
beste, then for-
deme the worst

15. What vaunte
Pompeius
would make
of hymself,
touchyng offi-
ces bearyng
in Rome.

He would frankly make open vaunte of himself, that euery publique office that euer he had borne in the citee, he had bothe obtained sooner then he for his parte loked for, and also had sooner geuen vp againe, then was of other persones looked for.

¶ That he had so timely taken in hand to beare rewle and office, or to be hygh capitaine of an armie, came

came either of fortune or of manlynesse before the commen course of age werking in hym. That he gaue vp any office in due season againe, came of a moderate mynde, hauing an iye and respect not vnto tyrannie, but vnto the profite of the commenweale.

After the battail on the dounes of Pharsalia foughten, he fledde into Egypte. And when he should come doun out of his galie into a little fisher bote, sent purposely vnto hym by the king of Egypte, tournyng hymself backe to his wife and his sonne, he said no more but these wordes of Sophocles.

πρὸς τὸν τύραννον ὅστις ἐμπορεύεται,
κείνου ὅστι δούλος, κὰν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ.

Whoso goeth, to dwell with a tyranne,
Though he came free, is made his bondman.

¶ It appeareth, that his herte throbbed afore, at his death approaching, for as soone as he was descending into the bote, receiuing a stripe with a sweorde, he gaue but one sole grone, and wrapping vp his hedde in a thyng he helde it out to be stricken of.

to his kingdome) and sent his hedde vnto *Caesar*, who as soone as he saw it wepte.

Pompeius because he could not, to dye for it, awaye with the chatting and continual bableing of Cicero, said many a time and ofte emong his familiare frendes, I would with al my hert that Cicero would departe from vs to our enemies, to thende that he might be afeard of vs.

¶ Notynge the nature and facion of thesame, of whiche by mens reporte he was to his enemies full of crouching and lowely submission, and towardes his frendes froward in opinion, and wondrous self-willed. This saynge of *Pompeius* doeth *Quintilian* thus reherse, Departe from vs to *Caesar*, and then thou wilt be afeard of me.

16.

This king of Egypt was called *Ptolomeus* (as thei wer all for the most part) he had not long afore ben driuen out of his realme, and cam to *Rome* for aide & succor & was by *Pompeius* brought home againe with an armie, and set in possession of his croun, & in fine he slue *Pompeius*, (by whom he had been restored he saw it wepte.

17.

What *Pompeius* said of *Cicero* whose chattyng he could not abide.

Cicero of his nature & facion to his enemies lowly, & to his frendes froward.

18. Thesame Pompeius after that he had had woon-
Pompeius brought to vtter despaire. dreous mishappe in battayle against Cæsar, being brought vnto vtter despaire, he came into his pauilion like vnto a man vtterly amased or a stonned & spake not one worde more, but onely this, Why then streight into our campe to. And by & by doing on him a wede aunswerable vnto his present fortune, he fled awaie secretly.

19. The sedicion of Sicilie suppressed and appeased, and the citees whiche had made the insurrection or rebellion peaseably & quietly receiued to grace again, only the Mamertines required to be heard, allegeyng & reciting certain lawes many yeares afore graunted vnto them by the Romaines, Why (quoth Pompeius) will ye not surceasse to bring foorth and read lawes vnto vs hauing your sweordes gyrded about you.

Where the order of the lawe maie serue weapen hath no place.

¶ Signifyng that in case they were disposed to be ordreed by the right of the lawes, they needed not to weare weapen about them.

20. Thesame Pompeius when by lettres from the Senate to him directed he hadde perceiued, all that euer Sylla hadde by the sweorde vsurped, to be by the whole consent, agreement, and voices of the vniuersall people committed vnto his power and gouernaunce, he gaue a greate clappe on his thighe with his hande, and saied: Oh perill and daunger neuer like to haue ende.

Pompeius wished to had been borne a poore mannes childe.

Howe moche better had it been for me, to haue been borne a poore mannes childe, if I shall neuer obtaine to retire from the cures of warfare, ne beeyng clearly dispatched of soche matter and occasion of enuie as to be myne owne maister, that I maie with my wyfe lede a quiet life in the countree.

Greate power and auctoritee who hath

¶ Great

¶ Great power and autoritee, who hath not assaied it, maketh hyghe suite to haue, who so hath proued it, hateth deadly, but to leaue it, is a matter of no small daungier and perill.

not assaied,
seketh, who so
hath proued,
hateth.

Certaine persones allegeing that they could not see howe he should bee hable to sustein or beare the furour of Cæsar, Pompeius with a merie countenance bidde theim to take no maner thought ne care for that matter. For (saieth he) as soone as euer I shall haue geuen but a thumpe with my foote on the grounde of Italy, ther shal anone come leaping foorthe whole swarmes, of bothe horsemen and footemen till we crie hoe again.

21.

What Pompeius saied to certain persones, supposing that he could not bee able to beare the maugre of Cæsar.

¶ A stout courage and a veray mans herte, if fortune had been aunswerable in doying her parte.

The stoute and manlie harte of Pompeius.

Nowe if ye haue not yet your bealy full of this banquet, we shall adde also out of the noumbre of the Oratoures twoo or three of the principalles and veray best.

¶ *The saiyniges of*

PHOCION.

☞ Phocion a noble Counsaillour of *Athenes*, a man of high wisdom, singulare prudence, notable policie, most incorrupted maniers, incomparable innocencie and integritee of lyfe, meruailous clemencie, moste bounteous liberalite, and to be short, a rare myrour to al Counsaillours. Yet all this notwithstanding, he was at length through enuie and falsely surmised accusacions, guiltlesse condemned and put to death by his owne countremen the *Atheniens*, and that so cruelly, that not only he suffred the accustomed peines of death, but also after the execution, was cast out into the fieldes without sepulture or hauing so moch as one poore turf of earth to lie vpon him. Suche was partly the ingratitude and partly the madnes of the *Atheniens* in Phocion, *Socrates*, *Solon*, *Aristides*, and many moo innocent persones by their whole consent and agreement to persecute moste highe vertues in steede of moste haynous offenses, and with moste horrible iniuries to requite benefites.

Then

*Phocion a man
of fewe wordes
in tellyng his
tale.*

*Phocion was
neuer seen
laugh ne
wepe.*



Then firste and foremooste shall ye haue
Phocion of countree a man of *Athenes*, but
 a veray *Lacedemonian* as well in integritie
 of maners, as also in knitting vp his tale
 shortly at fewe wordes. He was euen *Socrates* vp
 and downe in this pointe and behalfe, that no man
 euer sawe hym either laughe or weepe, or chaunge his
 moode, of so great constancie of minde he was.

- I. Unto this *Phocion* sitting in a greate assem-
 blee of the people, a certaine persone saied in
 this maner: *Phocion* ye seeme to be in a great
 muse or studie. Right well coniectured of you
 it is (quoth he again:) For I am musing if I
 may cut of any part of the wordes that I haue
 to saie emong the *Atheniens*.

*Phocion la-
boured in few
wordes to com-
prise the effect
of his matter.*

¶ Other persones take great care & studie, to tell
 their tale at lengthe with all that maye be saied, to
 the ende that they may appeare eloquent: but he did
 all his endeuour and diligence to the contrarie, that is
 to wete, how to comprise and knitte vp in fewe
 wordes, soche thinges as should directly serue to the
 effecte and purpose of his matter.


2. A voice being by reuelacion sent to the *Athe-
 niens*, that in thesame their citee one certain
 man there was, who euermore contraried and
 againsaied the myndes & sentencies of all the
 vniuersall multitude besides, and the people
 being in a great rore willed enquierie and serche
 to bee made who it was, *Phocion* discried him-
 selfe, sayyng: Euen I am the man, whom the
 oracle speaketh of. For, me only nothing plea-
 seth of all that euer the commen people either
 doeth or saith.

*Phocion liked
nothing that
the grosse and
rude multitude
either did or
saied.*

¶ What may a bodie in this behalfe first maruail
 at? The herte of this man being voyde of al feare?
 or els the pietie and compassion of him in that he
 would

would not suffre this suspicion to light on the necke of one or other innocent persone? or els the singulare wisdom, by which he perfectly sawe that the rude & grosse multitude (for as moche as they are led all by affections and panges) neither dooe ne saye any thing standing with good reason or discretion?

The multitude of the people, neither dooe ne saien any thing right.


On a certain daye Phocion making an oracion 3. in presence of the people of Athenes pleased all parties veray well. And when he sawe his tale to be well allowed & accepted of the whole audience, he turned himselfe to his frendes, and saied: What, haue I  (trowe we) vnawares spoken, any thing otherwyse then wel?

Phocion was tully persuaded that nothing procedyng of a right iudgement might please the people.

¶ So throughly was he perswaded, that nothing might content or please the grosse people, that proceeded of a right iudgement.


When the Atheniens of a course made a gathering about of the citezens to contribute eche man somewhat towardes a sacrifice that they prepaired and went about to make, and (other folkes geuing their deuocion towardes it) Phocion was more then a doosen times spoken to, It woulde be a shame for me (quoth Phocion) if I should with you make contribucion, and make to this man here no restitution, (poincting to a creditour of his.)

4. What Phocion saied to certain Atheniens gathering money toward a Sacrifice.

¶ Right many ther been that thinke highly well employed all that is bestowed or spent on temples, and on sacrifices, or on feasting at churche houses. But this ferre seyng man, did the people to vnderstand, that a moche more holy and godly thing it is, to repaie whom to a body is endebted, and what is it lyke that hee would now iudge  (trowe ye) of those persones, who (their wyfe and chyldren defrauded) dooen edifie to the vse of men of the clergie or spiritualtee, palaices meete for kynges, and to mainteine the idle loytreyng


To repay wher a man oweth is an holie and a godlie thing.

loytreyn of thesame, doen deburse & laye out no small porcion of their substaunce.

5. To Demosthenes the Oratour sayng, the Atheniens will put thee to death one daye, O Phocion, if they shall ones beginne to be madde, he answered in this maner: Me in deede  (as ye saye) if they shall beginne to be madde, but thee, if they shall come to their right wittes againe.

Demosthenes
would speak
all for to please,
& rather sweete
wordes, then
wholesome.

¶ For *Demosthenes* in open audience of the people spake in maner all that euer he did for to please them, and to obtaine fauoure, and woulde speake rather sweete wordes, then holosome.

6. When Aristogiton a false accuser and bringer of men to trouble was now already condemned, and in pryson there for to dye, and hertely praied Phocion to come and se him, and Phocions frendes would not suffre that he should goe to soche a vile bodie: And  I praie you (quoth he) in what place shold a man haue better phancie to speake vnto Aristogiton?

In prison is the
best place possi-
ble, where to
see continuall
and thesame
hainous male-
factours.

¶ The argument of his frendes he did moste finely wrest to the contrarie of their menyng: signifyng that he would not go thither to be a supporter or bearer of a commen malefactour, but to take the frucion of his iustely deserued calamitee.

7. The Atheniens being sore moued with the Byzantians, for that thesame woulde not receiue one Charetas, whom thesaied Atheniens had sent with an armie for aide and defense of their citee against Philippus king of Macedonie, when Phocion hadde saied that there was no cause why to take displeasure with their frendes for hauing soche mistruste, but rather with the Capitaines that were men not to be trusted, he was chosen

Byzantium, a
citee of *Thracia*
nigh to the
seas side, firste
edified & build-
ed by *Pansani-
as* Capitaine
or king of the
Lacedemonians
& afterwarde
enlarged by
Constantinus

chosen Capitaine himselfe. And the Byzancians putting their affiaunce in him, he brought to passe that Phillippus departed thence as wise as he came without his purpose.

¶ The mistrustfulnesse of the *Bizancians* he layed on the necke of the *Charetes* the Capitain, who was soche maner a man, that it semed an vn sure thinge for the saied people to committe thei selves to his protection. To mistrust an vn trustie persone is a point of wisdom: but to put thei selves into the handes of *Phocion* beyng a man of honest estimation and credit, thei made no maner sticking nor no bones at all.

Alexander kyng of the Macedonians, had sent an hundred talentes vnto *Phocion* in the waie of a reward. But *Phocion* demaunded of them which brought the money how it happened, that, wher there wer Atheniens many mo then he, Alexander would sende soche a rewarde to hym alone. The messagers in this wise answering, Because he iudgeth thee alone emong them al to be an honest and a good man, Wel (quoth *Phocion*) then let him suffre me bothe so to be reputed, and also to bee soche an one in deede.

¶ Howe proprely he tooke their reason out of their mouthes, and applied the same to an occasion of the refusing the gifte. Now, what man maye in this matter any other then meruail at the sinceritee of an herte which could not be corrupted? *Phocion* was a man in pouertee, and yet was hee nothyng at all moued with the greatnesse of the rewarde. And all vnder one did he notifie, that soche persones as hauing the conueighaunce and administracion of the common-weale, doen yet for all that not holde their handes from takynge rewardes, neyther been good men, nor ought to be accounted for any soche.

Emperour of the *Romaines*, & made the hed citee of al the empire, & named *Constantinopolis*, whiche name of *Constantinoble* it obtaineth & keepeth yet still vnto this day, it was also called *noua roma*, new Rome. To mistrust an vn trustie persone, is a point of wisdom.

Phocion refused a great somme of money sente vnto him in rewarde by *Alexander*.

Those persones through whose handes thadministracion of the common-weale doth passe be naught if thei take rewardes.

When Alexander made instaunce to haue certain

9.
tain

What counsaill
Phocion gaue
to the *Athen-
iens*, consult-
ing whether
thei should
sende to *Alex-
ander* any
Galies or not.

The stronger
must be obciéd
& haue his wil.

tain galies founde vnto him by the Atheniens at their coste and charge, & the people cried earnestly for Phocion by name to apere, that he might declare what aduise and counsaill he would geue : he arising vp out of his place, saied : Then, myne aduise & counsaill is, that either ye suppress with weapen soche persones as ben of power to ouermatche you and to hold you in subiection, or els shewe amitee and frendship towarde thesame.

Alexander
could in no-
wyse abide to
haue any nay
in his requestes

¶ At few wordes he gaue counsaill that nothing was to be denied vnto *Alexander* on their behalf, onlesse thei had assured trust and confidence, if he would take peper in the nose, or stiere coles, to wrynge hym to the wurse with dynte of sworde. Wherin if *Alexander* seemed the stronger of bothe, that then it was no prouoking of the youngman beeyng all herte, and one that to dye for it could not abyde to haue any naye in his requestes.

10.

There was a brute and rumour noysed (of *whose bringing vp no man could tel) that *Alexander* was decessed. Anone out sterten the Oratours, exhorting the Atheniens to make no farther delaie ne tariaunce but incontinent with all haste to beginne warre. But Phocion willed them, not be ouer hasty vntil some more certain knowlage might be had. For, (saith he) if *Alexander* be dedde this daie, he wilbe dedde the morowe too, and the next daye also.

What *Phocion*
saied when the
Oratours of
Athenes gaue
them counsaill
to make warre
vpon a ru-
mour of the
death of
Alexander.

¶ He grauely restreigned and staid the heddie vndiscretenesse of the Oratours.

* *Plutarchus* in the life of *Phocion* saith, that one *Asclepiades* was the first that tolde the newes of the death of *Alexander* in *Athenes*. Unto whome *Demades* an Oratour saied, that ther was no credence to be geuen, allegeing that it could none otherwyse bee, but all the whole vniuersall worlde to be replenished and stuffed with the odour of soche a dede body euen the first daye, if it had been true that *Alexander* was dedde.

When

When * *Leosthenes* had perswaded the citee 11.
of *Athenes* to make warre beeyng set agog to
thinke all the worlde otemele, and to imagin the
recouering of an high name of freedome and of
principalitee or soueraintee, *Phocion* affirmed his
woordes to be sembleable vnto *Cypres* trees, the
whiche although they bee of a great heighte,
and goodly to beholde, yet haue no fruite ne
goodnesse on them.

The wordes of
Leosthenes
Phocion like-
kened to a
Cypres tree
goodly to se
to, but in deede
vnfruitefull.

¶ Nothing could possible haue been spoken to bet-
ter purpose of talke that promiseth many gaye good
morowes, and maketh ioyley royall warantyse of
thynges in wordes, but without any effecte or comming
to passe of deedes, euen sembleably as the *cypres* tree
† shooting vp into the aier with a toppe of a great
highthe, and growing sharpe with a bushe great beneth
and smal aboue of a trimme facion, semeth a ferre of
to make assured warauntise of some especiall gaye
thing, and yet in deede there is almoste no tree more
barren.

Uneth any tree
more goodly
to beholde
afarre of, then
the *cypres*
tree, nor in-
deede more
barren.

* *Leosthenes* was a man at this time, of great autoritee and estimacion in
Athenes, who woulde not reste prouoking the people to make warre vpon the resi-
due of *Grece*, vntill he had brought them in minde so to doe. And himselfe was
Capitain in thesame warre, and fought a great felde against *Antipater* and the
Beocians, and the *Atheniens* woonne the felde. But *Leosthenes* was slaine in that
battree. And wher as the *Atheniens* mynding to continue warre and perceiuing
Phocion to be altogether against it, had deuised a wyle to haue one *Antiphilus* suc-
cede *Leosthenes*, and to put *Phocion* by lest he would turne the warre into peace,
Phocion commaunded by proclamacion that as many as were betwene the age of
sixtene yeres and seuentie, should out of hande geate them to their horse and har-
nesse, and prouiding themselves vitailles for fiue dayes to come and folowe him.
This the people cried out vpon, & they that were by reason of yeres impotent or
vnhabie or otherwyse by the lawe discharged of goyng to warre, grutched at soche
an vnreasonable proclamacion. To whome *Phocion* thus aunswered: Why what
wrong doe I vnto you, sens that I must goe forth with you my selfe beeyng lxxx.
yeres olde? But thus at the last he abated their haste towards warre, and
quieted the citee to keepe theimselues at home in reste and peace. This annota-
cion may serue for the perfecte elucidation of the xvii. *apophthegme*.

† The *Cypres* tree (saith *Plinius* in the .xxxiii. chapitre of the xvi. volume) is
elfish and frowarde to spring vp, of a fruite that may well be spared, of beries
euilfaoueredly wythered and shronken, of leafe bittur of sauour rammyshe, and
not so moche as for geuing shadowe to bee loued or set by, of boughes, branches
and leaues no more but here and there one in maner euen like a litle thinne
shrubbe, &c.

But

12. But when the first beginning of thesame war had happelie fortunē (☞ For as is aboue noted, thei wonne the first field, & vanquished the *Beocians*, and put *Antipater* to flight) and the citee for the prosperous tidinges therof gaue laude and thankes to the Goddes with Sacrifice * and high solemnitee, Phocion beyng demaunded whether he would not with his good wil haue had thesame thinges so doen saied, Yes verely, my will was neuer other but to haue all executed and doen euen as it hath been nowe, but that notwithstanding I am yet styll of this mynde, that I would the other waye had been decreed.

The constancie of *Phocion* in not repentinge his good counsayl: geuen, though the contrary happened well and luckily.

Things vn-discretely purposed, doen many times succede well, but yet the beste wayes are euer more to bee taken.



Not the beginning of things but the last end muste declare, whether thesame was well attempted or not.

¶ Mening, that thinges also without all wysdome or good aduyse purposed, haue at manye tymes prosperous and lucky happe, and that, as often as thesame doeth so chaunce, the partes of men is, to reioyce in the behalfe of the commen weale, but yet that men ought not for anye soche respect or cause, not to purpose euermore the best and take the best wayes. Yea and parauenture this ranne in *Phociens* hedde, that men ought not euen at the first choppe to put assured truste and confidence in the luckie chaunces that happen at the first beginning of thynges, but that the later ende of all the whole matter must be it that shall declare of what sorte the first attempting and appointment of thesame entreprise was.

* Immediately vpon the hauing forth the of the armie (saieyth *Plutarchus*) thei had a faire daie vpon their enemies, and the *Beocians* ioyning with them in battaill wer discomfected, and *Antipater* put to flight, and chased into *Lamia* (☞ a towne in Grece) and there pended vp. This same good fortune in the first beginning, sette the citee of *Athenes* in greate pride, being inflated and puffed vp with no leasse hope then ioyfulnesse. Whereupon wer made plaies for a triumphe, almoste in every corner throughout the citee, and no temple ne chapell voide of processions, and thankesgiuing to the goddes whiche had shewed soche propice, fauoure and goodnesse towards them. And euen emiddes all this glye, the reporte goethe, that many persones (from whom *Phocion* as touching battaill to be made had dissented) demaunded of *Phocion* in the waie of contumelie and despite, whether he would in his herte theses thinges not to haue chaunced, to whom he thus shaped his aunswer. Nay verayly not so, and yet doe I nothing repente my first aduise & counsail. Thus ferre *Plutarchus*. He was (saieyth *Valerius maximus*) so stedfast a defender of his constancie that in open audience of the people he affirmed hym selfe

selfe in deede to be very ioyous of their prosperous good proceedinges, but yet that notwithstanding his first aduise and counsaill to had been moche better. For he would not graunte that to be naught, for thesame that he had afore right well seen and perceiued to be best, he would not afterward graunte to be naught, because thei had had good happe and fortune in that, whiche an other body had naughtyly counsaylled and perswaded theim vnto, as one that esteemed more happye lucke in that that thei had doen, but more wisdom in that that he had counsailled. For veray chaunce doeth oftentimes helpe temeritee, when it sheweth tendre fauour to wrong counsaill, and doeth more desperatly shewe furtheraunce, to the ende that it may more vehementlic hurte afterwarde.


When the *Macedonians had by forceable 13.

entreauce broken into the countree of Attica, and destroyed the sea costes of thesame round aboute, Phocion tooke forth with him a coumpaignie of younge men beeyng in their best luste and age, of whom sondrye persones hastyly approaching vnto him, and like as if thei had ben capitaines geuing him counsaill that hee should by preuencion geat to a certain hillocke,  that was euen there in sight of the *Macedonians*, & should in thesame pitche his campe,  & ther set his footemen: othersome affirming to bee best that he should sodainly enuiron the saied *Macedonians* with his horsemen: and other some taking vpon them to teache him to sette vp on his enemies, one out of one place, another out of another place and one this waye, and another that waye, Oh God Hercules (quoth Phocion) what a mainy of capitaines I see here, and good souldiours woondreous fewe.

* Read of this in the *apophthegme* & note next afore goynge. And of thesame matter read in the xvii. *apophthegme* of this *Phocion*.

This is added out of *Plutarchus* in the life of *Phocion*.

Many capitaines, and fewe good souldiours quoth *Phocion*.

¶ Noting the vnaduisednesse and vndiscrete facion of young folkes, whiche was so prest to take in hande to leade and teache the capitain, where as the duetie and part of a souldiour is not to bee a buisie geuer of counsaill, but when the case requireth, lustily to bestiere him about his buisnesse. Yet neuerthelesse battail ioyned, he wonne the victorie, and ouercame *Nicion* the capitain of the *Macedonians*. But ere long time after, the *Atheniens* being clene ouercomed & subdued, were driuen to take a garison of *Antipater*  to be ouer them in the castle of their citee.

The duetie and parte of a good souldiour.


The *Atheniens* in conclusion ouercomed by *Antipater*, and kepte by his garison.

When Menyllus the capitain of the garrison, 14.
would

Menyllus Cap-
tain of *Anti-*
pater his gar-
rison in *Athenes*

Phocion refused
to take money
of *Menyllus*
his gifte.

This is touched
afore in the 8.
Apophthegme.

woulde  (for loue and good wille) haue geuen *Phocion* money, *Phocion* takynge great indignacion and foule skorne at the matter, saied, that neither he the said *Menyllus* was better man then *Alexander*, & the cause to take any reward or gift of money now was worse then at that time when he refused to take money sent vnto him by *Alexander*.

¶ O an herte that could not bee coniuerted ne bought with money.

Antipater
could neuer
persuade *Pho-*
cion to take
any money,
nor fill *Dem-*
ades with
giuing.
Demades had
no feloe in
making an
oration with-
out studie,
wheras *De-*
mosthenes 16.
penned
all his matters
afore.
How *Phocion*
made aunswer
to *Antipater*
requiring him
to do a certain
thing contrary
to iustice.
One frend
ought not to
require any
vniust thing
of an other.

15. *Antipater* would many times saie, that whereas he had two frendes in *Athenes*, he coulde neuer in all his lyue perswade *Phocion* to take any money or other thing of his gifte, nor neuer fille *Demades* with geuing.

¶ This same was *Demades* the oratour who was excellent and passing good in making an oration, or setting out of a tale without any study or vnprovidet, whereas *Demosthenes* made none oracions but diligently penned afore.

Unto *Antipater* requiring hym to dooe for his sake some thing whatsoever it was not standing with iustice, he saied : O *Antipater* thou cannest not haue of *Phocion* a frende and a flatterer both together.

¶ A frende is at commaundement so ferre as conscience and honestee will suffre, and no farther. For in deede one frende ought in no wyse to require of another frende a thing that is vniust. But as for a flaterer, he is a readie and a seruiceable paye for whatsoever a body will haue him doe.

17. When the people of *Athenes* were importune that *Phocion* should take an armie with hym into *Beotia*, and *Phocion* iudged in his mynde that so doing would be nothinge for the profite of the commen weale, he made a proclamacion, that

For farther de-
claracion herof
reade the an-
notacion of

that as many as were in the citee betwene sixteen yeares of age and sixtie, should be in a readinesse and come foloe him. The aged men in this case crying out against him, and allegeyng for their excuse that they wer impotent and feble for age, Why (quoth Phocion) there is none vnreasonable thing contained in my proclamacion, sens that I my selfe doe make ready to goe forth with them as their capitain being .lxxx. yeres of age.

the xi. *Apo-
phthegme* of
this *Phocion*.

¶ By this subtile meanes he appeaced & cooled the sodain heate of the commens.

How *Phocion*
staied the *Athe-
niens* being
in a sodain
pangue to
continue
warres with
the *Beocians*.

After the death of Antipater, the commen-weale of the Atheniens beyng come again to soche state that the people *rewled, and wer euery man like maister, Phocion was at a comen assemblee condemned to die. And so it was that his other frendes whiche had been condemned to death together with him at the same time, went piteously wepyng and making lamentacion when they were led to prieson, but Phocion went as stil as a lambe not speaking a worde. But one of his enemies meeting with him in the streete, after manie despiteous and railling wordes, spette in his face. Then Phocion looking backe vpon the officers, saied: Will no man chastice this feloe here vncomely demeaninge himselfe?

18.

Phocion beyng
innocente, con-
demned to
death by the
people of
Athenes.


¶ This moste vertuous and godly man euen when there was with him none other way but death, had care of the publique good ordre to be kept. He made no complainte of that so hainous a touch of vilanie, neither did he require auengement against the partie who contrarie to the lawes was eagre to shew crueltee vnto a cast man: he onely willed the euil example, that was contrary to good mannier and behaueour

The pacience
of *Phocion*.

Phocion when
he was cast
to die yet had
care of good
ordre to bee
kept in the
citee.

haueoir to bee repressed : and to that horrible cruell dede he gaue no worse name but vncomely demeanure.

*The Philosophiers that doen write of politique gouernaunce describen the state of commenweales to haue been diuerse in diuerse places. Somewhere, kinges gouerned, as in *Persia* and in *Rome* at the beginning, and now in *Englande*, whiche was called *Monarchia*, & this state all wryters doen agree vpon to be the best. Some commenweales haue been gouerned by a certain noubre of magistrates and counsaillours, as in *Rome*, from the exterminacion of kinges vntill the tyme of *Iulius Caesar*, and at this present daye in *Venece*, and this was called *Oligachia*, or *Aristocratia*. Somewhere all the people ruled and were echeman of equall autoritee, as in *Athenes* vntill they were yoked by the xxx. tyrannes, and afterwarde conquered and subdued by *Philippus*, and after him holden in subiection by *Alexander*, after him by *Antipater*, after whose deceasse thei obtained again their first state, which was called *Democratia*. And this was of all other the worst, as here may ryght well appere, for the people beyng sembleable to a monstreaus beaste of many hedes did thinges heddily without due counsaill, aduise, deliberation, discretion or reason, as the *Atheniens* beyng in furious ragies moste wrongfully put to death many innocent persones, highe clerkes and noble counsaillours, as afore is noted in the v. *apophthegme* of this same *Phocion*.

 With *Phocion* were condemned to death *Nicocles*, *Thudippus*, *Hegemon*, and *Rithocles*. And besides these were condemned being absent *Demetrius*, *Phalerus*, *Callimedes*, *Charicles* and sondrie persones mo.

19. Of those persones whiche were to suffre death with *Phocion*, one man especially emong all the others, being woondrefull impacient bewailed his mishappe whom *Phocion* counforted after this sorte: Is it not enough for thee O *Edippus* (or as some readen *Thudippus*) to dye in compaignie with *Phocion*.

Howe *Phocion* comforted *Thudippus* being out of pacience when heshould dye.

It maie be a comforte for an innocent wrongfully to suffer with innocentes.

¶ *Phocion* was doen to death, not onely beyng without gilt but also beyng one that had doen highly well for the commenweale. It ought therefore to haue been esteemed a great comfort and reioycing for the partie beyng innocent, wrongfully to be put to death with soche an innocent and good man as *Phocion* was.

20. At his laste houre, when the bruage of wyne and the iuice of hemlocke tempreed together was brought vnto hym, one demaunded of him whether he were disposed any thing to saie vnto his sonne, (for thesame was there present :) Dere sonne

Of the maner of putting condemned persons to deth in *Athenes*, read

sonne (quoth Phocion) I both streightly charge and commaunde thee, and also right hertely desire and praie thee, neuer to beare towards the Atheniens any grutch or malice for the remembrance of this matter.

¶ To other persones when they suffre execution the chief comfort, that thei commenly haue, is the hope of their death to be afterward auenged : but *Phocion* did al that in him laye to provide that the sonne shoulde not reuenge the wrongful murthering of his own father, and was more desirous that thesame should beare tendre zeale and affection toward his countree, then toward his parente.

afore in the annotation of the 54. *Apophthegme* of *Socrates*.

What *Phocion* saied to his son at the houre of his death.

The entier zeale and affection of *Phocion* toward his countree.


Unto *Nicocles* making instaunt request for licence to suppe of his part of the poison before that *Phocion* should, Well (quoth *Phocion*) though this bee an hard thing to obtain and moche against my stomake, yet must it nedes be graunted vnto that man whom I neuer saied naye of any thing in al my life time.

21.

Phocion loued and fauoured *Nicocles* singularly well.

¶ *Phocion* had euermore borne singuler loue and affection towards *Nicocles* the moste feythfull and truest herted man emong all the frendes he had, and for that consideracion it would haue ben a great grief to the herte of *Nicocles* to see the other passyng out of this world. Which grief to auoyde, he desired to drinke first himselfe. And in this thyng also did *Phocion* shewe pleasure to his frende.

Nicocles the moste trustie frende that *Phocion* had.

When all the cast men sauing he alone had drunken, and onely *Phocion* was remayning vnserued by reason that the poysoning had been al consumed by the others, the hangman saied plainly and swore that he would not serue hym excepte there wer laied down in his hand .xii. good drachmes  (litle vnder vi. s. sterlyng,) for an ounce of hemlocke iuice (he saied) would coste

22.

The price of an ounce of Hemlocke iuice in *Athenes*

not

What *Phocion* saied when the hangman would not minister the poison vnto him without money.

not a ferthing lesse. *Phocion* therfore to thende that his death might not be delaied or slacked through the feloes brableing, to one of his frendes purposely called, thus he spoke. For as moche as it is so (saied he) that in the citee of *Athenes* a man can not die neither but he must paie for it, I besече you hartely, paie the hangman here his askyng.

23. How *Phocion* rebuked *Demosthenes* castyng forth many railyng wordes against *Alexander*.

When *Demosthenes* was busie casting out many bloudy wordes against *Alexander* being now at the veray point to winne & entre the citee of *Thebes*, *Phocion* tooke him vp with this greke verse of *Homere*, out of the first booke of his werke entituled *Odyssea*.

σχέτλιε, τίπτ' ἐθέλεις ἐριβίζεμεν ἄγριον ἄνδρα ;

O weked creature, what phansie hast thou,
Soche a sower feloe, to prouoke now ?

¶ The saiynges of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*.

Of *Marcus Tullius Cicero* to speake as his worthinesse requi-
reth, were to write an infinite volume couched and replenished
with whole heapes of laudes and prayses. But for this present
purpose and place it shal be enough to saie, that he lyneally de-
scended from the house of *Tullius* an auncient kyng of the *Volstes*.
But (as the world and all thinges are full of chaunges) so in long
processe of yeres the ioylitee of that bloud and name fell to decaye
and to ignobilitee. Albeit euen in the time of *Cicero* the *Tullies*
remained in the degree and acceptacion of gentlemen, and *Cicero*
euen at his firste comming to Rome, enioyed the degree of a gen-
tleman, and like as he was vnder the estate of the Senatours
whiche were lordes, so was he aboue the condicion and degree of
the yeomanrie or comenaltie, his father was called *Tullius*, a man
of no great name nor porte, his mothers name *Olbia* a ryche
woman. He was borne in a toun of the *Volstes* called *Arpinum*,
(free of Rome to enioye all maner fraunchesses, libertees, priui-
leges, and offices in thesame). Neuerthelesse all soche persones
as neuer had their parentes dwelling at Roome, ne bearyng any
magistrate or office there, were called, *Noui homines*, new men,
that

that is to saye, conte of straungiers & men vnknowne to beare autoritee and rule in the citee. *Tullius* was at last the father of all eloquence, a greate writer of bookes in all kindes, and a man (as *Plinius* of him sayeth) for witte and eloquence out of all comparison, he gotte vp by litle and litle to beare offices in Rome euen to the veray Consulship, and that with as moche honour, autoritee, glorie, and renoume as euer man did, in so moch that he was the first that euer was called in Rome, *pater patriae*, the father of his countree, that is to saye, the onely sauer and keper of the countree. Neuerthelesse, was he at length and his house in despite, beaten and throwen down to the hard ground, but at last he was fette home againe of their owne accorde, and receiued with soche honour as neuer was any man there before or sence, and hadde a newe house builded for hym at the charges of the citee twys so good and double so fayre, as his owne was afore. In fine he was by the permission & suffreaunce of *Augustus Caesar* with all vilanie possible slain at the commaundement of *Marcus Antonius* his enemye, who caused his right hande with which he had wryten to be stricken of, and his tounge to be cut out of his head with which he had made many noble oracions before the Senate & people of Rome. And after that the saied *Antonius* had had his hedde presented in a dyshe at his table, and had sated his moste cruell eyes with the contemplacion of it, he caused the same for extreme contumelie and despite to be nailed vp in the place that was called *Rostra*, where *Tullius* had before that time pronounced many a sore inuectiue against him.



Marcus Tullius, (for as moche as he was moche iested on for the surname of * Cicero) being warned by his frendes to chose and take vnto him some other surname, answered that he would ere he died make the name of Cicero more noble and famous, then was the name either of the † Catons, or of the Catules, or els of the ‡ Scaures.

¶ For these houses were of especiall fame and renoume among the Romans, wher as *Tullius* was a man but newly come to Rome, and as yet vnknowne there. And as for the surname was a readie thyng to to be iested at, because it appered to haue been deriued of the moste vyle Poultz called *Cicer*. Yea iwysse, as though the familie of those Romaines whiche wer called *Fabii*, semed not to haue had that surname first of Benes (whiche are in latine called *Fabae*) and they that were called *Lentuli*, to haue been surnamed of an other Poultz which the latine men do

I.

Marcus Tullius moche iested at for the surname of *Cicero*.

What *Tullius* saied when his frendes aduised him to take sum other surname instede of *Cicero*.

The houses of the Catons Catules and the Scaures were of great renoume in Rome.

The surnames of those which wer called *Fabii* & *Lentuli*, wherof thei came vp.

Of slendre nobilitie is that man, who hath nothing but the petigree of his auncestours and his surname.

The most laudable nobilitie is that which euery man achieueth by his own propre vertues.

cal, *Lentem*. But to this present purpose, of slendre nobilitie & renoume is that manne, whiche hath none other point of nobilitie in hym besides the lineall descent of his auncestours and his surname. The moste honorable kynde of nobilitie is that which euery man doeth purchase to himself by his own propre vertues and good qualitees. Neither proued *Marcus Tullius* a false man of his worde, for the name of *Cicero* is at this present daye more commen in eche mans mouthe, then are thre hundred soch as the *Catules*, and the *Scaures* with all their garlandes, their images of honour & their petigrees.

* As touching the surname of *Cicero*, it is to be noted, that this *Marcus Tullius*, right well knowing his owne petigree and auncestrie, resumed the surname of the stocke, from whiche he was descended. For the firste *Tullius* was surnamed *Cicero*, of a little piece of fleshe growing in the side of his nose, like to a cicor, whiche is a little pultz, moche like to a pease, some there been that call it the Fatche, but I doubt whether truely or not. But in the time of old antiquitee, a common thing it was, that families wer surnamed of diuerse soche thinges (saith *Plinius* in the third chapter of the 18 booke) as the familie of those, whiche wer in Roome called *Pilummi*, was first surnamed of the inuention of *Pilum*, whiche is a pestell, soche as thinges are braied withall in a mortare, and in olde time thei hadde none other waie to grinde their corne. Also *Pisones* wer surnamed, a *pisendo*, of grinding with a querle, because it was their inuencion. Those also (saith he) whiche wer called *Fabii*, *Lentuli*, & *Cicerones* had their surnames at the first of soche thinges in the sowing and housebandrie, whereof thei excelled others.

† For the renome of the *Catons*, of the *Catules*, and the *Scaures*, & of their families in the histories of *Titus Liuius*, *Florus*, *Plutarchus*, and *Valerius Maximus*. For some more light to be geuen to this present place, as touching *Cato* the first, I haue thought good to set the woordes of *Plinius* in the 27 chapter of the 7. boke. In other kindes of vertues saith many persones haue many sondrie waies excelled. But *Cato* the firste of the hous, that was called in Roome *Gens portia*, hath been thought to haue in most high degree, to haue performed and shewed the moste high thinges that maie bee in any mortall creature, being the beste oratour that euer was before his time, the best capitaine of an armie, and the best Senatour. And as for this was in a *Cato* alone, and neuer in any man els that he was vpon accusacions 44. times, brought to his aunswer before iudges at the barre, and neuer any man moo times arraigned, & yet euer quite. For this *Cato* because he was a graue and a sage father, and a continuall enemie and pursuer of all vice, he had the hatered of many persones, who of malice wrought to bring him to confusion, but his innocencie euermore deliuered him. From this *Cato* lineally descended *Cato Uticensis*, a verie noble man also, as is afore in the saynges of *Augustus*, largelic mentioned and noted.

‡ Of *Quintus Lactatius Catulus*, it is written in the Chronicles of Rome that in the first warre that the Romaines made against the *Cartaginiens*, he with a nauie of .iiii. c. shippes, made vi. c. shippes of theirs couche, and toke their vitailles and other lading, and the chief capitaine of thesame *Himilcon*. But the memorie of these

these mennes actes is now cleane extincted, the memorie of *Cicero* by reason of his moste noble bokes is immortall, and shall neuer die while the worlde shall stande. Of whom *Plinius* in the 30 chapter of the 7. volume, among many high praises mo saith in this wise: All haill *Cicero* the firste man that euer was called *parens patriae*, the father of our countree, & the first man that euer deserved a triumphe, and neuer diddest on harness for the matter, and yet diddest as worthelie deserue to haue the garland of a triumpher for thy tounge, as euer had any other befor for the swearde. ¶ Which he speaketh of the suppressing of the sedicious coniuracoe of *Catiline*, whom *Cicero* did peacably destroye and put to death with all his complices & adherentes, without bloudshed of any of the true citezens.) All haill the parente and chief founder of all eloquence of the Latine tounge, and (as *Iulius Caesar* the Dictatour, sometime thy greate enemy hath left in writing of thee) one that had achieved a garlande of triumphe, so ferre surmounting the garlandes of all other mennes triumphes, as it is more highlie to be esteemed to haue so highlie auanced and extended throughout all partes of the worlde the boundes and limites of the wit, which the Romaines haue, then of their Empire.

‡ *Marcus Aemilius Scaurus*, in the time of his Consulshippe, passing by chaunce along by *Publius Decius* then chief Iustice, when he sawe thesame Iustice not to doe his dutie of obeisaunce, commaunded thesame to arise from the benche, and then did *Scaurus* cutte the garment of *Decius* (whiche was as greate a dishonour and ignomie, as if a chiefe Iustice should haue his coif rolled from his hedde here in Englande, and be disauctorised or deposed from his office) he cutte the benche that *Decius* had sitten on, in token of his deposicion or depriuacion, and proclaimed that no persone should any more resorte vnto thesame *Decius* for iustice. Also, being Consull he triumphed of the *Legures* and the *Gantisces*. And at other seasons did many noble actes, bothe of buildinges & otherwise. He was of so high authoritee in Roome, that of his owne hed, without any other bodies counsaill, he set *Opis* in harness against *Gracchus*, and set *Marius* to warre against *Glaucia* and *Saturninus*. In his old age he was accused and appealed by *Varius* one of the *Tribunes* for the people, that he had enforced the frendes of the Romaines, and all the countree of *Latium* to battaile, for aunswere to whiche complainte and accusacion, thus he saied openly vnto the people: Masters all, *Varius* saith *Aemilius Scaurus* enforced and droue soche as are in League with this citee to harness and weapon, and *Scaurus* saith it was nothing so, to whether of the twoo doe ye geue credence? Upon these wordes was he dismissed.

When he offred a siluer bolle to the goddes, 2.
he had his * forename, and his name stamped and set out in plain letters, but for his surname, Cicero, he engraue the figure & proporcion of a cicer.

Marcus Tullius would not forsake the surname of *Cicero*.

¶ Not shrinking an ynche for the interpretacion of capcious bounders.

* The Romaines for the moste part, especiallie soche as wer of any nobilitie and renoume, had three names, the first was called *Praenomen*, the forename, as *Marcus*, whiche we doe call the christian name: the second was called *nomen*, the name, as *Tullius*, whiche was the common name of the house stocke or familie that they were descended of, and this we call our surname, because we haue not the thyrd in vse, (except it should be called our sire name that is to saye the name of our fathers bloud and auncestrie.) The thirde was geuen vpon some other external chaunce, cause or consideracion, as *Cicero*, and sembleably in others.

Soche

3. Suche oratours or aduocates as in vttring their matter, or in making their plea dooen vse to crie out as if they were in a mylne or in a roode lofte, Cicero auouched to be sembleable vnto lame creples, for that suche maner oratours sembleably had all their refuge vnto soche clamourous, yalling, as lame bodies to their horses.

Clamorous & brallyng Oratours *Cicero* likened vnto lame creples.

¶ Yea & euen at this present daye, a rief thyng it is to see feloes enough of the selfsame suite, which as often as thei see them selves to haue the worse ende of the staffe in their cause, doen make their recourse wholly vnto furious brallyng, to thende that where they are not of facultee and cunningg with good argumentes & profound reasons to make their matter good, they may with malaperte facing and with feare, by hooke or crooke drieue it to their purpose.

4. When *Verres, who had a sonne viciously mispending the floure of his youth railled on Cicero vnder the name of a sinnefull abuser of his body in abominacion, Thou art ignoraunt (quoth Cicero) that a man ought to chyde his children secretly within doores.

Howe *Cicero* taunted *Verres* laiying to his charge vnchast liuyng.

Parentes ought to rebuke their children secretly within their houses.

* *Verres*, a gentleman of Rome who beeynge *Praetor* in *Sicilie* did moche pillage and extortion there. Whereupon he was accused, and brought to his aunswer in Rome. *Cicero* made and pronounced against him certain inuectiues, and in theim so layed to his charge, and brought in wnesse vpon thesame, that *Verres* was condemned in a great summe of a rierage. And not many yeares after, he was cast in a forfaicte of all his goodes and landes by *Marcus Antonius*, vpon none other cause ne grounde (saith *Plinius*) but for that on a time bragging and cocking with *Antonius*, he craked and made vaunte that he would droppe plate of *Corinthe* metalle with him ounce for ounce and not be one piece behinde hym.

¶ Signifyng that woorde of reproche not to take place in him, but in the sonne of the fault finder or quereler. And in deede to parentes it apperteineth to blame or chyde their chyldren, but yet not without the circuite of their owne houses, neither ought thesame woordes of rebuke to be notified foorth of doores. But that persone doeth no lesse then publyshe it abroad, who laieth to others abroad, that thyng whiche his children doe perpetrate at home in his owne hous.

Unto

Unto Metellus laiying to the charge of Cicero, 5.
that thesame had been the death of mo per-
sones by geuing euidence against theim, then
euer he had saued by pleadyng for them, Yea
marie (quoth Cicero) for I haue in me more truth
of my worde in bearing witnesse, then I haue of
eloquence to persuade.

*How Cicero
answered
Metellus lai-
yng to his
charge that he
had been the
death of mo
men by his
euidence geu-
ing, then he
had saued by
pleading for
theim.*

¶ With a meruailous wittie braine did he wrest the
other parties worde of reproche to his owne laude
and prayse. For in a geuer of euidence truthe is to
be regarded, in an aduocate or attourney, eloquence
it is that doeth most auaille.

Eftsons to thesame Metellus demaunding of 6.
Cicero who was his father (as casting him in the
teethe with the bassenes of his birthe) he saied :
Thy mother is in the cause that a right hard
thing it is to make a direct answer vnto this
question of thine.

*How Cicero
answered
Metellus de-
maunding,
who was his
father.*

*It is aforenoted
that the father
of Cicero was
of no name.*

¶ For the mother of *Metellus* hadde a name that
she was no veray good woman of her body. Yea and
Metellus himself being of his mothers condicions was
veray *light and mutable, and one that could none
other but folowe euery sodain guerie or panguie that
shotte in his braine. *Cicero* chaunged the contumelie
from the father to the mother. For then is the father
vncertain to be knowen, when the mother kepeth not
herselfe to one sole manne.

*The mother of
Metellus vn-
chast of her
body.*

*Metellus light
& inconstant.*

* *Metellus* was so shuttle brained that euen in the middes of his tribuneship he
left his office in Rome, and sailed to *Pompeius* into *Syria*, & by then he had ben
with him in a whyle, came flynging home to Rome again as wyse as a capon.

When thesame Metellus after the deceasse of 7.
Diodorus (whom he hadde to his maister in
rhetorike) had sette for a memoriall vpon the
tounge of thesame a crowe of stone, Cicero
saied: Truely he is rewarded according to his
desertes. For he hath taught Metellus to flygh
and not to make oracions.

*Diodorus alias
Diodotus mai-
ster vnto Me-
tellus in rhet-
orike.*

*What Cicero
saied when
Metellus had*

¶ Noting

sette vpon the
tounge of
Dionorus a
crowe of stone.

¶ Noting the lightnesse and inconstancie of *Metellus*.
The crowe is a birde that hath none other musike, nor
can none other songe ne tune but ka, ka.

¶ *Plutarchus* calleth the Rhetorician *Philagres*, and saith
that the tounge was of marble, & that *Metellus* caused the crowe
to be grauen in the marble stone, whiche thing in deede is the
more likely.

What *Cicero*
saied when one
had told newes
that *Vatinius*
was dedde, and
afterwarde the
thing was
found other-
wise.

8. Marcus Tullius had heard saie that *Vatinius*
(a mortall foo of his, and besides that of himselfe,
a persone full of mischief) was dedde, shortly
after when he had heard contrary worde againe,
that thesame was aliue and merie: Eiuill chieu-
ing come to him (saied Tullius) that euill lied.

¶ Signifyng that *Vatinius* was vnworthy any longer
to liue. In deede euery lye is euill, but this lye was
double euil, because it hadde brought honest men
into a fooles paradise. Yet neuertheless the sayng
was doubtfull, as the whiche might haue been spoken
of soche a persone also, whom a body would not with
his good will haue had dedde.

¶ As if some light feloe should bryng vs newes that some
one of our kynne, or of our dere frendes, or some learned man
were departed this worlde, and thesame newes were afterward
founde vntrue, we myght and would geue him Christes curse that
had made soche an euill lye to put vs in discourte and heau-
nesse. And in this pointe of speakyng, ambiguously resteth the
wittynesse of the *apophthegme*.

Plutarchus
nameth this
man *Octavius*.

Thuse in *Lybia*
was to haue
their eares
bored full of
holes, for to
hang ringes
and precious
Stones thereat.

9. When Marcus Tullius was makyng an oracion
on a tyme, and a certaine persone supposed of
all men to bee borne in *Lybia*, spake in this
maner, I heare not this tale, (meaning by the-
same wordes, that he did no point lyke the
matter whiche the Oratour treated of.) And yet
(quoth *Cicero*) ye haue holes plentieth in your
eares.

¶ For the nacion of a custome had their eares bored
full of holes, to hange therat rynges & precious stones,
whiche we now a dayes doe weare about our necke,
or on our fyngers. And howe soche holes are made,
Celsus doeth teache. One

One Caius Popilius (who would in any wyse seeme to be an expert lawier, where as in deede he was but a boungeleer and a veray asse in knowlage of the lawe) beyng on a time called forth to geue euidence in a certain matter of trauerse, aunswered, that he knewe nothing in the matter, nor nothing could say. Yea (quoth Cicero) ye think perchaunce that ye are nowe asked a question of some pointe of the lawe.

Hortensius the Oratour, had receiued of Verres an image of Sphinx all of clene siluer in part of a reward to defend his cause against Cicero (at what time he was accused as aforesayed). And when the same Hortensius vpon a certain pointe somewhat coulourably aferre of and mistically vttered by Cicero, had thus saied: I haue not learned to soyle no riedles I, he saied againe: And yet hast thou Sphinx dwelling at home in thy house with thee.

¶ The fable of the monstre *Sphinx* is well knownen, whiche with condicions of prices and rewardes did put forth riedles to men, and of soche persones as coulde not soyle them the rewarde was death.

When he met one Voconius by chaunce in the strete with his three daughters, beeyng notable foule & euil fauoured beastes, he recited to his frendes softly this little verse of Greke.

Φοίβον ποτ' οὐκ ἑώντος ἔσπειρεν τέκνα.

In the despite of Phebus clene,
This feloe begotte his children.

¶ Mening, that *Voconius* of likelihood went about the getting of children vtterlye against the wil, mynde and disposition of *Apollo*: either because *Apollo* is of the poetes feigned to be amiable and all full of beautie, or els for that the folkes thynken children begotten

IO. How
Cicero
mocked one
Popilius bearing
the countenance
of a good lawier,
wheras in
deede he had
no sight in it.
Albeit *Plutarchus*
in the life
of *Cicero*, nameth
this man

I I. *Cotta* in
the *Apophthegmes*,
C. Popilius.
Plutarchus in
the life of *Cicero*
saith, that this
Sphinx was all
of cleane luerie
He maie well
soile riedles
(saith *Tullius*)
that hath
Sphinx dwelling
at home
in his hous
with him.
Of this read
afore at large
in the fiftie
Apophthegme
of *Diogenes*.

I 2.
What *Cicero*
saied, when he
mette one *Voconius*,
& his
three foule
daughters.

Children begotten
towards
the Sunne
arising, are
conceiued more
perfecte of

towards

limme, shape
& fauour.

towards the sonne arising, to be conceiued more perfecte of fourme, shape, lymme, and fauour.

The Sunne
seeth all
thynges, saith
the Prouerbe.

Or els for that *Cicero* thought in his merie conceipte, that forasmuch as according to the prouerbe, *Sol omnia videt ac reuelat*, the sunne seeth all thynges and disouereth all thynges, and bringeth all to light, except *Phetus* (which is the sonne) had oughed *Voconius* a shame, he would neuer haue suffred him to begette soche foule babies and oule faced doudes as all the worlde should afterward wondre at.

13. At what tyme Faustus Sylla (the sonne of Sylla the dictatour) for to discharge the greate debte that he was in, had made an inuentorie of all his mouables to set forth thesame to sale: Yea marie [quoth Cicero] this proscription I doe moche better allowe, then the proscription that your father vsed to make.

Of the double
significacion
of this worde
proscribere,
it is afore
declared.

¶ He made a mery ieste of the double significacion of this woorde, proscription. For thynges are said proprely in latine, *proscribi*, which are at an open praying sette to out vent or sale, and men also are saied in latine, *proscribi*, that are proclaimed traitours to be slaine of any man that will doe it whersoever they be found, after which cruell forme and sorte *Lucius Cornelius Sylla* the father had proscribed no small nombre of the citezens of Rome in the tyme of his dictature.

Of *Sylla* it is
largely noted
afore in sondrie
Apophtegmes
of *Iulius*
Caesar & of
Pompeius.


What
Cicero
said, when
Caesar &
Pompeius wer
fallen at strife.
Of the vari-
ance betwene
Iulius Caesar
and *Pompeius*
it is afore men-
tioned in their
apophthegmes.
Cicero
blamed
Pompeius for de
parting awaye
out of Rome.

14. Pompeius and Cæsar beeyng fallen at debate and variunce, Cicero saied Whom to eschewe I knowe veray well, but whom to ensue I cannot tell.

¶ Mening that both the said parties tooke the sweorde in hand, not for the libertee or freedome of the commenweale, but whether of them two should haue the soueraintee.

15. He found a great faulte with Pompeius for that thesame had abandoned the citee and had in that his doying folowed Themistocles rather

rather then Pericles, seing that the cases of Themistocles and Pompeius were nothing like at all, & the cases of Pericles & Pompeius muchewhat of a rate in all behalves. For Themistocles fledde vnto the Persians, and Pericles remained still resyaunt in Athenes.

 *Themistocles* a man of great rule and autoritee in *Athenes* (as is afore noted) was at last banyshed his countree, and

pursued in soche wyse, that he was constrained to take refuge vnto *Xerxes* king of the *Persias*, against whom he had afore kept battail, with whom at last he grewe so ferre in fauour & credite, that *Xerxes* made him high capitain of his armie against the *Atheniens*. But *Themistocles*, when he sawe his countremen, toke remorse of conscience, and because he would neither deceiue the king whiche had put him in trust nor yet be the destroyer of his owne countree, poysoned himselfe with drynkyng the bloud of a bulle. *Themistocles* was a man of no eloquence, fauour nor maiestee. But *Pericles* was a man beautiful, passing eloquent, wyse, politike, in high estimacion & autoritee emong the *Atheniens*, in so moche that he gouerned and ruled the commenweale of *Athenes* by the space of xl. yeres with al mens fauour, beneuolence and supportacion. And in like case was *Pompeius* in the citee of Rome, so that his case was more like vnto the case of *Pericles* then of *Themistocles*. And in deede (as *Cicero* by the testimonie of *Plutarchus* writeth) *Pompeius* his cause stode more with the commenweale then *Caesars*, and all the auncient, graue, wyse and good men fauoured *Pompeius*, and drewe to him as *Cato*, *Cicero*, *Lentulus*, and soche others mo.

When he was come to Pompeius, and repented his foly of coming, beyng asked the question wher he had left *Piso* his sonne in lawe: Marie (quoth he) with your father in law.

16. What *Cicero* said to *Pompeius* demaunding wher he had left *Piso* his sonne in lawe.

¶ Speakyng by *Iulius Caesar*, *Cicero* euen like as though he had had halfe a rebuke, for that he had separated and deuided himself from *Piso*, who had married his doughter, gaue *Pompeius* again taunt pour taunt, for that the same kept warre against his own father in law, whose doughter he had married.

Piso married the doughter of *Cicero*, and toke parte with

Caesar. *Pompeius* had married the doughter of *Caesar*, and yet warred against him.

When a certain persone hauyng ren awaie from *Caesar* to *Pompeius* saied, that for greate desire to make hast, he had lefte his horse behinde him in *Caesars* campe, Marie (quoth *Cicero*) then haste thou dooen better by thy horse, then by thy self.

17.

¶ Esteming that the feloe should haue doen moche better, if himself had taried still with *Caesar* to.

To

18. To a feloe bringyng tidynges that Cæsars frendes wer all sadde, and in their dumpes. That is euen as moche (quoth Cicero) as to saie, that thei thinke a mischief on hym.

Plutarchus saith that one *Lentulus* tolde these newes.

¶ He mocked the flatering bringing of newes, as though *Caesars* mennes hartes were in their heles, and thei sore afeard of *Pompeius*.

19. After the battaill foughten in Pharsalia, when Pompeius was fled, one Nonius said, there wer seuen Eagles yet left, and therefore encouraged the soldiours to be of good chere, and to take their hartes to them. Thy chering wer very good O Nonius (said Cicero) if our warre should be against Iaies.

Of this battaille is aboue mencioned in the saynges of *Caesar* and *Pompeius*.

What *Cicero* saied when one *Nonius* would with .7. Eagles crie a new field against *Caesar* at *Pharsalium*.

¶ But *Nonius*, when he saied Eagles, spake of the Romaines baners or standardes, whiche had euermore the picture of an eagle displaied on them.

¶ The meaning of *Cicero* was, that for their 7. eagles *Caesar* who had alreadie vanquished them, and against whom thei had to fight the new felde had ten, and that he had in his armie no dastardes, but expert soldiours, yea, and better men of their handes, then *Pompeius* had any. In deede a laie is nothing in the talauntes of an Eagle, but an Eagle to an Eagle is a full matche, tenne Eagles to seuen, is an ouermatche.

20. When Cæsar being lorde of all, had with moche honour set vp in their places again, the images of Pompeius, whiche some bodie had in despite cast down, Cicero said Cæsar, while he restoreth the images of Pompeius to their old places, doeth sette vp and stablishe his owne sure for euer.

What *Cicero* said when *Caesar* set vp again the Images of *Pompeius* in their places.

¶ Doyng to wete, that *Caesar* did not thesame for any fauor, that his harte did beare towarde *Pompeius*, but to the ende that by the colourable semblaunce of mercifulnesse, hymself might purchase fauour among the citezens, and by soche meanes might establish his own reigne & dominacion the longer to endure.

So

So carefull was Marcus Tullius to tell his tale after a good & perfect sort, & wold bestow so thoughtfull studie on soch a matter that no woorde might bee placed out of square, that where he had an oracion to make, before the benche of Iudges, whiche wer called * Centumui, and the daie was come euen at hand, he made free one Erote a bondman of his, for onely bringing hym tidynges, that the sitting was adiourned, & put of one daie farther then had been appoincted at the first.

¶ This historie also hath some bodie put in emonges the *Apophthegmes*, whereas in deede it is none.

¶ And yet (as I haue afore noted any fakte or example, that maie be to vs an honeste lesson or instruccion (though it containe no woorde at all) maie worthely be esteemed to haue the strength, name & place of an *Apophthegme*. And soche good examples doeth not *Plutarchus* refuse, ne abhorre to put in emong his *apophthegmes*, as namely this present historie of *Cicero* his facion. And would Christe our grene preachers now of daies, whiche haue neither shame ne feare, to steppe into pulpites, ere thei can well construe the Gospell or Epistle, whiche thei boldely take vpon them to preach, wer of *Cicero* his modestie and carefulnesse in this behalfe.

of controuersie betwene partie and partie. Their iudgements and sittings wer called *centumuiralia iudicia*, the iudgements of the C persones. And the Benche self, though thei wer an hundred and fiue persones in all, yet were thei of the greater and the more worthie number called *centumui*, and not *centum quinque viri*.

21.

The carefulnes of *Marcus Tullius* and studie that no woorde in his Oracion might be amisse or out of frame.

Eros a bondman of *Cicero*, vpon what cause he was made free.

* The people of Roome were diuided into 35. Tribes, as the citee of London is into 25 wardes. Out of euery Tribe wer elected from tyme to tyme, as cause required, 3. men to assemble for iudging in speciall causes

22.

At his arriuall into the campe of Pompeius, vnto soche as saied, Ah Cicero, ye are come tardy. No neuer a whit tardy (quoth he again) for I see nothing here yet in a redines.

¶ He alluded to soche as come late to a dinner or supper. The mirthe of the sayng to come tardie, is grounded vpon the double meaning of the word tardie, for thei come tardie, that come late to the beginning, and thei come tardie, that come when all is past and doen.

23.

When Pompeius had admitted a certain Galle free citezen of Rome, because thesame had forsaken

Howe *Cicero* taunted *Pompeius*, for making a *Gall* free citezen of *Rome*.

saken Cæsar, for to come and to bee on his side. A gaie feloe in deede (quoth Cicero) to promise aliens the citee of other menne, whereas he is not hable to restore vnto vs our proper owne.

24. Howe *Cicero* was begiled, to leaue *Caesar* & cleue to *Pompeius*.

After the victorie and conquest of Cæsar, Cicero beeyng asked the question, how he had so ferre missed the cushin in chosyng of partes, saied : In faithe the girdyng of their gounes de- ceiued me.

Caesar went in his gounne wantonlie girte aboute him.

¶ Meanyng hymself neuer to had trusted that the victorie would haue gone on soche a nice and effeminate persones side. For *Caesar* vsed to go after soch sort girded in his gounne that he would go (euen as wanton or voluptuous feloes doen) trailing after him the skirtes of his gounne, al pounced in cuttes and iaggess. Wherefore *Sylla* would many a time and ofte, giue *Pompeius* warnyng to beware of the bodie, that went so lewdely girte.

With what woordes *Sylla* would often times, warne *Pompeius* to beware of *Caesar*.

25. Thesame Cicero beyng at supper with one Damasippus, when the maister of the feast had set vpon the table wine that was but easie and soso, & minding to praise thesame vnto his geastes, of the oldnesse of it, saied, Maisters drinke ye well of this wine, for it is .xl. yeres olde : By my faithe (quoth Cicero) it beareth the age right well.

How *Cicero* answered one *Damasippus*, praising his wine of xl. yeres olde.

¶ After soche forme of wordes doe we vse to speake of a manne whose beautie and strengthe, age doeth not verie moche abate nor breake. But it was a fond thing semblably to commende wine for beyng toto old.

The wine *Falernum*.

The wine *Falernum* if it bee either to newe or to old, is not holsome for mannes bodie.

☞ This wine was called *vinum Falernum*, of *Falernus*, an hill in *Campania*, where it was made. This wine *Falernum* (saith *Plinius*) was esteemed emong all wines, the seconde in dignitee. Thesame neither being very newe, nor on the other side verie old, was thought wholsome for a mannes bodie, but beyng of a meane age (whiche meane age beginneth from .xv. yeres, and so vpwarde, vntil he be sowre, as I think *Damasippus* his wine was) and then it is ouer old, so that when *Cicero* affirmed it to

bearc

bear it age wel, he meant that it was sterke soure, and that the sowrenesse declared it to be ouer olde, though *Damasippus* had saied neuer a worde. And where in a man to beare his age faire is an high grace, so wine to beare the age well (by an ironie) signifieth thesame to be souer and sterke naughte. Albeet *Plinius* maketh mencion of wines of twoo hundred yeres old.

Wine of .ii. C. yeres old *Plin.* xiii. C. iiii.

When he sawe on a tyme *Lentulus* his dough-ters housband, being a man of a verie lowe stature, girt with a veraie longe sweorde by his side, he saied : Who hath tied my sonne in lawe to a sweorde ?

¶ For the man semed to bee bounde to the sweorde, and not the sweorde to the man.

When he had espied in the Prouince of Asia (where his brother *Quintus Cicero* had before that time been gouernor) the image of thesame *Quintus* made with his terget (as the facion then was) from the middle vpward, moche greater then the verie true proporcion of his bodie was in deede, Whough [saith he] halfe my brothers bodie is more then the whole. For the said *Quintus* was but a little pretie bodie of stature.

26.

When *Piso* was ded, *Cicero* married his doughter to *Lentulus*.

Who hath tied my soonne in law to a sweord quoth *Cicero*.

27.

Quintus Cicero the brother of *Marcus Cicero*.

The one halfe of my brother is more then al his whole body saied *Cicero*.

Quintus Cicero a little manne of stature.

28.

How *Cicero* with one sayng rebuked his doughter for goyng to faste, & *Piso* for going to soft.

Where *Tullia* the doughter of *Cicero* went with a more stierying and faste passe, then was comely for a woman, and contrary wise *Piso* his sonne in lawe, with a more slowe and still passe then beseemed a man to do, he rebuked them bothe at ones with one sayng, when he spake to his doughter in this maner, her housebande *Piso* beyng present : For shame vse in your goyng soche a passe, as your housebande doeth.

Upon *Vatinius* [who was Consull but a verie shorte tyme] he iested in this wise. In the yere of *Vatinius* there befelle a greate woonder, that while he was Consull, there was no winter, ne springtime, no Somer, ne Haruest.

29.

While *Vatinius* was Consull, there was neither winter, nespringtyme, ne Somer, ne harueste.

¶ For

*Pollio wrote
Chronicles
in Greke.*

*In the tyme of
one Consull,
no man dined,
supped, ne
slepte.*

*Caninius
Reuilus was
Consull no
more but .vi.
houres. Reade
the 31. Apo-
phthegme.*

¶ For by these fower seasons, the whole yere is deuided, of which seasons euery one containeth the complete terme of three monethes. I can not certainly tell whether this be not thesame thing that *Pollio* otherwise rehearseth in the Chronicle of *Marinus* the tyranne, where he saith thus. The *Consull* that had been *Consull* no more but sixe houres, beginnyng aboute the middes of the daie, was euill araied with *Cicero* his iesting. We haue had a *Consull* (saith he) of soche seueritie and so rigourous, that duryng his office, no man made so moche as one diner, no man ones supped, no man slept a winke. Except percase this historie seme rather to pertain to *Caninius Reuilus*.

30. *Of Vatinius
being diseased
of the goutte, it
is afore men-
tioned in the 29.
Apophthegme
of Augustus
Caesar.*

Eftsones to Vatinius making a querele that Cicero had disdeined to come and visite him whyle he laye sicke of the goutte & could not stiere: Forsouth (quoth Cicero) I was minded and on my waye to come to you in your consulship, but the night tooke me (ere I could reache to your hous.)

*How Vatinius
mocked Cicero,
gloriyng of his
reuocation
from banishe-
ment.*

¶ This might well seeme a repaiyng home again of a mocke. For Vatinius afore that time vnto Cicero gloryng and bragguing that the comenweale had called him home again from banishmente, and had brought him home againe on their shoulders, had geuen a curst mocke saiyng: Howe then hast thou come by the swelling or broken veines in thy legges?

¶ For the maladie of swellng or broken veines (whiche is in latine called *Varices*) are wont to fall in the legges not of persones sitting at their ease, but of men long standing or els traueilyng on the waye.

31. *Caninius
Reuilus was
Consul ne more
but one daie.*

Caninius Reuilus, was Consul no more but onely one daie. This Caninius when he had gon vp into the place called Rostra (where oracions were

were made to the people) he in one houre bothe entreed the dignitee of Consulship, and also committed periurie, on whom goeth about this saynge of Cicero, Caninius the Consul is λογοςθεωρητος that is, a wel aduised speaker: On the same Caninius he cast out this sayng to, Reuilus hath had this one chaunce aboue all other men that the recordes were serched in the time of whiche Consuls he was Consul.

¶ For the noubre of the yeres was wonte in Rome to be rekened and set out by the names of the Consuls, (as here in Englande wee reken the tyme by the yeres of eche kinges reigne.) But nowe *Reuilus* for his parte bothe was Consull, and yet had neuer a yere at al to reken by. And this sayng also had *Cicero* on thesame *Caninius*. We haue a good vigilaunt Consul as the whiche neuer slept one wynke duryng the tyme of his Consulship.

¶ *Plutarchus* in the life of *Iulius Caesar*, telleth that thesame *Caesar* when all the ciuill warres were ones ended, and all thinges brought to some staie of quietnesse, left nothing vndooen that might purchase vnto him beneuolence, fauour, autoritee, power & rule among the Romaines. To his olde enemies he shewed notable mercifulnesse, to his frendes great bountie. He would often tymes kepe open housholde, he would diuerse tymes diuide wheate to the commens house by house. He was ful of geuing landes, fees, and rewardes. To soche as would be suiters vnto him to haue this or that office, dignitee, or worship of the citee, he would readily make promisse and graunte of their petitions, & serue their turnes in deede as soone as the time would suffre him, in so moche, that *Maximus* the Counsell beyng decessed, although there was but one sole daye to come of his yere to be completed, yet did *Caesar* declare and create *Caninius Reuilus* (who is here called *Reuilus*) Consul. To whom where many of the nobles resorted in the waye of gratulacion, and of keping him coumpaignie, *Cicero* saied: My lordes, leat vs make speede, that wee may come to my lorde before the time of Consulship bee expired.

Caius Cæsar had electted into the senate many persones vnworthy to be of that ordre and degree, and emong all other one *Laberius* of a gentleman of Rome became a commen gester. And as this *Laberius* passed by *Marcus Tullius*

Of *Rostra* is afore noted. *Reuilus* is one houre entered the dignitee of Consulship and committed periurie.

The recordes wer serched said *Cicero*: in the time of whiche Consuls *Reuilus* was Consull.

The yeres wer rekened in Rome by the names of the Consuls.

Reuilus a vigilaunte Consull, for he neuer slepte winke in his Consulship.

What meanes *Caesar* vsed to establishe his power in the citee of Rome.

32.

Of this *Laberius* is afore mentioned in the 17. *Apothegme* of *Iulius Caesar*.

in

in the Senate house seeking a place to sitte in, I woulde take you in here (quoth Cicero) & make you rounge here besides me, but that I sitte in so narrowe a rounge my selfe.

How *Laberius* paid *Cicero* home againe with a ieste.

¶ All vnder one bothe reiecting the partie, and also making a ieste at the newe coumpaignie of Senatours, the numbre of whom *Caesar* had encreaced more then lawfull was. And yet was *Laberius* euen with him for it wel enough againe ere he went, thus sayyng vnto Cicero, I meruaill, if thou sitte in a narrow rounge, whiche art wont to sitte in two seates at ones.

¶ Laiyng to his charge lightnesse and fidenesse, that beeyng a slipper man to trust vnto, he would be hanging nowe of one side, nowe of another.

The lightnesse and inconstancie of *Cicero*.

☞ For in deede *Cicero* was moche noted of in constancie, he was ones of great amitee and frendship with *Clodius*, afterward his mortall enemye, and likewyse with *Dolabella*, with *M. Crassus*, & with diuerse others. Sembleably he was now frende to *Pompeius*, anon he repented thesame and wysht that he had folowed *Caesar*, and that so manifestly, that (as *Plutarchus* testifieth) *Pompeius* well perceiuing thesame, neuer would ne durst put him in trust with any matter of great weight or importaunce.

33.
Publius Manlius the hoste of *Cicero*.

Iulius Caesar would for euery mannes pleasure, and for euery light matter cal a Senate.

Thesame Cicero being hertely desired by his hoste *Publius Manlius*, with speede to helpe his wiues sonne to the office of a peticaptainship, made this answer (a great coumpaignie of the citezens standing thicke about him) If it shalbe in the power & autoritee of *Pompeius* to call a Counsaill, it wilbe no light matter.

¶ Noting the facilitie of *Caesar* in assembleing the Senate. ☞ For euery maus pleasure, and for euery light matter.

34.
Laodicia a noble citee in *Asia*, nigh vnto the floud *Lycus*, and thereof *Laodiceus*, a man of *Laodicia*.

Being saluted of a certain *Laodician* named *Andro*, when he had demaunded the cause of his comming, and had well perceiued that thesame was come as an ambassadour vnto *Cæsar* for the libertee of his countree of *Laodicia*, Cicero expressed in Greke wordes the publike seruitude,
in

in this maner: *ἐὰν ἐπιτύχῃς καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν πρέσβευσον*,
If ye spede well, and obtaine your purpose, bee
an Ambassadour for vs of Rome here also.

☞ This latin worde, *quoque*, is a coniunction & souneth in
Englishe (also) *Cocus* is in Latin for a Cooke, & the vocatiue case
of it, is *Coce*. And so it was that a certain per-
sone standing in eleccion for a publike office
in Rome, (who was verely supposed to haue
come of a Cooke to his father) desired of an
other man in the presence of Cicero to haue
his voice, to whom Cicero thus saied in latine:
Ego quoque tibi fauebo.

☞ Whiche wordes might bee taken twoo maner wayes, the
one, I wyll be thy frende with my voyce to, thou Cooke: the other,
And I also wilbee thy frende with my voyce.

¶ Wherof it is gathered that *Coce* the vocatiue of
Cocus, and *quoque* the coniunction wer in the time of
Cicero either of one and the selvesame soun in pro-
nunciacion, or els veray like.

When the accuser of Milo, by the argument or
presumpcion of the time of the day, prouing and
concluding thesame * Milo to had purposely lien
in awaite for Clodius, at euery other worde de-
maunded what time or season of the daie Clodi-
us was slain, Cicero made aunswer thus: Veray
late.

¶ Signifyng by that worde late, beeyng a worde of
double vnderstandinge that it shoulde haue been for
the profite of the commen weale, if *Clodius* had been
slaine moche sooner.

☞ It might haue been vnderstanded also, that the deede was
doen veray late towards the euening.

☞ enemy vnto *Cicero*, and in his tribuneship founde meanes and brought to passe
that *Cicero* was banished from Rome, wherfore *Cicero* neuer could fauour him
after, and at length procured that *Milo* should set vpon him on the high waye, &
slea him, whiche was doen, and *Milo* banyshed for the death of *Clodius*, notwith-
standing the defense of *Cicero*, and all the frendship besides that he could make.

Tidinges being reported that Vatinius was de-
ceased, where the firste bringer vp of that brute

How *Cicero*
expressed the
publike serui-
tude vnder
Caesar.

35.

Ego quoque
tibi fauebo.

Quoque the
coniunction,
& *coce* the vo-
cative of *cocus*,
sounded bothe
like in *Cicero*
his time.

36.

Howe *Cicero*
aunswered
the accuser
of *Milo*, de-
maunding at
what time
Clodius was
slain.

* *Clodius*
a Romain
of noble birth,
but a very vi-
cious persone
and voide of
all grace. He
was a sworne

37.

was

What *Cicero* said when vncertaine newes were told of the death of *Vatinius*.

was not certainly knowen, Well (quoth *Cicero*) yet will I take the auauntage of it whyle I may.

¶ Mening that he would take ioye of the death of *Vatinius* while he might, though it were but for a time, sembleably as one that hath borrowed money applieth it to his owne vse and commoditee, and hath his own full pleasure of it for the time, euen as though it were his propre owne.

☞ So that *Cicero* mened to take as moche goodnesse of the newes in the meane time till the contrarie wer certainly knowen, as if thei wer true in very deede.

38.

What *Cicero* saied of *Marcus Caelius*, who could better lai to menes charges, then defende them.

Marcus Caelius more effectuously laiying crymes to mens charges, then defending thesame, he auouched to haue a good right hande, and an euill left hande.

¶ Alluding hereunto that at suche time as we fight, in the right hand we holde our sweorde, and in the left hande our bucler. With the sweorde we laye on, with the bucler we beare of.

☞ *Marcus Caelius* an Oratour of excellent witte, & of singular eloquence, to whom *Cicero* writeth many epistles, & *Caelius* many to him again so purely wel endited, that *Cicero* thought them worthie to be put in emong his owne epistles, whiche honour he geueth but vnto fewe persones, and *Cicero* in his epistles familiare, is not ashamed to confesse himselfe to be inferiour to *Caelius* in witte and facetiousnesse.

39.

Howe *Cicero* proued *Iulius Curtius* a lier.

Iubius Curtius liying like a dogge of the yeres of his age, to the ende that he myght be thought yonger then he was in deede, *Cicero* thus proued a lyer: Why (saieth he) then at what season you and I were young schollars first, and exercised making of oracions together, ye were not borne.

40.

Howe *Cicero* mocked *Fabia Dolabella*, dissembling her age.

Unto *Fabia Dolabella* saiying herself to be thirtie yeres of age, It is true, quoth *Cicero*, for thesame haue I heard euery daye these twentie yeres already.

¶ Her

¶ Her desire was to be thought younger then she was in deede. Therefore *Cicero* mocked her to the harde teeth with sembleyng that he graunted her sayyng, and neuerthesse signifiyng that she was fiftie yeres olde.

To such as made it a matter of reproche that being a man of thre score yeres of age he had married a young * damyselle beyng a maide: Well (quoth he) to morowe she shalbe a woman.

41.
How *Cicero* auoyded the reproche of marryng a young maide in his olde age.

¶ Declaring by a mery worde that same reproche to bee a thyng that woulde with a trice be washed away, for the next morow folowing it could not be objected vnto him, that he had a maide to his wyfe.

* *Cicero* being an aged man diuorced his wife *Terentia*,

with whom he had liued many yeres. The causes of deuorcement wer these. That she had so slenderly regarded him, that when he should take his iourney toward warfare, he was driuen to go very barely prouided of all maner necessarie prouision. Besides this, after that he was returned home again from thence into Italie, he founde his wife coumbresome, crabbed and snappishe vnto him. Item whereas he made long abode at *Brundisium*, herself would not take peines to come thither to him, and yet when his doughter *Tulliola* should take her iourney thither, *Terentia* let her goe with a verie slendre porcion of money towards her charges. Ouer and besides all this, she had let his hous fall sore in decaye, and had made the walles of it bare, and brought it sore behinde hande in debte. All these articles *Terentia* denied, but *Cicero* with a long oration proued euery one of them to be true. Within fewe dayes after, he married a young gierle being rauyshed with her beautie (as *Terentia* affirmed) but (as *Tiro* his late seruaunt auouched) to thentent that he might be hable to paie and discharge his debte. For the maiden had a greate dourie and was a very riche marriage. Not long after this newe marriage the doughter of *Cicero* died, for whom he toke wondrefull sorow. And because his young wife seemed to be glad of the death of *Tulliola*, *Cicero* forsoke her to, and put her away from him by diuorce.

Thesame *Cicero* in this maner pleasauntly iested on *Curio* (who at no tyme would faile to begin the preamble of any oracion making of his old age) that he affirmed the same to haue the promes of his Oracions, euery one daie more easie and light to make then other.

42.
Howe *Cicero* mocked *Curio* beginning his orations alwaies of his age.

¶ By reason of age growing euery daye more and more vpon hym.

Yet ones again for a cast more at *Vatinius* (who although he wer sore diseased in his feete, and


43.

Vatinius
mocked of
Cicero for sai-
ing that he
had walked
a couple of
miles.

and vtterly lamed with the goute would nedes yet neuerthelesse appere to be verie well emended, and saied that he was able now to take a walke of a couple of miles at ones) Yea, I thinke wel (quoth *Cicero*) for the daies ar a good deale longer than thei wer.

It is afore
in the .xxx.
Apophthegme
of *Augustus*.

¶ This *apophthegme* doth *Quintilian* attribute vnto *Cicero*, & *Macrobius* vnto *Augustus Cesar*. Ther goeth another tale about at this day also euen as mery as this, sauyn that it hath not semblable antiquitee, ne auncientnesse to commende and set it out withal. A certaine launceknicht made his vaunte at a banquette where he was, that he had a crossebowe so good of casting, that it would sende a bolt or a quarrel of soche a fersnes, as no man alieue could beleue or think, and named a certain space. All the compaignie whiche sate at the table cryng foh, at soche a shameful lye, he abode by it that his own seruaunt had seen the thing doen. The seruaunt being called in, How saiest thou sirrha (quoth his maister) diddest not thou see soche a thing, and soche a thing doen? Then saied the seruaunt. Yes sir ye tell a true tale, but at that tyme when ye shot, the winde was with you.

 It had been moche merier, if he hadde saied, yes sir your quarell flewe so ferre as ye speake of in deede, but it was at twoo shottes.

44. What *Cicero*
saied to *Oui-*
nus of bruit
of *Vatinius*
his death.

Ouinus a late
seruaunt of
Vatinius, and
by him man-
uissed.

Cicero after hearing the false rumour that was bruited of the death of *Vatinius*, when he had enquiered of one *Ouinus* late seruaunt with thesame, whether all went wel, and the partie answered, yea verie well: Why is he dedde in deede then, quoth *Cicero*?

¶ Signifiyng that all went not right, if *Vatinius* were still alieue.

Thesame

Thesame Cicero being called forth for a witness to geue euidence, when he had read in the bill of complainte, The defendaunte sued by Sextus Annalis, & this accuser still called buisily vpon him in this maner, speak on o Marcus Tullius, if thou canst any thing saie of Sextus Annalis, he begon by and by to recite versis, out of the sixth booke of the werke of Ennius, entitled Annales, in this maner. *Qui potes ingentis causas euoluere belle, &c.* For Ennius wrote in verses a cronicle of actes doen from yere to yere, in ordre as they were doen, and soche are in latine called Annales, ¶ and this latine woorde, *sextus*, souneth in english the sixth. ¶ And the name of the accuser was, *Sextus Annalis*. ¶ A mery conceipt to those that are of capte to take it, sauing that it can not in englishe haue eguall grace with the latine.

An other time also at one Accius beyng a wylie pie and a feloe ful of shiftes, when thesame was suspected in a certain matter, Cicero had a cast with this litle verse of latine out of some olde Poete, *Nisi qua Vlysses rate euasit Laertius*.

That is,

With the selfsame ship and none other thing
Wherewith Vlysses escaped scouryng.

¶ *Vlysses* beyng subtile and craftie, escaped safe with his shippe from bothe *Charybdis* & *Sylla*: So *Accius* by his wylinesse auoyded & shifted himselfe from the perill of the iudgement.

Upon an other certain persone, who after being come to a good wyndefal of inheritaunce, was first of all the coumpaignie asked his sentence in a matter of consultacion, whereas before the obteinyng of thesame inheritaunte, he was reputed for the veraiest foote in the worlde, Tullius semleably iested, sayng: *Cuius hereditas quam vocant*

45.

Ennius an olde auncient Latin poet, & of great authoritee, whom *Cicero* verie often times citeth in sondrie his werkes.

What diffrence is betwene Histories and Annales, soche as be learned may read in the .18. chapter of the fiueth booke of *Aulus Gellius*.

46.

How *Accius* escaped the daunger of a certaine iudgement.

Of *Sylla* & *Charibdis*, it is afore noted in the 117. *Apophthegme* of *Diogenes*.

Vlysses the sonne of *Laertes*, whom *Homere* in all places maketh to be wylie, subtile, prouident

47.

and full of all shifte in the worlde possible

Who hath
landes &
goodes
enough shall
sone haue the
name of a wise
manne.

vocant sapientiam : that is, whose liuelehood
whiche they callen wysedome.

¶ In the verse in steede of *facilitas*, he chaunged
it and saied, *hereditas*. For in the Poete the verse is
thus written, *Cuius facilitas quam vocant sapientiam* :
that is, whose facilitie whiche they callen wisdome.
The meaning of *Cicero* was to signifie that landes and
goodes had chaunced vnto the partie in steede of
wisdome and sapience, and that for the respect of his
liuelehod thesame was now esteemed and taken for a
wise man.

48. ¶ *Seruilia* the mother of *Marcus Brutus*, hadde a
doughter called *Iunia Tertia*, which *Iunia Tertia* was
wife vnto *Caius Considius*. And *Caesar* the dictatour
had bothe the mother & the doughter at his com-
maundement for his wanton pleasure.


☞ Also this latine woorde *tertia* is the feminine gendre of
the nowne numeral, *tertius*, betokening the third in noubre or in
ordre. There is also a verbe, *deducor*, whiche in one signification
is to bee rebated out of a noubre or out of a summe, and in an
other signification it is to be conueighed or to be brought as one
conueigheth home to his hous or chamber, his wife or paramour.
Of *deducor* is deriued a participle *deductus, deducta, deductum*, con-
ueighed or brought.

What *Cicero*
saied when
Seruilia had
purchaced of
Caesar a riche
piece of lande
for a little
money.

When *Seruilia* the mother of *Marcus Brutus*,
had for a small deale of money, gotten awaie a
riche pece of lande, out of the handes of *Cæsar*
(who made open sale of many of the citezens
landes and goodes) *Cicero* made this iest on it.
Yea maisters (quoth he) & that ye maie knowe
this piece of lande, to haue been the better cheap
purchaced, *Seruilia* hath bought this lande *tertia*
deducta.

¶ Whiche two wordes might two maner waies be
interpreted and taken, either the thirde parte of the
price abated, by vnderstanding, part, or els *tertia* the
woman taken home into his chamber to hym, so that
Cicero his ieste is grounded on the ambiguous sense of
these two Latine woordes *tertia deducta*.

☞ And

 And to one that hath a good sight in the latin, the sayng is pretie.

Thesame Cicero made a pleasaunt riedle, in the way of iest, on the mother of Pletorius (whiche Pletorius accused Fonteius) sayng, that while she liued, she had a school and taughte : and when she was dedde, she had maisters her self.

49.


The riedle of Cicero vpon the mother of Pletorius.

¶ Notyng that in her life time women of euill name were commen resorters to her hous, and after her death, her gooddes wer praised and openly sold. The tale in apparence bothe is standyng against all naturall reason, and also setteth the carte before the horses. For those persons who haue a schole, been maisters on their parties, and haue scholares vnder their teachyng and gouernaunce. And Maisters are called, not onely soche persones as doen teache, but also those that haue the rewle and ordreyng of others.

He made also a iest on the name of Verres, as though he had been so named of the Latine verbe Verro (whiche is to swepe.)

50.

Howe Cicero iested on the name of Verres

¶ Noting that *Verres* whersoever he came, played swepestate, and left nothing behinde hym, as being a taker and a bribing feloe, and one for whom nothing was to hotte nor to heaue. After which sorte of bourdyng, one feloe whatsoever he was, minding to signifie that *Cicero* was a briber and a priuie theefe, in steede of *Tullius* called hym *Tollius*.  For *tolle*, is in Latine, to take awaie, as theues and pickers dooe take awaie by enbeslyg. ¶ And some there wer that nickenamed an emperor of Rome calling him *Biberius* in steede of *Tiberius*.

Tollius for *Tullius*.

Biberius for *Tiberius*.

For *bibere* is Latine to drinke. And of *Tiberius* the successour of *Augustus* it is written, that in his youthe he was prone to drinking and bolling, in so moche, that in his time was brought vp a newe founde diete, to drinke wine in the morning nexte the harte. And *Drusus* because he loued drinking, was for that by the commen voice of the people saied, to haue regenerate his father *Tiberius*, and made him aliue again.

Tiberius Caesar in his youth loued drinkeyng, and so did *Drusus* after hym.

It

51. What *Cicero* said of *Cæsar*, clemency and nicitee coupled together.


* *Vno digito caput scalpere*, that is to scrat the hed with one finger was a prouerbiall

speakyng, whereby to notifie a wançon felowe, and a persone effeminate, because soche doe take care and feare lest thei ruffle their trimme combed bushe and set some one hear out of order. It is thought that one *Calvus* a poete brought it first vp on *Pompeius*, & from theroof the same to haue been taken vp in a prouerbe. And that the saied gesture was in the old tyme, accompted for an argument of vnchastnesse and of nicitee. *Seneca* in his Epistles beareth witnesse: of all thinges (saieyth he) if thei be well marked, there been priuie tokens, yea, and of the lest thinges that bee, maie a man gather argumentes and presumptions of mennes maners & condicions. An vnchast person, or a vicious man of his bodie, both pace of going doeth shewe, and the mouing of his handes and at a time one sole aunswere, and one finger put vp to the hed, & the casting of his yyes, &c.

52. Howe *Cicero* poured himself of taking money of one of his clientes. It is a wise point of housebandrie to dissemble, if one go about to bie a thing, for fear lest his bargain should be taken out of his hande.

It was no rare thing with him to speak of Iulius Cæsar in this maner as foloeth: As often as I consider the wilnesse and ambicion of this manne, liyng hidden vnder the cloke and semblaunce of humanitee and gentlenesse, I am afeard on the behalfe of the commenweale, lest thesame shall haue a tyranne of hym, and againe when I behold his hear hanging doune so nicely and so like a minion, and him self scratting his hed * with one finger, I can scacely thinke in my minde, that euer he will conceiue in his harte, soche an high enterprise.

To sondrie men obiecting vnto him that he had taken a great summe of money, of a person endited to be tried by the law, with the which money he should purchase a stately mansion place. I will confesse that I toke soche money in dede of my client [said Cicero] if I buye the hous hereafter. And when he had bought it in deede, to thesame men casting him in the teeth with his liyng, Why (quoth he) do ye not know it to be a point of a good houseband to dissemble, if he haue purposed to buy a thing?

 This historie doth *Aulus Gellius* moche more pleasauntlie, and with more grace tell in the 12. chapitre of the xii. booke. Where he noteth, that when a crime is laied to ones charge, whiche he can by no meanes coulour ne auoide, one poore helpe and one point of shifte it is, to make a ieste of it & to turne it (if one maie) to a matter of laughter. This persone accused, *Gellius* nameth *Publius Sylla*, and sheweth that *Cicero* did but borowe the money of hym.

Betwene

Betwene Cicero and Crassus there was a priuie malice. And so when one of the two soonnes of Crassus, being not vnlike of fauour vnto one (whose name was Dignus) and by reason therof, suspicion entred into the heddes of the people, vpon the wife of the said Crassus [that she had had ouermoch familiaritee & companie with the same Dignus] had made a gale oracion in the senate hous, Cicero being asked the question, what maner a feloe he that had made the oracion seemed vnto hym, thus made aunswere in Latine. *Dignus Crasso est.*

¶ Couertly alludyng to the name of *Dignus*. For of those wordes, *Dignus Crasso*, might indifferentlie be taken, either that he was a young man aunswerable to the eloquence of *Marcus Crassus* his father, or els that he ought of right to be called *Dignus*, though he beare the name that *Crassus* was his father, for *Dignus*, is also latin for worthy.

¶ So that the ieste shall bee moche more pleasaunte, if ye frame the Latine wordes accordyng to the Greke phrase and saie, *Dignus Crassi est*. Understanding that there were in deede twoo of the right and true name of *Dignus*, that is to wete one thadulterer that occupied the wife of *Marcus Crassus*, and the other like of fauour to thesame *Dignus*, though he were called the sonne of *Crassus*.

Cicero had been attourney to defend one Munatius, being arraigned of a certain crime, & Munatius therby quit. Afterward when thesame Munatius sued one Sabinus a frend of Cicero, to the extremittee of the lawe, Cicero throughly endendleed in wrathe, vpbraided to Munatius what he had doen for him: Why Munatius (saieth he) diddest thou thy self escape iudgement (when it was) by thine owne meanes, or els by the helpe of me, that did caste a greate miste ouer the benche, where the Iudges sate?

53.

Betwene Cicero and Marcus Crassus the oratour, there was a priuie grutch and malice.

One of the sonnes of Marcus Crassus like of fauour to one Dignus.

What Cicero saied of one of the soonnes of Crassus, hauing made a good oracion in the Senate hous.

54.

How Cicero reproued Munatius of ingratitude.

Cicero could cast a mist ouer the seates of Iudgemente.

When

55. When he had openlie praised Marcus Crassus, in the place that was called Rostra, the people highly well allowing his oracion: and afterward baited the self same man in thesame place with many poinaunt and nipping wordes of reproche, What [quoth Crassus] diddeste not thou in maner euen the last daie praise me, and geue me high commendacion, in this same self place? Yes [quoth Cicero] I praised thee in deede, but it was onely for exercise, to assaie what I could do in a naughtie matter.

Cicero praised Marcus Crassus in an oracion, & afterward dispraised the same again.

Rhetoricians are wont for exercise to take feigned argumentes of matters inopinable, and such are properly called declamacions & not oracions.

* *Busyris*, a kyng of Egypt for his moste horrible crueltie, detested of all nacions in the worlde.

For there came vnto him on a time a sothesaier geuing him counsaill, that if he would auoide sterilitie and barrenesse he should kill vp as many straungers as wer within his realme, which counsaill *Busyris* folowed, and executed, beginning firste of all with the Sothesaier self.


56. When thesame Crassus in an Oracion, whiche he made had saied, that neuer any manne of the name of Crassus had liued in Roome paste the age of .lx. yeres, and then repenting himself of that worde speaking said in this maner, what ailed me to speak soche a woorde as this? Marcus Tullius in this wise sodainly aunswered: Marie thou knewest full well that the Romaines would geue eare to that tale with all their hartes, and by soche a waie art thou come, to beare rewle in the commenweale.

Crassus could curry fauor ioylily, as Plutarchus in his life maketh mention and was a man of greate eloquence.

¶ Signifyng twoo thinges, that is to wete, bothe that the name of the *Crasses* was odious vnto the Romaines, and also that this *Crassus* had been auanced

to


to honors not by vertue, but by fauour currying.

 For, when he saied by soche a waie arte thou come, &c. He meant, by speaking soche thinges as might be delectable and pleasaunt to the eares of the people.

Crassus allegeyng it to bee one posicion or 57.

opinion of the Stoikes, that * a good man is he that is riche. Naye (quoth Cicero) see whether

this be not rather their opinion, that a wyse man is lorde of all the worlde, or hath al thinges of the worlde in his possession. ¶ Couertly noting the auarice of *Crassus*, to whom nothing was enough.

 But al thinges semed to litle.

The exceding auarice of *Crassus*.

* It was an opinion of the *Stoikes*, that good men and vertuous men are ryche, & an

other that a sapiente man is lorde of all thinges in the woorld, because that onely soche persones, are contented with that that thei haue, and if they haue goodes, they can and also doen bestowe it well, and applie it to good vses: if they haue no substaunce, none they care for, but are contented with their vertues and honeste qualitees, as the whiche doe perswade themselves, that he can not be poore, who hath the grace of God, and is not couetous. And of this conclusion it is afore mencioned in the .xlviij. *apophthegme* of *Diogenes*. But whereas the position or conclusion of the *Stoikes* mened that no man was riche (though he had millions of talentes) excepte he were a good and a vertuous man withall. *Crassus* (because he was couetous) did interpret and take it to his purpose, that no manne was a good man except he wer riche, so that he would his richesse to be a cloke of goodnesse, of vertue, and of perfect honestee. Therefore *Cicero* mocked him with an other opinion of the *Stoikes*, whiche was, that in a sapiente man all thinges are possessed, whereby *Cicero* by an ironie exhorted *Crassus* to peruerse the sense therof to, as he had doen of the other, and to perswade him selfe, that if he could get all the worlde into his possession, he should be a sapient and a perfect good man. Whereas the mynde of the *Stoikes* was clene contrarie. But *Crassus* was so couetous, that he would oftentimes auouche no man to be worthie the name of a riche man, except he were able with his yerely reuenues to kepe an armie, and to maintein an hoste of men, wherefore when he warred vpon the *Parthians*, and was by thesame taken and slain in that warre, thei cut of his head, and in despite melted gold into his mouth, sayng these wordes *Aurum stisti, Aurum bibe*, golde hast thou thirsted, nowe drinke golde enough.

When *Crassus* was towarde a iourney into 58.



Syria, being more desirous to leaue *Cicero* his frende then his foe, when he should be gon, he saluted *Cicero* diligently, and said that he would suppe at home with him that night. Whom *Cicero* with a cherefull and gladde countenance receiued and entreteined. Within a fewe daies after this, certain of his frendes went in hand with him, and made meanes vnto him for to be

What *Cicero* saied, when his frendes laboured to bryng him and *Pattinius* at one.

at


at one with Vatinius also. Why (quoth Cicero) is Vatinius disposed to haue a supper at my house to ?

¶ Signifyng that thesame *Vatinius* did make meanes more to haue a supper then to haue his frendship.

59. Yet one cast more he hadde at Vatinius, who had a swelling in the throte (whiche is in latine called *struma*,  a disease like that is called the kinges euill, if it be not the veray same, when the saied Vatinius made a plea for a client of his in a certain cause. Oh (quoth Tullius) we haue here an Oratour gayly puffed vp.  In the latine it hath a veray good grace. For this worde *Tumidus*, souneth in Englishe swollen, inflated or puffed vp. Whiche termes as well the latine as the Englishe, by translation are referred not onely to swelling in some part of the body, but also in pride, bragging, and vainglorie.

Cicero called *Vatinius* an oratour gailie puffed vp, because thesame had a swelling in his throte.

The pompous maner of the *Asiatiques* in making oracions.

¶ As the Oratours *Asiatique* were called, *Tumidi*, swollen, or inflated,  because their sorte and facion of making oracions, was proude, solemne, pompeious, bolde, pette, and replenished with vaunting, bosting, craking, bregguyng, and vaingloriousnesse: As witnesseth *Plutarchus* in the life of *Anto-nius*. And thereunto did *Cicero* allude.

60. Iulius Cæsar had earnestly purposed to distribute the landes of Campania among his men of armes, This thing both many others in the senate tooke greuouuslye, and especially one Lucius Gellius being a man euen with veray age almoste clene dooen, saied and swore, that it should not so be, as long as he liued. Well (quoth Cicero) leat vs tary so long hardily, for it requireth no long delaie.

What *Cicero* saied when *Lucius Gellius* an aged man spake of a thing that it should not be so long as he liued.

¶ Signifyng that *Gellius* was euen at the last cast, and in maner at deathes doore.

61. When a certain young feloe to whose charge it had been afore times laied, that he had killed his father with a spiececake infected with poyson: when

when this young feloe being angreed euen at the herte roote thretened in his furie that he would haue a flyng at Cicero with wordes that should sounne litle to his honestee, so hadde I rather thou shouldest (quoth Cicero) then with spiece-cakes.

Howe Cicero checked a young feloe thretening to reuile hym.

¶ Under that colourable woorde of double interpretation obiecting vnto the feloe the murthering of his father.

One Publius Sextius had taken Cicero together with certain Aduocates mo to assiste him, and to help defend him in a cause of his. And when thesame Sextius woulde nedes declare his owne matter, and haue all the sayng his owneself, and would not geue any of his aduocates place or leaue to speake a worde, as sone as the matter was clere and out of paraentures that Sextus should bee quitte and discharged by the iudges. Take the time O Sextus (quoth Cicero) this daie while thou maiest. For to morow thou shalt be a priuate man again.

62.

Howe Cicero saied to Publius Sextus taking on him to make al his plea him self.

¶ Geuing him halfe a checke for that he had taken vpon him in the matter to doe altogether himself alone at his owne pleasure. ¶ Where as the next daye following he shuld haue no publike office of a patrone or Oratour, nor be adhibited to any soche vse, but bee as other men wer, that had nothing to doe with pleading in courtes, as *Cicero* and the other publike oratours had.

When Marcus Appius in the preamble of a certain oration or plea, said that he had been by a frende of his greatly desired to vse and to shew all his diligence, eloquence, and fidelitee in his clientes cause, at this worde, spake Cicero and said : and hast thou soche an herte of steele of thine own, that of so many thinges whiche thy frend hath desired thee vnto, thou doest neuer

63.

Howe Cicero mocked Marcus Appius.

neuer an one at all? ¶ Mening that in his oracion appered not so moche as any one pointe of diligence, of eloquence, or yet of trustinesse.

64. Marcus Aquilius hauing twoo sonnes in lawe, that were housbandes to his two daughters, but bothe of them banished and exiled, Cicero called Adrastus.

Cicero gaue vnto Marcus Aquilius the name of Adrastus.

¶ Because that he alone kepte his standing lyke a manne, and saved himselfe vpright. Alluding to the propre signification of the Greke vocable.

¶ For ἀδραστος signifieth: infected or els, one from whom is no sterling away, nor escaping of a shrewde turne. And therof *Nemesis* (the Goddesses of taking vengeance on soche as are proude and disdeignefull in time of their prosperitee) is called in Greke ἀδράστεια, because that no soche persone may escape her handes. Neuerthelesse (vnder the correction of *Erasmus*) I take that *Cicero* alluded to *Adrastus* king of the *Argiues*, who had two daughters, the one called *Deiphile*, & the other called *Argia*. *Deiphile* was married to *Tydeus*, the sonne of *Oeneus* king of *Aetolia* or *Calydonia*, whiche *Tydeus* beeyng a right valiaunt and an hardie man, when he had vnawares slain his brother *Menalippus* at an hunting, fledde from his countree, and came to *Adrastus*, & there married thesaied *Deiphile*, and there liued a banyshed man, and neuer went again into his owne countree as shall appere. The other daughter *Argia*, was married vnto *Polinices* the sonne of *Oedipus* king of *Thebes* and of *Locasta*, queene of thesame, of whom and of his brother *Eteocles*, (who would not according to his promise suffre *Polinices* to reigne in *Thebes* by course when his first yere was expired,) it is upon the .i. apophthegme of *Diogenes* in the first booke largely noted, and sufficiently for the perfect declaration of this place and purpose that *Polinices* liued and died a banished man. And so it befell that *Tideus* was sent Ambasadour from *Polinices* vnto *Eteocles*, that thesame should remembre his couenaut and promise, and according to thesame should surrendre vnto *Polinices* the kingdome of *Thebes* there to reigne by course one full yere as *Eteocles* had doen. When *Eteocles* had made him a plain resolute aunswer that he would not suffre *Polinices* to reigne ther, *Tideus* sharply rebuked him of breaking his feithful promis, and spake many high and bolde wordes. Wherat *Eteocles* taking great indignacion, priuely sent fiftie stoute men of armes to lie secretly in a woode and sodainly to kill *Tideus* in his waye homewarde. These men mynding to execute and accomplishe the commaundemente of their lorde, set vpon *Tideus* in thesaied woode, & *Tideus* slewe them euery mothers sonne except one, whom he saued purposely and sent back to beare tidynges of that feaste vnto *Eteocles*. Then *Adrastus* and *Polinices* made warre on the *Thebanes*. Where *Tideus* after many noble actes of chieualrie at last was slain by one *Menalippus* a *Thebane*, and yet after the receiuing his deathes wounde, he slewe thesame *Menalippus*.

lippus, and chopped of his hedde and gnawed it in peeces with his teeth. Thus for our present purpose it appeareth that the two sonnes in lawe of *Adrastus* were both outlawes, and therefore did *Cicero* geue *Marcus Aquilius* the name of *Adrastus*.

In the time whyle *Lucius Cotta* was Censour, (who was taken for the greatest swielbolle of wyne in the woorld one of theim,) where *Cicero* standing in election for the consulship happened to be very drie, and had drounke a draught of water enuironed and hidden from the Censours sight on euery side with frendes, he saied: Ye doe well to feare lest I should haue the Censour my heaue lord, because I drinke water.

¶ *Cicero* made as though he beleued his frendes for this cause to stande thicke about him, that the Censour might not se him drinking water. For like beareth fauour to like. And vnlike hateth vnlike. So that the Censour being soche a gredie drinker of wyne, if he had seen *Tullius* drinking water, would haue suspected him to doe it in contumelie & reproche of him.

When *Marcus Cælius* (who was thought to be discended of father and mother not fre but bonde] had with a loude and a whole voice reade a lettre before the Senate, *Cicero* saied: Maruaill ye nothing hereat my lordes. For this is one of theim that hath had a good loude breste in his dayes.

¶ Signifyng, that *Cælius* had been a commen cryer, and that by long vse it had come vnto him to haue a shrille voice. And in dede bondmen that were to be sould, wer wont to bee made the beste of, by the oyes of the cryer.

Unto one *Memmius* reproching *Cato* the Vticensian, and sayng that he would bee drounke euen whole nightes through, Yea [quoth *Cicero*] but thou speakest nothinge at all that all the daye time he would be plaiyng at dice.

¶ Manerly

65.

Of the office of Censour is afore noted.

Lucius Cotta a gredie drinker of wine.

Cicero drounke water.

Like beareth fauour to like, and vnlike hateth vnlike.

66.

What *Cicero* said of *Cælius*, who had a loud voice.

67.

Howe *Cicero* excused *Cato* for making merie now & then, in the night time.

Cato would bee busie in the day time, and merie in the night.

¶ Manerly excusing *Cato*, who bestowed all the whole daye vpon the affaires of the commonweale, and would take an houre or two or three of the night to take some recreacion of mynde, and to refreshe his spirites. ¶ And in deede it is written of *Cato* that he wrook now and then be merie and make good chere.

68. What *Cicero* saied to *Iulius Caesar*, defending the doughter of *Nicomedes* kyng of *Bithynia*.

Unto Caius Cæsar earnestly defending the cause of *Nicomedes* his doughter in the senate hous, and rehersing the benefites & great pleasures of the king towards him, *Cicero* saied: No more of this I besече you, for it is not vknownen what he gaue to you, and what ye gaue to him.

¶ The pith and grace of the sayyng dependeth of the double sense that might be taken of the woorde *dare*. For in latine he is proprely said, *dare*, to geue, that conferreth a benefite: and also a woman is saied in latine, *dare*, that is gentle and kinde of her fleshe. Wherof the Poete *Martialis* thus writeth to a woman, *vis dare, nec dare vis*, that is, ye will geue and ye will not geue, &c. *Caesar* had an euill name, that when he was in *Bithynia* in his youthe. ¶ at what time he fled from Rome for feare of *Sylla*, whereof is mencioned in the firste *Apophthegme* of thesame *Iulius Caesar*, he was somewhat more at the commaundement of king *Nicomedes*, then the lawes of chastitee do require.

69. Howe *Cicero* defeacted the accusacion of *Marcus Callidus* against *Gallus*.

Marcus Callidius accused *Gallus*, and *Marcus Tullius* defended *Gallus*. And when the accuser affirmed that he would both by witnesses, by *Gallus* owne handie wrytinges, and also by examinacions confessed afore, make due proufe that there had been vennyme tempreed and made readie in a cuppe for him by the partie arrained: but yet all the while pronounced soche an hainous matter, with an vnearnest countenance, with a dedde voice, and with the residue of his iesture, nothing hote nor vehemente, *Marcus Tullius*

Tullius saied : O Marcus Callidius, if thou diddest not feine this gear wouldest thou handle thy plea so faintelie ?

Fainthandling
of a plea, argu-
eth the cause
to be weake
and vntrue.

¶ Gatheryng, of his countenance and iesture, that his wordes came not from the harte.

Thesame Cicero after this sort iested on Isauricus : I meruail what the matter is, that thy father being alwaies one maner a man, hath left thee vnto vs so diuerse.

70.
How Cicero
iested on Isau-
ricus who had
been beaten
with whippes
of his father
afore.

¶ A mery worde depending of ambiguousnesse of the vocable. For, *Varius*, in latine, and diuerse, in englishe is called one that is of a waueryng mynde and nothing substanciall, he is also called in latine *Varius*, in englishe diuerse, that is marked with the prientes of stripes. And in deede it was comunly noysed that this *Isauricus* had been scourged afore of his father with whypes. And thereof came thatsame, not the sayng, but the deede of *Marcus Caelius*, whose chayre of estate when *Isauricus* beeyng Consull had broken, he set vp an other with whippes kerued in it, without any wordes thretenyng thesaied *Isauricus*, and also castyng in his teeth, that he hadde ones been scourged with whippes of his father.

Howe Marcus
Caelius serued
Isauricus for
throwing down
his chaire.

¶ The saynynges of Demosthenes

THE ORATOUR.

Plutarchus and other historiographers dooen write that *Demosthenes* had a poor woman to his mother and a woman vnknownen, his father kept a Cutlers shoppe and solde kniues, a good honest man and meetely welthy, as the whiche when he died left vnto his sonne honeste substaunce, but because *Demosthenes* was then but a litle childe, he and his patrimonie was committed to certain executours or feoffers who beguiled *Demosthenes* so ferre, that they neither regarded to sette him to schole, nor while he was at schoole to paie his schoolemaisters dуетie. At last he became the most noble Oratour that euer was in Grece. And then tooke in hande to be a doer in the comenweale, and spared not to sette against *Philippus* with moste vehement orations inuectiues, and wore out

Philippus wel enough, and after him *Alexander*. But *Antipater* sent certain of his garde to slea him. *Demosthenes* hearing thereof fled priuely into a litle Isle named *Calauria*, and there kept himselfe secrete. At last he was founde out. And when he sawe that there was no remedie but that he should be had to *Antipater*, he desired that he might haue licence first to write an epistle to the *Atheniens*. And taking a penne in his hande he begonne his epistle thus: *Demosthenes* to the *Atheniens* greting and well to fare. And euen so brake of writing and receiued poyson whiche he had long time of a purpose kepte vnder the stone of his Ring, and so poisoned him self out of hande. *Plutarchus* ioineth the life of *Demosthenes* and of *Cicero* bothe together, and compared them two together as a verie good matche and well coupled. For (saith he) when God as the firste beginning, formed *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, bothe after one paterne, he semeth to haue putte and enspired into their natures and disposicions, many like qualitees, as for example, that bothe the one and the other was ambitious, bothe the one and the other a Citezen franke, bolde, & plain in telling his minde to the people, bothe of them to perilles, ieopardies & warres not verie hardie men. There wer in their fortunes also many thinges commune, as well to the one as to the other. For I can not finde any other two oratours, whiche being of seemleable lowe birthe, grewe to bee so greate men of authoritee and dignitee, and whiche durst auenture to withstande kinges and chief gouernours, and lost their daughters, wer banished their countrees, and returned, fette home againe with honour, citizens voided their citees, came into the handes of their enemies, and finallie, whiche were extincted together, with the libertee of their countree.

I.

How *Demosthenes* answered *Pytheas* laiyng to his charge that his oracions smelled of the candle.



Ne * *Pythias* objected to *Demosthenes*, that his argumentes of Rhetorike smelled all of the candle: signifiyng, that he pronounced none oracion, but out of wrytyng, and made with greate studie, by Candle in the night time. Whiche sayyng *Demosthenes* in soche wise reuersed backe again, that he auouched himself and the other partie, not to be at equall charges for candle.

- * This *Pytheas* was in the time of *Phocion* and *Demosthenes*, a man newly come vp in *Athenes* of late, and by eleccion put in

¶ Noting that the other was a continuall reueller and gourmander by night, and bestowed more money on riotous banquettyng, then he on his behalf did on studie.

authoritee to haue doing and sayyng in the publike affaires of the citee, partly by giftes and rewardes, and partly by speaking faire vnto the people. And when he was ones gotten vp, to beare some stroke in the citee, he would haue to doe in every matter, and waxed a wondrous buisie medler in al causes, insomuche that at commen assembles, he would often times trouble all the whole compaignie with his

his dailie pratling, vntill *Phocion* at last said: Will this feloe here neuer holde his peace, that came but yersterdaie in maner out of the shel, and one that hath brought the people of *Athenes* to be his owne?

Unto others obiection vnto him, vnmeasurable affectacion of eloquence, he thus aunswered, the study of eloquence to declare a manne that loueth the people, and can be contented to be feloe like with the people: and contrariwise to neglect the study of eloquence, to be the guise of soche persones, as sought to bee lordes ouer the people, as the whiche went aboute, not to perswade men by fine vtteraunce of a matter, but to compell them parforce.

2.
How Demosthenes purged himself of the obiection of ouermoche study of eloquence.

As often as *Phocion* should arise to saie his minde in any assemblée, *Demosthenes* would saie of thesame *Phocion* to his frendes that sate nexte by hym: Now ariseth vp the axe of al my reasons.

3.
Phocion the axe of Demosthenes his reasons.

¶ For *Phocion* was brief in telling his tale, but sharpe as an axe. And his custome was for the moste parte to be of a contrarie minde and opinion to *Demosthenes*.

Phocion and Demosthenes fewe times agreed.

The people of *Athenes* importunely required *Demosthenes* to take vpon hym the accusyng of a certaine persone. And when *Demosthenes* refused to doe it, the people begun to be vp in a rore against hym (as comunly thei wil in soche a case) then *Demosthenes* arisyng, spake in this maner: O ye men of *Athenes*, ye haue of me a faithfull counsailor & helper at al times of nede, whether ye will or not, but a false accuser shall ye neuer haue of me, wold ye neuer so fain.

4.
What Demosthenes saied when the Atheniens earnestlie praied him to accuse a certain persone.

Demosthenes had been one of the tenne whom the *Atheniens* had sente ambassodors vnto *Philippus* kyng of *Macedonie*. So after that *Aeschines* and *Philocrates* (which two *Philippus* had

5.
Demosthenes one of the ten, whom the Atheniens

sente ambas-
sadours to
Philippus
kyng of
Macedonie.

Philippus king
of *Macedonie*,
was beautifull,
eloquent, & a
good drinker.

To drink wel
is a properte
mete for a
Spounge,
but not for
a manne.

had especially aboue the residue, familiarely
embraced and made of) being come home again
from the said ambassade, gaue the king moche
high praise, partly for many other thinges, and
especially for these three folowyng, that he was
full of fauour and beautie, that he had a goodly
eloquent tounge, and that he could drink lustily.
Demosthenes made this cauillation that he
auouched in all those praises, to be not so moche
as one pointe comelie for a king. For the first,
he said, belonged to women, the seconde to
Sophistes and Rhetoricians, and the thirde to
spounges.

* This ambassade was at thesame time, when *Demochares* said to *Philippus*,
that he might doe to the *Atheniens* moche pleasure, if he would put his necke in an
halter, & hang himself, whereof read the .35. *apophtheg.* of thesaid *Philippus*.

6. *ἀγαθὴ τύχη*
written aboute
Demosthenes
his bucler in
letters of golde.

How *Demos-
thenes* auoided
the reproche
of renning
awaie in
battaill.

Plutarchus
saith that
Pitheas it was
which thus
mocked *De-
mosthenes* for
his manlie
rennyng awaie

Demosthenes had written vpon his shilde, in
letters of golde *ἀγαθὴ τύχη*, that is, Good fortune.
Yet neuerthelesse, when it was come to handie
strokes, †Demosthenes euen at the first meting,
cast his shilde and al awaie from him, and to go
as fast as his legges might beare him. This
pointe being cast in his nose, in the waie of
mockage and reproche, that he had in battaill
cast awaie his bucler, and taken him to his
heeles, like a pretie man, he auoided it with a
little verse, commen in euery bodies mouth.

‡ *ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται.*

That same man, that renneth awaie,
Maie again fight, an other daie.

† This was at
the battaill in
Cherronea
(wherof is
afore spoken
in the 7 *apo-
phthegme* of
Philippus) in

¶ Iudgeyng that it is more for the benefite of ones
countree to renne awaie in battaill, then to lese his
life. For a ded man can fight no more, but who
hath sauéd hymself alieue by rennyng awaie, maie in
many battailles mo, dooe good seruice to his countree.
☞ At lest wise, if it be a point of good seruice, to renne awaie
at all times, when the countree hath moste nede of his helpe to
sticke to it. whiche

whiche battaill he subdued and conquered al *Grece*. And of this battail *Demosthenes* was the chief procurer and setter on, in so moche that he onelie perswaded the *Thebanes* and others thereunto, and was one of the chief ringleders and capitaines himself, in so moche that the king of the *Persians* wrote letters about to his nobles in al places, that thei should aide *Demosthenes* with money enough on al sides, for the suppressing of *Philippus*. The battail was kepte in *Cherronea* (the countree of *Plutarchus*) at *Thermodon*. Whiche *Thermodon* (as the report goeth saith *Plutarchus*) should bee a little pretie flood renning into the riuier of *Cephisus*. But the same *Plutarchus* saith, that he knoweth no soch flood there aboute of that name, nor yet in any place of all *Cherronea*. Neuerthelesse he beleueth that the flood *Haemon* (which renneth along by *Heraclum*, where the Grekes at that time pitched their campe against *Philippus*) was at the firste in olde time called *Thermodon*, and from that battail forthward, the same to haue taken the appellation of *Haemon*, because it was then filled vp with dedde corpses, and with blood. For αἷμα, is Greke for blood. But this was soche a sore battaill, that *Philippus* feared *Demosthenes* all daies of his life after, for that thesame had perswaded the Grekes to battaill.

‡ ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχίσεται, (that is: A manne that flieth will renewe battaill again) is a prouerbiell verse (as *Erasmus* in his *Chiliades* admonisheth) by whiche we are warned not by and by, to bee brought in despaire, if some thing haue not well come to our passe. For though a man bee now ouercome, he maie at an other time haue better hap. Wherof *Homere* calleth it ἐπεραλκία νίκη, that is now strong on the one side, and now on the other. And *Alexander* (*Paris* the soonne of *Priamus*, king of *Troie*) thus speaketh in *Homere*, νίκη δ' ἐπαμβίβεται ἄνδρας, that is: Victorie chaungeth from parte to parte. And thesame *Alexander* in an other place again saith:

Menelaus now, through *Pallas* hath wonne,
And so shall I at an other season.

So *Davus* in *Terence*:

Hac non successit, alia aggrediendum est via.
That is,

This waie it will ne frame ne faie,
Therefore must we proue an other waie.

So meened *Demosthenes*, that though he had had missechappe at that season, yet an other more propice time should come, when his chaunce should be to doe his countree better seruice, &c. And this was a meetely honeste excuse.

When *Alexander* on this condicion offreed 7. peace vnto the *Atheniens*, if thesame would yelde vp into his handes eight of the citezens, emong whom *Demosthenes* to be one: *Demosthenes* told vnto them the tale of the Woulf, who vpon this condicion offred peace vnto the shepe, if thesame would yeld & deliuer him their dogges, that kepte him from the folde.

How *Demosthenes* escaped being deliuered into the handes of *Alexander*.

¶ Under the name of the woulf betokenyng *Alexander*, by the dogges meanyng those persones, who at that

Who betraie
the gouernors
and rulers, be-
traie the
whole people
& countre.

that presente season had the cure and charge of all the publique affaires, and by the shepe signifying the commenaltee of the *Atheniens*. He added moreouer an other example. As the mercatemen (saie the) do bring out a little modicum of wheate or other corne, in a Treen dishe for a sample or shewe, desiring by the same to selle whole greates heapes: so ye, if ye betraie & deliuer vp the .8. Citezens, whiche are demaunded of you, ye betraie and deliuer the whole vniuersall people euery mothers childe.

Of *Areopagus*
& the *Areopagites*, it is afore
noted.

8. When Demosthenes being condemned of the *Areopagites*, had escaped out of prieson, and was renning * awaie, and had met in the teeth not ferre from the citee, certain persones of the contrarie part, that wer not his frendes: firste he would fain haue hidden himself. But when the parties speakyng to him, and calling him Demosthenes by his name, bid him to be of good comforte, and also offred hym money to helpe hym on his waie, he gaue an heauie sigh, euen from the botome of his harte, sayng: How can I possible forsake this Citee, in whiche I haue soche enemies, as I shall not finde frendes of the like sorte, in an other countree?

The naturall
loue and de-
sire of eche
man toward
his natieue
countree.

* The cause of the banishment of *Demosthenes*, was this. Ther was one *Harpalus* (of whom it is afore mencioned) who partly of remorse and conscience of euill handleing himself in matters committed vnto his fidelitee, and partly for that he sawe *Alexander* begin to weaxe verie rigourous and sore to his frendes, fled out of *Asia* and came to *Athenes*. And when he had with certain shippes and greates substaunce of money, submitted himself to the pleasure and will of the people of *Athenes*, the other Oratours counsailld the people to receiue and protecte him, but *Demosthenes* at the first beginning, gaue them counsaill in no wise to receiue him, but to be well aware, lest thei should by reason of him, arise battaill of an vniuste and vnreasonable cause. Within fewe daies after, when *Harpalus* (who by like had a good insight in soche matters) espyng and marking *Demosthenes* to haue an earnest iye, and a greates fansie vnto a goodly cup of gold that was of excellent workmanship, caused the same to be weighed, *Demosthenes* moche wondred at the weight of the cuppe, & demaunded what the cuppe drawed (meaning of weight in the balaunce) I wis quoth *Harpalus* (smiling vpon him) it shall drawe you 20. talentes, and the next night followinge sent vnto *Demosthenes* the saied cuppe of golde

golde secretlie, and 20. talentes withall, whiche *Demosthenes* receiued. And when *Harpalus* his cause within a daie or twoo after, was had againe in communicacion, *Demosthenes* came to the assemblée of the people, with his necke all stuffed, lapped, and wrapped in wolfe, furies, and cloutes. He was bidden to saie his minde, he refused to speake, allegeing that he had a bone in his throte, & could not speake. But the people perceiued the matter well enough, that he had been corrupted with money by *Harpalus*. And without any more businesse, first and foremoste thei expulsed *Harpalus*, & bid him voide. And that doen, forasmoeche as thei stode in feare and drede, lest the money whiche the oratours had receiued, should be required of them by *Alexander*, thei serched the oratours houses, for al soche money and iewelless. Then *Demosthenes* being manifestly found culpable, would haue poured himself, but the people would in no wise heare him speak. No? (saied one) will ye not geue care vnto him, that hath soche a goodly golden cuppe? Well, the people cried oup vpon him. *Demosthenes* put the matter vp to the iudgement and sentence of the *Areopagites*, by whom he was condemned in a fine of .l. talentes, and commaunded to warde, vntill the fine shoulde be satisfied & paid. *Demosthenes* partly by reason of that extreme iudgement, for that he was feble and weake of bodie, nor hable to endure the enprisonment, broke awaie priuely, and fledde into *Arcadia*, whiche is a region of *Achaia*.

It is reported that *Demosthenes* in his departing from the citee, looked backe vnto the toure of *Pallas*, and his handes lifted vp vnto heauen, saied: O *Pallas* ladie of citees, why settest thou thy delite in three the moste vnluckefull beastes of the worlde, the Oulette, the Dragon, and the people?

¶ The oulet, where she is of all birdes the moste vnluckfull, yet is she dedicated vnto *Pallas*, like as thesame *Pallas* hath a Dragon also, whiche she beareth about with her, for her cognisaunce. And as for the people is a monstrous beast of many heddes, accustomed with the moste naughtie vnkindenesse possible, to rewarde soche persones as hath doen them benefite, as thei did *Socrates*, *Phocion*, * *Scipio*, and right many others mo.

9.
What *Demosthenes* saied to *Pallas*, at his departing out of *Athenes*.

The Oulette dedicated vnto *Pallas*.

The people a beast of many heddes.

The ingratitude of the people towarde their benefactors.

* Of the ingratitude of the people of *Athenes* towards *Socrates* & *Phocion*, it is afore declared. As touching *Scipio*, there wer fower of the name in Rome, one after an other, as noble men, as wise counsaillours, and as valiaunte capitaines, as euer wer in Rome, and whiche did asmoche benefite to the commonweale, as vneth any penne maie write. And yet euery one of theim, founde at the handes of the people of Roome, incomparable ingratitude. The first of them wone *Carthage*, and made it tributarie vnto Rome, when it had so tiered Rome with long warres, that it was moche more nigh to subdue Rome, then to bee subdued vnto Rome. This *Scipio* triumphed on *Carthage*, and had geuen vnto him the surname of *Africane* (because he subdued *Carthage*, and therby *Afrike*.) And yet was he at last exiled, and did die out of his countree a banished man. *Scipio* surnamed the *Asiatike*

Asiatike (because he subdued king *Antiochus* vnto Rome, and besides him al *Asia*, of whom he also triumphed) was afterward falslie arraigned of robbing the treasure of Rome, and moste wrongfully commaunded to prison. *Scipio Africane* the second (to whom that surname was geuen, because he beate doune and destroyed bothe the citee of *Numentia*, & also the citee of *Carthage*, being with al their power and puissaunce, bent and set against the citee of Rome) was wickedly slain in his bedde in the night, & yet in all the citee of Rome, could not one be found that would se soch an hainous murder auenged or punished. And this *Scipio* it is, that *Erasmus* here speaketh of, *Scipio* surnamed *Nasica* (who saued the commonweale from the violent oppression of *Tiberius Gracchus* the *Tribune*) was in his latter daies, sent as halfe a banished man to *Pergamus*, & there spent the residue of his life.

IO. Unto the yong men with whom he vsed familiaritee, he would often times saie, that knowing as he now did, how moche enuie feare, false surmised querelyng, and how moche perill, a man coming to the affaires of the commonweale hath to looke for, if the one of twoo wer to be chosen, he would rather go to his death, then vp into a pulpite to make an oracion, or els vp to the benche to sitte vpon matters of iudgemente.

II. At what tyme he liued in *Arcadia* a banished man, and *Pytheas* in the fauour and behalf of the *Macedonians*, had said in this maner, As we deme that hous to haue sum euill maladie within it, into the whiche is carried milke for to bee solde, so maie wee thinke that citee to be corrupted with some euill disease, vnto the whiche is sente any ambassade of the *Atheniens*: *Demosthenes* thus turned that clause clene arsee versee. As milke (saieth he) is brought into houses for to restore sicke folkes to their healthe again, so are the *Atheniens* alwaies readie, for the safegarde and preseruacion of other foren citees. As sone as the commenaltee of the *Atheniens* had knowledge of this, thei foorthwithall sent for hym, to come home again from exile. After this sayng, the commenaltee of *Athenes*, whiche had afore condemned him were sodainly stricken againe in loue with hym, and saied that he was an honest man again, & loued the citee & many gaie good morowes.

The affaires of a commonweale are dangerous to medle withall saied *Demosthenes*.

Contencion betwene *Pytheas* & *Demosthenes*.

How *Demosthenes* was restored from banishmente.

morowes. Wherupon *Damon Paeanicus* the neffewe of *Demosthenes*, made mocion vnto the people, that *Demosthenes* might be restored to his former state, & might come home to the citie again. The people made a decre vpon it. And vnto *Aegina* was sent a galy for him to fet and bryng hym home again with honor. And when he was approched nere to *Athenes*, al the magistrates of the citee, all the ministers and presidentes of the temples full and whole, and the other citezens by whole flockes went to meete him, and receiued him (as ye would saie) with generall procession, and with all triumphe, honour, and solemnitee. Yea, and the fine of 50. talentes, whiche he had afore been condemned in (because thei might, not by iustice or lawe releasse or forgeue it) thei ordeined by a publique decree to conuerte vnto the altare of *Minerua*, & to be deducted of the money whiche was to bee leuiud for the behouf of thesame altare. For the *Atheniens* had a vse and custome at a certain feast (whiche thei called the feast of *Iupiter* the saueour) to make a commen boxe for the repairing, decking, and furnishing of the altare of *Minerua*, and for the doing of this, they appoynted a gathering of fiftie talentes in the name of *Minerua*, to be conuerted and applied to the satisfying and payng of *Demosthenes* his fine, for in so muche a summe he was condemned, as afore is saied.

When a shippe was sent him returning home againe from exile, and many of the magistrates or publique officers, and citezens had come foorth of the citee to meete him, *Demosthenes* lifting vp his handes to heauen, saied, that a more honourable returning hadde chaunced vnto him then vnto *Alcibiades*, for that * *Alcibiades* had come home again, the citezens constreigned parforce to sende for him, and he on his partie, the citezens through peaceable and gentle perswasion condescending and agreing thereunto.

12.

Demosthenes gloried in comparing his returning from exile, with the returning of *Alcibiades*.

* *Alcibiades* beyng absente on warrefare was accused by one *Thesalus*, that he had a certain

brethreed which vsed to resorte and gather together at his hous, and there to assemble like plaiers on a staige, to countrefaite the sacres of *Ceres* (the goddess of corne) and to represent the misteries of thesame sacres whiche wer wont to be celebrated and kept of the *Atheniens* with great reuerence and deuocion. He added moreouer, that *Alcibiades* and his adherentes diuided the executing of all the offices apperteyning to those ceremonies, and that one *Polytion* was the candlestick bearer or torche bearer, and one *Theodorus* to be the chaunter, or Clerke, and *Alcibiades* being the executour and chief president of all the sacres to reade a lecture vnto all his compaignie of all the said misteries, &c. *Alcibiades* was gently required to come home to *Athenes* for to make his aunswer and declaration in the premisses, he drewe backe & would not come to *Athenes*, and to one demaunding whether he mistrusted

mistrusted his own native countree & citee, he answered, that he trusted his countree veray well, but as for the hasarding of his hedde and life he thought not best to put in the handes of his veray mother neither, lest she might chaunce to bring & cast in a blacke stone in stede of a white. Vpon this he fledde, and would not come to *Athenes*. Whereupon he was condemned being absent, and all his goods forfeited, and to the ende that no pointe of ignomie should lacke, all the ministers of all the temples were bidden to accurse *Alcibiades* as an impious persone and a wicked miscreant. They also by a decree condemned him to death as a traitor. Whereof when relation was made vnto *Alcibiades*, he answered that the *Atheniens* should finde him to be aloue. Then went he to their enemies, and did the *Atheniens* muche scathe, till at last they were glad and faine to desire & praie him to come home and helpe them. Then partly remorse of conscience and partly the naturall desire of his countree so pricked him, that euen at the very plouange when the *Lacedemonians* should vtterly foreuer haue confounded the *Atheniens* in battail on the sea, *Alcibiades* sodainly with out the knowledge of either partie came with certain shippes vpon the *Lacedemonians* behinde at their backes, & turned the victorie to the *Atheniens*, and so came home highly welcomed, although they had by necessitee been forced to seeke vpon him.

13. After that Demosthenes for feare of Antipater had fledde into the Isle of Calauria, and kept himselfe in the temple of Neptunus, and Archias, of a plaier of tragidies now growen and come vp to bee a manne of power assaied and laboured with honey sweete wordes to perswade Demosthenes that thesame should putte himselfe in the grace of Antipater, by whom not onely to haue no maner harme at all, but also to be honoured with moste high and bounteous rewardes: he said in this maner: O Archias thou neuer diddst like me in thy life on the staige being a plaier, nor shalt perswade me to thy purpose nowe at this present beyng an Oratour. But when Archias beeing thoroughly out of pacience thretened to pulle hym parforce out of the Temple: Yea marie (quoth Demosthenes) nowe at last thou hast plainly opened the * oracles of Macedonie. For vntill the speaking of this worde, thou diddest but countrefaict and make a feigned countenaunce, accordyng to the guise and facion of enterlude plaiers.


What an oracle is reade in the xv. sayng of Alexander.

* The oracles of Macedonie, Demosthenes called the pleasure of Antipater king of Macedonie.

Mening that Antipater had commaunded Archias to bring Demosthenes by faire meanes or foule. Demosthenes alluded to the propre signification of an oracle. mening that Antipater toke vpon him in maner no lesse then if he had been a God.

Demosthenes

Demosthenes is reported to haue sailed on a time to the citee of Corinthe, enticed and allured with the fame of Lais* a Courtisan, there of great name, to thintent that he also emong the mo might haue his pleasure of the paramour whiche all the worlde spake of. But when she by couenaunt required for one night tenne thousande drachmes, Demosthenes feared with the greatnesse of the price chaunged his mynde, sayng: *οὐκ ἀγοράζω τοσούτου μετανοῆσαι*, that is: I will not bie repentaunce so dere.

¶ Signifyng, that vnto vn honest pleasure repentaunce is a prest companion to come after.  Yea & one propheete more it hath, that the pleasure is small, & is gone in a moment, the repentaunce great, and still enduring as long as life continueth.

* Lais an harlot of Corinthe of excellent beautie, but so dere and costly, that she was no morsell for mowyers. She was for none but lordes and gentlemen that might well paie for it. Whereof came vp a prouerbe, that it was not for euery man to go vnto Corinthe. This historie of Demosthenes is rehersed of Valerius Maximus, Aulus Gellius, and others.

The sayng of Pytheas is commen and muche spoken of, that the oracions of Demosthenes smelled all of the candle, for that thesame did in the night season wryte and recorde soche thinges as he had to saye to the people in the daye time. So when another feloe, which had an euil name abroad for the suspicion of pieking and brybinge, veray malapertly inueighed against thesame thing: I knowe it ful wel (quoth Demosthenes) that we doe werke thee muche sorowe, in that we light candles in the night.

¶ For priuie stealers loue the darke.

One Demades cryng, Oh, Demosthenes wil take vpon him to correcte me, the sow wil teache
* Minerua, thesame Demosthenes saied: Yea, but this Minerua (quoth he) was taken the last yeare in aduoutrie.

¶ He

14.

Of Corinthus is afore noted in the 33. *apophthegme* of Diogenes.

Demosthenes sailed to Corinthe to haue his pleasure of Lais.

Lais a costely dame to lie with, of whom reade the 31. sayng of Aristippus.

Repentaunce euermore ensueth of vn honest pleasure

15.

Reade the first *apophthegme* of Demosthenes.

Priuie theues loue the darke.

16.

How Demosthenes taunted Demades.

Minerua by the fiction of the poetes a perpetuall virgin.

¶ He laied vnto the charge of *Demades* aduoutrie, wher as the Poetes do make *Minerua* to be a perpetuall virgin.

* A swine to teache *Minerua* was a prouerbe against soche, as either being themselves of no knowlege ne wisdome at all will take vpon them to teache persones that are excellently skilled and passing expert, for whiche we saie in Englishe, to teache our dame to spinne, or els, that wil take vpon them to be doctours in those thinges in which themselves haue no skill at all, for whiche we saie in Englishe, to correct *Magnificat* before he haue learned *Te deum*. For *Minerua* was thought the patronesse of all witte and of all ingenious artes (as is aforesaid) and the swyne, by the tradicion and writing of all the naturall Philosophiers is declared to be of all beastes the moste brutyshe, and lest apt to learne any thing.

17. Thesame Demosthenes withstoode the Atheniens importunely desiryng him to shewe his aduise, and said: *οὐ συντέταγμα*. That is, I am none of those whiche are brought vnder coram.

Demosthenes would not bee at the becke of the people.

¶ Signifyng, that he was not as a bonde seruauant made to the beck of the people, but at his owne will and pleasure at all times to doe what thing he had iudged expedient to be doen.

18. A certain bonde maiden had receiued of two men of her acquaintaunce a certaine summe of money to keepe for them, with this condicion and agreement, that she should redeliuer thesame sum vnto them both together. The one of these two parties within a shorte space after, comynge cladde in a mourning garment, and going as though he had no ioye of his life, & feigning that his partener was dead, beguiled the woman, and gotte the money out of her fingers. This doen, anon came the seconde partie vnlooked for, and begonnde to require that had been leaste in her custody. And where the woman being in a pecke of troubles, was halfe in minde and purpose to hang herself, Demosthenes was so good vnto her to become her aduocate, who, as soone as he came to make his plea in her behalfe, went roundely to the demaunder of the money

How *Demos-thenes* by a subtile ingine sau'd a poore woman from payng one summe twis.

money after this sorte: This woman (saieth he) is readie well and truely to discharge herself of the money, which she was put in truste withal to kepe, but onles thou bring thy partener to, she may not doe it, because that by thine owne confession and wordes, this was a plain composition made betwene you, that the money should in no wise be deliuered to the one of you without the other.

¶ By this suttle ingen he sau'd the poore seely woman, and clerely defeacted the conspirisie of the two vilaines, who had driuen a drift to receiue double payment of one summe.

To a certain persone demaunding what was 19.
the principall pointe in eloquence, he made aunswere, hypocrisis, that is, action or pronounciation. To thesame persone eftsones asking, what was the next point and what the thirde, he still made none other aunswer but, action, action.

¶ Referring so moche to pronounciation, that he thought altogether to consist in thesame. And in deede the action or pronounciation comprehendeth many things mo then one, that is to weete, the tempering and qualifyng of the voice, the earnest loke of the yies, the porte of the countenance, and the gesturing or conueighaunce of all the whole body.

When the fingers of the Atheniens tickeled to 20.
aide and succour Harpalus, & were nowe already vp towards warre against Alexander, sodainly was seen Philoxenus arriued in the countree of Attica, whome Alexander had made his high amirall. At this sodain arriuell of the said Philoxenus when the people being with feare astounded were sodainly wished & weaxed dumme: What would these men doe (quoth Demosthenes)

Demosthenes) if they should see the sunne which haue not the power to looke against a candle ?

¶ After soche sorte did he vpbraide to the people their rashe and vnaduised stiering of coles, and arsinges to warre. ¶ By the Sunne he meaneth *Alexander*, in comparison of whom, this *Philoxenus* was scacely to be esteemed a candle.

21. Certain persones esteming and sayng that Demades had nowe geuen ouer to be soche an haine, as he had been in time past: Yea marie (quoth Demosthenes,) for nowe ye see him ful paunched, as Lions are.

Demades was couetous of money,

¶ For *Demades* was couetous and gredie of money. And in deede the Lions are more gentle when their bealies are well filled.

22. When he was by a certain persone reuiled with moch naughtee language: I am now matched (quoth he) to buccle in a strife, in whiche who so hath in fine the ouerhande, getteth the wurse, and who so ouercometh leseth the victorie.

In reuiling one an other, who so ouercometh leseth the victorie.

23. Thesame Demosthenes, when he heard a certain oratour speaking out of measure loude and high, and altogether in Pilates voice, saied: Not all that is great, is well, but all that is wel is great.

Not al that is greate is well, but all that is well is greate.

¶ This sayng is ascribed to others also. And some folkes there been, that esteme feastes whiche are drawn of a length to sit all daie, and are furnished with sondrie dishes, or courses of the moste, to be roiall deintie geare, ¶ whereas by the plain determinacion of all naturall Philosophiers, and of all good Phisicians in the worlde, one good dishe alone to feede on, is more naturall and more holosome for the bodie, then the varietee of many costlie dishes at one repaste.

One dish alone to feede one, is more holosome for the bodie, then variete of dishes.

¶ The ende of the seconde booke.

¶ That thou mayest the soner and
easlyer fynde (moste gentle reader) either
the name of any personne or any other
good mattier contained in thys booke,

I haue here added a large and plaine
Table after the orde of the A.

B. C. set out with the nomenclature

of the leafe, where

thou shalt fynde any

suche thyng as

thou desyrest

to haue

ther-

in.





The Table.

a.



Basthe .xii. kyng of the Argiues	188
Abstinence the Italians vse for all diseases	309
Achilles	203
Academia, a place full of groues	177
Acrisius had a doughter called Danae	188
Academiques	266
Aëtium the paeke of the countree of Epirus	278
Accius escaped the daun- gier of a iudgement	357
Action or pronounciation is the chiefest point in elo- quence	381
Ades queene of the Carians	208
Adrastus, reade the note	366
Aeschines	22, 74
Aesculapius	33
Aegina the citee	65
Aged men wherof they should smelle	31
Agatho of Athenes	32
Agésilauus	108
Agamemnon king of My- cena	245
Agrippa made many new conduictes in Rome	288
Aide after the field is fough- ten, commeth to late	130
Alcibiades of Athenes	13
All maner of oracions will not serue for all persones	28
Alexander talked with Di- ogenes sitting in his tubbe	104

Alexander had Diogenes in high estimation	105
Alexander thought it a greater thing to be Alex- ander then to be a king	93
All vertues consist in the meane betwene two vices	98
Alipte what thei were	136
Almese geuen to beggers rather then to Philoso- phiers	144
Alexanders ambicion	202-4, 231
Alexander his haultnesse of courage	205
Alexander was swift and nimble	204
Alexander his armie against Darius	209
Alexander his cookes	208
Alexander his aunswer made to Darius	209
Alexander wounded with an arrowe	212
Alexander enforced no per- sone free borne	214
Alexander, howe he vsed the Grekes whiche tooke wages of his enemies to fight against him	214
Alexander howe he vsed a captaine that submitted himself vnto him	217
Alexander contemned Her- cules in respect of him- selfe	218
Alexander euer reserued one eare for the defendaunt	227
Alexander reproved Darius for the gorgeous decking of his house	229

Alexander abhorred effeminate delices	229	and presumption	246
Alexanders animosities	230	Antigonus was tendre toward his souldiours	248
Alexander, what verse he allowed best of Homere	231	Antigonus lowe of stature and hauing a flat nose	249
Alexander was saluted the sonne of Iupiter Ammon	233	Antigonus iested at the impediment of his own iyes	251
Alexander taken by daye with a dead slepe in the campe	234	Antonius and Dolobella fatte and well coloured	300
Alexander made free of Corinthe	234	Antipater ouercame the Atheniens	331
Alexander knowlaged himself a mortall manne	235	<i>ἄσπρος</i> a rock in the Indies	217
Alcyoneus the sonne of Antigonus slaine in battail	251	Appollodorus the poete howe he visited Socrates	24
Alexanders courage and stoomake	205	Approuing of good fare and to be offended with the cost, &c	63
Alcibiades accused of one Thessalus	377	Appellacion of a man is a fitte name but for a fewe	109
Ambicion of Diogenes	82, 111	Apparell to curious, argueth wantonnesse	120
<i>Amphictionum concilium</i> , what it is	118	Apollo otherwyse called Pythius	208
Amphoterus	186	Apelles	222
Ammon was Iupiter	212	Arte of gouerning a commonweale	5
<i>Amicus alter ipse</i>	233	Arrogancie of Sophistes	17
Ambicion of Iulius Caesar	296-7	Archelaus king of Macedonie	19
Antisthenes the philosophier	16	Arte and profession of Physiognomiers	35
<i>ἀνδρεία</i> Manhood	31	Aristippus taught Philosophie for money	45
Antisthenes would haue no scollars	77	Archelaus the sonne of Perdicca	19
Anaximenes the successour of Anaximander	147	Aristippus brauled and stroue with Diogenes	45
Antisthenes was lothe to dye	176	Aristippus one of the courtes with Dionisius	45
Antipater high capitaine vnder Philippus	198	Aristippus despised golde and siluer	46, 57
Antipater highly in fauoure with Alexander, but at the last dedly hated	211	Aristippus was bothe gaulaunte and also sage	48
Antipater his ambicion	213	Aristippus regarded honeste at all times	47
Antigenes	214	Aristippus feared no man	48, 70
Antipater surmised martiers against Olympias	230	Aristippus loued gaye apparell	48
Antigonus saynges begin	236	Aristippus weaxed pale	53
Antigonus how he vsed certain of his souldiours	237	Areta the doughter of Aristippus	55
Antigonus first cruel and then mercifull	237		
Antigonus disapointed his sonne of his lodgeing	238		
Antigonus his boldenesse			

Aristippus tooke money of his frendes and why	57, 60	Aristogiton a false accusar condemned . . .	326
Aristippus spent not his money in vain . . .	57	Areopagus . . .	374
Aristippus kepte compaignie with a stroumpet . . .	60	Archias first a plaier of entreludes and afterward a great manne of power with Antipater . . .	378
Aristippus was a customer of Lais the harlotte. . .	61	δοτράγαλος . . .	185
Aristippus spetted on the face of Simus . . .	62	A true frende is an highe treasure . . .	6
Aristippus wysshed to dye no woorse then Socrates had doen . . .	63	Athenes was ruled by the commons . . .	42
Aristippus cast his money into the sea . . .	64	Athenaeus the Greke historiographer . . .	66, 224
Aristippus beyng chidden of Plato, what he answered	65	A thing publique is ordeyned for the welthe of the priuate also . . .	78
Aristippus rebuked Diogenes for compaignyng with Phryne the harlotte	66	<i>Athlete</i> , what they bee that are so called . . .	115
Aristippus a man of great possessions . . .	66	Athenes the foundament of all Grece. . .	246
Aristippus was nothing greued to take a blanke in disputacion. . .	67	Athenodorus . . .	256
Aristippus refused not to daunce in purple . . .	69	<i>Atedius pollio</i> , alias <i>Vedius pollio</i> . . .	290
Aristippus had a passing ready witte . . .	72	Artica a countree . . .	331
Artaphernes . . .	70	Aulius Gellius . . .	27
Aristippus arested in <i>Asia</i> by Artaphernes . . .	70	Augustus reproved the insaciable ambicion of Alexander . . .	256
Aristo, the Philosophier . . .	71	Augustus Caesar made a lawe for adulterers . . .	257
Aristippus gathered muche richesse . . .	71	Augustus enterpreted the doynge of menne to the better parte . . .	260
Aristippus did lette hissonne ronne at rouers . . .	72	Augustus Aiax . . .	261
Aristippus beyng thelder man submitted first to Aeschines . . .	74	Augustus was not desirous to be feared . . .	261
Aristippus cast on lande by shipwracke . . .	75	Augustus aunswere to a feloe that asked a pencion of him . . .	261
Aristogiton . . .	129	Augustus answer to Galla . . .	263
Arte, euery arte is not mete for a king . . .	201	Augustus perdoned Cinna . . .	267
Aristotle was maister to Alexander . . .	225	Augustus vsed to saye naye to none that desired him to any feaste . . .	268
Aristodemus . . .	241	Augustus an highe and mightie prince. . .	269
Arius a philosophier of Alexandria. . .	254	Augustus delited to ieste & also would take iesting . . .	272-3
Armenia a royalme in Asia	258	Augustus bought diuerse birdes . . .	280

Augustus gentlenesse in hearing complaints . . .	279
Augustus how he serued a Greke Poete . . .	280
Augustus, what he saied of Rome . . .	285
Augustus put of two impu- dent crauers . . .	285
Augustus preferred the dig- nitee of a comenweale . . .	287
Augustus, how he vsed to commend his sonne vnto the people . . .	291
Autoritee, who so hath not saied, seketh: whoso hath proued, hateth . . .	322
<i>Aurum sitisti, Aurum bibe</i> . . .	363

B.

B Attaill betwene Alexan- der and Darius . . .	209
Beneficiall to a whole mul- titude . . .	4
Bettre of birth that a childe is the better ought his bringing vp to be . . .	9
Betwene a beast and a man of brutishe condicions ther is no difference . . .	12
Better to die an innocent then an offender . . .	23
Beautie of the minde is to bee loued . . .	34
Begon well, is half done . . .	41
Better to begge then to be without learning . . .	51
Better that money be cast awaye then man for mo- neis sake . . .	64
Beetes is an herbe called in latine <i>Beta</i> . . .	118
Beaste of many heddes is the people . . .	121
Beastes that are most harm- ful . . .	132
Bealies of gluttons, &c . . .	133
Best time to wedde a wife . . .	140
Beautiful strumpettes are like to dedly poyson . . .	154
Beneficence of Philippus . . .	192
Beneuolence howe it should	

be purchased . . .	202
Beardes are an hinderaunce in battaill . . .	209
Bedde of a persone that is in debte, &c. . .	271
Bias receiued a talent of Antigonus . . .	249
Biddelles what their offices is . . .	269
Blisse of heauen, whereby it is obtained . . .	108
Blushing is a token of vertue . . .	140
Bondeseruaunt to the plea- sures of the bodye . . .	3
Boldnesse and trust on a man's well doying . . .	28
Bosting of a mannes selfe is a foolyshe thing . . .	58
Boste of drinking is vayne . . .	59
Bondeseruautes of glorie . . .	114
Bondeseruautes, howe they are called in Greke . . .	167
Bountie of Alexander . . .	207, 219
Bountie and largesse is be- falling for kynges . . .	241
Bosome sermons and ora- tions . . .	243
Breach of loue betwene Ae- schines and Aristippus . . .	74
Brasidas a capitaine of the Lacedemonians . . .	260
Brundusium a towne in the kingdome of Naples . . .	299
Brutus and Cassius slewe Iulius Caesar . . .	301
Buriyng of Diogenes . . .	91
Buriyng of the Iewes . . .	92
Buriyng is not to be cared for (saied Diogenes) . . .	137
Bucephalus an horse . . .	225, 307
Busyris a kinge of Egipte . . .	362
Byzantium a citee of Thra- cia . . .	326

C.

C Alamitees vniuersall . . .	40
Cantharis a litle vermin . . .	116
Calisthenes the disciple of Aristotle . . .	120
Caiges for women . . .	134
Caria a prouince in Asia . . .	208

Calisthenes contemned the facions of Alexander his court	227	Cinna sought to destroye Augustus	266
Casket, deske or standyshe of Darius	229	<i>Ciuica corona</i> what it is	284
Cassius Seuerus	264	Cilicians the people of Cilicia	293
Cares of a good prince	271	Cicero was lowely to his enemies, but to his frendes frowarde	321
Cato kylled hymselfe at Vti- ca	271, 300, 367	Cicero, what it is	337
Caprae an Isle	292	Cicero taunted Pompeius for making a Gall free citizen of Rome	348
Caesar hanged vp the Py- rates	293	Cicero, howe he rebuked his doughter for going to fast & his sonne for going to slow	349
Caesars excuse for not lea- uing the dictatourship	303	Cicero his answer for Milo	353
Capitaines many, & good souldiours but a fewe	331	Cicero diuorced his wife Terencia	355
Cato	338	Cicero mocked Curio	355
Caius Popilius	343	Cicero his riedle	359
Caesar went in his gowne wantonly girt about him	348	Cicero coulede caste a miste ouer the seates of iudge- ment	361
Caninius Reuilus was con- sul but vi. houres	350	Cicers what they are	337
Cato would be busily occu- pied in the daye time and mery in the night	367	Cicero howe he checked a young feloe	365
Caelius had a loude voice	367	Cicero drounke water.	367
Ceramicus a place of burial in Athenes	97	Cicero what he saied to Iu- lius Caesar	368
Centaures what they were	132	Cicero defeacted the accu- sation of Marcus Callidius	368
Censour a magistrate in Rome	276, 315	Cicero iesting on Isauricus	369
<i>Centumui</i> , what thei wer	347	Cloystures were full of pride	24
Chiefest vertue of youn men	38	Climate is a region or coste of a countree	243
Children, what they get by goyng to schoole	56	Clemencie of Augustus 260, 286 288, 290	
Children, how thei should bee brought vp	83	Clemencie of Pompeius	316
Childrens dyete assigned by Diogenes	89	Clamorous and bralling Oratours	340
Chiliades of Erasmus	103	Clodius a Romaine of noble birth	353
Cherronea a region nighe to Hellespontus	115, 185	Cneus Pompeius	311
Charibdis and Scylla	133, 348	Corrupt maners of the Atheniens	16
Cherilus a Poete	222	Compaignie of wise menne	20
Children begotten towarde the Sunne rysing, &c	343	Couetousnesse oft time be- guileth the belly	62
Cyniques sect & what they wer	76	Communication oughte to bee frutefull	80
Citee is there none without a lawe	172	Couetous persones doe	
Ciuititee of Philippus	185		

moste of all crie out on auarice	86	Darius his offre to Alexander	209
Commoditees of philosophie	93	Damasippus praised his wyne of xl. yeres olde . . .	348
Corinthus a citee in Achaia	93	Deseases of late banquet- ting.	8
Communication oughte not to be vaine	80	Death is commen to al per- sones	23
Couetousnesse the roote of all euill	131	Death is like to a sound slepe	40
Corrupt & effeminate man- ers of the Atheniens . . .	151	Desperate persones what they should doe	80
Communication declareth a mans minde	164	Demosthenes his tale of an asse	84
Cookes of Alexander . . .	208	Death is no euill thing . . .	169
Continencie or chastitee of Alexander	213, 221	Death riddeth a body out of peines	176
Corduba a citee in Spaine .	290	Demaratus a Corinthian . .	200
Consuls of Rome	303	Demochares Parrhesiastes .	202
Considius a Senatour. . . .	307	Delphos a toune in the re- gion of Phocis.	126
Constancie of Phocion . . .	330	Demetrius the sonne of An- tigonus	245
Cocce of Cocus	353	Death which is beste	301
Contencion betwene Py- thias and Demosthenes . .	370	Demosthenes spake to please menne	326
Critias and Charicles, what they were	10	Demades had no feloe in making of an oration . . .	332
Credence is not to be geuen to the ignoraunt	22	Demosthenes what he was .	370
Crabbed wiues compared to rough horses	27	Demosthenes his aunswere to Pythias	370
<i>Craneum</i> , what it is	104	Demosthenes his excuse for the studie of eloquence . .	371
Crete the Isle, nowe called Candie	109	Demosthenes one of the x. whom the Atheniens sent ambassadors to Philip- pus king of Macedonie . .	371
Craterus desired Diogenes to dwell with him	147	Demosthenes mocked for flying from battaill	372
Craterus auauced by Al- exander	218	Demosthenes escaped be- yng in the handes of Al- exander	373
Cruelnesse of <i>Vidius</i>	289	Demosthenes, why he was banished.	374
Crassus could curry fauour.	362	Demosthenes, what he saied to Pallas	375
Custome easeth the tedi- ousnesse of incommodi- tees	26	Demosthenes auouched it a daungerous thing to medle with the affaires of a comenweale	376
Customes in diuerse places, what they are	37	Demosthenes restored from banishment	376
Curtius, a knight of Rome .	274		
Cyzicus or Cyzicum an Isle in Propontia	68		
Cypres trees are elfishe and frowarde to spring	329		
D.			
Danae the doughter of Acrisius	188		

Demosthenes compared his returning with the return- yng of Alcibiades . . .	377	Oratours couetous per- sons and comen people . . .	85
Demos. taunted Demades . . .	379	Diogenes rebuking soche as did sacrifice for bodelye health . . .	86
Demosthenes would not bee at becke of the people . . .	380	Diogenes hated gluttons and boundeseruauntes . . .	86
Demosthenes howe he de- fended the cause of a poore woman . . .	380	Diogenes praying diuerse persones . . .	87
Demades was couetous of money . . .	382	Diogenes what he taught to Xeniades his sonnes . . .	89
Diete temperate to be vsed . . .	3	Dioge. maner of teaching . . .	89
Difference betwene a carnal louer and a frende . . .	35	Diogenes made an abrige- ment of al disciplines for his scholars . . .	89
Difference betwene the learned and vnlearned . . .	50, 59	Diogenes, howe he would be buried . . .	91
Difference betwene the solle of a Philosophier & of a verlet . . .	53	Diogenes talking with Al- exander in his tubbe . . .	93
Dionisius offended with Plato . . .	68	Diogenes whipped of young menne . . .	94
Dionysius had his eares in his feete . . .	69	Diogenes thought himselfe thanke worthy for com- ming to a feaste or a supper when he was de- sired . . .	96
Dionysius gaue in rewarde to Aristippus money, and to Plato bookes . . .	72	Diogenes fynding Demos- thenes in a tauerne . . .	96
Dionysius would call Ari- stippus foyle and all to naught . . .	73	Diogenes howe he pointed out Demosthenes . . .	97
Diogenes was Antisthenes his scholare . . .	77	Diogenes his aunswer to soche as saied he was ouer earnest in philoso- phie . . .	98
Diog. his zeles to sapience . . .	77	Diogenes to whom he would be solde . . .	100
Diogenes dwelt in a tubbe . . .	77	Diogenes rebuked a woman for liyng prostrate before the Goddes . . .	102
Diogenes had no house of his owne . . .	77	Diogenes consecrated to Aesculapius a gyaunt with a club . . .	102
Diogenes confuted Zeno . . .	106	Diogenes, howe he matched fortune, lawe & affections . . .	104
Diogenes nicknamed the scholes of Euclides . . .	78	Dioge. sitting in his tubbe . . .	104
Diogenes gaue himselfe to liue after philosophie . . .	78	Diogenes auouched himself to be richer then Alex- ander . . .	105
Diogenes was a very slouen . . .	82	Diogenes what he saied espyng a whyte lefe of paper . . .	105
Diogenes noted Plato of verbositie . . .	83		
Diogenes could finde no good menne . . .	83		
Diogenes willed the people to heare no vaine thinges . . .	83		
Diogenes taunted al men . . .	84		
Diogenes reproved the Mu- sicians . . .	85		
Diogenes reproving the			

Diogenes confuted Zenon .	106	Diogenes had neither man nor woman seruaunt .	137
Diogenes mocked a So- phiste & one prating in Astronomie .	106	Diogenes asked his almes .	145
Diogenes anyoynted his feete where others annoynthe their heddes .	107	Diogenes banished for coyn- ing of money .	126, 145
Diogenes was desired to bee a prieste .	108	Diogenes, why he vsed to eate in the open strete .	148
Diogenes, almoste per- swaded to geue ouer his philosophicall trade .	109	Diogenes taunted Plato for his course fare .	148
Dioge. was called doggue .	109	Diogenes his aunswer to them that derided him .	148
121, 143, 153, 154		Diogenes demed menne to bee saued from misauen- tures by veray chaunce, and not by the grace of God .	150
Diogenes had a blowe with a longe loggue .	110	Diagoras a Philosophier .	150
Diogenes seking a man with a candel in the daylight .	111	Diogenes, his aunswer to Alexander .	153, 169
Diogenes deluded a feloe for springklyng water vpon him for the purging of synnes .	113	Diogenes voyde of super- sticion .	154
Diogenes chalenged for a spie by Philippos .	115	Diogenes mocked a wrast- lear .	155
Dio. threatened of Perdicca	116	Diogenes, what countre- manne he was .	157
Diogenes rebuked a feloe for wearing a Lions skynne .	119	Diogenes drinking in a tauerne .	164
Diogenes called Oratours thrise double men .	121	Diogenes asked a large almes of a prodigall spender .	167
Diogenes commended an harper that all others dis- praised .	123, 124, 162	Diogenes what he saied being in a scholehouse .	176
Diogenes had cast in his teeth banyshement .	126	Diogenes howe he would bee buried .	173
Dio. his maner of begging .	128	Dionysius an euill schole- maister .	176
Dionysius how he entreated his frendes .	129	Displeasure of Philippos with Olympias & Alex- ander .	200
Diogenes, why he became a philosophier .	126	Disshes made from Augus- tus his table .	274
Didymi what it is 134 and of Didymo reade in the .	170	<i>Dictare discipulis</i> .	303
Diogenes what he saied to a renneawaye .	135	Dimitius Corbulo .	309
Diogenes what he saied to a feloe that came to the hotehouse .	136	Diadorus .	341
Diogenes hated women .	137	Difference betwene histories an annales .	357
Diogenes salutacion to one that robbed graues & tombes .	137	<i>Dignus crasso est</i> .	361
		Dolphin fyshes, what their propretee is .	59
		Dolobella asked a golden	

chain of Augustus . . .	283
Domitius a senator of Rome	313
Drachme, what valure it is of . . .	46, 243
Drinking much is mete for a sponge but not for a man . . .	372
Durachium or Dirrachium a toune in Macedonia . . .	298
Diademe what it is . . .	305

C.

Eating vnmeasurable . . .	38
Euill, what it is . . .	142
Eloquence of Plato . . .	82
Empier, a reigne or Empier holden with loue, &c. . .	183
Ennuchus . . .	107
Englyshe menne noted of excessiue eating, & Ger- maines of drinking . . .	62
Enemies, how a man should be auenged on his enemy	175
Enemies how they are to be ouercome . . .	309
Ennius an auncient poete . . .	357
Epaminondas what he was . . .	108
Epitaphiae is a writing set on dead mennes tombes . . .	221
Eris the goddess of strife . . .	47
Erasmus defense for taking giftes . . .	164
Erudicion or learning, what it profiteth ? . . .	170
Erotes put to death by Au- gustus for eating of a quail . . .	255
Eros a bondman of Cice . . .	347
Euripides a philosophier . . .	18
Euthidemus the frende of Socrates . . .	36
Eutichides the seruaunt of Aristippus . . .	60
Euclides was in the later daies of Plato . . .	78
Euxinus and Pontus are all one . . .	127
Euiill what is euiill . . .	142
Euery body is best iudge of his owne facultee . . .	199
Eurylothus . . .	214

Eudimonicus a philoso. . .	223
Excesse not beyng vsed, maketh all thinges good chepe . . .	19
Exercise of the memorie . . .	39
Excuse of sinne . . .	51
Excuse of some that pro- fesse the contempte of money . . .	61
Externall thinges make no man the better . . .	76
Exercise of Diogenes his scholares . . .	89
Excesse of drinking is abhominable . . .	164
Exhortacions made by Phi- lippus to his sonne Alex- ander . . .	194
Exaample of chastitee in Alexander . . .	205

F.

Fame honeste, howe it is to be purchased. . .	5
Fassion that the Atheniens vsed with condemned men . . .	23
Fassion of stage players in old time . . .	56
Face of a man ought to be moost cleane . . .	62
Fauour, the fauour of a stroumpet is better lost then had. . .	166
Familiare iesting betwene Antigonus & Antigoras . . .	244
Fabia Dolobella mocked of Cicero . . .	354
Fainte handleing of a plea, argueth the cause to bee weake . . .	369
Feede onely to meyntheyne life . . .	21
Felicitee of kynges what it is . . .	93
Feeling in a matter . . .	128
Felicitee maketh menne false herted . . .	248
Felicitee and good fortune of Augustus . . .	258
Figgues we choose and take	

eth . . .	73	vnto	160
Hercules the sonne of Iupi- ter . . .	119	Homere feigneth death and slepe to be broother ger- maine . . .	173
Hegesias a philosophier of the Epicures secte . . .	125	Housholding is not main- teined with singing . . .	177
Hercules, howe he was wor- shipped in olde time . . .	130	Horacius the poete his sai- ynges . . .	20, 188
Hecateros . . .	187	Homerus Ilias highly es- temed of Alexander . . .	230
Hephaestion highly in fa- uour with Alexander . . .	211	Humilitee of Socrates . . .	16, 44
Herode kylld his owne sonne . . .	265	Husbandrie is profitable . . .	44
Hellespontus . . .	232	Humanitee and pacience of Philippus . . .	199
Hephaestion taller manne then Alexander . . .	232	Humilitee of Antigonus . . .	239
Herennius . . .	262	Humblenesse and modestie of Augustus . . .	258
Hemlocke iuice, the price of an ounce . . .	335	Humanitee will hope the best of a frende . . .	320
High cares of a good Prince . . .	271	Hydria in foribus, ex- pouned . . .	54
Hungre the best sauce 2, 14, 30		Hypocrisis the chief poync̃te in eloquence . . .	381
Honest name and fame, howe to be purchaced . . .	5		
Honest matters to set forth, euery man is loothe . . .	8	X.	
Homere his verses 10, 137, 165, 168, 212, . . .	138, 336	I Ambique verses . . .	13
Honest geastes take all fare in good woorth . . .	21	Idlennesse is euermore worthie blame . . .	10
Holly died Socrates . . .	34	Ideas that Plato deuised . . .	138
Honest and vertuous loue . . .	34	Ignoraunce is the onely euill thing of the worlde . . .	15
How an euill husbande maye borowe money of himselfe . . .	44	Immoderate and gredie eat- ing . . .	38
Honest menne may vse de- lycate fare . . .	49	Inordinate liuing is more painful, then to liue ver- tuously . . .	3
Homerus Rapsodies what they are . . .	85	Incommoditees of wedlocke, and out of wedlocke . . .	18
Horsse vnbroken, apte to no seruise . . .	50	Insaciablen mynde of Alex- ander . . .	105
Housbande, the rule for the wife . . .	43	Inexpectato, a place of rhe- toricke . . .	123
Houres best to eate meate . . .	110	Ingratitude of the Atheniens towards Philippus . . .	185
Honest and vertuous men are the true ymages of God . . .	131	Incommodities that come by playng at dyce . . .	218
Honye mouthed persones . . .	133	Insolencie, a daungerous disease . . .	238
Hote houses . . .	136	Ingratitude of many per- sones . . .	320
Honest menne are not the wurse for the infamie of any place that they resort		Ingratitude of the people of	

I.

I Ambique verses . . .	13
Idleness is euermore worthie blame . . .	10
Idees that Plato deuised . . .	138
Ignoraunce is the onely euill thing of the worlde . . .	15
Immoderate and gredie eat- ing . . .	38
Inordinate liuing is more peinfuI, then to liue ver- tuously . . .	3
Incommoditees of wedlocke, and out of wedlocke . . .	18
Insaciable mynde of Alex- ander . . .	105
Inexpectato, a place of rhe- toricke . . .	123
Ingratitude of the Atheniens towards Philippus . . .	185
Incommodities that come by playng at dyce . . .	218
Insolencie, a daungerous disease . . .	238
Ingratitude of many per- sones . . .	320
Ingratitude of the people of	

Athenes	375
Italians vse abstinence for all diseases	309
Iudgement of the commen people	5
Iudgement preposterous of the commen people. 14,	99
Iustice executed by Antigo- nus.	242
Iulia the daughter of Au- gustus	281, 282
Iulia banyshed out of the court of Augustus	291
Iulius Caesar moste like in facions to Alexander the great	293
Iulius Caesar, a man of a wondrous hault courage	295-9
Iulius Caesar put away his wyfe Pompeia	296
Iulius Caesars ambicion	296-7
Iulius Caesar would that high enterprises shoulde bee dispatched without casting perilles	297
Iulius Caesar matched Pom- peius	299
Iulius Caesar, what he saied when he sawe in Rome straungers carrie young puppes	302
Iulius Caesar, howe he en- couraged his souldiours . .	302
Iulius Caesar said that Sylla was not half a good clerke	302
Iulius Caesar refused to bee called a king	304
Iulius Caesars horse	307
Iulius Caesar oppressed the commenweale	310
Iulius Caesars dreame	311
Iulius Caesar and Pompeius at variaunce	344
Iulius Caesar called Sen- ates for euery smal matter	352
Iulius Curtius proued a lyer by Cicero	354

K.

K Nowleage of moral phi-
losophie, what it pro-

fiteth	11
We knowe no more then is in our memorie	89
Kinges maye not shewe fa- uour to all persones	190
Kinges, howe farre thei maye extende fauour	190
Kinges must vse honest per- sones and abuse the vn- honest	190
Kinges learned, is an vnes- timable treasure	194
Kinges are euill reported for well doing	221
Kinges are not the rules of iustice, but the ministres.	239

L.

L Aercius a greke autour.	17
Lais an harlote of Co- rinth	61, 379
Lacedemonians exercised their children in hunting.	90
Lawyers contending	141
Laboring for good qualitees	149
Lawe, is there none with- out a citee	172
Lasanum and Lasanopho- rus	239
Lawe for soche as killed their fathers	286
Laberius a plaier	301, 352
Laodicia a citee in Asia . .	352
Lenocinium, what it is . . .	35
Lettres or wrytinges help not the memorie	39
Lenticula, what it is	101
Learning is no shame	40
Lessons for young princes .	189
Learned kinges an vnesti- mable treasure	194
Leonides the gouernour of Alexander	205
<i>Lex Iulia</i>	257, 281
<i>Lex Pompeia</i>	286
Lentulus	315
Leosthenes a manne of greate autoritee in Athenes	329
Lentulus girt to a sweord .	349
Libertee of the mynde	73

Libertee is the state of blisse . . . 119, 147, 171	Maistre that is wyse, wilbe aduised by his seruaunt . . . 91-9
Liber pater, one of the names of Bacchus . . . 158	Macedonians conquered Grece 92
Life and death both are painful to tyrannes . . . 177	Man, what it is 92
Liberalitee of Philippus . . . 193	Mannes life standeth not in carnall pleasures . . . 116
Like beareth loue to like . . . 216	Man of al creatures the moste miser. 121
Liua the wife of Augustus. . . 267	Manes, the seruaunt of Diogenes 142
281, 287	Manye rebuke in others, that they emende not theimselfes 146
Licinius of a bondeseruaunte made free . . . 275	Maisters geuen to viciousnes what they doe . . . 166
Liberalitee of Augustus towarde learned men . . . 281	Macedonians were plaine feloes 189
Libya a parte of Afrike . . . 313	Machaetes wrongfully condemned of Philippus . . . 196
Libians had their eares bored full of holes . . . 342	Macedonie was euer to litle for Alexander. 225
Loue honest and vertuous . . . 34	Menacing of great men . . . 298
Loue purchaced by vertue . . . 35	Mamertines a people in Sicilie 312
Loue, the occupation of Idle persones 131	Magnus the surname of Pompeius 313
Lust must be refrained . . . 3	Manly herte of Pompeius . . . 318
Lupines a kinde of poultz . . . 124	323
Lucius Lucullus 317	Many men punyshe in others that thei offend in theimselfes 7
Lucius Cotta, a great drinker of wyne . . . 367	Marcellinus put to silence by Pompeius 319
Liuing inordinately, is more painfull then to lyue ver- tuously 3	Marcus Tullius Cicero . . . 336
Lysias an Oratour . . . 18, 112	Marcus Aemilius Scaurus . . . 339
Lyue to lyue is no mis- erable thing 142	Marcus Tullius wolde not forsake his surname . . . 339
Lysippus 222	Marcus Tullius his greate care and studie 347
¶	Marcus Caelius an oratour. . . 354
M Anymenne giue greater wages to their horsekeepers, then to the teachers of their children . . . 56	Marcus Crassus an oratour . . . 361
Many pretende the contempte of delicates &c. . . 61, 63	Marcus Appius mocked of Cicero 365
Many good thinges are reiected because of the lewde persones that vse them 63	Marcus Aquilius called of Cicero Adrastus 366
Man is moste sapient and moste foolishhe 79	Meate and drinke must be taken with reason 3
Mannes witte apte to all thinges 80	Mecenaes of Rome 4
Mathematici, what thei wer . . . 85	Medleing to moche in other mennes matters 11

Menne that desire to live must frame, &c.	15	Midias, how Diogenes han- dled him	112
Men that are good, doe suf- fer slaunders gladly	25	Miserie, what thing is moste miserable in this worlde	132, 142
Mery saynges of Socrates	27, 38	Miserie of warre.	188
Men wherof thei should smel	31	Miletus a citee	208
Merie speaking of Aris- tippus	51	Mithridates kynge of Pontus	245
Measure is in all thinges a treasure	55	Minerua by the fiction of the poetes a perpetual virgin	380
Menne may iustly refuse their sonnes if, &c.	72	Moderate exercitacions of the bodie	38
Menne should haue no vayne communicacion	80	Money bringeth a liuing	50
Menne take peynes in vayne thinges	84	Money, the right vse of it	57
Menne should not put forth emptie hands to their frendes	88	Moral philosophie, what it profited the philosophers	70
Mennes woordes declare their myndes	90	Diogenes, howe he was mocked	141
Men should weare sweete floures in their bosomes, rather then on their cappes	108	Moderation of Alexand.	215, 220
Men there are but a fewe	109	Moderation of Pompeius	316
	111, 151	Myndus a toune in Asia	146
Megara, a toune in the countree of Atica	110	Mynde of man, wherein it is shewed	164
Megarians were rechelesse kepers of their children	110		
Medecine for good appetite	131	P.	
Merie saynges of Diogenes	140	N ame and fame honest, how to be purchased	5
	155, 156, 168	Nature hath provided for vs al necessarie houshold stuffe	101
Mercifulnesse of Antigonus	241	Newe commedie what it is	25
Men taken prisoners in warre, how they were vsed	250	Neptunus, Iupiter and Pluto were brethren.	65
Metellus withstode Caesar from taking money out of the treasourie	298, 309, 341	Nemea a region in Arcadia	127
Menne, be they neuer so highe are with famine made tame enough.	319	Nicolas Leonicensus	4
Menillus a capitaine	332	Nicenesse and tendrenesse hurteth men	8
Miserable is the pouertee of the mynde	50	Nisa a toune in India.	228
Myce howe they resorted to Diogenes his tubbe.	109	Nicocles the trustie ser- uaunte of Phocion	335
		Nothing more sapiente then man, &c.	79
		Noblenesse of birth, Dio- genes called a cloke	172
		Nomenclatores	269
		Nummus how it is taken	277
		Q.	
		O bseruacion of sepulchres	264
		Octavius Augustus	

Caesar	253
Oedipus	103
Office of a scholemaister	22
Office of kynges, is to heare euery man	201
Office of a biddell	269
Olympia, games of renning & wrestleing	7, 127
Olde supersticion	113
Olympias, what she might doe with Alexander	230
<i>Omnis iacta sit alia</i>	297
Oracion made by Lysias for Socrates	28
Oratours, Diogenes called them thrise double men	121
Oracle what it is	211, 378
Oulet taken by a souldier	277
Ouinius the seruauant of Vatinus	356
Oulet dedicate to Pallas	375

P.

P	Acience of Socrates	11, 12
	20, 24, 26, 27, 37	
P	acience of Aristippus	48, 52
P	arentes folie in chasten- inge their children	98
P	acience of Diogenes	111
P	armenio, the onely capi- tain of Philippus warres	181
P	armenio excused Philip- pus for sleping in the daie tyme	199
P	arrhesiastes	202
P	aedagogus, what he is	205
P	arillus one of Alexander his frendes	207
P	arrasites, what they wer	224
P	atrocius the frende of Achilles	228
P	aris, what he was	47, 232
P	acinnius Taurus	262
P	acience of Phocion	333
P	ersones that ought to be receiued into frendship	7
P	ersones that liue in all ease & pleasure	14
P	ersons that liue to be gluttons	21
P	eines of teaching, is wor-	

thie great wages	56
Penelope the doughter of Icarius	70
Persones desperate, what they should doe	80
Persones feble and maymed who they be	94
Penaltee of a blowe in the olde tyme	112
Perdicca, graund maister vnder Alexander	116
Peloponnesians	197
Perdicca one of Alexander his capitaines	227
Pericles a noble manne of Athenes	302
Persons condemned to death	23, 334
Philosophie altereth nature	36
Phthia	43
Philosophie, what fruite it bringeth	48, 157
Philosophiers would lyue well without lawes	49
Philosophiers haunte ryche mennes houses	49, 52
Philosophiers are phisicians of the mynde	53
Philosophie is aboute Rhe- torike	55
Philosophiers are more ex- cellent then Oratours	57
Philosophiers knowe when to speake, and when not	58
Phryne an herlotte	66, 152
Phylosophiers are neuer in extreme penurie	73
Phylosophie, what commo- ditees it bryngeth	93, 163
Philosophiers howe they paye for their meales	96
Philosophie healeth al dis- eases of the mynde	100
Philosophie knowen, what it profiteth	11, 70
Philosophiers haue the ouerhande of men	114
Philippus king of Maced. . . .	114
	181, 371
Philippus chalenged Dio- genes for a spie	114

<i>Phalagium</i> a venemous spider	116	Phocion what he saied to the hangeman	336
Philosophiers begge not, but requyre their owne	120	Phocion the axe of Demosthenes his reasons	371
Philosophiers are best that nede fewest things	142	Pirates	226
Philosophiers are eaters of all maner of meates	143	Piso married the daughter of Cicero	345, 349
Philosophiers what are their offices	174	Pleasure and payne folowen either other	32
Philippus his prayer when he had sondry good chaunces, &c	182	Plato and Aristippus were in courte with Dionisius	49
Philippus condemned a feloe that rayled on him	183	Place maketh not the person of lesse dignitee	58
Philippus his clemencie & moderation	184	Plato loued money better than Aristippus did good fare	65
Philippus oughed most thanks to soche as railed at him	184	Plato refused to daunce in purple	69
Philippus called Athens the staige of his glorie	187	Plaine speaking all menne cannot alowe	73
Philippus his iudgement vpon two flagitious feloes that accused either other	187	Plato a man of sobre diet	81
Philippus suffered no man that gaue him any thing, to passe vnrecompenced	191	Plato checked of Diogenes	81
Philippus deposed a iudge for diyng his heade	195	Plato loued clenlinesse	82
Philippus guildren	222	Plato his eloquence	83
Philippus wounded in fighting against the Tryballes	231	Plato his diffinicion of a man	109
Pharnaces king of Pontus	300	Possessions, none so good as a true frende	14
Phraates king of the Parthians	317	Poyson that Socrates dranke	23
Phocion a counsaillour of Athenes	323		32
Phocion was neuer seen laugh ne wepe	324	Pouertee of the mynde is myserable	50
Phocion vsed few wordes	324	Polyaenus the Sophiste	63
Phocion liked nothing that the grosse people either dyd or saied	324	Poincting with the fyngers	98
Phocion refused money that Alexander offred him	327	Pontus and Euxinus are all one	127
Phocion his counsaill to the Atheniens	328	Pouertee, a vertue soone learned	178
Phocion condemned to death by the Atheniens	333	Porus his answer to Alexander	219
Phocion died an innocent	334	Porus one of the kynges of ludia	220
		Pompeius had the beneuolence of menne	258
		Polleo Asinius	289
		Pontifices, what they were	295
		Pompeius wonne the first field against Caesar	299
		Pompeius coulde not skylly saied Caesar, howe to vse a victorie	299

Pontius Aquila made no
reuerence to Caesar . 304
Pomponius a launceknicht . 307
Pompeius refused honour
till he had deserued it . 313
Pompeius triumphed beyng
but a young man . 314
Pompeius had more regarde
to the commeweale then
to his owne safegarde . 319
Pompeius his vauntes of
hymselfe . 320
Pompeius what he saied of
Cicero . 321
Pompeius brought to vtter
despaire . 322
Pompeius wyshed to had
been borne a poore mans
sonne . 322
Pompeius and Julius Caesar
at variaunce . 345
Pollio wrote Chronicles in
Greke . 350
Prayers, of what sorte they
should be . 1
Pride may be in sackclothe . 24
Pritanei, what it is . 29
Pride of Diogenes . 82
Princes learned, the highest
treasure to a common-
weale . 48
Priue ambition in Diog. 82, 111
Prayers preposterous . 116
Prouerbes 87, 118, 123, 130,
152, 174, 189, 208, 233, 286,
298, 344, 360, 379
Profite by a man's enemy . 185
Princes may not take their
ful rest in time of warre . 198
Princes myndes should not
be vttered in time of warre . 237
Prisoners taken in battaill,
how they were vsed . 250
Princes doen perpetually
care for their subiectes . 252
Praesens, howe it may be
taken . 272
Praetor . 296
Priue theues loue the derke . 379
Purchacing of landes ought
to be moderate . 42

Purple, none weare but
kynges in olde time . 69
Purple, death and princelye
desteiny . 146
Publius Manlius the hoste
of Cicero . 352
Publius Sextius mocked of
Cicero . 365
Pythia . 95
Pyrrhus kyng of the Epiro-
tes . 247
Pytheas what he was . 370, 379



Quintus Luctacius Catu-
lus . 338
Quintus Cicero, the brother
of Marcus Cicero . 349



Raillyng against menne
without truthe touch-
eth them not . 25
Repastes, measurably to bee
taken . 9
Reache not at those thinges
that are aboue our com-
pace . 11
Rebeking euill, and yet to
committe the same . 38
Reason is a lawe to a philo-
sophier . 49
Relatiue opposita . 148
Reigne or Empier, sauing
for the dignitee, is a
mutual seruitude . 252
Repentaunce foloeth of vn-
honest pleasures . 379
Reuilyng one another, who-
so ouercometh, getteth
the worse . 382
Rhapsodies of Homerus,
what they are . 85
Rhymirales kynges of the
Thracians . 253
Rhetoricians for their exer-
cise are wont to talke
feigned argumentes . 362
Riche menne are more fol-
yshhe then others . 53

Right vse of money . . .	57	Sextus Julius Frontinus . .	310
Riche persones voyde of learnynge, Diogenes called shepe with the golden flyces	122	Seruilia the mother of Mar- cus	358
Riche menne haue nede of many lessons	179	Shame it is none to learne .	40
Romaines had thre names	339	Shepe with golden flyces were in Colchos	122
Rome howe it was deuided.	347	Sirenes, what they were . .	43
Rostra	351, 362	Sinopa a citee in Pontus . .	77
Rule for the wyfe is the husbande	43	Sillogisme, what it is. . . .	102, 106
Rubycon a floude	298	Sinopa a baren region . . .	126
Ryot and prodigalitee, caus- eth penurie	122	Sicknesse putteth vs in re- membraunce not to be proude	238
Ryot is in youngmen foly .	318	Silenus the fosterfather of Bacchus	250
❧.			
S acrifice to God, ought not to be ouersump- tuous	1	Slender fare is to muche for euill geastes	2
Sacrificing meate & drinke	33	Slepe is an ymage of death	229
Sapiente and learned Prin- ces	48	Small variaunces growe to scabbes	74
Sapiencie diffined	52	Sophistes what they are . .	15
Sapiencie commeth not by fortune	73	Socrates refused to take giftes	19
Sapient, nothing more then manne	79	Socrates made stone ymages	21
Sapient men haue al thinges	102	Socrates had two wyues at once	26
Samos an ysl in the sea .	149	Socrates died in perfite se- curitee	34
Satiri	159	Socrates, wherunto he was enclined	35
Sacrifices, whiche are best .	325	Socrates familier gooste . .	36
Science the onely good thyng of the worlde	15	Socrates thought it euill doen to teache for money	36
Scholemasters & their office	22	Soule of man, howe it pas- seth awaye	39
Scolding of brathelles. . .	26	Soule of man what it is . .	39
Scipio a noble capitaine in Rome	300	Soule of man shall retourne agayne	40
Scylla and Charibdis . . .	133, 357	Socrates had a vision at his death	43
Seruaunts how to be bought	90	Sophocles his verses	73
Sextarius	19	Soule and body what they differ	100
Seneca	19	Sophistications are not to bee soyled	106
Secte of the Ciniques . . .	24	Sostratus an Alexandrine .	266
Secrete hydinge an euyll thing, &c.	97	Souldiours aunsweres to Augustus	277
Serapis or Apis	159	<i>Sol omnia videt at reuelat</i> .	344
Sensualitee bringeth wret- chednesse	169	Spuesippus.	171
Seuerus Cassius	264	Sphinx the mostre	103, 343
Sertorius	316		

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taught of Diogenes . . .	89	selues in a glasse . . .	21
Xenocrates refused to take money of Alexander . . .	219	Younge age, moste apte to learne . . .	71
Xenophantus . . .	235	Young rufflers rebuked of Diogenes . . .	141
D.			
Y Mages are bought at high prices . . .	99	Z.	
Ymages, the true ymage of God . . .	131	Z Enon confuted by Di- ogenes . . .	106
Yong menneschiefest vertue	38	Zeale of Alexander towards Homere . . .	223
Young folkes to vieue them			





APPENDIX.



Appendix.

Proverbs, Quaint Sayings, Out-of-the-way Words and Phrases, allusions to Customs, &c., &c.

Perhaps some of the expressions in the explanations may be considered too vulgar ; but I cannot see how better to illustrate old vulgar (common) sayings than by parallel modern vulgar sayings.

It will be better, in many cases, to refer to the page and read the whole passage where an unusual word or expression occurs : this will frequently make the meaning pretty clear, and this is why several words and phrases are merely quoted with the page number, without any comment.

For the most part, the meanings of the unusual words and phrases are attempted to be illustrated only by parallel passages from other writers, in accordance with the advice of Quintilian :

"It is not inugh for hym to haue red poetes, but all kyndes of wryting must also be sought for, not for the histories only, but also for the propertie of wordes, which cōmunely doo receiue their auctoritie of noble auctours."—*Sir T. Elyot's Governour* (1537), *f.* 57.

It was thought this would be better than giving a formidable array of references to Cotgreve's, Bosworth's, Nare's, and other Dictionaries, the common practice of most makers of Glossaries.

PAGE

Redubbe v., xviii., 21

To repair, mend, redress, to *re-do-up* ; and is a form of the old English word "Dub," to do-up, which, again, is very likely from the French "ADDOUBER, to dress, patch, mend, to set fitly together."

"He was therwith asswaged of his fury, and reduced in to his fyrst astate of reason : in suche wise, that in *redoubing* his rage, and that there by shuld not remaine to him any note of reproche, he reteining his fiers & stourdy countenance, so

tempered him selfe, . . . that they reputynge al that his fiers demeanour to be (as it were) a diuine maiestie, neuer embraided him with any inordinate wrath or fury."—*Elyot's Governour* (1537), f. 21.

Medling v

Mixing or mingling.

Peighted sheath v., 24, 163, 243

Pride, ostentation; an intimation that whatever pride he might have about his body, after all it was only the case of his soul, and of no more account than the sheath is to the sword. The expression is often used in this book.

Capte vi., 357

Capacity.

With a weate finger vii

This is the earliest instance known to me of this saying, which was so common with our ancestors. It means anything that can be done without trouble, or readily. There can be no doubt whatever that in the beginning it just literally described a common practice. Let it be remembered that until the time of Erasmus, almost the only books students could get were in Latin and Greek. Our own school-boy experiences remind us that the Mediaeval scholar would often be at a loss for the meaning of a word: then the Dictionary (Vocabularium) would be in request. "Look it out" would say *our* master, "Wet your finger and look for it" probably said *their* "*creanser*," which phrase having to repeat as many times in an hour as Coleridge's Jew had to say "Old clo," soon naturally got shortened into "Wet your finger." I have read somewhere that it is supposed to be an allusion to "sweillebollors (as N. Udall would say) who would write names by dipping their fingers in the puddles of drink spilt on the top of the table. This seems far-fetched and unlikely. That dirty sots did dabble about with their fingers in the "slops" at their carouses is certain. That the practice of wetting the finger to turn over the leaves of books was very common in the 15th and 16th centuries, collectors know too well, to their sorrow. Some years ago, I bought a copy of Peter Schöffer's Bible, 1472, so filthy from this practice, that I took it to pieces, and laid the leaves singly on a deal board; and having first lightly *scraped* off the thickest dirt with a shoemaker's knife, *washed* both sides of the paper with a soft sponge dipped in warm soap and water, then used Benzolene and other things for removing the stains left by greasy fingers, re-sized it, had it appropriately bound after an antique pattern, and made a very choice copy out of what some people would have thought an almost worthless one. It may seem odd to those not acquainted with the splendid

quality of the paper used by the inventors of Printing to talk of washing a book with soap and water, but I can assure them it is a literal fact, and that it was not a mild damping, "a lick and a promise," (*Linc. Prov.*) but a regular scouring and "lathering," as one would scour cloth. If any choose to follow this example, let them try it only on "Fifteeners," for the art of making such paper appears to be totally lost in these degenerate days: let them also be careful not to scour too long without washing the soap off occasionally with pure water, for fear of removing some of the printing ink, for there appeared to be more danger of that than anything else.

Earnest penie ix

Money paid to confirm a bargain, to show the parties are in earnest. In some parts of the country it is usual upon the hiring of servants at "May-day time" for the ensuing year, to give them a small sum,—half-a-crown or five shillings, as "earnest money,"—in Lincolnshire it is called "fasten-penny," and if, any time between hiring and entering upon service, the servants should repent, or change their minds, they send their "fasten-penny" back, and the bargain is at an end.

Clogged nor letted ix,

Burdened nor hindered. Let is used here, according to its old meaning, which, it need hardly be said, was quite contrary to its modern one.

Ragmann's rolles x

A jest or a satire. See N. Udall's note on the term, in his remarks on Apop. 33 of Augustus Cæsar, p. 273 of this work.

"With that I stode vp, halfe sodenly afraïd;
 Suppleying to Fame, I besought her grace,
 And that it wolde please her, full tenderly I prayd,
 Owt of her bokis Apollo to rase.
 Nay, sir, she sayd, what so in this place
 Of our noble courte is ones spoken owte,
 It must needes after rin all the worlde aboute.
 God wote, theis wordes made me full sad;
 And when that I sawe it wolde no better be,

I did what I cowde to scrape out the scrollis,
 Apollo to rase out of her *ragman rollis*."

Dyce's Skelton (Garlande of Laurell), Vol. I., p. 420.

The following passage from *Piers Ploughman* would seem to show that "Ragman" or "Rageman" is the devil.

<p>"<i>In limbo inferni</i> There is derknesse and drede And the devel maister. And Piers, for pure tene, Of that a pil he raughte; He hitte after hym, Hitte how it myghte,</p>	<p><i>Filius</i> by the fader wille And frenesse of <i>Spiritus sancti</i>, To go robbe that RAGEMAN, And reve the fruyt fro hym." <i>Piers Ploughman, (Wright</i> 1856) <i>Vol. ii., p. 335.</i></p>
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Missed the cushion xiii, 348

Quite beside the mark. Probably an allusion to some part of the performance in the old *Cushion-dance*.

"And when he weneth to syt,
Yet may he mysse the quysshon."

Dyce's Skelton, Vol. 1, p. 349.

Or it may be an old term in Archery, meaning the target, which was generally stuffed with straw, or rather—made of twisted ropes of straw, and covered with a painted cloth.

"He snacht at the bag. No haste but good, (quoth shee),
Short shooting leeseth your game, ye may see,
Ye mist the cushin, for all your haste to it.
And I may set you *beside the cushin yit*."

Heywood's Proverbs, Pt. II., cap. 9.

Gaily well broken and exercised ... xiv., 3, 27, 89, 90, 194

We "brake in" horses, and it is rather singular to see this term used concerning the education and training of youth, but that severity was the order of the day, is notorious. Roger Ascham's very pleasant and sensible book, *The School-master*, opens with a graphic account of a dinner "at Windsore," "when the great plague was at London, the yere 1563." After telling us that "M. Secretarie [Cecil] hath this accustomed maner, though his head be neuer so full of most weightie affaires of the Realme, yet, at diner time he doth seeme to lay them alwaies aside: and findeth euer fitte occasion to taulke pleasantlie of other matters, but most gladlie of some matter of learning: wherein he will curteslie heare the minde of the meanest at his Table," he goes on to relate a conversation about "divers Scholers of Eaton" that "be runne awaie from the Schole, for feare of beating"; in which he strongly speaks against the practice. He recurs to the subject more than once, as in the following extract:—"For commonlie, many scholemasters, some as I haue seen, moe, as I haue heard tell, be of so crooked a nature, as, when they meete with a hard witted scholer, they rather breake him, than bowe (bend) him, rather marre him, then mend him. . . . These ye will say, be fond scholemasters, and fewe they be, that be found to be soch. They be fond in deede, but surelie ouermany soch be found euerie where."—*Ascham's School-master (Arber's Rp.)*, p. 32.

The translator of this book (N. Udall) was a very severe schoolmaster, as Tusser testifies in the often-quoted verse—

"From Paul's I went, to Eton sent,
To learn straightways, the Latin phrase,
Where fifty-three stripes, given to me,
At once I had,

For fault but small, or none at all,
 It came to pass, that beat I was :
 See UDALL, see, the mercy of thee,
 To me, poor lad."

Tusser's Husbandry, (1812 ed.) p 156.

Communication xiv., xxi., 91, 163, 301

Conversation or discourse. To have communion is to impart our thoughts and opinions, and not merely to meet or assemble together.

Maugre their heddes xiv., 207

In spite of, notwithstanding.

Vneth xiv., 64, 269

Hardly, scarcely, not easily.

Recole xviii., 306

Recoil, retreat.

Put in ure xix., 70, 125, 200

Put in use.

"What thing a man in tender age has most in *ure*
 That same to death alwayes to kepe he shal be sure
 Therefore in age who greatly longes good frute to mowe
 In youth he must him selfe aplye good seede to sowe."

Ascham's Toxophilus, Arber's Reprint, p 57.

Cast in the teeth xx., 268

"Threw in his face."

Bourdyng xxiv., 272, 359

Jesting, scoffing.

Olde Wiues foolishe tales of Robin Hooe xxv

An allusion to the popularity of Robin Hood with the common people.

"The Holy Bible grounde of truth and of lawe,
 Is now of many abiect and nought set by,
 Nor godly scripture is *not worth an harwe* ;
 But tales are loued ground of ribaudry,
 And many are so blinded with their foly,
 That no scripture thinke they so true nor good,
 As is a foolishe iest of *Robin hood*."

Barclay's Ship of Fools (1570), f. 23.

Hicke scorner xxvi

Hickscorner is the title of one of the oldest dramas in our language ; it was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, who was one of the journeymen of Caxton, the first printer in England. Hickscorner is the name of the principal character in the play ; he is a libertine who has travelled, and is a great scoffer at

religion and proprieties in general. He is again alluded to at page 15.

Gentiles and Miscreauntes xxviii

Merely misbelievers, or persons not having a knowledge of Christian truth are here intended, although the modern meaning is more offensive.

Regimente 6

Regimen, rule, government.

"He that goeth about to perswade a multitude, that they are not so well-governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favorable Hearers; because they know the manifold defects whereunto every kinde of *Regiment* is subject; but the secret lets and difficulties, which in public proceedings, are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to consider."—*Hooker's Ecc. Polity, first sentence of the book.*

Bobbers 6

Deceivers or cheaters.

"Who careth, nor spareth, till spent he hath all,
Of *bobbing*, not robbing, be fearful he shall."

Tusser, (1812 Reprint) p. xxviii.

Arsee versee 6, 99, 376

The "tail" at top (reversed), clean contrary, quite the opposite.

"To tumble ouer and ouer, to toppe ouer taylor."

Ascham's Toxophilus, Arber's Reprint, p. 47.

Minionlie 7

Delicately, prettily. The word is often used in this book.

Coiling 7

Tumult, trouble, disturbance, rowing, scolding, (frequently used by Shakespeare.) Here it appears to mean beating.

"Nay, as for charming me, come hither if thou dare,
I shall cloute thee tyll thou stinke, both thee and thy traine,
And coyle thee mine own handes, and send thee home againe."

N. Udall's Roister Doister, Act iii., sc. 3.

A blewé point 8

A string or band. Sometimes means what are now called braces or "suspenders." A very common term at the beginning of the sixteenth century for denoting anything of small value. To illustrate this proverb, we give an amusing extract from (Merry) Andrew Boorde, that much maligned, genial, sound-hearted and sensible Englishman:

"Myrth commeth many wayes, the princypal myrth is when a man doth lyue out of deadly syn, and not in grudge of conscience in this worlde, and that euerye man doth reioyce in

God, and in charitie to his neyghbour, there be many other myrthes and consolacions, some beyng good and laudable, and some vycuperable, laudable myrth is one man or one neyghboure to be mery with an other, with honesty and vertue, with out sweryng and sclaundering, and rybaldry speaking. Myrth is in musycall instrumentes, and gostly and godly syngyng, myrth is when a man lyueth out of det, and may haue meate and drinke and cloth, although he haue neuer a peny in his purse, but nowe a dayes he is merye that hath golde and syluer, and ryches with lechery, and *all is not worth a blewte poynte.*”—*Boorde's Breuiary of Healthe*, 1552, f. 58.

Trumpery excuses for not reading 8

It appears that Erasmus was as much aggravated then with the grossness, sensuality, and want of interest in refining occupations, as Professor Ruskin is now. When a man in comfortable circumstances says he has no time for reading, and we see he has plenty of time for eating, drinking, and smoking, it is very evident that the animal “bears the stroke” in his composition. Lord Bacon most pertinently observes “That learning should take up too much time or leisure : I answer, the most active or busy man that hath been or can be, hath, no question, many vacant times of leisure, while he expecteth the tides and returns of business (except he be either tedious and of no dispatch, or lightly and unworthily ambitious to meddle in things that may be better done by others :) and then the question is, but how these spaces and times of leisure shall be filled and spent ; whether in pleasures or in studies ; as was well answered by Demosthenes to his adversary Æschines, that was a man given to pleasure, and told him, *That his orations did smell of the lamp : Indeed,* (said Demosthenes) *there is a great difference between the things that you and I do by lamplight.* So as no man need doubt that Learning will expulse business, but rather it will keep and defend the possession of the mind against idleness and pleasure, which otherwise at unawares may enter to the prejudice of both.”—*Lord Bacon's Advt. of Learning*, Bk. I., p. 20. (*Bell and Daldy's Rp.*)

Doggue wearie 8

“Dog-tired” and as “tired as a dog,” are common enough expressions.

Leere 8

Empty or unburdened.

Fardelle 9

A pack or bundle. “I caste into the shippe in the steade of marchandyse, a pretye fardell of bookes : bycause I intended to come agayne rayther neuer than shortelye.”—*Raphe Robinson's trans. More's Utopia*, 1551, sig. N., i.

"And after those days we trussed vp our fardells and went vp to Jerusalem." "*Breeches Bible*, 1582. Acts xxi, 15.

Omelesse 10
Unless ..

"What is aboue our reach, we haue naught to doe with-
all" 11

See the sentiment well illustrated in Gower :

"Full ofte he heweth up so hye
That chyppes fallen in his eye."—*Gower* (1532) f. 18.

Buff me baffe 12
Or as the modern vulgar proverb has it, "he could neither
speak nor grunt."

Occupie 13, 30, 63, 99, 156, 210, 361

Use ; it also meant possess, practise, enjoy, &c. It had also an offensive meaning, and was used in an equivocal sense, as at p. 361. At one time it appears to have been a cant word, much in use with the fast men of the period. Many of the early dramatists and writers allude to it. Ben Jonson has more than one "cut at it." Shakespeare says "These villains will make the word captain as odious as the word *occupy*."

"To do shame they haue no shame,
But they wold no man shulde them blame :
They haue an euyll name,
But yet they wyll *occupy* the same."

Dyce's Skelton (Colyn Cloute) Vol I., p. 355.

"But amonges the Iewes as I began to tell, I am sure there was nothing so *occupied*, or dydde so moche good as bowes dyd."—*Ascham's Toxophilus, Arber's Reprint, p. 71.*

Gubbe 14
Lot of money.

Slouging... .. 16, 199
To make sluggish or slow, to idle, or loiter.

"These are but *remora*, and hindrances to stay and *slag* the ship from further sailing."—*Lord Bacon's Advt of Learning, Bk. II., p. 148.*

He knewe nothyng sauing only this that he knewe nothyng 16

—"The wisest of all mortall men
Said, 'He knew nought, but that he nought did know' ;
And the great mocking-Master mockt not then'
When he said, 'Truth was buried deepe below.'"

Davies' Poems, Grosart's Reprint, Vol. i. p. 19.

Leisure the most valuable thing in the world 16

"Wel can Senek and many philosopher
Bywaylen time, more than gold in cofre.
For losse of catel may recovered be,
But losse of tyme schendeth us, quod he.
It wil nat come agayn, withoute drede,
Nomore than wol Malkyns maydenhede,
Whan sche had lost it in hir wantownesse."

Chaucer—Man of Lawes Tale.

See what Lord Bacon says on the advantages of leisure and the "contemplative man" in his *Advt. of Learning*, Bk. I.

*He was iudged a perfect wise man because that
albeit he had ignoraunce of all thinges, like as other
men had: yet in this behalf he was aboue them, that
he knowledged his ignoraunce, whereas the residue
wer unknowyng of this thing also, that thei perfectly
knew nothing* 17

This calls to mind the jest of the two Scotch innocents. One accused the other of being a fool. "I know it," replied he, "but thou art a fool and don't know it." By no means an unusual case.

To haue well begonne, is a thing halfe doen 17

"I haue herde say,
That who that well his warke beginneth
The rather a good ende he winneth."

Gower, 1532, sig. aa. iij.

We yet haue this proverb. For further illustration of it, see N. Udall's remarks on the 94 Apoph. of Socrates (p. 41).

Whether a man marry or not, he will repent 18

Women have employed the pens of men, especially of Poets and Writers of Fiction, more than any other subject since the world began. If we begin with Solomon's Proverbs and the downright and unflinching statement in Ecclesiasticus, that "All wickedness is but little to the wickedness of a woman" (cap. xxv. 19), and take the classic writers of Greece and Rome, the mediæval, as well as modern authors, the commonest theme is still woman. At some future time, I may publish a volume containing the most elegant compliments and the bitterest epigrams which have been written on the fair sex,—not compilations from Byron and Tennyson, but further a-field. For the present, let the following suffice. First the "Moral Gower," who is complimentary enough:

"Amonge the men is no solas
If that there be no woman there
For but if that the woman were

This worldes ioye were away
 This is trouthe, that I you seye.
 To knyghthode and to worldes fame
 They make a man to drede shame
 And hopour for to be desyred."

Gower (1532) f. 152.

The next specimen, from Lydgate, is rather deprecatory in its mild pleadings.

"It is no reason to atwite women all,
 though one or two whilome dyd faile,
 It fitteth not, nor it may not auaille,
 Them to rebuke that perfite ben and good,
 Farre out of ioynt though some other stode.

The rich Rube nor the Saphir ynde,
 be not appeired of their freshe beautie,
 Though among stones men couterfets finde
 and semblably though some women be
 Not wel gouerned after their degre,
 it not defaceth nor doth no violence,
 To them that neuer did in their life offence.

The white lylly nor the holsome rose
 not violence * spredde on bankes thicke,
 their swetenes which outward they vnclose
 Is not appeyred with no wodes wicke,
 and though y* breares & many croked sticke
 Grow in gardeines among the flowers faire
 They may the vertue of herbes not apeire."

[* violets]

Lydgate's Fall of Princes, 1554, f. 37.

He afterwards changes his tone somewhat, and, after hinting at Serpents and Lyonesses, winds up with a cry of alarm at his temerity at daring to meddle with so tickle a matter.

"They may of mekenesse shewe a fayre pretence
 Some Serpent is of siluer shene,
 And some floures ful freshe of apparence,
 Grow on thistles, rough, sharpe, and kene.
 And some that ben angelike to sene,
 and very heauenly with their golden tresses
 Ben at a prefe very Leonesses.

To say the soth, a pore man may be shent
 I dare no more speake of this matter."

Lydgate's Fall of Princes, f. 82.

The following, which is supposed to be by Chaucer, is also sufficiently complimentary, but, to our fancy, he grinned mischievously when he wrote it:

"Lo, how redy hir tonges bin and preste
 To speke harme of women causelesse !
 Alas, why might ye not as well say the best,
 As for to deme hem thus guiltlesse ?
 In your herte, iwis, there is no gentilnesse,
 That of your own gilt list thus women fame ;
 Now, by my trowth, me think ye be to blame."

"Alle tho that liste of women evil to speke
 And sayn of hem worse than they deserve,
 I preye to God that hir nekkes to breke,
 Or on some evil dethe mote the janglers sterve ;
 For every man were holden hem to serve,
 And do hem worship, honour and servise,
 In every maner that they best coude devise."

Chaucer's Praise of Women.

It is about as genuine as his interpretation of the Latin sentence at the end of this extract.

"Madame Partilot, so haue I bliss,
 Of o thing God hath me sent large grace ;
 For when I see the beaute of your face.
 Ye ben so scarlet hiew about your eyghen,
 It makith all my drede for to deyghe,
 For, al so sicker as *In principio* *
Mulier est hominis confusio
 Madame, the sentence of this Latyn is
 Womman is mannes joye and manne's blis."

However, if our book is ever published, it will certainly show that no man has written anything near so many tender and beautiful things on Women as Chaucer has, notwithstanding a few jokes.

Jolly Andrew Boorde, makes a "*bourd*" of the matter, and truly it is most excellent fooling :

"Now why a woman is named a woman, I wyll shewe my mynde. *Homo* is the latin worde, and in Englyshe it is as wel for a woman as for a man, for a woman the silables couerted is no more to say as a man in wo, and set wo before man, and then it is woman, and wel she may be named a woman, for as muche as she doth bere chyldren with wo and payne, and also she is subiect to man, except it be there where the white mare is the better horse therfore *Vt homo non cantet cum cuculo*, let euery man please his wyfe in all matters, and displease her not but let her haue her owne wyl, for that she wyll haue who so euer say nay.

 *The cause of this matter.*

"This matter doth sprynge of an euyl education or bring-

[* From the beginning the woman is the confusion of man.]

ynge vp, aud of a sensuall and a peruerse mynde, not fearyng god nor worldely shame.

¶ *A remedy.*

“¶ *Physike can nat helpe this matter, but onely God and greate sycknes may subdue this matter, and no man els.*

Vi mulier non coe at cum alio viro nisi cum proprio. &c.

¶ Beleue this matter if you wyll.

“¶ Take the gal of a Bore and the gal of a Wolfe, myxe them togyther, and put to it the oyle of Olyue *ET VNG. virga.* Or els take of the fatnes of a Gote that is but of a yere of age. *ET VNG. virga.* Or els take the braynes of a Choffe and myxe it with Hony. *ET VNG. virga.* But the best remedy that I do knowe for this matter, let euery man please his wyfe and beate her nat, but let her haue her owne wyll, as I haue sayde.”—*Boorde's Breuiary of Health* (1552) f. 82.

But this is mild,—almost complimentary in comparison with a “sentence” in “*Michel's Aynbite of Inuyt* (Again-bite, or Remorse of Conscience) edited by Mr. Morris, for the Early English Text Society. The spelling is modernised.

“Fairhood is but a white sack full of dung,—stinking, and as a muck-heap be-snewed.” Which elegant comparison is evidently a “plagiarism” from S. Chrysostom, who says: “When thou seest a fair and beautiful person, a brave Bonaroba, a bella donna, *quæ salivam moveat, lepidam puellam et quam tu facile ames*, a comely woman, having bright eyes, a merry countenance, a shining lustre in her look, a pleasant grace, wringing thy soul, and increasing thy concupiscence; bethink with thyself that it is but earth thou lovest, a mere excrement, which so vexeth thee, that thou so admirest, and thy raging soul will be at rest. Take her skin from her face, and thou shalt see all loathsomeness under it, that beauty is a superficial skin and bones, nerves, sinews: suppose her sick, now reuiled, hoary-headed, old: within she is full of filthy phlegm, stinking, putrid, excremental stuff: snot and snivel in her nostrils, spittle in her mouth, water in her eyes, what filth in her brains,” &c.

On the whole, women would appear to have a great deal more reason to complain of the treatment they have received from Divines, of all shades of doctrine, than from any other class.

Hooker (the judicious) accuses them of weakness, and of being easily led to believe nonsense (*Ec. Pol. pref.*). Luther, among other uncomplimentary things, said they have “broad hips and seats, to the end they should remain at home, sit still, and keep house, carrie and bring up children” (*Colloquies*, 1652, p. 72). R. Baxter speaks largely of their natural imbecility and childishness (1838 *ed.*, Vol. I. p. 399). Adam

Clarke, in his *Commentary*, says, "in the best days they had to work hard," and quotes Homer, &c., to prove it (Vol I., p. 311, &c). He also says that *Woman* is from the Anglo-Saxon *Wombman*, which means the *man* with the *womb* (*Comt.*, Vol. I., p. 49). Poole, another commentator, says, "The foot is not made for the shoe, but the shoe for the foot; so man is not made for the woman, but the woman for the man."

Cuckolde 18

Poets and wits never tire of "running their rigs" on this unfortunate class. The temptation to give here an extract from Skelton cannot be resisted, not only because it illustrates the word in delightful airy playful verse, but also because it quotes so many good old proverbs.

—"When the rayne rayneth and the gose wynkith,
Lytil wotith the goslyng what the gose thynkith;

He is not wyse ageyne the streme that stryuth;

Dun is in the myre, dame, reche me my spur;

Nedes must he rin that the deuyll dryuth;

When the stede is stolyn, spar the stable dur;

A ientyll hownde shulde neuer play the kur;

It is sone aspyed where the thorne prikkith;

And wele wotith the cat whos berde she likkith;

With Mairione, clarione, sol, lucerne,

Graund juir, of this Frenshe prouerbe olde,

How men were wonte for to discerne

By candlemas day what wedder shulde holde;

But Marione clarion was caught with a *colde colde*,

(*Anglice* A COKWOLDE.

And all ouercast with cloudis vnkinde,

This goodly flowre: with stormis was vntwynde,

This ieloffer ientyll, this rose, this lylly flowre,

This primerose pereles, this propre vyolet,

This columbyne clere and fresshest of coloure,

This delycate dasy, this strawbery pretely set,

With frowarde frostis, alas, was all to-fret!

But who may haue a more vngracyous lyfe

Than a chyldis birde and a knauis wyfe?

Thynke what ye wyll

Of this wanton byll;

By Mary Gipcy,

Quod scripsi, scripsi:

Uxor tua, sicut vitis.

Habetis in custodiam,

Custodite sicut scitis,

Secundum Lucem, &c."

Dyce's *Skelton, Garlande of Laurell*, Vol. I., p. 418.

Cast in the teeth, and haue daiely in your dish 18, 48, 268, 360

Equivalent to the modern "thrown in your face," and "to have it every meal you go to."

Very ungallant remarks of Mister N. Udall's, considering what is said of his fondness for "larking" with the servant girls at Eton.

Your Mother-in-lawe's tattelyng toungue 13

It appears the prejudice against these poor unprotected females is of very long standing.

Xantippe the curstest queene that euer wetted clout ... 21

Grosser versions of this saying have been current in more modern days. Quean is a coarse or bold woman, *not necessarily* an unchaste one.

Damning 23

Here we see the word "damn" used correctly=condemn. Theologians are principally to blame for the meaning which is generally attached to it in modern times. It occurs in Chaucer more than once, where it can only mean condemn or despise, as in *Troilus and Creseide*, after *Troilus* was slain by the Greeks

"And when that he was slain in this manere,
His light ghost full blissfully is went
Up to the hollownesse of the seventh sphere ;

And doun from thence, fast he gan auise
This little spot of earth that with the see
Enbraced is

And in himselfe he lough right at the wo
Of hem that wepten for his death so fast,
And *damned* all our werkes that followeth so
The blind lust, which that may not last."

Troilus and Creseide, Bk. v., last stanza but 8.

"If I see my brother sinne, I may betwene hym and me rebuke him, and damne his deede."—*Tyndale*, (1573), *f.* 144.

"*Þ se þæt witeles men of galathie wþo deteguede þou for to not bileue to the treuþe/ bifore wþos ȝen ihu crist is dampnyde (or exilide).*"—*Epistle to the Galatians, cap. iii, 6, Pickering's Rp. of Wycliffe's Test.* (1858).

"Agayne in some partes of the lande theis seruyng men (for so be thies *damned* persons called) do no common worke, but as euery priuate man nedeth laborours, so he cometh into the markette-place, and there hiereth some of them for meate and drynke, and a certeyne limityd wayges by the daye, sumwhaat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man."—*More's Utopia, trans. by Raphe Robinson, 1551, sig. D. vi, verso.*

Windore 26, 134

The old (and proper) form of "Window," that is, a door to keep out or let in the wind. Holes only were once left in buildings to admit light, but men grew luxurious and put in doors which might be shut when the wind was disagreeable. Glazed windows are supposed to have been first introduced into this country late in the twelfth century. *Piers Plowman*, Chaucer, Gower, &c., have "Windowe" and "Windoe," but in Lincolnshire most of the middle, and all the lower classes, say "Windore," and they are right in this and in many other instances of what are called "vulgar" pronunciations.* "Glasewindores" are mentioned in the *Paraph. of Erasmus*, *Pref. to Luke*.

It seems that the word as a term for an opening for ventilation was not confined to houses:—

"As for example, how many *windowes* they must make to theyr shooes? what color and number of knottes goeth to theyr gyrdelles."—*Prayse of Follie*, 1577, K. iii, *verso*.

Tenne commaundementes... .. 27

Ten fingers, or two fists, a slang term yet in use in the prize-ring—if indeed there be yet a prize-ring.

Full but 29

A colloquialism yet in use: right upon, suddenly met, &c.

Pomanders 31

See Note to p. 116.

Trendles or roundelles 32

Small hoops or balls. Compare the following:

"And made many a faire tournyng
Upon the grene gras springyng.
There myghtest thou see these flowtours,
Mynstrales, and eke jogelours,
That well to synge dide her peyne.

There was many a tymbester, [player on the timbrel]
And saillouris, that I dar wel swere [dancers]
Couthe her craft ful parfitly.
The tymbres up ful sotilly
They caste, and hente full ofte
Upon a fynger faire and softe.

Romaunt of the Rose.

Trick voided 32

Decked, ornamented. "Tricked-out" is yet common enough.

The reply of Socrates when asked how he would be buried 39

"He that hath no graue ys couered wyth the skie, and the way to heauen owte of all places is of like length and distance."—*Raphe Robynson's trans. More's Utopia*, 1551, B. iiij.

* See also Note on "Solares" at p. 454.

- If all the calamities of men were put in a heap, each one would choose his own again* 40
 Compare Addison's celebrated Vision of the Mountain of Miseries, *Spectator*, Nos. 558-9.
- Most haste worst speed* 41
 The old Proverb with several variations.
- A penny saved is a penny got* 44
 See the remarks of Erasmus upon the 101 Apophthegme of Socrates, where he gives this old proverb in various forms.
- Win the spurres, and beare the bell* 45
 "An horse because he draweth nerest to man's sense, and is conuersant amonges men, is therefore partaker also of suche myseries as men are subiecte to. As who not seeldome, whyles hee is ashamed to be ouer runne for the belle dooth tyre hym selfe."—*Prayse of Follicie*, 1577, B. viii.
- No mannes dogbolte* 48
 A low class of serving men, who were as dependent as dogs, and as ready to be sent any errand as "bolts,"
 "Where bankrupt Factors to maintaine a state
 Forlorne (heauen knows) and wholly desperate,
 Turne valiant *Boults*, Pimps, Haxters, roring boyes."
Brathwaite's Strappado for the Devil, Rp., p. 151.
 "Farewell vnciuill Stinkards, skum oth' City,
 The Suberbs panders, *boults* to garden alleys."—*Id.* p. 162.
 Doubtless an allusion to bolts for crossbows, which were of different sorts and sizes, from small ones with square flat heads for shooting birds, up to large sharp-pointed ones for stags, &c. In the old days of the rigid and arbitrary forest-laws, only the great and wealthy (with a few exceptions) were allowed to keep dogs; and any found straying on the grounds of rich landed proprietors were destroyed without mercy. Most likely a coarse, rough bolt would be used for this purpose (anything good enough to kill a dog with) which, as a murderous and barbarous instrument of oppression, would be held in peculiar detestation by the tillers of the soil, whose dogs were so destroyed. Hence to liken a man to a "dogbolt" would be the reverse of complimentary.
 "To bolt"=run off quickly, is yet common.
- He is a Man that hath no money, but he is no man, that hath no knowledge nor learnyng* 52
 More would agree with Barclay than with Aristippus:—
 "But if he haue a great wombe and his cofers ful
 Than is none holde wyser bytwene London and Hul."
Barclay's Ship of Fools, p. 12, Rp.
- He had turned vp his heeles and perished* 54
 The modern vulgar proverb is "He has turned up his toes to the daises"=he is dead.

Maie Games 56

"Against Maie . . . euery Parishe, Towne, and Village, assemble themselves together, bothe men, women, and children, olde and yong, euen all indifferently : and either goying all together, or deuidyng themselves into companies, they goe some to the Woodes and Groues, some to the Hilles and Mountaines, some to one place, some to an other, where they spende all the night in pleasant pastymes, and in the mornynge thei returne, bryngyng with them Birch, Bowes, and braunches of Trees, to deck their assemblies withall. . . . I haue heard it credibly reported (and that *via voce*) by menne of great grauitie, credite and reputation, that of fourtie, three score, or a hundred maides goying to the Woode ouer night, there haue scarcely the thirde parte of them retourned home againe undefiled."—*Stubbs' Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583, f. 94.

"Come, my Corinna, come ; and comming marke,
How each field turns a street ; each street a Parke.

* * * * *

There's not a budding Boy, or Girle, this day,
But is got up, and gone to bring in May.

A deale of Youth, ere this, is come

Back, and with White-thorn laden home.

Some have dispatcht their Cakes and Creame,

Before that we have left to dreame :

And some have wept and woo'd, and plighted Troth,

And chose their Priest, ere we can cast off sloth ;

Many a greene-gown has been given ;

Many a kisse, bothe odde and even :

Many a glance too has been sent

From out the eye, Love's Firmament :

Many a jest told of the Keyes betraying

This night, and Locks pickt, yet w'are not a Maying."

Herrick's Hesperides (1648) p. 75.

"God forbydde that Christian women shoulde come forth among the holy congregacion in such maner of apparail, as the commen sorte of vnfaythfull women are wonte to goe forth vnto *weddynges* * and *maygames*, trymmynge them selues fyrst with a greate a doo by a glasse, with fynely rolled heare or enbrodryng of golde : eyther with precyouse stones hangyng at their eares or neckes, or otherwise in sylkes or purple, as well to set out theyr beautie vnto suche as loke vpō them to play the *naughtye packes*,† as also in shewyng their Jewelles and substaunce, to vpbrayde suche as be poorer than they of theyr pouertie."—*Paraph. of Erasmus*, 1549, *Tim.* f. 8.

The *Maie Games* alluded to in the text, are the dancings and merry-makings round the May-pole, after the return from the gathering of the May, which Stubbes describes so savagely,

* See Note on p. 455.

† See Note on p. 439.

and Herrick so tenderly and gracefully. The truth, probably, was between the two,—or they were both true.

I remember getting up before sunrise, forty years ago, on the First of May and eight succeeding mornings, and washing my face in dew to take away freckles, for which washing in May-dew nine mornings together was said to be a cure.

A stone, thei commonly called (Euen as we also do) a feloe that had neither learnyng nor good utterance of tongue 56

"What vnkinde appetite were it, to desyre to be father rather of a pece of fleshe that can only meue and fele, than of a child, that should haue the perfecte fourme of a man? what so perfectly expresseth a man as doctryne?"

"Diogenes the phylosopher, seyng one without lernynge sytte on a stone, sayde to them that were with him, Beholde where one stone sytteth on an other, which wordes well consydered and tried, shal appere, to conteyne in them wonderfull matter, for the approbation of doctrine."—*Elyot's Governor* (1537), f. 43.

Men bestowed more money on the keep of their horses, than on the education of their young sons 56

"And it is pitie, that commonlie, more care is had, and that emonges verie wise men, to finde out rather a cunnyng man for their horse than a cunnyng man for their children. They say nay in worde, but they do so in dede. For, to the one, they will gladlie giue a stipend of 200. Crounes by yeare, and loth to offer to the other, 200. shillinges. God, that sitteth in heauen laugheth their choice to skorne."—*Ascham's Scholemaster, Arber's Reprint*, p. 38.

See the *Babee's Book*, capitally edited by Mr. Furnival, for the Early English Text Society, which throws a flood of light on the State of England in the 15th and 16th centuries.

Iacke of Bethleem 59

The treatment of the poor lunatics in asylums was very dreadful in former times. The patients were exhibited for money, like wild beasts in a cage, and visitors were allowed to tease them, as cruel or thoughtless people now tease monkeys in a menagerie. Hogarth, in the seventh plate of the *Rake's Progress*, represents some fashionable ladies thus amusing themselves by examining some nearly naked lunatics. Some of the only half crazy, or more harmless of the patients, were sent out to beg for the support of the hospital, with badges on their arms, and they were called "Iack-of-Bedlams," or "Tom-of-Bedlams," and, of course, in the "good old times" were treated in the brutal manner, which seems an instinct

in so many Englishmen, whose choicest sport is to shed the blood of some harmless and innocent creature, or to see animals tear each other in pieces.

Give a stopping oistre 61

In vulgar parlance "stopped his mouth," "shut him up."

"I have a *stoppyng* oyster in my poke
Truste me, and yf it come to a nede :
But I am lothe for to reyse a smoke,
Yf ye coude be otherwyse agrede."

Dyce's Skelton, Vol. I., p. 48.

"Herewithall his wife to make up my mouth,
Not onely her husbands taunting tale avouth,
But thereto deviseth to cast in my teeth
Checks and *choking oysters*."

Heywood's Proverbs, cap. 11.

Muttonmungers 62, 170

The context sufficiently explains the word.

Ingen or subtile deuise... .. 64, 381

Piece of ingenuity or contrivance.

Cast him in the nose 65, 146, 164, 281, 372, &c.

As we now say, "threw it in his face," or "taunted him" with it.

Common as the cartwaie 65, 154

"For leasings and periuries, false subtylties and gyles, and many other wickednesses ben as *common as the cartway* with such inordinate louers of ryches."—*Dives and Pauper*, 1536, f. *Ai verso*.

Fett his gambaudes 67, 84

Fetching gambols, the old way of saying gamboling and frisking.

"For women vse to loue them moste of all,
Which boldly bosteth, or that can sing and iet,
Which are well decked with large bushes set,
Which hath the mastery ofte time in tournament,
Or that can *gambauld*, or daunce feat and gent."

Barclay's Eclogues.

Break a straw between them 68

Would quarrel.

Atonement 75, 200

At-one-ment, to be brought to agree. It would be scarcely necessary to explain a word whose meaning lies so evident on the face of it, but that theologians have wrested it to mean more.

"If it might please you, to enforce no further
The griefes betweene ye : to forget them quite
Were to remember : that the present neede,
Speakes to *attone* you."—*Ant. and Cleopatra*, Act ii., sc. 2.

"And as saynt Bernarde byddeth, take hede by the image how his heed is bowed downe to thee all redye to kysse the and come at one with the."—*Dives and Pauper*, 1536, f. 13 verso.

Miser 76, 121

The exact meaning of the Latin word is a wretched person, such as we now term "miserable";—and not only a man too fond of money.

"With loue's disdain at such a riuall's seed,
The wretch, compeld, a runnagate became,
And learn'd what ill a *miser*-state doth breed."

Sidney's Poetical Works, (1877), Vol. II., p. 171.

Nicke name 78

A very early instance of the use of this word. To "nick it" is just to hit it, or to do it exactly right. "In the nick of time" = just at the right moment. So "nick-name" just "hits off" the character or quality of a man: "nicks him to a T."

Iacke and Gille 79

"Great unwashed"—members of the rustic "residuum."

Out of square 80

Out of agreement.

Raumppe theim vp 81

Snatch them up in a violent manner, fiercely, like a rampant lion. "Rampagious" is yet common enough.

"They sigh out of the shelle crepe
A lytell serpent on the ground
Which *rampeth* all aboute rounde
And in ayene he woll haue wonne
But for the brennyng of the sonne
It myght not, and so he deide."

Gower, 1532, f. 139 verso.

"Is all your delite and ioy

In whiskeyng and *ramping* abroad like a Tom boy."

N. Udall's Roister Doister, Act II. sc. iiij.

Robin Hood in Barnsdale stode... .. 83

Robin Hood was evidently considered "low" in those days. Tyndale says: "This threatning and forbidding the laye people to reade the Scripture is not for loue of your soules (which they care for as the Foxe doth for the Geesse) is euident and clearer then the Sunne, in as much as they permitte and suffer you to read *Robbin Hode* & Beuis of Hampton, Hercules, Hector, and Troylus, with a thousand histories and fables of loue and wantonnes, and of rybaudry, as filthy as hart can thinke."—*Tyndale's Works*, (1573) f. 104.

"I write no ieste ne tale of *Robin Hood*,
Nor sowe no sparkles ne sede of viciousnes;
Wise men loue vertue, wilde people wantonnes."

Barclay's Ship of Fooles (1570), f. 259.

"Rhapsodies *ar that we cal thinges patched together, as the werkes of Homerus were, . . . and because those werkes were compiled by patches, thei were called Rhapsodie, as ye would saie, patches or cloutes boched together.*" 85

Grummel seede, and mucke of the worlde 86

Evidently a cant term for money; equivalent to the modern "tin," "yellow boys." *Grummel* is a large coarse weed, which grows by the sea and in waste places; some species have a hard seed, which the rustics used to string on a thread and make into bracelets, &c. It appears from the following passage that cakes were made of it.

"The Altars euery where now smoaking be
With Beane-stalkes, Sauine, Laurell, Rosemary,
Their Cakes of *Grummel-seed* they did preferre,
And Pailles of milke in sacrifice to her."

Browne's Brit. Pastorals, pt. I., 1613, p. 66.

"What he would have, he might have; his wife was set
In such dotage of him, that faire words did fet
Gromel-seed plenty; and pleasure to prefer,
Shee made much of him, and he mockt much of her."

Heywood's Proverbs, Pt. II., Bk. I.

He neuer linned rahatyng of those persones 86, 95

He never ceased scolding. To "rate" is a common term.

"*Maunching and filling the gutte.*" 86, 148

Munching is commonly said to be eating, but that is scarcely definite enough. Is it not doggedly and slowly eating, rather from greediness than to satisfy hunger?

Maisterfast 87

Fast to a master—not entirely his own master. Compare this passage with the often-quoted sentence of Lord Bacon's:—"He that hath a wife and children hath given hostages to fortune: for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief."—*Essay vii.*

Menne ought not to putte forthe their handes to their friendes with their fyngers clynched fast together 88

That is, of course, they ought to be open-handed and generous.

"For men that yift holde more dere
That yeven is with gladsome chere.
That yift nought to preisen is
That men yeveth maugre his." [in spite of him]

Romdunt of the Rose.

Cheapman 90

The old form of Chapman, one who buys and sells, or makes bargains.

A man is more particular in testing the soundness of a pot-lid before he buys it, than he is in ascertaining the mental qualities of a man he may desire to purchase 91

This topic was handled by Erasmus more than once, especially as it applies to marriage. He thought it a monstrous thing that any one should be more particular about the soundness and suitability for breeding purposes of their pigs and cattle than about the mental qualities and healthiness of the husbands they choose for their daughters. There are some very graphic and striking dialogues on this matter in his *Colloquies*. His friend Sir T. More was equally in earnest on the subject, and readers of the *Utopia* cannot fail to recollect how gravely he relates that "a sad & an honest matrone sheweth the womā be she maide or widdowe naked to the wower. And lykewyse a sage and discrete man exhibiteth the wower naked to the woman . . . They do greatlye wonder at the follye of all other nations, whiche in byinge a colte, where as a lytle money is in hassarde, be so charye and circumspecte, that though he be almoste all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, oneles the saddel and all the harneys be taken of, leaste vnder those couerynges be hydde som gall or soore. And yet in chewsynge a wyfe, whyche shalbe other pleasure, or displeasure to them all theire lyfe after, they be so recheles, that all the resydewe of the wooman's bodye, being couered with cloothes, they esteme here scaselye be one handebredth (for they can se no more but her face) and so do ioynе her to them not without great ieoperdie of euell agreing together, if anythyng in her body afterwarde do offende and myslyke them. For all men be not so wyse as to haue respecte to the vertuous condicions of the partie. And the endowmētes of the bodye cause the vertues of the mynde more to be esteemed and regarded; yea euen in the mariages of wyse men."—*Raphe Robinson's trans. More's Utopia*, 1551. *Sig. N v. & vi.*

"Thou saist, that assen, oxen, and houndes,
Thay ben assayed at divers stoundes,
Basyns, lavours eek, er men hem bye,
Spones, stooles, and al such housbondrie,
Also pottes, clothes, and array;
But folk of wyves maken non assay,
Til thay ben weddid, olde dotard schrewe!
And thanne, saistow, we woln oure vices schewe."

Chaucer's Prologue of the Wyf of Bathe.

Seasoned in the Kiel 91
Baked in the kiln.

Orkyn 91

Most likely an earthen pot or pippin, from the Latin *orca*.

To aryse up from his tail to doe his duetie of humble obeysance 93

To get up from his seat and show his respect by a humble salute. Farmer's labourers may frequently be seen now-a-days to take off their hats, and, as they call it, "do their duty" to the "quality" by taking hold of their front hair and ducking their heads.

His portion of the Shot 96

His share. We yet hear of "paying the Shot," a "Shot in the locker," &c. This is merely inserted to show how old is the saying, not because it needs any explanation.

"The reckning reckned, he needes would pay the shot,

And needes he must for me, for I had it not."

Heywood's Proverbs, Pt. I., cap. 11.

Toto much and toto earnest 98, 199

Very much. A common form of expression up to the first quarter of the seventeenth century. It is found in Shakespeare, Braithwaite, &c.

Treen tankard—treen saucer... .. 101, 374

Wooden cup and wooden dish.

"Marcus Curius, the very rule & patterne of Fortitude and moderate liuing, whā the people, called Samnites, which had warres with the Romaynes, founde hym sytting in his house by the fire vpon a homely fourme, eatyng his meate in a *dyshe of tre*."—*Elyot's Governor* (1537), f. 200.

"*Treen* dishes be homely, and yet not to lack,

Where stone is no laster, take tankard and jack."

Tusser's Husbandry (1812 Rep.) p. 260.

A tormentour 102

Appears to mean a gyant with a clubbe, but why I cannot say. Probably it can be proved to come from the Gaelic or Sanscrit, or some such language.

A good whistersnefet... .. 112

A good cuffe or blow, equivalent to the modern "clout o' th' head."

Sensible 113

Evident to the senses, or acting on the physical frame.

"*Happely*." 115

Happened; that is, by chance or accident.

Athlias (ἀθλιας) with *a*. and ἄθλιος in *Greke*, someth
one being in miserable state or condition, sore vexed
or beaten with manifolde trauailes, peines and
troubles 115

From whence *Athletæ* and *Athletics*.

Hurlee burlee 115

Everybody knows that this means a big noise and how it is used in Shakespeare. It is only put here to show the early use of it. So far as I am aware, this is the first time it occurs. The edition of Shakespeare, 1803, vol. x. 13, quotes a passage from Peacham's *Garden of Eloquence*, 1577, as the first instance of the use of this expression; but here we find Nicholas Udall using it in 1543, thirty-four years before Peacham. Also in *More's Utopia*, 1551:—

"Or finally who be bolder stomaked to brynge all in *hurle-burle* (therby trustyng to get sum wyndfall) then they that haue nowe nothing to leese!"—*Raphe Robinson's trans. More's Utopia*, 1551, sig. F. iij.

*Marchpaines or wafers with other like iunkerie, and
their swete perfumes or pomaundres, and other sem-
blable delices* 116

Marchpanes were a kind of sweet cakes made with flour, almonds, sugar, &c. Wafers were probably different sorts of biscuits. Pomaunders were balls of perfumes, so called either because they were made into balls like apples, or because they were sometimes made of roasted apples, mixed with lard, musk, nutmegs, &c.

The orange which it was observed Cardinal Wolsey generally carried in his hand, and frequently smelt of when he went among the people, was undoubtedly a pomander. They were the mediæval "smelling bottles." Our ancestors appear to have been wonderfully fond of perfumes and spices of all kinds. Early literature abounds with references to them; and no wonder, when we consider the evil smells which must have resulted from their manner of living.

Characteristic anecdote of a priest and his "pointes." ... 117

"*Beetes*," "*werishness*" and "*unsauerines*" of ... 118

Insipidity of. The same meaning is now expressed in Lincolnshire by "wally,"—"as wally as raw tates" (potatoes),—and the same comparison is implied in the expression about feeble-minded men, that "they want a bit o' salt to 'em."

No man saying black is their eyen 118

Modernized into "No man can say black is the white of my eye."

Dawcockes, lowtes, cockescombes, and block-headed fooles 118

Various terms for ignorant and stupid fellows.

As wise as a gooce, or as his mother's apron string ... 118

Wedde 119, 322

Dress; more particularly an outer garment, as a cloak. We still speak of a "widow's weeds."

Kembed, piked, decked all of the mynion tricke 120

Combed, dressed, and "rigged out" in the most fashionable style, like "regular swells."

Haggue 122

Seems to be used here in the same sense as "haggle." Most likely the old form of the modern "egg," "to egg on," to incite, to encourage.

An euil persone euen the verye mous dareth to snappe at. 123

Not always. Socrates and others do not hesitate to say quite contrary: the man threw a stone at Aristides because "he hated to hear him always called the just;" and some of us rather sympathise with him, for we often find "good" people extremely aggravating. If he had said "a person with an *evil* name, it would have been true enough, according to the modern proverb, "Give a dog a bad name and hang him." But, as a rule, evil persons appear to be a good deal more popular than better ones. The proverb quoted at p. 367, "Like beareth favour to like," has ten times more truth in it.

Great gorrebealyed chuff 123

A great big-bellied, thick-headed fellow. This word continued in use until very recently; it occurs in several places in N. Bailey's translation of the *Colloquies of Erasmus* (1733), in *Tom-o-Bedlam*, Songs, &c.

Bougette 123

Budget: a small wooden box or case, generally covered with leather, in which women put their valuables, jewels, work, &c.; frequently carried on one hip, and confined round the waist by a leathern belt. It answered the same purpose as the modern satchell.

Bugges, and sprites, or goblins that walken by night 124

Something to frighten or annoy, still retained in bug-bear. The

Bible printed by Day & Serres in 1549, gives Psalm xci. v. 5, as follows.

"So that thou shalt not need to be afraide for any *bugges* by night, nor for the arrowe that flyeth by daye." *Becke's Bible*.

Hobgoblin or Collepixie 125

Collepixies, I believe, were black goblins, and were thought to haunt mines and other dark places.

Pastures or leasues 127

Leasowe is now gone out of use, although a good old English word. Readers of Shenstone will remember the Leasowes.

Brutish grosseness and dumping of the minde 128

Dumping here seems to mean dwarfing or deadening. A "dump" is a lump, whence "dumplings," which the Norfolk people are said to be fond of; and a "dumpy" person means a short and clumsy one.

Coarcted 128

Prest or thrust.

Niggarde or hayn 56, 129

A mean and odious or hateful man.

Went daily to the pottle, and were chopped up 130

"To go to pot" is an every-day phrase.

Hercules, the depoulsour and driuer awaye of all euils 130

The repeller and driver away of evils.

*When the stede is already stolen, shutte the stable dore ;
or when I am dead, make me a caudle* 130

"When he the thyng may not amende
Than is he ware, and sayth at ende
A wolde god I hadde knowe
Whereof beaped with a mowe
He goth, for whan the great stede
Is stole, than he taketh hede
And maketh the stable dore fast."

Gower (1532) f. 68.

"He is unwise, and of prouision poore,
That nought can see before he haue damage,
When the stede is stolen to shet the stable doore,
Commeth small pleasure, profite, or vauntage."

Barclay's Ship of Fooles (1570 ed.) f. 25.

Couetousnese of money the metropolis of all euils ... 131

The place where all evils are conceived.

Pangue or guerie of loue 131, 341

Guerie, from the French *guerre*, and here means worry, anxiety, pining.

Chare of good werke 132

We still call a woman who goes out to do occasional work at people's houses a "charwoman," although we have given over speaking of the work as a "char."

An hony brake, or a snare of honey 133

A "brake" is a place full of bushes, thorns, brambles, &c., where it would be difficult to get along on account of being held fast by the briars, &c. Often used in Shakespeare and the early dramatists.

Make no bones 133, 301

To make no difficulty; to do it without any ceremony.

Didymo 134

See the curious explanation in the text.

Nycibecetours, or denty dames 135

I am not able to explain this word, and have only met with one other instance of the use of it, and that is by the same author. It seems to mean fond, foolish, light or trifling.

"But with whome is he nowe so sadly rounding yond ?

With *Nobs nicebecetour miserere fonde.*"

N. Udall's Roister Doister, Act I., sc. iiij.

Of a woman who hung herself on an Olive tree ... 136

The modern version is: A farmer's wife having hung herself on an apple-tree, the widower was regularly pestered by applications from his neighbours for a "graft" of that tree.

For Diogenes loued no women in no sauce, but hated them dedly 137

"A woman which was vsyd and accustomed to stryue, walked by the fylde with her husbonde, and he sayde the fylde was mowe downe, & she sayd it was shorn. And so they multiplyed so many wordis that at the laste her husbonde all to coryed her. But she wold not be styll, but sayd it was clyppid with sherys. Wherefore in a greate angir he cut owte her tonge. And whan she myght nomore speke, she made sygnes with her fyngers lyke sherys meaninge the filde was Clypped. A lyke tale is tolde of an other woman thewich stryuyng with her husbonde sayd he was lowsye. And he was mouyd and greuyd withe her for her sayng, and bete her greuously, but she wold not amend her. But came before all her neybouris and callyd hym so to his rebuke. Wherefore

he was replete with ire and threwe her in to a water and trade on her and drownyd her. And whan she myght not speke, she lyfte vppe her hondeys and made tokyns with her thombys as though she kylled lyce. Wherefore it is wrytyn Ecclesiast. xxviii. Many haue fall by the stroke of sworde, but not lyke to them that haue be destroyd by the meanys of theyre tonges." — *Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed*, cap. xxx.

"Man aftir the saynge of the Philosofre is a mynde incarnate. A Fantasye of tyme. A beholder of lyfe. A Manciple of deth. A walker goynge. A dweller of a place. A laboriows mynde. An habitacle of small tyme. A woman as saith the philosofre, is the confusyon of man. A beaste insaciabie, a continuall besynesse. A batell neuer endid, mannis manciple & to a continent man destruccyon. As vppon a tyme it happid that a man which was clene & chaste desired to haue famylarite & speche with a woman, wherby he fell to delectacyon & was cawght in the nettys of synne, and lyghtly loste the seale of chastitie & comytted dedly synne. For whan he attendyd vnto the swettenesse of her speche, and behyld the beawte of her face, he was ouercome & destroyde, & sayde.

*Many mennys myndes for women be broke
And wounded sorer then with other strooke*

Wherfor an Autowr spekyth & saith, A Woman is the fourme of synne, & condicyonyd dedly. Jherome saith, The gate of the Fende, The waye of wyckednesse. The strooke of the Serpente, Anoyable kynde is the woman. That same doctowr saith, The beawte of woman is lyke a brinninge sworde. Remembyr that Tamar was corrupte of her owne brodir, and euer remembyr that a woman put Adam from his possession, who was strengier than Samson, wyser then Salamon, more holy then dauid, & all these were subuertid by women. It is wrytten Eccle: xxv, The oryginall of synne began of a woman, and all men suffir dethe, by the meanys of her, wherefore these olde Fadirs & filosofirs were very contynente & kepte them self chaste, as tellith Vigecius libro secundo, of the continence of Alexander, that whan a mayde of most excellent beawte was brought to him, which was wedded to an other prince, he sparyd her, & vtterly abstaynyd him self from her, In so moche that he wolde not see her, But sent her agayn to her husbond." — *Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed*, cap. cxxi.

The foregoing extracts from *Dialogues of Creatures* are fair specimens of the way in which women were spoken of by the grave and reverend fathers,—teachers of morality and religion,—in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Hundreds such could be produced, but very few indeed where women are spoken of decently, much less respectfully. The Poets were their best friends. I am not sure that sufficient attention has ever been drawn to this. Yet the poets could be sufficiently uncomplimentary occasionally, as the following shows.

"Ther nys, I wis, no serpent so cruel,
When men trede on his tail, ne half so fel,
As womman is, when sche hath caught an ire;
Vengeans is thanne all that they desire."

Chaucer—The Sompnoures Tale.

"The man who has a quiet house, has no wife." Certainly many of the Greek writers appear to have a great horror of matrimony, to which, perhaps, may be attributed the high colouring they give to the character of Xantippe, who was not, it is probable, so great a termagant as they have painted her. Some of their apothegms follow.

'Mulier in ædibus atra tempestas viro.'

A wife, like a tempest, is a perpetual disturbance to the house.

'Incendit omnem feminæ zelus domum.'

The restless spirit of the woman keeps the house in a perpetual flame; and

'Muliere nil est pejus, atque etiam bonâ.'

Nothing is worse than a woman, even than the best of them. 'It is better,' Solomon says, 'to dwell in the wilderness, than with a contentious and angry woman;' and in another place, 'It is better to dwell in the corner of the house-top, than with a brawling woman, and in a wide house. Montaigne has an observation equally satirical: '*The concern,*' he says, '*that some women shew at the absence of their husbands, does not arise from their desire of seeing and being with them, but from their apprehension that they are enjoying pleasures in which they do not participate, and which, from their being at a distance, they have not the power of interrupting.*'

"To finish the bad side of the picture, one more of our adages shall be given. 'To see a woman weeping,' we say, 'is as piteous a sight, as to see a goose go barefoot.'—*Bland's Proverbs, Vol. II., pp. 132-134.*

Quidifical trifles that were al in the cherubins ... 139

Subtle trifles all in the clouds.

Tabletee and cupitee ... 139

The ideas or mental pictures of tables and cups.

Sorteitees and ecceitees ... 139

Pick you hence... ... 89, 143, 152, 210

To pitch, to throw, or to fling. "Pick you hence,"—"Take yourself off," "Cut your stick."

Mastifes or tye dogges ... 143

"Tye dog" seems from a very early date, to have been a term for Mastiffs and other large dogs, which from their

strength and fierceness were commonly kept fastened up. So
Lydgate :—

“Than to repress thy surquedey at ones,
Cruel Orchus the *tyc dogge* infernal,
Shal rend thy skin asunder from the bones.”

Lydgate's Fall of Princes, (1558) *Bk. iii. cap. i.*

Little mynxe ful of play 143

She-puppy. Now often used playfully to young girls.

Circuition, or going about the bushe... 146

To “go round the bush,” and to “beat the bush” are very
old sayings.

“One sleeth the dere with an boked arowe ;
whose part is none yet of the venison,
one *beateth the bush*, another hath y^e sparrow
And all the byrdes in his possession :
one draweth his nettes in riuers vp & doun
with sundry baites cast out line and hooke,
and hath no part of all that euer he take.”

Lydgate's Fall of Princes, f. 28.

Ryche cobbes 147

A jeering expression without any particular meaning.

*Diogenes better contented to liue in Athenes with bread
and cheese then with Craterus* 147

“The pore man afore the theif doth sing
Under the wodes with fresh notes shrill,
the ryche man ful fereful of robbing,
Quaking for drede, rideth forth ful stil :
the pore at large goth where hym list at wyl,
Strögly fraunchised frö al debate & strife,
tho rich afeard alway to lese hys life.”

Lydgate's Fall of Princes (1558) *Bk. iii. cap. i.*

It is all very well to look at the bright side of things, but it
is very difficult to think either poets or anyone else quite believe
all they say, when they sing *very* loudly in praise of poverty.

Lene craggues 147

“Scraggy,” which is an usual term for leanness.

Ihon hold my staf 148

At his beck and call, subject to his caprice. A Flunky, or
lick-spittle.

Plato found Diogenes washing salade herbes 148

Thus quaintly described by another old writer :—

"Whan Aristipus had sayde to Dyogene y^e stooode & wasshyd wortys, O Dyogene if thou haddiste pleasyd y^e tyrante dyonyse with thi fayre woordes, thou shuldist not haue nedyd thus to do, truly quod he yf thou woldist do thus, thou shuldist not haue nede to flater y^e sayd tyraunte. For this philosofre had moche leuyr to be fedde and maynteynd with a messe of wortys & say trouth then to be fed with y^e kynges deyntis and to flater him or say to him other then trowth.—*Dialogues of Creatures Moralyssed, cap. 118.*

Mocking: Erasmus says "when men doe mocke any body, thei wagge their handes vp and doune by their eares at the sides of their hed, and doe counterfeact the facion of an asses eares 149

Is this the "wagging" spoken of in the Gospels, where "they that passed by railed on Him, wagging their heads"?

Making mowes 149

Grimacing,—yet survives as "making mouths."

"But, al to litil, welawey the while!
Lastith such joy, ythanked be Fortune!
That seemith trusty whan she wole bygile,
And can to folis so her song entune,
That she hem hent, and blent, traitor commune!
And, whan a wight is from her whele ythrow,
Than lawghith she, and makith hym the mow."

Chaucer—Troylus and Cryscyde, Book III.. st. 1.

Nothing more goodlie or beautifull then Sapience, nothing than vertue more amiable... .. 149

"There is no man but approves of Virtue, though but few pursue it; we see where it is, but we dare not venture to come at it: and the reason is we over-value that which we must quit to obtain it."—*Seneca, (1722), p. 146.*

"Fond man! though all the heroes of your line
Bedeck your halls, and round your galleries shine,
In proud display; yet, take this truth from me,
Virtue alone is true nobility."

Gifford's Juvenal, Vol. I., p. 328.

A naughtie packe 152, 156

Not much different from the modern "good for nothing baggage," often applied to women.

"So many newes and knackes,
So many naughty *packes*,
And so many that mony lackes,
Saw I never:

So many maidens with child
And wyllfully begyde,
And so many places untild
Sawe I never."

Dyce's Skelton, Vol. I., p. 150.

Scripture 153

Writing. Here is the word "Scripture" applied to secular writings after the Bible was translated into English.

Inquinate 153

Defiled, contaminated, unclean.

The bastard boy who threw stones into a crowd, and was told to cease, lest he might hit his father ... 155

Copied into innumerable Jest Books.

Paramours are the queens of kings 158

"Is not the king great in his power? do not all regions feare to touch him?"

"Yet did I see him and Apame the King's concubine, the daughter of the admirable Bartacus, sitting at the right hand of the king.

"And taking the crowne from the king's head, and setting it vpon her owne head; she also strooke the king with her left hand.

"And yet for all this the king gaped and gazed vpon her with open mouth: if she laughed vpon him, he laughed also: but if she tooke any displeasure at him, the king was faine to flatter, that she might be reconciled to him againe.

"O ye men, how can it be but women should be strong, seeing they doe thus?"

Authorised Version, (1611) I Esdras iv., 28—32.

Pipe merie 159

The first or good-humoured stage of drunkenness, similar to what we now hear called "market-merry" when farmers go home from market with sufficient extra beer in their skins to make them all smiles and good humour,—when they want to "stand treat" to all the old cronies they meet.

Gentiltee 160

Gentiles.

Diogenes said: If I counterfaict a Philosopher, euen that verie poinct is to be a Philosopher outright ... 160

This reminds one of the anecdote related by R. Ascham, of "one here in England" who "did folow Syr Tho. More: who being most vnlike vnto him, in wit and learnyng, neuertheless in wearyng his gowne awrye vpon the one shoulder, as Syr.

Tho. More was wont to do, would nedes be counted lyke vnto him."—*Ascham's Scholemaster, Reprint, p. 146.*

It appears Diogenes meant, if he were not a Philosopher already, he was an admirer of them, and earnestly desirous of being one; and that to properly estimate the value of Philosophy and try to attain it was next to really having it.

Why do you live in the world if you have no regard to a virtuous life 163

———"Call to mind from whence ye sprang;
Ye were not formed to live the life of brutes,
But virtue to pursue, and knowledge high."

Dante, Inferno, c. xxvi., l. 115.

A sworde of lead out of an Ieuorie sheathe 163

"Will you say that's a good blade which hath a gilded scabbard, embroidered with gold and jewels? No, but that which hath a good edge and point, well tempered metal, able to resist."—*Seneca.*

Saucie or knappishe young springall... 165

A fast and "cheeky" young scapegrace.

Impetrate 158, 166

To accomplish.

Apertly 168

Plainly, openly, clearly. Diogenes did openly what Plato did secretly.

Hard by the prick 168

Close by the mark.

"In shootynge at buttes, or brode arowe markes, is a mediocritie of exercyse of the lower partes of the bodye and legges, by goinge a lytell dystaunce a mesurable pase. At rousers or pryckes, it is at his pleasure that shoteth, howe faste or softly he lysteth to go: and yet is the prayse of the shooter, neyther more ne lesse, for as farre or nyghe the marke is his arowe, whanne he goeth softly, as whan he renneth."—*Elyot's Governor (1537), f. 92.*

Never to offend any one is nothing to a man's praise ... 174

"For the company or communication of a person familiar, whiche is alwaye pleasaunte and without sharpnes, inclinyng to inordinate fauour and affection, is alway to be suspected."
—*Elyot's Governor (1537), f. 156.*

Nedefull to haue, either feithfull frendes, or els eagre enemies 175

Creansir 178

(French) a creditor or truster—here it means a governor or tutor.

“The Duke of York’s *creauncer* whan Skelton was,
Now Henry the viij Kyng of Englonde,
A tratyse he deuysid and browght it to pas,
Callid Speculum Principis, to bere in his honde.”
Dyce’s Skelton, Vol. I., p. 411.

Pestre and dloy 179

Plague or tease and spoil all relish. “Pestered and heltered up” is an expression often heard. “Heltered up” is not fastened up, as with a halter, but = incommoded and “hampered.” “Heeltrees” are the pieces of wood fixed amidst the horses of a team, between the heels of one and the chest of the next, to keep the chain traces by which they draw such a distance apart that they shall not chafe their sides: when the team is unyoked, these “heeltrees,” unless thrown on the backs of the horses, hang down on their heels and cause them to step short and gingerly—if they are quiet,—to kick, if they are irritable. So a good woman troubled with a lot of children in her house, on a rainy day (say) will crossly observe: “I am pestered and heltered up wi’ a pack o’ bairns, this mucky owry weather.”

Sentence 181

Judgment, feeling, opinion, or decision.

“And you, that do read Plato, as ye shold, do well perceiue, that these be no Questions asked by Socrates, as doutes, but they be *Sentences*, first affirmed by Socrates, as mere trothes, and after, giuen forth by Socrates, as right Rules.”—*Ascham’s Scholemaster (Arber’s Rpt.)*, p. 43.

Cockeryng 182

“Some *cockneys* with *cocking*, are made very fools,
Fit neither for ‘prentice, for plough, nor for schools.”
Tusser (1812 Rp.) p. 276.

“Cocker thy childe, and hee shall make thee afraid: play with him, and he will bring thee to heauiness.—*Ecclesiasticus*, xxx. 9, *Authorised Version*, 1611.

“A woman of nobilitiee brought vp in the Courte of a king, where Fortune commonly nourceth, *cockereth*, and pampereith hir derlynges.”—*Paraphrase of Erasmus, 2nd leaf of preface to Luke*.

Vnquod 182, 289

Untold, unsaid.

“A married man and yet—*quod* Chaucer.
A merry man, *quod* Wat.
He is a knave that wrote me that, *quod* Chaucer.”

Hucklebones 185

A game played principally by children, with the little square bones from the feet of sheep and pigs. The manner of it is fully explained in the small-type note, at p. 186.

“Gresed and annoynted
Vp to the knockles;
The bones of her *huckels*,
Lyke as they were with buckels
Togyther made fast
Her youth is farre past.”

Dyce's Skelton (Elynour Rummyng), Vol. 1., p. 96.

In his Glossary, Dyce has wrongly described “huckels” as hips: the above passage in Erasmus proves them to be ankles, which makes sense of the passage in Skelton. It means that from old age, &c., she moved stiffly, as though her ankles (not her hips) were tied together, as cows are “hopped” to keep them quiet while being milked, or to keep them from breaking over the fences into other fields.

Remercies 185

Thanks.

Not worth a blew point or a good lous 187

“Points” were laces and strings in the days of our forefathers. A “blue point” was evidently a very cheap affair; perhaps made of cruel or worsted. See note on p.

Neither barrel better herring 187

They were “much of a muchness.” The proverb in the text was most likely familiar to Erasmus in his native place. It “smells” of Rotterdam.

Gold masters all things 188

“‘Money masters all things.’ All things obey, or are subservient to money, it is therefore the principal object of our attention. ‘Sine me vocari pessimum, ut dives vocer,’ call me what you will, so you do but admit me to be rich. ‘Nemo an bonus: an dives omnes quærimus.’ When about to treat with or enter into business with any one, we do not so much inquire whether he is a good, as whether he is a rich man; ‘Nec quare et unde? quid habeat, tantum rogant,’ nor by what means he acquired his money, but only how much he actually possesses. ‘Gifts,’ we say, ‘break through stone walls,’ for what virtue is proof against a bribe? ‘He that has money in his purse, cannot want a head for his shoulders.’ That is, he will never want persons to advise, assist, and defend him. ‘It is money that makes the mare to go.’ ‘Por dinero bayla el perro,’ the dog dances for money; and ‘Quien

dinero tiene, hazo lo que quiere,' he that has money may have what he pleases. 'Plate sin with gold, and the strong arm of justice cannot reach it; clothe it in rags, a pigmy straw will pierce it.' Volpone, in the comedy of that name, addressing his gold, says

'Such are thy beauties, and our loves, dear saint,
Riches ! thou dumb god, that giv'st all men tongues ;
That canst do naught, and yet mak'st men do all things ;
The price of souls ; even hell, with thee to boot,
Is made worth heaven. Thou art virtue, fame,
Honour, and all things else. Who can get thee,
He shall be noble, valiant, honest, wise.'

On the other hand, we are told, that Fortune makes those whom she most favours fools ; 'Fortuna nimium quem favet stultum facit,' and 'Ubi mens plurima, ibi minima fortuna,' those who abound in knowledge are usually most deficient in money. It has also been observed, that riches excite envy, and often expose the possessors of it to danger : the storm passes over the shrub, but tears up the oak by its roots. 'God help the rich,' we say, 'the poor can beg.'

'Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator,'

the thief who makes the rich man to tremble, excites no alarm in the breast of the beggar ; he has nothing to lose.

'Hence, robbers hence, to yonder wealthier door,
Unenvied poverty protects the poor.'

'Non esse cupidum, pecunia est, non esse emacem, vectigal est,' not to be covetous, to desire riches, is wealth ; not to be extravagant or expensive, is an estate. Hence poverty has been called, the harbour of peace and security, where undisturbed sleep and undissembled joys do dwell. 'Fidelius ridet tuguria,' the laughter of the cottage is more hearty and sincere than that of the court : great wealth therefore conduces but little to happiness : and 'as he who hath health is young ; so he who owes nothing is rich.' 'Dantur quidem bonis, ne quis mala estimet ; malis autem, ne quis nimis bona,' riches are given to the good, St. Austin says, that they may not be esteemed an evil ; to the bad, that they may not be too highly valued."—*Bland's Proverbs, Vol. I., p. 78.*

"*Court. Ab.* Money maketh marchauntes, I tell you, over all.
Magn. Why, wyl a maystres be wonne for money and for golde ?

Court. Ab. Why, was not for money Troy bothe bought and Full many a stronge cyte and towne hath ben wonne [solde] By the meanes of money without ony gonne.

A maystress, I tell you, is but a small thyng ;

A goodly rybon, or a golde rynge.

May wynne with a sawte the fortresse of the holde ;

But one thyng I warne you, prece forth and be bolde."

Magn. Ye, but some be full koy and passynge harde harted.

Court. Ab. But, blessyd be our Lorde, they wyl be sone conuerted.

Magn. Why, wyll they then be intreted, the most and the lest?

Court. Ab. Ye for *omnis mulier meretrix, si celari potest.*

Dyce's Skelton (Magnyfycence), Vol. I., p. 277.

"Riches (said *Luther*) is the smallest thing on earth, and the least gift that God hath bestowed on mankinde; What is it in comparison of God's Word? yea, what is it to bee compared with corporeal gifts; as beautie, health, &c. nay, what is it to the gifts of the minde; as understanding, Art, wisdom? &c. yet are men so eager upon it, that no labor, travail, nor danger is regarded in getting of Riches: there is in it neither *Materialis, formalis, efficiens & finalis caussa*, nor anie thing els that good is, therefore our Lord God commonly giveth Riches to such gross Asses, to whom hee affordeth nothing els that is good.—*Luther's Colloquies*, 1652, p. 90.

He had not the witte to cal a spade by any other name 189

We have much improved since then. It is now a "tool," or an "agricultural implement."

Beare any rule, stroke or authoritte ... 190, 370

Use, exercise, possess or prevail; as Judas who had the bag; *bare* what was put therein, which means more than he carried it. "To bear the stroke" is sometimes explained, to be in subjection, or at a disadvantage, which is directly contrary to the truth; if there were any doubt about it, the synonyms with which it is associated in the above sentence would show the true meaning. "To *bear* the stroke" is not to suffer the stroke; but to *bear* (or have) the upper hand, or as we say, "to have the whip hand of him."

"But where the mighty may,
Of force the weak constrain;
It will be wisely done, to bow,
To 'scape a further pain:
Like as in tempest great,
Where wind *doth bear the stroke*,
Much safer stands the bowing reed,
Than doth the stubborn oak."

Tusser (1812 Reprint), p. 213.

To have the overhand ... 191, 216

Or "upperhand" as is commonly said. This generally means the same as "to bear the stroke."

Happely, ... 192

"Happe helpeth hardy men alway, quod he."

Chaucer—Legende of goode Women.

Beleue the moone to be made of a grene chese ... 193

The earliest instance known to me of this saying.

- To preuente the tyme of death...* 193
 That is, to be beforehand with death. This use of the word is in accordance with its root meaning; other examples may be found in the Bible and Prayer Book.
 "Wisedome is glorious and neuer fadeth away: yea she is easily seene of them that loue her, and found of such as seeke her."
 "She *preuenteth* them that desire her, in making herselfe first knowen vnto them."—*Bk. of Wisdom*, v. 12, 13, (*Authorised Version*, 1611).
- Vntraded in philosophie* 194
 Unpractised.
- Nousled* 194
 Nurtured, brought up.
- Yalle & rore* 195
 "The power of magike is banished away and gon: the euill spirites are cast out that thei *owle and rore* agayn: philosophie hath confessed her ignoraunce."—*Erasmus' Paraphrase 5th leaf of preface to Luke*.
- Guile dooeth at a time auauntage to a man a good pot of wine* 195
 And so it continues to do.
- To greace the handes of him that geueth the office* ... 195
 This also is a practice not altogether unknown in modern days.
- "A man who dyed his hair not fit to govern"* 195
 A very good reason. The man's dyeing his hair showed a very little mind and a tendency to dishonesty: yet Julius Cæsar rejoiced to wear the laurel crown, chiefly because it hid his bald head.
- Toke peper in the nose* 198, 328
 To take offence.
 "For ther are ful proude herted men,
 Pacient of tonge
 And buxome as of berynge
 To burgeises and to lordes,
 And to poore peple
 Han *pepir in the nose*
 And as a lyoun he loketh."
Wright's Piers Ploughman, Vol. II., p. 307.
 "But speke ye no more of that
 For drede of the red hat
 Take *peper in the nose*:
 For than thyne heed of gose."
Dyce's Skelton, Vol. II., p. 38.

" Shall Presbyterian bells ring Cromwell's praise,
While we stand still and do no Trophies raise
Unto his lasting name ? Then may we be
Hung up like bells for our malignity :
Well may his *Nose*, that is dominical,
Take pepper in't, to see no Pen at all
Stir to applaud his merits."

A. Brome's Poems (1664) p. 326.

To stierre coles (or take peper in the nose) ... 328

" For lowly life withstandeth enuy quite,
As floating ship, by bearing sail a-low,
Withstandeth storms, when boisterous winds do blow.

Thy usage thus, in time shall win the goal.

Though doubtful haps, dame Fortune sends between ;
And thou shalt see thine enemies *blow the coal* :

Tusser (1812 *Rp.*) p. 312.

Correption ... 200

Chiding, scolding.

Fortune beyng theim bothe good ladie ... 200

Sely ... 201

Innocent, without guile, a very common word with early writers : the opposite—*unsely*, is more rarely met with.

" And when he stode

The kynge hath asked of hym thus

Sey thou *unsely* Lucius

Why hast thou done this sacrilege ? "

Gower (1532) f. 123.

A shame for a Prince to have a good sight in Musick 201

Kynge Philip, whan he harde that his sonne Alexander dydde synge swetely and proprely, rebuked hym gentlylly, sayinge, But Alexander, be ye not ashamed, that ye can synge so well and connyngly ? wherby he mente, that the open profession of that craft was but of a base estimation. And that it suffysed a noble man, hauing therin knowlege, eyther to vse it secretelye, for the refreshynge of his wytte, whan he hath time of solace : orels onely herynge the contention of noble musicyens, to gyue iugement in the excellencie of their connynges."—*Elyot's Governor* (1537), f. 22.

Fooles paradise ... 202, 342

An early instance of the use of this phrase, which is so great a favourite with Mr. Gladstone.

Thom trowth, or plain Sarisbuirie ... 202

- In eche man's bote would he have an ore* 203
 Busy, meddlesome. We now say, "He would have a finger in everybody's pie."
- Squintyied he was, and looked nyne wayes* 203
 Modern "roughs" say "he looks nine ways for Sunday."
- Euery pater noster whyle* 205
 A little while;—the time one might say a Pater-noster.
- Flounced me* 207
 A singular application of this vulgar term. The meaning now attached to the word is rather uncomplimentary. To "flounce" is to "pop in" suddenly or impudently, unexpectedly: more particularly applied to women who "put their noses" in where they are not wanted. Such an one taking a seat uninvited, would be contemptuously described as "flouncing" into a chair.
- Greate aud bowerly images* 208
 Big, this may mean burly, or, possibly, ornamental, decorative, fit for a lady's bower.
- Pastlers* 208
 Makers of pastry.
- Habbe or nhabbe* 209
 To "nab" and "grab" are now vulgarisms meaning to catch hold of hastily, unexpectedly, or dishonestly. "Hab or nab" here seems to mean—to have or not have.
- Agnise...* 212, 271
 Acknowledge, confess.
- Little, litle* 213, 307
 Very little. "Preaty little," often used in this book, seems to be synonymous.
- Billed* 214, 255
 Described in writing or printing. We yet have "hand-bills," "sale-bills," &c.
- Dicion* 225, 256, 285
 Power, rule.
- Bickered* 228
 Snarling, sparring, quarrelling.
 "Yf thou say nay, we two shal make a byker."
Chaucer's Legende of Goode Women.

Pointe deuse 229

With the greatest exactness.

Gardeuiaunce 229

Travelling box.

*The noise of the marching of a great host, as "the
roumbing noyse rebounding from a ferre, as it had
been the roring of the sea"* 230

This is a fine pictorial passage. The iteration and alliteration produce a fine effect. It reminds one of a couple of passages in *Chaucer's House of Fame*.

A long bible 230

A reference to text will make it evident that formerly "Bible" simply meant a book, whether written or printed. The fact that even the earliest translation of the Scriptures was termed the "Holy" Bible seems partly designed to distinguish it from other bibles (books.)

*When Alexander heard Anaxagoras mainteining that
there wer worldes out of noumbre, the reporte goeth,
that he fell on weping* 231

The following anecdote connected with the ambition of Alexander is so good that it is a pity not to insert it; it is therefore given from the quaint version of the *Dialogues of Creatures Moralsed*, which was first printed by Gerard Leu at Gouda in 1482. The extracts in this Appendix are from the English edition without name or date, but supposed to have been printed by Rastall about 1530.

"It is rede in the historye of Alexandre where it is shewid y^t a sertayne person had so greuously offendyd Alexander that he wold not forgeu hym. Aristotle that knowing went to Alexander and sayde my lorde I will that thys daye thou salt be more victoryous then euir thou were. Alexandyr answered and sayde. I wyl. Then sayde Aristotle. Thou haste subduyd all the kyngdomys of the worlde, but now this daye thou arte ouercome. For and thou be not ruler of thy self then arte thou rulyd. And if thou rule thi self then arte thou victorious, for he that ouercomith hym self is most stronge as saith the philosofre. Alexandre herynge the saynge of Aristotle, Remyttyd the offence done and was pleasid. Wherefore it is wrytyn. Prouerb. xvi. Better is a pacyent man than a stronge man. And he that hath domynacyn ouir himself then a geter of citees &c."—*Dialogues of Creatures*, v.

Forefendeth and debarreth 238

Wards off or bars out.

All thynges wer leefful for kinges to do ... 239, 252

Antigonus made a fine reply when he answered the time-server, "By Jupiter, and so they be for the kings of savages and barbarians, but not for us who know what is honest and just." It was also a noble rebuke he gave to his son, who had been using more fierceness and roughness than was necessary: "Son, art thou ignorant that our state of reigning or being king is a servitude faced or set out with dignitee or worship?" Set the manliness of this beside the prostration of the following:—

"A king may spille, a king may save,
A king may make a lord a knave
And of a knave a lord also,
The power of a king stont so
That he the lawes overpasseth
What he will make less he lesseth
What he will make more he moreth."

Gower (1532) f. 152.

Hugger mugger ... 240

One of the earliest, if not the very earliest, examples of the use of this phrase.

A ruttocke... ... 173, 241

A staff, or, may-be, something equivalent to the modern "spittle-staff," which elderly gentlemen in provincial towns may often be seen walking with.

Cunne by herte ... 243

To get by heart, to know by heart, to commit to memory.

Peinted termes ... 243

Wordy, flourishing, pretentious language.

Although "painted" appears generally to have meant something offensive, it was not always so; at times it merely meant described, represented, or set out, as in the following passage in Latymer:—

"The true honor of a king is most perfectly mentioned and painted forth in the scriptures."—*Latymer's Sermons*, 1578, f. 31 verso.

Smellen all of the inkehorne ... 243

"As if a wise man would take *Halles Chronicle*, where moch good matter is quite marde with Indenture Englishe, and first change, strange and *inkhorne* tearmes into proper and commonlie vsed wordes.—*Ascham's Scholemaster*, *Arber's Reprint*, p. 111.

Quaemouire 249

A very capital word, much better than its modern representative, quagmire.

Choploges or greate pratlers 250

Word-splitters (jesters), and great talkers.

The custom of keeping fools and jesters in great men's houses, remarks upon 37, 250

Many allusions to this custom, once almost general with all men of rank and fashion, will doubtless be remembered by our readers. At any rate, everyone will recollect Shakespeare's fools, which were certainly drawn from life. Of them, one of Shakespeare's commentators says: "The originals whom he copied were no doubt men of quick parts; lively and sarcastick. Though they were licensed to say anything, it was still necessary, to prevent giving offence, that every thing they said should have a playful air: we may suppose therefore that they had a custom of taking off the edge of too sharp a speech by covering it hastily with the end of an old song, or any glib nonsense that came to the mind. I know no other way of accounting for the incoherent words with which Shakespeare often finishes his fools' speeches."

Fools and jesters were not only witty in themselves, but also the cause of wit in others, for as Chaucer has well observed:—

"A whetston is no kervyng instrument,
But it makith sharpe kervyng tolis.

Thus oght wyse men beware by folis;
If so thou do thy wit is wele bywaryd;
By his contrarie is every thing declarid."

Troilus and Creyside, Bk. I.

More, the great friend of Erasmus, kept a fool, whom, when he resigned his chancellorship, he gave to the Lord Mayor of London.

Toodle loodle bagpipe, moche after the facion of foolles, soche as are exhibited in Morice daunces, &c. ... 250

There is no doubt whatever the bagpipe was once a popular instrument in England. There are frequent references to it in Chaucer and other early writers. Every one will remember Shakespeare's allusion to the "drone of a Lincolnshire bagpipe" (*Hen. IV., Act I., s. 2.*) which may mean the croaking of frogs, or may not. At any rate, I have lived in the county more than fifty years, without ever hearing a frog croak, that I know of; but there is a carved figure of a fox

with a bagpipe, under one of the Misereries in the chancel of St. Botolph's, Boston, supposed to have been there nearly 500 years, which is some evidence that the Lincolnshire people were acquainted with other bagpipes than frogs.

- Curious boxes or cabinets, in great men's houses, fashioned in the shape of fooles and other grotesque characters, which opened and shewed something quite contrary, or as remarkable for beauty as the outer case was for deformity* 250
- Perill of his beste iointe* 251
A quaint way of saying he was in danger of losing his head.
- Linne pratyng* 253
Cease talking.
- All too poumleed with his handes* 257
He "pitched into him," gave him a sound thrashing.
- Curious furniture of edifying* 260, 264
Particular or exact manner of building. This needs no explanation, but it is an instance of change in the fashion of using words; for although a building is yet an "edifice," we never now hear of "edifying" a building; but we do hear of edifying people by instruction, discourse, &c.
- Stick and stone* 261
It is curious to observe how long this phrase has been current. No doubt it has come from very early times, when houses were literally built of sticks and stones.
- To geue a penie to an Elephant* 261
This was a very good, humourous and pleasant comparison of Augustus Cæsar's.
- Craked* 263, 341
"And he that alway thretnyth for to fyght
Oft at the profe is skantly worth a hen
For greatest *crakers* ar not ay boldest men."
Barclay's Ship of Fooles, p. 198, Rp.
- Anecdote of Augustus Cæsar and a crooked man* ... 263
Afterwards told of Pope, in nearly the same words.
- Eared vp his father's grave...* 264
Ploughed up.

"I have, God wot, a large feeld to *ere*
And wayke ben the oxen in my plough."

Chaucer, Knight's Tale.

"Vpon a tyme ther was a comyn laborer that *eryd* a felde intendinge to sow it. But the oxen *eryd* not soo wele as they were wonde to doe, but wyncyd & made recalcitracyon with all ther power, wherfore the plouman bete them and pricked them sore. The oxen cried owt agayn him and sayde. Thou cursyd creature why betyst thou vs that euer haue bene seruiceable to the. To whome he sayde. I desire to *ere* vp this fylde to maynteyne bothe me and yowe, and ye lyste not to labour. The oxen answerde. We wyll not *ere* this felde, for the pasture is good and it fedeth vs delycyowslye, and therefore we shall resiste to our powris. But forasmuche as thi were faste yockyd togider, and myghte not departe, the husbandman punysshed them with prickynge and sore strokys, and so they were fayne to obeye with humblyte, and sayde

Bettyr it is for loue, good seruice to do
than for drede thanklesse be compellyd^r therto."

Dyalogues of Creatures, xcvi.

*Harroe or to visite, as we saie that Christe harroed hel,
and visited hel* 265

"I conjure^r thé, Phillip Sparow,
By Hercules that hell did *harow*."

Dyce's Skelton, Vol. I., p. 412.

"Harrow" is generally supposed to be derived from "haro," a war-cry of the Normans. In the middle ages, Christ's descent into hell to fetch out the imprisoned spirits, was called "the harrowing of Hell" by which we now understand was meant the "despoiling of Hell." But Udall's note seems to imply that it meant "to visit"; and in Lancashire at the present day, "areawt" (which may be formed from "harrow") means "to go out" or "to be out." To be "harrowed" is a good Lincolnshire word in every-day use, meaning to be thoroughly tired or "knocked up." "He's clean harräd" is there a very usual expression for any one dead beaten or unable to accomplish an undertaking. It is said of horses on a hard journey, when they need a deal of whip to get them along. A man will remark at such times:—"We've hed a rare job to get hoäm; the roads are so 'evy, and it's sich a long pull, th' owd oss is clean harräd."

Dandiprat 277

Certainly means a small coin in this passage, although now it is generally used as a term of contempt, for a mean, insignificant little fellow.

Vndiscretly or harebrainlike 266

"Hairbrain" and "as mad as a March hare" yet common enough. March-hare is *Marsh*-hare; and from the flatness and bareness of marshes, which are almost destitute of shelter, hares are there peculiarly wild and hard to get a shot at.

Cotidian, or ordinarie fare 268

Quotidian. Every-day fare.

Solares, or loftes of the house 269

Or upper chamber, from the Latin *solarium*.

"Forasmuche as he [Paul] was purposed the nexte day to departe thence, he continued so preaching vnto them vntyll it was ferre fourthe nyghte. And least that night might haue bene occasion to breake of this delectable and pleasaunt sermon, there were manye candelles in the *sollare* where as we were than assembled. Emong the multitude there was a certayne young man, whose name was Eutichus, that sate in one of the *wyndores*. This young man by reason that Paule continued talking so long, wexed slepie, and at the last so sore came the slepe vpon hym, that he feel flatlyng downe to the grounde thre floores hyghe. . . . Whan as Paule perceyued that, he came downe. . . . and sayde: be ye nothyng troubled with this chaunce, there is yet lyfe in hym. . . . When he had thus comforted them, he went agayne into the *soler*."—*Paraphrase of Erasmus, Acts, f. 68.*

Biddles (beadles) why so called 269

The explanation in the text may be new to some.

Anecdote of Augustus, who wished to have the bed of the knight, who was much in debt, and yet could sleep .. 171

Since told of innumerable persons. Another proof of "nothing new under the sun."

Propice 140, 272, 330

Convenient.

Ragman's Rewe, or bille 273

The Devil's roll or paper. This term has been described before, at p. 411.

"Venus whiche stant without lawe
In none certayne, but as men drawe
Of Ragman vpon the chaunce
She leyth no peyse in the balance,

But as her lyketh for to weye
 The trewe man full ofte away
 She put, whiche hath her grace bede
 And set an vntrue in his stede."

Gower (1532) f. 187.

*It is no matter of iape to write rimes on that persone in
 whose handes it lieth to write a man out of all that
 euer he hath 273*

"A man owith to beware to associate hym self with his bettyrs, for he shall euyer be put to the worse parte, as it is sayde in a commune prouerbe. I counsell not seruautis to ete Churyes with ther bettyrs. Fer they wyl haue the Rype and leue them the harde."—*Dialogues of Creatures*, xx.

*"Songe of the Frere and the Nunne with other semblable
 merie iests" sang at Weddings and other feastynges 274*

Perhaps the coarseness of manners in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was nowhere more conspicuous than at weddings. The rough horse-play and brutal jests then indulged in are thus alluded to by Coverdale:—

"Early in the morning the wedding people begin to excede in superfluous eating and drinking, whereof they spit, untill the half sermon be done. And when they come to the preaching, they are halfe dronken; some altogether; therefore regard they not the preaching nor prayer, but stand there only because of the custome. Such folkes also do come unto the church with all maner of pomp and pride, and gorgeousness of raiment and jewels. They come with a great noyse of basons and drooms, wherewith they trouble the whole church. . . . And even as they come to the church, so go they from the church again; light, nice, in shamefull pompe and vaine wantonnes." Fol. 58, rev.—9.

"After the banket and feast, there beginneth a vaine, mad, and unmanerly fashion; for the *bride* must be brought into an open dauncing place. Then there is such a running, leaping and flinging among them; that a man might think all these dauncers had cast all shame behinde them, and were become starke mad and out of their wits, and that they were sworne to the devil's daunce. Then must the poore bride keepe foote with all dauncers, and refuse none, how scabbed, foule, dronken rude, and shameles soever he be! Then must she oft tymes heare and see much wickednes, and many an uncomly word. And that noyse and romblyng endureth even tyll supper."

"As for *supper*, looke how much shamles and dronken the evening is more then the morning, so much the more vice, excès, and misnurture is used at the supper. After supper,

must they begin to pipe and daunce again of anew. And though the *young persons* (being weary of the babling noyse and inconvenience,) come once towards their rest, yet can they have no quietness! For a man shall find unmanerly and restles people that wyll first go to their chamber doore, and there syng vicious and naughty balates—that the devil may have his whole triumphe now to the uttermost!” Fol. 59 rev. 60.—*Coverdale's Christian State of Matrimony* (1575).

The words of the Friar and the Nun are now lost, which probably is something to be thankful for, as from various allusions to it by writers of the period, it was evidently a most abominable filthy song.

Trimme as a trencher 276

A proverbial saying which may still be heard occasionally, in the country, although trenchers have almost entirely disappeared. A new trencher, neatly turned out of sycamore wood, had a particularly clean and wholesome appearance.

Snapshare... 279

Got by chance, or out of the ordinary way.

Square and disagree 284

Although “out of square” means to disagree (see p. 428), “to square” here means the same; “squaring” and “to square up to him” are pugilistic terms.

Hasten faire and softly 286

“Now loke that thou attempre be thy bridil,
And for the best ay suffre to the tyde,
Or ellis al our labour is on ydil;
He hastith wel, that wisely can abyde;
Be diligent and trew, and alwey hide,
Be lusty, fre, persevere in thy servise,
And al is wel if thou work on this wise.”

Chaucer, Troylus and Cryseyde, Bk. 1, p. 50.

Enbraked and Hampered 286

“Enbraked here evidently means fastened or shut up in a strait place. The following passage from the *Paraphrase of Erasmus* seems to prove that a “brake” was not only a place full of bushes and shrubs, but also enclosed or fenced round :—

“As touchyng myne owne stile in this present weorke, if I should be so streightly examined, I am (as the Greke proverbe saieth) in lyke case as a man y^t should hold fast a woulf by both eares. For if he hold him still, he hath a shrewe in handleyng & cannot so continue euer : if he leat hym goe, he

is in ieoperdie : so should I in this matter stande in a *streight brake*, either to incur suspicion of arrogancie if I maintaine myne owne. . . . or els must I be driuen to graunte an errour where perchaunce none is."—6th leaf of *Preface to Luke*.

Surcease his maugre 289

To restrain his spite.

Tooke in good gree 289

In good part.

Patished 293

No meane thing could be enough... .. 293

No moderate thing.

First chop 293, 300, 330

"Against y^e philosophie Evangelicall beeyng yet but tendre and euen but newly spryngyng vp, the world arose at the *first chop* with all his force and power."—*Erasmus' Paraphrase*, 5th leaf of *Preface to Luke*.

Ruling the roste, & bearyng all the stroke 294

"Bearing the stroke" has been explained, p. 445. "Ruling the roast" is, it is hardly necessary to say, the chief seat at the dinner table.

"He ruleth all the roste

With braggyng and with bost;

Borne vp on euery syde

With pompe and with pryde,

With, trompe vp, Alleluya.

Dyce's Skelton, Vol. II., p. 33.

Water his plantes... .. 296

A quaint figure of speech for shedding tears "Water your cheekes" is used in *Latymer's Sermons* (1578) 4th page of *Introductory Epistle*.

A beggerie little toun of cold roste in the mountaine ... 297

This is a very unusual comparison for anything mean or contemptible : as mean as cold meat or broken victuals.

Julius Cæsar would rather be the first man in a small town than the second man in Rome 297

So Milton :—

"Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven."

Paradise Lost.

He would cast no more peniworthes in the matter ... 298

That is, he would spend no more time in counting the cost ;
he would no longer calculate or hesitate.

To be a man or a mouse... ... 298

Yet a very common phrase.

To set all on sixes and seuens ... 298

He would trust to chance, as a man does who plays at dice.

"I may breake a dish there. And sure I shall
Set all at sixe and seven, to win some windfall."

(*Heywood's Proverbs, Part I., Cap. 11.*)

Spare, slender skragges ... 300

"Skraggy" is yet a common term for leanness.

With their five Egges ... 303

This was rather a common Proverb in the 16th century, and has never been explained, but it evidently means a silly rumour, equivalent to "mare's nest." "*Will you take egges for money?*" belongs to the same family.

"Whyles another gyeuth counsell to make peace wyth the kyng of Arragone, and to restore vnto hym hys owne kyngdome of Nauarra as a full assurance of peace. An other cummeth in wyth hys v. egges, and aduyseth to howke in the kyng of Castell."—*Raphe Robynson's trans. More's Utopia*, 1551, sig. E, vi.

"One sayd ; a well favoured olde woman she is ;
The diuell she is, saide another ; and to this,
In came the third, with his *five egges*, and sayde ;
Fiftie yere a goe I knew her a trym mayde."

Heywood's Proverbs, Pt. ii., cap. i.

———"Mine honest friend

Will you take egges for money ?

Mam. No, my lord, I'll fight.

Winter's Tale, i. 2.

Simon Fish in his *Supplication for the Beggars*, written about 1530, and ably edited by Mr. Furnival for the Early English Text Society, mentions six proverbs relating to the injuries caused by keeping so many sheep, the last of which is : "*The more shepe, the fewer egges for a peny.*"—By reason cottages go downe in the contre, where as pultrye was wont to be breade and fedde, nowe there is nothyng kept there but shepe, which cause the *egges to be solde for fewer a penny.*" So it is very likely they had been previously sold five for a penny. "Do you want a pen'orth of egges to-day?" or "Do you want

five eggs to-day?" would be a regular and constant cry. And the "bit o' gossip" between buyer and seller no less regular; and who so full of silly tales and tittle-tattle as the ignorant woman, going from door to door, chatting with the servants, and gathering all the floating rumours and scandal until "to come in with five eggs" became a figure of speech for doubtful rumours or busy medlers.

"*Will you take eggs for money?*" is another allusion to the habits of the poultry-women or farmers' wives. There has been a wonderful change in this class the last 40 or 50 years. It is in the memory of many when well-to-do farmers' wives and daughters lent a helping hand at busy seasons—at hay-time, and harvest, and when the poultry-yards and dairies were almost entirely attended to by them. When they went to market, a *basket of eggs* was one of their most frequent charges, and in making their purchases at various shops the tradesman would often be asked "to take eggs for money" to a certain extent; especially when the sum to pay left an "oddment," such as 4d. or 8d. In such cases there would be a dialogue something like the following: "What did you say the 'markettings' (shopkeepers' goods) come to?" "Twelve shillings and eightpence, if you please." "Well, there's twelve shillings; you'll take eggs for the oddment?" "Yes, I don't mind." So the woman not only got rid of her eggs, but often made a little more than the market price of them. Small purchases often were, and are now, made entirely with eggs. "You'll take eggs for money?" was not always a pleasant remark to a shopkeeper's ears: because he frequently had to take them above their market value, and when he did not want them, or risk offending a good customer.

Cry creak... 306

As a duck, when alarmed or hurt;—equivalent to the modern provincialism, "He made him quack."

"Great fines so near did pare me,
Great rent so much did scare me,
Great charge so near did dare me,
That made me at length cry *creak*."

Tusser (1812 Reprint) p. vi.

"Make maid to be cleanly, or make her cry *creak*;
And teach her to stir, when her mistress doth speak."

Tusser's Husbandry (1812 Rp.) p. 251

Sokingly 309

Gradually, little by little, as water "soaks" into the ground.

Tyme of weapon and lawes is not al one 309

That is, in time of war, it is sometimes necessary "to stretch a point." (By-the-bye, is the "point" in this familiar saying

one of the "blue-points" referred to at p. 414? I think it is, and that it means to tie more loosely, or to allow more latitude.)

Cæsar when landing in Africa, fell as he went out of the ship, which chance he turned to the better part and said "I haue thee fast in my hands, O Africa!" 310

A similar tale is told of William the Conqueror when he landed in England, as every school-boy knows.

Philip and cheinie 311

Equivalent to a mere mob or rabble; tag-rag and bob-tail.

"Loiterers I kept so many
Both *Philip*, *Hob*, and *Cheamy*.
That, that way nothing geany,
Was thought to make me thrive."

Tusser (1812 Reprint) p. 17.

More propense 313, 314

Had more propensity to; or was more inclined and disposed to.

To cry at the high crosse 316

To talk of openly at the market-place, which often had a tall cross in the centre of a raised platform, with six or eight rows of steps on every side, on which the market women set themselves with their baskets and goods, and from which public announcements were made.

Talked at rouers 320

At random, as the following passage shows most conclusively:

"And out of these haue I pieked suche puintes as semed to be moste effectuall and moste helping to the feith, and to the deuout godlynesse of the ghospell: not geuying it a slendre litell touch here & there as it were *at rouers*, and as men gather floures here and there one at auenture as thei come to hand: but folowyng the ordre of the tyme and the due course or proccesse of matiers."—*Paraphrase of Erasmus, Luke, f. 2.*

The "people" seldom led by reason, and never to be relied on... 163, 324

"O stormy people, unsad and ever untrewē,
And undiscret, and chaunging as a fane,
Delytyng ever in rombel that is newe,
For lik the moone ay wax ye and wane;
Ay ful of clappyng, dere y-nough a jane,* [** a farthing*]
Youre doom is fals, your constauce yvel previth,
A ful gret fool is he that on you leevith."

Chaucer,—The Clerke's Tale, Vol. II., p. 154.

"Popular errors are more nearly founded upon an erroneous inclination of the people ; as being the most deceptable part of mankind, and ready with open arms to receive the encroachments of Error. . . . They commonly affect no man any further than he deserts his reason, or complies with their aberrancies. Hence they embrace not Vertue for itself, but its rewards. . . . Their individual imperfections being great, they are moreover enlarged by their aggregation ; and being erroneous in their single numbers, once huddled together, they will be Error it self. For being a confusion of Knaves and Fools, it is but natural if their determinations be monstrous, and many ways inconsistent with truth. It had overcome the patience of *Job*, as it did the meekness of *Moses*, and would surely have mastered any but the lasting sufferance of God ; had they beheld the mutiny in the Wilderness after ten great Miracles. . . . It is the greatest example of Lenity in our Saviour, when he desired of God forgiveness unto those, who having one day brought him into the City in Triumph, did presently after, act all dishonour upon him, and nothing could bee heard but *Crucifige*, in their Courts. Certainly, he that considereth these things in God's peculiar people will easily discern how little of truth there is in the wayes of the Multitude ; and though sometimes they are flattered with that *Aphorism*, will hardly believe, The voice of the People to be the voice of God."—*Sir T. Browne's Vulgar Errors* (1686) p. 7-8.

Beeyng set agog to thinke all the worlde otemele ... 329

A singular saying, of which this is an early instance.

The memorie of these [great kings and generals] actes is now cleane extincted, the memorie of Cicero by reason of his most noble bokes is immortall, and shall neuer die while the worlde shall stande ... 339

See this great truth eloquently enforced by Lord Bacon, at the conclusion of the First Book of his *Advancement of Learning*.

"Lastly, leaving the vulgar arguments, that in learning man excelleth man in that wherein man excelleth beasts ; that by learning man ascendeth to the heavens and their motions, where in body he cannot come, and the like ; let us conclude with the dignity and excellency of knowledge and learning in that whereunto man's nature doth most aspire, which is, immortality and continuance : for to this tendeth generation, and raising of houses and families ; to this buildings, foundations, and monuments ; to this tendeth the desire of memory, fame, and celebration, and in effect the strength of all other human desires. We see then how far the monuments of wit and

learning are more durable than the monuments of power or of the hands. For have not the verses of Homer continued twenty-five hundred years, or more, without the loss of a syllable or letter ; during which time, infinite palaces, temples, castles, cities, have been decayed and demolished ? It is not possible to have the true pictures of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar ; no, nor of the kings or great personages of much later years ; for the originals cannot last, and the copies cannot but leese of the life and truth. But the images of men's wits and knowledges remain in books, exempted from the wrong of time, and capable of perpetual renovation. Neither are they fitly to be called images, because they generate still, and cast their seeds in the minds of others, provoking and causing infinite actions and opinions in succeeding ages : so that, if the invention of the ship was thought so noble, which carrieth riches and commodities from place to place, and consociateth the most remote regions in participation of their fruits, how much more are letters to be magnified, which, as ships, pass through the vast seas of time, and make ages so distant to participate of the wisdom, illuminations, and inventions, the one of the other ? Nay further, we see some of the philosophers which were least divine, and most immersed in the senses and denied generally the immortality of the soul, yet came to this point, that whatsoever motions the spirit of man could act and perform without the organs of the body, they thought might remain after death, which were only those of the understanding, and not of the affection ; so immortal and incorruptible a thing did knowledge seem unto them to be."

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 True, that, though free from passion's lawless sway,
 A loftier being brings severer cares;
 Yet have they special pleasures—even mirth—
 By those undreamed of who have only trod
 Life's valley smooth; and if the rolling earth
 To their nice ear have many a painful tone,
 They know man does not live by joy alone,
 But by the presence of the power of God."

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In one way or another. An allusion to the custom of gathering such wood in forests as could be got with a *hook* or a *crook*: that is, the dry and withered branches which might be broken off with a long hooked stick, somewhat like a shepherd's crook; and such branches and underwood as might be cut with a hook, somewhat like a reaper's sickle, but broader in the blade and stronger; it is yet as common as the sickle, and nothing is more usual in rural districts than to hear a man told to "go and hook out" such a bank or corner.

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An illustration of Æsop's Fable of the Sun, the Wind, and the Traveller with a cloak.

No morsell for mowyers ... 379

The sow will teach Minerva ... 379

To teach our dames to spinne ... 380

The modern version is, "teach our grandmother to suck eggs;" they have given over spinning. I remember seeing several spinning-wheels at work in old-fashioned farm houses and labourers' cottages, when a boy, but I have not seen one now for the last 30 or 40 years.

To correct Magnificat before he haue learned "Te Deum" 380

But, as our English proverb saith: "Many talk of Robin Hood that never shot in his bow, and some correct *magnificat* that know not *quid significat*."—*Harrington's Orlando Furioso*.

Brought under coram ... 380

That is Quorum.

"Robert Shallow, Esq'., In the county of Gloster, justice of peace and *coram*."—*Merry Wives of Windsor*.

" Religious men are fayne
 For to tourne agayne
In secula seculorum
 And to forsake theyr corum."

Dyce's Skelton, Vol. I., p. 325.

- A peck of troubles...* ... 380
 Another saying yet quite common.
- The fingers of the Atheniens ticleed* ... 381
 The modern phrase is "their fingers itched to be at it."
- Whished and weaxed dumme* ... 319, 381
 Suddenly hushed into silence.
- To buccle* ... 382
 A word yet common, meaning "set to," "git-a-gait" (Linc.), being, no doubt, an allusion to buckling on the harness or armour ready for the fight.
- Pilates voice* ... 382
 An allusion to the high voice of the performer who acted Pilate in the Miracle Plays, which were not then altogether discontinued.
- "Not all that is great is well, but all that is well is great"* ... 382
- He sometimes loses who gets the victory* ... 382

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"A bone is the excuse frequently made now-a-days for not
doing things requested by children. A nursemaid will say to
a child who wishes to be carried: "I can't, I've a big bone in
my arm."

Demosthenes restored from banishment ... 376

An illustration of Æsop's Fable of the Sun, the Wind, and the
Traveller with a cloak.

No morsell for mowyers ... 379

The sow will teach Minerua ... 379

To teach our dames to spinne ... 380

The modern version is, "teach our grandmother to suck eggs;"
they have given over spinning. I remember seeing several
spinning-wheels at work in old-fashioned farm houses and
labourers' cottages, when a boy, but I have not seen one now
for the last 30 or 40 years.

To correct Magnificat before he haue learned "Te Deum" 380

But, as our English proverb saith: "Many talk of Robin
Hood that never shot in his bow, and some correct *magnificat*
that know not *quid significat*."—*Harrington's Orlando Furioso.*

Brought under coram ... 380

That is Quorum.

"Robert Shallow, Esq., In the county of Gloster, justice of
peace and *coram*."—*Merry Wives of Windsor.*

"Religious men are fayne
For to tourne agayne
In secula seculorum
And to forsake theyr corum."

Dyce's Skelton, Vol. I., p. 325.

A peck of troubles... ... 380

Another saying yet quite common.

The fingers of the Atheniens ticleed ... 381

The modern phrase is "their fingers itched to be at it."

Whished and weaxed dumme ... 319, 381

Suddenly hushed into silence.

To buccle ... 382

A word yet common, meaning "set to," "git-a-gait" (Linc.), being, no doubt, an allusion to buckling on the harness or armour ready for the fight.

Pilates voice ... 382

An allusion to the high voice of the performer who acted Pilate in the Miracle Plays, which were not then altogether discontinued.

"Not all that is great is well, but all that is well is great" ... 382

He sometimes loses who gets the victory ... 382

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21



